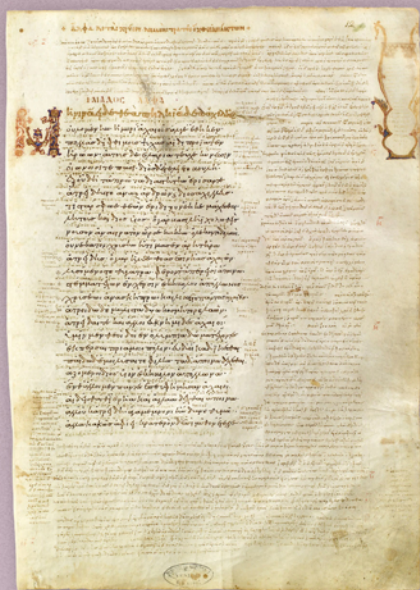


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BRILL'S COMPANION TO ANCIENT GREEK SCHOLARSHIP



Edited by

Franco Montanari, Stephanos Matthaios
& Antonios Rengakos

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Brill's Companion to Ancient Greek Scholarship

VOLUME 1

History
Disciplinary Profiles

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Preface

During the second half of the Twentieth century, studies on Alexandrian philology and more generally on the history of erudition, exegesis and grammar in the cultural panorama of the ancient world experienced a renewed period of great flowering, which continues unabated in these opening decades of the Twenty-first century. In comparison to the state and tendencies of studies and research on this field in the first half of the last century, today the picture appears radically changed. Undeniably, the breakthrough was achieved by the celebrated work of Rudolf Pfeiffer, whose book was published in Oxford in 1968 and exerted great influence on studies of the ancient world, gradually leading to a general change in the approach to this very broad field. The research themes springing from Pfeiffer's work have progressively grown in importance and presence in the current panorama of classical studies, and now rest on different cultural foundations and orientations compared to the manner in which they were considered and treated, albeit with abundance and attention, in classical philology during the Nineteenth and the first two-thirds of the Twentieth century.

As new and adequate working tools are devised and editions of texts become available, the effort to construct solid bases for research in this sector is acquiring more concrete form, while studies and essays continue, at the same time, to shed light in greater depth on a number of themes that are relevant for the study of ancient literary civilization. One significant element of this evolutionary process has involved a reappraisal of the role of ancient scholarship, which is now considered as one of the most important features characterising the cultural horizon of antiquity. No longer is ancient scholarship regarded merely as a question of erudition, defined in terms of the different trends and positions and constituting a potentially useful but essentially ancillary science, knowledge of which was held to serve mainly as a source of fragments of lost works and information of a historical and antiquarian nature. Rather, the new approach can on the one hand be seen as forming part of movement towards a positive reassessment, which by now seems well consolidated, of the postclassical historical phases of ancient Greek culture, from the Imperial to the Byzantine age; on the other hand, it can rightly be described as one of the important components of a definitive transition away from the aestheticizing and intuitionist tendencies of the misguided and often a-historical classicism

* English translation by Rachel Barritt Costa.

that characterised a great part of the Twentieth century. Undoubtedly, much remains to be done in these directions, but we hope that this *Companion* can make a substantial contribution and will represent a meaningful step forward in this ongoing process.

The modern definition “ancient scholarship” encompasses numerous phenomena that belong to the literary civilization. The term “scholarship” refers first and foremost to all written works that aim specifically and directly to provide an interpretation of the literary works on various levels. Thus in this sense it refers in the first place to the different forms of commentary on the texts and to exegetic treatments of a monographic nature. But one immediately realizes that “scholarship” also covers many other genres: *in primis* the impressive phenomena of lexicography and linguistic-grammatical studies, which can and must be expanded to include by no means accessory materials, such as biography, paremiography, mythography, studies on metrics, not to mention investigations into the form of the ancient book, with the peculiarities represented specifically by phenomena of graphic layout linked to scholarly activity. Moreover the vast field of rhetoric must also be taken into account from a variety of perspectives, nor should one overlook the reflections on poetics, which stand mid-way between philosophy and scholarship *stricto sensu*. Indeed, Aristotle’s *Poetics* focused specifically on the poetry of earlier centuries (first and foremost Homer), to which the Alexandrians would later devote themselves with a profusion of effort and means. The Alexandrian philologists (and not only those among them who were poets in their own right) could hardly have neglected theoretical thought on poetry: it would be absurd, I believe, to imagine that Aristarchus had no ideas of his own on poetics. Furthermore, it is immaterial to point to the fact that only very scanty evidence on theoretical and epistemological questions can be traced in the philological-exegetic fragments that have come down to us: such fragments are not only just a tiny portion of the original works, but they also stem from works of quite a different kind composed for a notably different purpose. The kind of research and treatises on the poets and their works that was widespread in peripatetic circles, as well as the thought expressed by Aristotle in the *Poetics*, form the concrete intellectual and cultural precedent of the scholarship of the Hellenistic age, and made a crucial contribution that encouraged a fresh approach to literature, *in primis* poetry. It was through this new vision that poetry became a privileged object of investigation and interpretation, of care and conservation, although it was not long before the prose genres (above all historiography and oratory) likewise became the object of study and investigation.

The resulting picture is that of a comprehensive panorama, populated by a wide variety of remarkably diverse products, from treatises displaying profound critical-literary insight to the most unadorned and bare collections

of erudite materials, although a substantial homogeneity of interests and fields of application endured throughout the centuries, from the Hellenistic age right up to the Byzantine era. However, there is a fundamental element that is common to the entire range of this variegated archipelago: namely, that the overwhelming majority of the contents present in works classifiable as “scholarship” derive essentially and materially from the immense store-house consisting of literary and linguistic phenomena. That is to say, the contents of “scholarship” depend crucially on the overall body of works composed by the authors of literature and on the phenomenon of language as the common tool utilized for their creation. Thus on the one hand we have, in the actual and direct sense, the edition, conservation and interpretation of texts (i.e. ecdothics and exegesis), while on the other we have the study of language phenomena (grammar, lexicon, rhetoric), that is to say, a focus on the tool of literature. But the two spheres are organically linked: an understanding of the texts is indispensable in order to utilize them for purposes of describing and explaining linguistic and rhetorical phenomena, but at the same time an understanding of linguistic and rhetorical phenomena is indispensable for a good and satisfactory exegesis of the texts themselves.

The element shared by all such works is that their subjects and arguments are built on a previous subject and argument: the text is constructed on another text, the importance and authoritative nature of which is known and recognized. A very general definition of such works could be “text on a text” or “text about a text”. One need only think of the enormous literature produced on Homer over the centuries to gain an eloquent picture of what we are conveying. But illustrious and grandiose examples are also to be found in philosophy (suffice it to mention the quantity and value of the commentaries on Plato and Aristotle), in science (the *Corpus Hippocraticum* and Galen) and in religion (the case of the *Bible* is emblematic). Even more than in other sectors of the literary civilization, scholarship can be identified as a cultural phenomenon in which literature grew directly on literature and drew its nourishment from itself, increasing over the course of history by virtue of its necessary and inescapable reference not only to the texts that were the object of interpretation but also to previous exegetic products. Particularly important is the relation holding between such activity of commenting and interpreting literary works and the reference canon: the influence is reciprocal because scholarship on the one hand certainly reflects an acquired canon, since it deals with the things that belong to it, while on the other hand scholarship itself contributes to shaping and consolidating the canon, exerting a non secondary influence on the image a culture acquires over time.

The considerations put forward so far on ancient scholarship prompt the introduction of another highly significant distinction, despite the difficulties

and epistemological uncertainties with which the path is certainly strewn. In the first place, a commentary and its arguments can have an aim that could be defined as philological-grammatical-historical, namely that of an exegesis designed to explain the intrinsic and genuine content of the text properly speaking, and to discover what it really meant and what it sought to express in its authentic and original linguistic and historical-cultural context. In this perspective, scholarship appears as a science that is independent with regard to its ends, and its exegetic aim is important and valid in its own right and not as part of an overarching purpose. The objective is to explain the text without any other motive than that of correctly reconstructing and preserving historical evidence, which has its own intrinsic value. But in a different perspective, a commentary starting out from an authoritative text may present an interpretation that seeks above all to put forward the interpreter's own arguments, focusing on specific doctrinal points, often with the ideological intention of "enlisting" the author who is the object of analysis. The interpreter utilizes the work as a starting point, not infrequently seeking to unveil meanings that may have remained implicit or even "hidden", and if necessary putting forward the possibility of uncovering important meanings the author did not consciously intend to include. Ultimately, in some cases this may go as far as implying that it is legitimate to attribute to the author meanings that are generated and motivated only by the cultural and critical history that has been built up around the work during its reception.

What we have here is a polarity which comes to the fore throughout the history of the exegesis of texts which are recognized as important. It must be underlined that this is, strictly speaking, a theoretical distinction, an intellectual tool helpful in understanding phenomena through abstract categories, whereas pure and distilled exemplars are a far rarer occurrence in concrete reality. Rather, it is more usually the case that the balance is tipped more or less decidedly towards one of the two aspects, but without the other being necessarily absent or excluded, as it may perhaps make itself felt in the facts and results more than in the declarations and intentions. There should thus be clear recognition that the boundaries between the two approaches are not clearly demarcated, sometimes labile, and above all debatable and debated: this, in essence, is the history of scholarship, with all its multifaceted aspects and all its many-sided fields of activity. The concrete contrapositions and intersections between the two modes of critical discourse and the attendant polemics give rise to the irregular and multiform evolution of the reception of the great works and the great authors.

The exegete stands in contrast to the "mere ordinary person" and is seen as the one who is capable of understanding the work in question, the one who

has the cultural and intellectual tools to perform the interpretation; furthermore, exegetes claim for their own work—and indeed for themselves—the right to extract all kinds of meaning from a text and to construct their own line of argument, focusing on what they regard as useful and important to develop. An exegete not only enjoys great freedom (which can go as far as arbitrary discretion), but also wields potentially enormous cultural influence. So powerful can this influence be that an exegete can sway widely held opinions and shape general attitudes, all the more so if the text under consideration is recognized as a highly authoritative work and the interpreter enjoys great authority. The critical currents linked to philosophical, political and religious ideologies belong to this general and generic framework, in which even the most blatant anachronisms may be present and are in effect admitted. History right up to the modern times is studded with manifestations of this attitude and these cultural operations, and each of us must decide individually whether to consider them acceptable or not, useful or not, and to what extent, in the history of the reception of an author.

One fundamental element in this perspective, as mentioned at the outset, is that the investigations on the philology and erudition of the ancients no longer have an exclusively or predominantly ancillary value, and are no longer considered essentially or only as a repository of fragments of lost works, antiquarian curiosities, historical information or potential aids to modern philology. Ancient erudite and philological-grammatical production, in a word “ancient scholarship”, has acquired an independent meaning of its own, inasmuch as it is now seen as an expression and manifestation of a precise intellectual sphere and as an important aspect of ancient civilization. The exegetic observations and the erudite knowledge of the ancients are no longer considered as of benefit only for the information that can be gleaned about a work the ancient scholars are interpreting or a phenomenon they aim to explain. Rather, today ancient scholarship can and must be perceived as useful and interesting for what it reveals about the ancient scholars themselves, i.e. about the ideas, intellectual attitudes and culture of which they are an expression in the many different historical macrocontexts in which ancient scholarship developed, over the centuries ranging from the Hellenistic kingdoms to the Roman empire and right up to the Byzantine millennium. Studies on ancient philology are and must be rooted in a historical-cultural perspective, capable of highlighting the encounters among diversified historical situations and their reciprocal influence.

Yet even today one still too often notes the tendency to discuss the data of ancient philology and grammar on the basis of the principle of what is “right” or “wrong” from the point of view of modern science; in other words, the

tendency to try to gauge how far the ancients had drawn close to the “correct” interpretation and to what extent they missed the point, whether they were good or bad philologists, with regard to their textual choices as well. These are evaluations that distort the historical perspective and lead to mistaken use and inappropriate evaluation of the available testimonies and evidence. Moreover, too often the criterion for selection of materials considered worthy of interest and study remains based essentially on what appears to be useful or useless for the specific purpose of interpreting today the ancient author who is the focus of attention, according to our criteria and for our own ends. In other words, too often the body of knowledge represented by ancient scholarship is viewed as potentially interesting and significant only when it is of aid in solving a problem of modern scholarship. But this is a drastically limited and reductive viewpoint. Instead, everything that *is of no aid* in specifically interpreting Homer or Pindar or Aristophanes from our own point of view, *is of the greatest aid* in interpreting Zenodotus, Aristophanes of Byzantium, Aristarchus, and in understanding their cultural context and their intellectual milieu. This revised perspective is making an important contribution to the undeniable progress in the general historical vision of the ancient world: the products of scholarship have begun to be subjected to investigation for the purpose of discerning the critical principles, the ideas on literature and language, the interests, the thought of the scholars themselves in their own cultural context. This approach must be further consolidated and must become the norm, resulting in heightened awareness that knowledge of the intellectual history of one’s own discipline has an essential value. This is the best and most elevated form of “utilitarianism” to be attributed to the history of philology: namely, the mission of prompting militant philology to enter into a dialogue with itself and with the history of its own objectives and methods, its successes and failures: for viewing oneself through the mirror of epistemological self-observation is the high road that will build a solid foundation to guarantee the scientific legitimacy that philology, like all the sciences, constantly pursues.

The first idea of composing this book dates back to 2007, when the three Editors began to reflect on the possibility of putting together a *Companion to Ancient Scholarship* and to consider what might be the most appropriate structure for a production of this kind. In-depth discussion developed around the ideas and orientations outlined in this preface, although the focus of the original proposal naturally underwent adjustment, adaptation and corrections as work progressed. Firstly, as has already been made clear, a historical outline was an inescapable requisite (Part 1. *History*: this section constitutes the only up-to-date systematic compendium of history of ancient scholarship from the origins up to the Byzantine age). Secondly, it was crucial that the historical

outline should be accompanied by specific treatment of several aspects of the discipline that are of fundamental importance in this field, including the problems linked not only to the sources of our knowledge of ancient scholarship but also to the typology of works belonging to the extensive sphere embodied by the concept of scholarship (Part 2. *Disciplinary profiles*). Thirdly, we felt it was vital to include a group of treatments that would examine the relation holding between theoretical elaboration in the field of scholarship and grammar and the concrete application of theories to literary texts and language (Part 3. *Between Theory and Practice: 3.1 Scholarship, 3.2 Grammar*). In this framework we made the decision to add a section whose title, *Philological and Linguistic Observations and Theories in Interdisciplinary Context*, seeks to bring to light the presence of elements and attitudes of a philological-exegetic character, and involving language problems, in works and treatments belonging to literary genres that are distinct from scholarship itself, even if scholarship is understood in the broad sense. Several fields were investigated from this perspective, with results we believe to be interesting and original.

Naturally, we are fully aware that not all the themes and subjects touched upon here in these introductory pages are represented in this—far from small—*Companion*, but this is due to the wealth of information and complexity of the scientific framework, both from the historical point of view and in terms of the typology of the contents and works.

No more than a passing mention can be made of an aspect that can easily be imagined and which was to a great extent inevitable, such as problems in finding the authors for the various different subjects of the project, cases in which a proposal was declined or severe delays were encountered. Difficulties of this kind are frequent in works of such length and complexity, and resulted in a much longer time frame for the production than had originally been planned. Consequently, the book has been composed over a period of more than five years. In presenting it now in its final printed form, sincere and heartfelt thanks must be expressed to two scholars who have devoted great effort to ensuring that the final stages were brought to completion: Lara Pagani (who is also one of the authors of the book), and her co-worker Martina Savio.

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PART 1

History



Greek Scholarship from its Beginnings to Alexandria

Anna Novokhatko

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In order to understand the establishment and dissemination of the idea and practice of scholarship the contemporary researcher has to examine a number of interrelated questions. What do we mean by scholarship? In which contexts did scholarship emerge? Which institutions supported the development of philological thought? Which elements in society were engaged in 'scholarship' in a broad sense? What was status of scholars, amateur or professional? And who formed their audience?

In this presentation of pre-Alexandrian scholarship a whole spectrum of approaches related to the understanding, reconstruction and interpretation of literature, and also interest in the origins, structure and functions of language, will be examined.¹ Needless to say, no definition of the subject should be considered sufficient: this is a work in progress and delimiting and differentiating scholarship from other activities constitutes an integral part of its development. The dynamics involved in this process, dynamics which lead to what would later be thought of as scholarship in a narrower Alexandrian sense, studies in grammar and the editing of classical texts,² will be the focus here.

The paper will consist of a number of sections. The first focuses on the social environment: what was the relation between 'scholars' and society? And what portion of society could read and write, in other words was able to understand the scholarly texts in the particular ways this knowledge implies? And, more generally, what was the relationship of society with the written text?

The second section deals with education and the dominant educational paradigm within Greek society. When, where and how could one learn reading and writing? What was the official status of educational institutions and libraries which supported the development of scholarly thinking? Who accessed these institutions? It is only in the context of these earlier sections that the origins of Greek scholarship, the focus of the third section, can be understood.

The third section will deal with the three main streams of pre-Alexandrian scholarship: Homeric criticism, linguistic studies, and stylistics. The Homeric text was the main source used for analysing the Greek language (though other

1 On the tasks of scholarship as understood in Ancient and modern thought, see the appendix on the art of philology in Gentili [1990] 223–233.

2 See Montana and Montanari, this volume.

poets were also quoted and discussed) and thus linguistic and stylistic studies dealt with Homeric examples. Nonetheless, distinguishing the three main branches remained important. One branch led to the criticism, emendation, interpolation and editing of the Homeric text by the classical philologists of Alexandria, a second led to the development of Greek (and later Roman) linguistics, mainly grammar and semantics, a third led to literary and aesthetic criticism.

1 Social Premises and Conditions Leading to the Establishment of Scholarship in Pre-Alexandrian Greece

Pierre Bourdieu noted: “Inquiring into the conditions of possibility of reading means inquiring into the social conditions which make possible the situations in which one reads (and it is immediately clear that one of these conditions is the *scholé*, leisure in its educational form, that is the time of reading, the time of learning how to read) and inquiring also into the social conditions of production of *lectores*. One of the illusions of the *lector* is that which consists in forgetting one’s own social conditions of production, and unconsciously universalising the conditions of possibility of one’s own reading. Inquiring into the conditions of the type of practice known as reading means inquiring into how *lectores* are produced, how they are selected, how they are educated, in what schools, etc.”³

1.1 *Reading and Writing in Archaic Greece*

There is insufficient information to ascertain the level of literacy in Archaic Greece. Only from the 5th and even more so from the 4th centuries BC can literary and at times epigraphic evidence of literacy and illiteracy in everyday life be found. Even when evidence does exist, only limited conclusions can be drawn. Oral poetry was characteristic of the Archaic period. The first evidence for versions of the Greek alphabet stems from the middle of the 8th century BC, in all probability arriving as variations on the Phoenician (North Semitic) syllabic script.⁴ In comparison to Ancient Egypt, books were not considered sacred. Writing was not the domain of a priestly caste but was open to everybody (though reading remained a largely élite activity in Antiquity).⁵

3 Bourdieu [1990] 95.

4 On the origins of the Greek alphabet, see more in Havelock [1982] 77–88; Thomas [1992] 52–73 and Willi [2005] with updated bibliography.

5 For the sociological context of ancient reading, see Johnson [2000]. Cf. Johnne [1991] 47, Nilsson [1955] 11–16. See the useful selection of examples of abecedaria from the late 8th

In the cultural milieu of Archaic Greece, poetry was a public medium. Vases, bronze, lead, clay, leather, oyster shells and bones, metals, wooden and wax tablets of the 8th century BC from all over Greece host inscriptions, suggesting some knowledge of writing.⁶ The vases preserve traces of epics.⁷ Writing was used in the 7th century for the composition of texts, but these texts were still intended for performance, most of them to musical accompaniment. During the 6th century choral, lyric, rhapsodic, and cultic poetry continued to be performed in public. According to later sources, texts and copies of texts circulated from the Archaic period.⁸ Although there is no evidence for a reading culture at this time, the essential precondition for its existence, elementary literacy, may still be posited from public inscriptions, legal scripts, coins or graffiti.⁹

Vase painting reveals that Homeric texts were known in Athens at least from the 7th century BC. At the end of the 6th cent. BC a broader use of written Homeric texts is observed. Versions of these texts, recited at rhapsodic agons, were probably presented in various places, oral and written narration therefore simultaneously coexisting. These versions survived to a certain extent as Homeric texts from Argos, Chios, Crete, Cyprus, Sinope and other places and perhaps were used by Zenodotus and Aristarchus from Samothrace (the so-called *ἐκδόσεις κατὰ πόλιν*).¹⁰ The Panathenaic performances which fixed the attribution of the two epics to Homer constitute an important part of this story. From 522 BC the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were recited every four years by rhapsodes at the Great Panathenaea.¹¹ Reading and writing was connected with learning the epic (and sometimes lyric) texts by rote, above all those by

century BC until the 4th century AD, used for practicing the alphabet, in Lang [1976] 6–7; cf. SEG XLVII 1476 (Cumae; ca. 700–690 BC); SEG LVII 672 (Histria; 5th/4th cent. BC) for an evaluation of the argument that specific abecedaria were the work of schoolboys. I am grateful to Benjamin Millis for this reference.

- 6 On the first religious and magical texts of Egyptian, Phoenician, Israeli and other Old Oriental writings, see Speyer [1992] 70–85. On writing on various material message-bearing objects, see Steiner [1994] 10–99; on metaphorical representations of letters, see Steiner [1994] 100–126.
- 7 For more, see Platthy [1968] 75–78, Robb [1994] 23–26, 45–59; Knox [1989] 155–156.
- 8 On Hesiod's copy written on lead see Paus. 9, 31; on Heraclitus' copy in the temple of Artemis see D. L. 9, 5–6.
- 9 See Harris [1989] 50–52.
- 10 See Pöhlmann [1994] 21; Bolling [1925] 37–41. On specific versions of Homeric epics, see also Cassio [2002] and Cassio [2012] 253. On the early Greek artists' perception of Homeric epic, see a detailed analysis by Snodgrass [1998].
- 11 Ps.-Pl. *Hipparch.* 228b; Isoc. *Panath.* 159; Lycurg. *Leoc.* 102; West [2001a] 17–19; for Attic influences on pre-Alexandrian Homeric text transmission, see West [2000] 29.

Homer. The inscriptions on the rolls painted on vases are of poetic, for the most part epic texts.¹²

1.2 *Literacy in Athens*

Coins and inscriptions on stone and vases suggest that writing became increasingly widespread. The relation to the spoken word seems gradually to have been changing. In Athens, the stream of public documents concerning politics, administration, trade and finance begins in the late 6th century, rising to a flood in the 4th century BC. The relation between social progress and the use of literacy has been the subject of scholarly attention.¹³ Athenian literacy was more widespread than that in most other parts of Greece;¹⁴ literacy in Athens and all over Greece was covered a range of abilities in the sense that it spanned the gamut from elementary literacy, including the capacity to write down one's name (the practice of *ostracismos* started at the end of the 6th century BC in Athens whereas *petalismos* in Syracuse dates from the middle of the 5th century BC¹⁵) and locating a name on a list, to philological interpretation of difficult literary texts. Despite this gamut, the overall rise of general literacy undoubtedly increased the proportion of the population that served as the potential audience for literary analysis.

As democracy developed, literate officials and members of the council of citizens were required for the creation of written records. However, the sources make little of the practical uses of education. Aristophanes' *Knights* (424 BC) provides important evidence on the relationship between literacy and democracy: the sausage-seller, forced to be a politician, claims no knowledge of music or gymnastics, and only little knowledge of letters. His collocutor reassures him that an ignorant man is needed to govern the state.¹⁶ Scenes of the oracle-speaker (Ar. *Av.* 959–991), the inspector (Ar. *Av.* 1021–1034), and the decree-seller (Ar. *Av.* 1035–1055) in Aristophanes' *Birds* (414 BC) are partly inspired by concerns about literacy and its significance for political power.¹⁷ Democracy also nurtured public rhetoric, and thus the writing that was required for the composition of public speeches.¹⁸

12 Xen. *Symp.* 3, 5; see Immerwahr [1964]; Immerwahr [1973]; Robb [1994] 186.

13 See Yunis [2003] 8–9.

14 Griffith [2001] 69 with further bibliography.

15 Diod. Sic. 11, 86.

16 Ar. *Eq.* 188–193, 1235–1242, see also Morgan [1999] 54; Slater [1996] 104.

17 See Slater [1996] 112.

18 Ar. *Ve.* 959–961; on the spread of literacy in Greece and especially in Athens, see Harris [1989] 45–115; Steiner [1994] 186–241; Thomas [2001]; Thomas [2009].

The increasing attention paid by society to poets can also be observed in other media. Vase painting can be considered as a source of evidence for literacy during the pre-classical and classical age: for instance, vase paintings suggest that reading was a collective activity.¹⁹ In the first half of the 5th century BC the sculptures of poets appeared.²⁰ A new step in the relationship of the author and his audience may be signalled by the depiction of a solitary reader in the 2nd half of the 5th century BC.²¹

A recent archaeological find provides important evidence on the literary life in Athens in the second half of the 5th century BC: the tomb of a poet and musician (perhaps of Ionian origin) excavated in 1981 in Athens (Daphne) is dated to 430/420 BC. It contained the bones of a young person in his or her early 20s. The remains of a lyre, a harp and a tube of an *aulos* with mouthpiece, a writing case with a bronze stylus and a bronze inkpot, fragments of the oldest known Greek papyrus roll and five wooden writing tablets (πολύπτυχα) were discovered. It has been suggested that the papyrus might have contained a poetic text because some morphological forms and mythical names point to poetic diction.²² The tablets correspond to the picture from the Douris cup where a teacher holds an open book consisting of three tablets bound together. On the papyrus fragments and the *polyptycha* the script used is the Ionic alphabet, with η and ω for long [e:] and [o:]. Although this alphabet was not officially adopted in Athens until 403/2 BC, it was in frequent use in public and epigraphic texts in Attica in the second half of the 5th century.²³

1.3 *Writing and the Development of New Media*

From the second half of the 6th century BC a novel medium requiring writing appeared: the earliest prose scientific texts. Following on from the Persian wars, Ionian natural philosophy shifted to Athens. The first philosophers whose writings survived are Anaximander and Anaximenes of Miletus.²⁴ Medicine developed in Cos and Cnidos in the form of scientific texts. Beginning from

19 For books on vases, see Immerwahr [1964] and Immerwahr [1973], for papyrus rolls on vase painting as a symbol of intellectual creativity, see Whitehorne [2002] 28–29.

20 Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Anacreon, some of them preserved as later Roman copies of Greek originals from the mid 5th century BC, see Zanker [1995] 20–36; for the famous picture of Alcaeus and Sappho on an Attic red-figure *kalathos* around 470 BC by the Brygos painter, see Zanker [1995] 32 with further bibliography.

21 For silent reading, see E. fr. 369 TrGF, Ar. *Ran.* 52–53, the famous tombstone of a young man with a book-roll from Grottaferrata; see also Johnne [1991] 53–54 and Johnson [2000] 593–600 with further bibliography.

22 See West [2013] 82. On the content and date of this tomb, see Pöhlmann [2013] 12–14; on the writing of tablets and, in particular, papyrus, see Pöhlmann-West [2012]; West [2013].

23 West [2013] 76.

24 Them. *Or.* 26, 317a–c; D. L. 2, 2; Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1, 78.

the middle of the 5th century BC, a considerable corpus is attributed to Hippocrates and also to his environment.²⁵ Prose composition was less appropriate for oral performance; therefore the increasing use of prose favoured the circulation of books.

Lyric poetry also reveals interest in reading and writing. Writing is praised; Pindar exclaims in his tenth *Olympian* that the Olympic victor's name should be read aloud, "where it is written down", in his mind (Pind. *Ol.* 10, 1–3). Drama, the new medium of civic performance, supported writing to a considerable extent: texts had to be written down for memorisation by the actors.²⁶ In the *Prometheus Bound*, Prometheus lists his contributions to human progress, including "combinations of letters, which enable all things to be remembered."²⁷ Athenaeus quotes Euripides, Agathon and Theodectas who all depict an illiterate character on stage attempting to describe the shapes of the letters that make up the name Theseus.²⁸ In a fragment from the tragic poet Achaëus, a satyr reads a name written on a cup.²⁹ Palamedes claims to have created syllables and to have invented letters for reading and writing in Euripides (Eur. fr. 578 TrGF); Theseus praised written laws (Eur. *Supp.* 433–437); and Sophocles in his satyr play *Amphiaraos* presented a character dancing out the shapes of letters.³⁰ Drama thus depicted literacy on stage, transferring letters from writing into a live performance.

The broadening of literacy suggested by these passages interacted with a highly accomplished oral culture, which continued to develop in parallel with the written culture.³¹ Thus, in the 5th century BC oral communication was sustained and extended. In Athens theatres were built as places for mass communication, especially for the new medium and industry of drama.³²

25 See Pöhlmann [1994] 20–21; Lloyd [1991]; on the connection of literacy with Hippocratic epistemology, see Miller [1990] and Althoff [1993].

26 On the metaphor of 'writing in the mind' see examples from tragedy in Svenbro [1993] 180–182.

27 Aesch. *PV* 460–461; cf. Gorg. *Pal.* 30. On Plato's interpretation of Prometheus' myth and its connection with the invention of language in the dialogue *Protagoras*, see Gera [2003] 127–147.

28 Eur. fr. 382 TrGF, Agatho fr. 4 TrGF, Theodect. fr. 6 TrGF, Ath. 10, 454b–e; on intertextual relationship between these passages, see Slater [2002] 123–124.

29 Achae. fr. 33 TrGF, Ath. 11, 466e–f; cf. ἀναγνώσσει ('to have read and compared') in Cratin. fr. 289 PCG; cf. Alexand. Com. fr. 272 PCG.

30 Soph. fr. 121 TrGF, Ath. 10, 454f.

31 The level of audience comprehension may perhaps be gauged through the use of recited literary texts in Aristophanes' *Birds* in 414 BC or his *Frogs* in 405 BC; cf. Revermann [2006] 120; Slater [1996]. On the literary consciousness of Euripides' audience, see Marshall [1996].

32 For more, see Goldhill [1999]. On dramatic and literary contests, see Wright [2012] 31–69.

Drama created the environment for important interactions between ‘letters’ and their audience. As the Great Dionysia choruses were composed of Athenian citizens (2–4% of the male adult citizen population were recruited every year), collaboration between actors and spectators helped foster comprehension of the dynamics of theatrical production. Participation in the chorus, even if only on one occasion, must have altered the participant’s/spectator’s understanding of any given play, while broadening the expectations for others.³³

Drama reflected increasing literacy and vivid intellectual discussions.³⁴ A number of comedies of this period satirise sophistic ideas. In 423 BC at the City Dionysia festival, Aristophanes’ *Clouds* lost to both Cratinus’ comedy on comedy *Pytine* and Ameipsias’ *Konnos*. In Ameipsias’ *Konnos* the chorus consisted of *φροντισταί* and Socrates was represented, suggesting a certain degree of overlap with the plot of *Clouds* (Ameipsias fr. 9 PCG). The teaching of grammar and music, and also the opposition between urban erudition and rural ignorance, suggest an overlap between the *Clouds* and Eupolis’ *Aiges*.³⁵ In 421 BC in his *Kolakes* Eupolis depicted Protagoras as an intellectual parasite and an *alazon*.³⁶ The comic poet Plato wrote the comedy *Sophistai* mocking contemporary intellectual discourse.³⁷

Comedies with literary content, or at least explicit allusions to poets and their work, as also instances of interaction between comedy and other genres are abundant. Often the plays bore poets’ names (*e.g.* Aristophanes’ *Poiesis*, *Proagon*, *Gerytades*, Phrynichus’ *Mousai*, Cratinus’ *Archilochuses*, Telecleides’ *Hesiods*, Ameipsias’ *Sappho*, Pherecrates’ *Kheiron* and *Krapataloi* (Aeschylus in the underworld), Plato’ *Skeuai* and *Poietes*, Strattis’ *Kinesias*, Alcaeus’ *Komodotragoidia*).³⁸ All these and many other fragments reveal a certain horizon of expectations that marked the audience of the last quarter of the

33 On the chorus as an educational institution in Archaic and Classical Greece, see below § 2.1.1. Cf. Pl. *Leg.* 654a–b: the uneducated man (*ἀπαιδευτος*) has no chorus-training (*ἀχόρευτος*), whereas the educated man (*πεπαιδευμένος*) is sufficiently choir-trained (*ικανῶς κεχορευκῶς*); Revermann [2006] 107–115.

34 On Euripides’ embodiment of the contemporary intellectual developments, see Egli [2003].

35 Eup. frs. 4, 17, 18 PCG, see Storey [2003] 69–71.

36 Eup. frs. 157, 158 PCG.

37 Pl. Com. *Sophistai* fr. 143, 145 PCG, cf. also Soph. P. Oxy. 1083, fr. 1.

38 On Aristophanes’ *Frogs* see below, § 3.4.2. On intellectual discourses presented in the Old comedy, see also Zimmermann [2011] 694, 696–701.

5th century BC. The audience was capable not only of recognising, but also of evaluating intellectual trends.³⁹

Evaluation of the level of literacy in 5th century Greece requires caution, however. As the majority of texts belong to the 4th century, the backdating of widespread literacy to the 5th cent. remains problematic.⁴⁰ From the end of the 5th century BC reading and writing became a regular part of Athenian education.⁴¹ The first evidence on the book trade and literacy in Athens and in other parts of Greek world comes from the end of the 5th century BC.⁴² The readership remained élite, but it was situated in a large number of cities.

1.4 *Alphabet Reform and the Increasing Role of Grammata*

In 403 BC the Greek alphabet was reformed. The 24 letters were a mixture of the local Attic alphabet and the East Ionic alphabet, which was increasingly preferred during the 5th century BC and was officially adopted for public use in Athens at the suggestion of Archinus in the archonship of Eucleides in 403–402 BC.⁴³ The comic poet Callias wrote this noteworthy event into his *Grammatikē Tragōidia* (or *Grammatikē Theōria*) probably written after 403 BC. Here a chorus of twenty-four women represent the new alphabet, a lesson concerning the pronunciation of new letters and witticisms based on letter-combinations

39 On the relationship of Old comedy with intellectual movements of the time, see Zimmermann [1993a], Carey [2000], Whitehorne [2002]; on the level of competence of the audience, see Revermann [2006]. Vase painting also seems to confirm the comic or satirical use of images of intellectuals as also of sophistic trends. Here grotesque features and aesthetic deformities render the perversity of novel ideas visually. For the caricature of a sophist on a red-figure *askos* and a so-called Aesop on a red-figure cup, both around 440 BC, see Zanker [1995] 40; see also Whitehorne [2002].

40 On a certain increase in literacy at this time, see Nieddu [1982] 235; Harris [1989] 114–115; Morgan [1999] 50–51.

41 Cf. Ar. *Ran.* 1114; Dem. *De Cor.* 258; see also Kleberg [1967] 3–10; Revermann [2006] 120.

42 Books must have been sold on the market in late fifth-century Athens. On the useful discussion of Old comedy's evidence for literate culture, see Slater [1996]. An Eupolis' fragment refers to a place "where books are for sale" beside garlic, onion and incense stands: Eup. fr. 327 PCG, Poll. 9, 47; cf. Ar. *Av.* 1288–1289; Pl. *Ap.* 26d; Arist. fr. 140 Rose; see also a word βιβλιοπώλης for 'bookseller' which appears in comedy of this time: Theopomp. Com. fr. 79 PCG; Nicopho fr. 10, 4 PCG; Aristomen. fr. 9 PCG; Poll. 7, 211. On reading of books by Anaxagoras in Athens and on the price of a book sold in the agora see Pl. *Ap.* 26d–e; *Phd.* 97b; on books found in merchant cases in Thrace, see Xen. *An.* 7, 5, 14; on vase painting with cyclic epic from the 5th century BC in Olbia on the Black Sea, see Vinogradov [1997]; see further Morgan [1999] 58–59; Harris [1989] 49–52.

43 Theopomp. Hist. 115, fr. 155 FGtHist; Olymp. Hist. 94, 2; see more in Platthy [1968] 7; Pfeiffer [1968] 30; on the Homeric text in the Attic alphabet, see West [2001a] 21–23.

being incorporated into the play.⁴⁴ According to Svenbro: “The idea of such a play could arise only in the mind of someone to whom the *grammata* already seem autonomous and to whom their vocalisation no longer constitutes a necessary condition for their deciphering”.⁴⁵ Despite the persistence of debates on the chronology and genre of the play, as well as on its attribution to Callias,⁴⁶ the readiness of the audience to accept such jokes constitutes a clear marker of societal attitudes to literacy.⁴⁷

The alphabet remained significant. At a somewhat later date the comic character Sappho is made to ask a riddle involving a female who bears children that are voiceless. The children can however converse with people at a distance. The correct answer is a letter (feminine ἡ ἐπιστολή) bearing *grammata* within it.⁴⁸

1.5 *Literacy as an Instrument in Learning*

Prose manuals and treatises on a wide assortment of subjects (such as philosophy, economics, rhetoric, science, geography, cooking or horse-riding) served as vehicles for the transmission of knowledge, often setting out standards appropriate for their task: the requirement of investigation, precision in selecting a topic, methods for analysing sources and attention to technical details. Reportedly, Sophocles wrote a treatise on the chorus in tragedy, Agatharchus examined the painting of scenery, Polyclitus dealt with the proportions of the human body, Ictinus composed an account of the construction of the Parthenon, and a certain Menaecus a cookbook.⁴⁹

Further evidence of societal interest in literacy is provided by Isocrates and Plato. Isocrates emphasised the importance of learning to read and write and, accordingly, the actual reading of literature as elements in a rhetorical training (Isoc. *Antid.* 259–267). Thus, in the view of Isocrates, reading and writing contributed to cognitive changes in a student’s approach to learning. Literacy (γράμματα) constituted a necessary preliminary for λόγος, i.e. “reasoned

44 Call. Com. test. *7 PCG; Ath. 7, 276a; 10, 448b; 10, 453c-e; Clearch. fr. 89a Wehrli. See Gagné [2013].

45 Svenbro [1993] 186.

46 Pöhlmann [1986] 55–57; Slater [2002] 126–129; Zimmermann [2011] 732–734.

47 It should not be considered a coincidence that the words γραμματικός (and ἀγράμματος) denoting knowledge (or ignorance) of the alphabet appear for the first time at this time: Xen. *Mem.* 4, 2, 20; cf. ἀναλφάβητος Nicoch. fr. 5 PCG.

48 Antiph. fr. 194 PCG. See Konstantakos [2000] 161–180, Gagné [2013] 315–316.

49 See e.g. Pl. *Minos* 316e; *Symp.* 177b, *Phdr.* 266d, 268c; *Grg.* 518b; Isoc. *Hel.* 12; Xen. *Mem.* 4, 2, 10; Xen. *Oec.* 16, 1; Vitruv. 7, pr. 11–12; more in Demont [1993], Cambiano-Canfora-Lanza [1992] 379–491; Cambiano [1992]; Casson [2001] 23.

discourse”.⁵⁰ Xenophon considered literacy an aid to aristocratic domestic management (Xen. *Oec.* 9, 10). Niceratus, a character in Xenophon’s *Symposion*, had a father who made him learn the whole of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* by rote, with a view to his “becoming a good man” (Xen. *Symp.* 3, 5). For Aristotle, literacy and drawing were useful for life (Arist. *Pol.* 8, 1337b23–27). Literacy was also appraised as valuable for household management, financial, political and other affairs.⁵¹ Literacy was therefore posited as the basis for education.

1.6 *Intellectual Environment as Reflected in 4th Century BC Sources*

From the 4th century BC comedy provides further evidence for the prevailing intellectual climate and the horizon of expectations of the Athenian audience. Aristophanes’ *Assemblywomen* (392 BC) has often been interpreted as a parallel to the 5th book of Plato’s *Republic* (with perhaps a common earlier source). Plato and his Academy are also reflected in plays by Epicrates, Amphis, Theopompus, Alexis, Anaxandrides.⁵² Comic characters show some acquaintance with Platonic vocabulary.⁵³ Pythagoreanism and Cynic philosophical concepts, both characteristic trends for the first half of the 4th century BC, were also represented on stage.⁵⁴ As before, comedies were given the titles of poets, examples being Hesiod, Archilochus and Sappho. These poets were discussed in a comic dramatic context.⁵⁵ Similar developments were reflected in the medium of sculpture. An Attic marble relief from the mid 4th century BC shows a seated comic poet holding a roll and a slave mask.⁵⁶ Statues and busts of the philosophers Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, the orator

50 Cf. Isoc. *In Soph.* 10–12; Morgan [1999] 55, 59; on Isocrates’ relationship with oral and written texts and with his audience, see Usener [1994] 13–138.

51 Arist. *Pol.* 8, 1338a16–18; see Morgan [1998] 10–18.

52 Epicr. fr. 10 PCG, Amph. frs. 6, 13 PCG, Theopomp. Com. fr. 16 PCG, Alex. fr. 1, 151, 185 PCG, Anaxandr. fr. 20 PCG.

53 See e.g. Amph. fr. 6, Alex. Com. fr. 98, 1–3, Philipp. Com. fr. 6, and especially Epicr. fr. 10, 12–15 and Olson [2007] 239–241.

54 For the Pythagoreans, see Alexis’ comedies *Pythagorizousa*, frs. 201–203 PCG, *Tarantini* frs. 222–227 PCG; Aristophon’s *Pythagoristes* frs. 10, 12 PCG, Arnott [1996], 579–586, 624–647; Olson [2007] 243–248; for the Cynics, see Eub. fr. 137 PCG, Olson [2007] 248–249; in general for representations of philosophy in Greek comedy of the 4th century BC, see Webster [1970²] 50–56, 110–113 with further examples.

55 Alexis’ plays *Archilochus* frs. 22, 23 PCG; *Cleobouline* fr. 109 PCG; *Poietai* frs. 187, 188 PCG; and *Poietria* fr. 189 PCG; Nicostratus’ *Hesiodus* fr. 11 PCG; Amphis’ *Sappho* fr. 32 PCG; Antiphanes’ *Sappho* frs. 194, 195 PCG; Ehippippus’ *Sappho* fr. 20 PCG; Timocles’ *Sappho* fr. 32 PCG; Diphilus’ *Sappho* frs. 70, 71 PCG.

56 Webster [1978³] 117; Whitehorne [2002] 30.

Aischines, the historian Thucydides, the 4th century tragic poet Astydamas and the 5th century tragedians Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides appeared.⁵⁷

The literary, archaeological and epigraphic evidence reveals that by the middle of the 4th century BC some Greek authors moved from Athens to Macedon, a factor that contributed to the prestige of tragedy, particularly Euripidean tragedy.⁵⁸ Macedon had extended its dominance over Greece and attracted intellectual talent from Athens and elsewhere. Greek authors thus served Macedon's rise to cultural prominence and political hegemony.

1.7 *The Supremacy of Written Text*

A crucial change which was to influence the establishment of scholarly philology over the course of the following centuries occurred during the 4th century BC: the centrality of oral performance was gradually supplanted by the written text.⁵⁹ Aristotle worked with the written text, preferring it to the oral; reading drama was deemed equal to viewing it, for it was reading that “makes the quality of the play clear”.⁶⁰ Aristotle speaks of writers of speeches such as Chaeremon and dithyrambic poets like Licymnius whose works are meant for reading (ἀναγνωστικοί).⁶¹ Oral performance was losing efficacy as the medium for literary communication.

Aristotle's methodology reveals the extent to which the role and concept of writing had altered. Writing was no longer seen as a novelty to be discussed, admired or ridiculed, no longer staged as oral communication, as was the case, for example, with the Platonic dialogues; rather, writing was now understood as a tool for philological analysis, as an achievement in its own right.

57 Zanker [1995] 46–79 with figures and further bibliography; Cambiano-Canfora-Lanza [1992] nn. 1–13. On other representations of philosophers, even on coins, see references in Whitehorse [2002] 30. On the erection of statues and establishment of the literary canon, see Wilson [1996] 315–317 and Scodel [2007] 147–149.

58 For more, see Revermann [1999–2000] 454–467 and Moloney [2014]. For the hypothesis that the pseudo-Euripidean tragedy *Rhesus* was written for a Macedonian performance context, see Liapis [2009]. On the reception of tragedy in Athens in the 4th century BC, see Wilson [1996] and Easterling [1997] 212–219; on the reception of Euripides in Magna Graecia, see Allan [2001]. On dramatic performance outside Athens in the 4th century BC, see Csapo-Goette-Green-Wilson [2014] 229–390.

59 Pinto [2006] 51. On Isocrates' knowledge of written texts, see Pinto [2006] 57–70.

60 Arist. *Poet.* 1462a11–13, cf. 1450b18–19, 1453b6 on the relationship of text with performance. On the gradual reduction of musical sections from dramatic plays from the 5th to the 4th century BC and on the transmission of the text in a libretto-form, see Pöhlmann [1994] 23–25.

61 Arist. *Rh.* 3, 1413b12–16.

Extensive reading and references to earlier texts are clearly evident in Aristotle's writings (cf. Arist. *Top.* 105b). More than thirty philosophers and poets are cited in the *Metaphysics*; a stream of quotations from tragic, comic and epic poets, from orators and also from rhetorical treatises are cited in the *Rhetoric*. Heraclitus is considered an author who is "difficult to punctuate" (Arist. *Rh.* 1407b); other passages discuss problems of word-division, accent and punctuation in terms of the written text.⁶²

An important step towards the supplanting of oral by written texts was the introduction of a law establishing official editions of the authorised texts of the three tragedians Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides. This was instigated by the Athenian statesman and orator Lycurgus in 330 BC. A transcript of their work was to be placed in the public archive and the city's secretary was to read it aloud to potential actors; bronze statues of the three poets were to be erected in the theatre of Dionysus.⁶³ Lycurgus' law was grounded on elite literary culture and not on oral theatrical performance. The significance of the written form of the three tragedians was marked by the erection of their statues in the theatre "as a material intervention in social memory".⁶⁴ The transcript would later serve as the source for editions of the tragedians by the Alexandrian scholars.⁶⁵

A range of developments in the period from Homeric times up to the end of the 4th century BC resulted in increasing attention being accorded to the written text, combined with a gradual reduction in the prominence accorded to oral performance. Thus the most important preconditions for the development of Alexandrian textual philology, and, in particular, the greater stability it acquired through being fixed in the written form, were established in pre-Alexandrian Greece.

62 E.g. Arist. *Soph. El.* 166b, 177b, 178a, see Knox [1989] 166–167. Note also that these elements belong to philological scholarship in its Alexandrian sense (see Montana in this volume).

63 Plut. *Mor.* 841f; Paus. 1, 21, 1–2. On Lycurgus and his programme, see Mossé [1989], Scodel [2007] 149–152, and Hanink [2014] 60–91.

64 Scodel [2007] 150. On Lycurgus in the context of the conservation of classical texts in the 4th century BC, see also Battezzato [2003] 10–12, 14–19 and Hanink [2014] 60–74.

65 Ptolemy III later borrowed the official Athenian copy for the library in Alexandria, and never returned it, cf. Gal. *comm.* 2, 4 in Hippoc. *Epidem.* 3; Pfeiffer [1968] 82; see also Montana in this volume. However, it is clear that although Lycurgus' legislation guaranteed the survival of all texts referred to, it could nonetheless not prevent small interpolations and variants. See Scodel [2007] 151–152.

2 Social Institutions that Assisted in the Development of Scholarship

2.1 Education

2.1.1 Education in Archaic Greece

Little evidence for pre-classical Greek education survives. Archaic culture probably included various forms of oral education for the social élite: instruction within the family, encounters with mythic and religious traditions in choruses and acting at festivals, not to mention rites of passage as a form of education.⁶⁶ Social forms for the association of younger and older men included drinking-parties where poetry was recited (*συμπόσιον* and *ἐταίρια*) and athletic competitions (*ἀγῶνες*), forms that often promoted paederastic relationships. Musical activity in Sappho's 'circle' could also be considered an educational experience, and choral practice remained one of the central components in the *paideia* of young men.⁶⁷

Elementary schooling was conducted in private houses (*διδασκαλεία* or *παλαίστρα*) with secondary schooling in public buildings such as the *γυμνάσιον*, which was primarily a venue for physical training and was, for the most part, financed privately.⁶⁸ As education in Greece remained private until the Hellenistic period, and as teachers had to be paid by parents, wide-ranging education remained an élite affair, though a considerable part of the population of Athens (with regional differences posited for the rest of the Greek world) received a basic training in reading and writing.⁶⁹

In pre-classical Greece physical and musical education were central. Musical training consisted of all activities overseen by the Muses, including poetry (Pl. *Resp.* 376e). Cithara players and physical trainers were the two types of teacher in this early form of education (cf. *Ar. Nub.* 961–1023). Literacy and the beginnings of Greek grammar (metric and prosody) were taught as music lessons, the borders between music and letters being indeterminate.⁷⁰ This educational programme was probably available only to boys; there is

66 For Alcman's *Parthenion* from 7th century BC Sparta, see Calame [1997].

67 Epich. frs. 13, 103 PGG; Antipho *De Choreut.* 11; Pl. *Leg.* 653a–b, 654a–b, 673a; for the lyric chorus corresponding to the concept of education in Plato, see Calame [1997] 222–231; for an overview of Archaic Greek education, see Griffith [2001] with further bibliography; on the institution of *χορηγείον* in Athens, see Wilson [2000].

68 Lynch [1972] 32–37.

69 Beck [1964] 72–94.

70 Cf. the teaching scene in Aristophanes' *Clouds* where metre and rhythm (*Ar. Nub.* 638–656) and also grammar are taught (*Ar. Nub.* 638, 658–693); Morgan [1999] 50–53.

no evidence for the organised education of girls up until Hellenistic times.⁷¹ However, girls from wealthy families received an education at home.⁷² Red-figured Attic vases show girls and women reading and reciting poetry from the middle of the 5th century BC.⁷³

2.1.2 Schools as Formal Institutions

It is unclear whether organised schooling was known in Athens in the 6th century. Aeschines maintained that laws governing the operation of elementary schools were ratified during the archonship of Solon in 594 BC.⁷⁴ A later tradition holds that the Spartan poet Tyrtaeus was a schoolmaster at Athens.⁷⁵ Schools probably existed as formal institutions at the very least in Ionia from the beginnings of the 5th century BC. A disaster is referred to in a school on wealthy Chios while pupils were being taught γράμματα in 494 BC (Hdt. 6, 27); a school in Mytilene is mentioned (Ael. *VH* 7, 15) as well as a calamity in a school on Astypalaea in 496 BC (Paus. 6, 9, 6–7); in 480 BC the Troezenians provided schooling for Athenian children (Plut. *Vit. Them.* 10); and a massacre occurred in a school in the Boeotian town of Mycalessos in 413 BC (Thuc. 7, 29). According to a later source, schools were believed to have already existed in the 6th century BC: Charondas of Catana is said to have written a law stipulating that the city should provide salaries for teachers, and teachers should teach the sons of citizens to read and write.⁷⁶

The historicity of state regulations for the establishment of schools in the early 5th century BC has been questioned due to the lack of clear direct literary evidence.⁷⁷ However, vase paintings provide significant evidence of school practices towards the end of the 6th and the early 5th centuries BC in Attica. The earliest school scene is an Attic red figured cup from Vulci (Munich

71 Euripides' Phaidra is the only woman who can write (Eur. *Hipp.* 856–881); see Pl. *Resp.* 452a–b for Plato's proposal to educate girls, see further Lodge [1950] 287–308, Beck [1964] 85–88, Baumgarten [2006] 98–100.

72 Cole [1981] 224–230.

73 See Immerwahr [1964] 24–28; on the earliest representation of a reading woman on an Attic white ground *lekythos* dated 460–450 BC, see Immerwahr [1973] 146–147. On epigraphic evidence of literate women in Archaic Greece, see Steinhart [2003].

74 Aeschin. *In Tim.* 9–12; see Beck [1964] 92–94; Too [2001] 118; Knox [1989] 159.

75 Paus. 4, 15, 6; *sch. Leg.* 629a.

76 Diod. Sic. 12, 12, 4; 13, 3–4. Chronological errors point to the unreliability of Diodorus' evidence (Diodorus transferred the legendary legislator from the 6th century to the colony of Thurii founded in 444/443 BC). See Harris [1989] 98. However, this remains valid evidence for the significance of universal education as attested in later sources.

77 Harris [1989] 57–59; Robb [1994] 183–184 and 207–208.

2607, around 520 BC, Euergides-painter), followed by an Attic red-figured cup from Spina (Ferrara T45CVP, around 500 BC) and also a cup with a geometry lesson (Louvre G318, around 500 BC). Other examples include a professional writing lesson presented on an Attic red-figure cup (Basel BS465, around 490 BC) with a teacher; tablets are open on his knees as he improves or deletes a text, his pupil waiting.⁷⁸ The famous Attic red-figure kylix painted about 490–485 BC by the artist Douris represents recitation, a flute lesson and a writing exercise as distinct aspects in the school curriculum;⁷⁹ the writing exercise may be a student's home assignment in epic composition.⁸⁰ A fragment of a red-figure cup by the Akestorides painter probably depicts the study of poetry (Getty Museum 86 AE 324, around 460 BC), perhaps a young man with a roll preparing for a recitation of epic.⁸¹ From the first half of the 5th century ever more red-figure vases illustrate school scenes and also the daily activities of the young, frequently depicting writing tablets and the use of the stylus.⁸²

2.1.3 Philosophical and Medical 'Schools'

The institutionalisation of schooling ran parallel to a number of other intellectual trends. Philosophers voyaged to Athens from the western coast of Asia Minor, Sicily and Southern Italy in the 6th and the first half of the 5th century BC. They functioned as separate persons, not as collective bodies, although some gathered groups of enthusiastic supporters. As Thales, Anaximander and Anaximenes were all originally active at Miletus, where they sought to explain the principles (*ἀρχαί*) controlling the processes of the universe, the later philosophical tradition banded them together as a 'Milesian school'. Anaximander was considered Thales' student and Anaximenes' teacher.⁸³ Pythagoras had a hierarchically structured congregation of students studying music and mathematics, fervent adherents of the wisdom of Orphic books and rites. Already from the outset these practices embodied an early form of schooling, and later Pythagoreans of the late 5th and 4th century built on them to develop their pedagogical methods.⁸⁴ However, the Pythagorean school was a centre of esoteric knowledge with its mysteries, oaths and rites, probably parodied in Aristophanes' *Clouds* (Ar. *Nub.* 143, 254–266; cf. Pl. *Tht.* 155e,

78 More in Pöhlmann [1989] 76–79; Beck [1975] 18, 22; Harris [1989] 97.

79 Berlin 2285; Immerwahr [1964] 19; Pöhlmann [1989] 78.

80 Sider [2010] 552.

81 Immerwahr [1973] 143–144; Robb [1994] 186–187.

82 Winter [1916]; Immerwahr [1964]; Immerwahr [1973]; Beck [1975] plates 9–15, 69–75; Robb [1994] 185–188.

83 D.-K.12 A2, 4, 6, 9–11, 17; D.-K.13 A1, 2, 5, 9, 10, 14a, 17.

84 Porph. *Pythag.* 20; D. L. 8, 10, on 'Pythagorean school' see further Žhmud [1997] 78–80.

Symp. 209e), thus permitting a clear separation from other forms of schooling which, subject to payment, were open. Centres of practical medical advice and healing and also of methodology and the formation of medical theories were established in Cos and Cnidos at about this time.⁸⁵

2.1.4 Literate Education

From the second half of the 5th century literate education began to differentiate itself from music.⁸⁶ Training in music however remained important as seen in a number of comedies where a music teacher is represented.⁸⁷ Literate education is also discussed in Aristophanes' comedy *Clouds* (423 BC). In the debate of the two speeches, the *Kreitton Logos* asserts that in "the old days" gymnastics and the teaching of the lyre teachers were sufficient for the young, whereas they had now both been superseded by the reading of Euripides (Ar. *Nub.* 889–949, 961–983). The passage, the first clear differentiation between physical training, music and letters in education (cf. also Ar. *Eq.* 987–996), is structured around a clear conflict among aspects which, at this stage, had come to be seen as separate components of a standard education. The Aristophanic Euripides symbolically ejects music from education⁸⁸ to focus on an innovation, the written text.⁸⁹

Increasing literacy was also associated with the diminishing importance of physical training.⁹⁰ Verbal skill was characterised as "wrestling", an alternative form of competition.⁹¹ The evidence therefore suggests that important changes in the educational paradigm should be dated to the last quarter of the 5th century BC.

85 On the mistaken backdating of the term 'school' for ancient medical writings, see Smith [1973].

86 Morgan [1999] 46–48; cf. Quint. *Inst.* 1, 10, 17; *sch. Dion. T. Grammatici Graeci* 1, 3, 490, 5.

87 The musician and music teacher Lamprus was mocked by Phrynichus (fr. 74 PCG), Konnos was known as Socrates' music teacher (Ameipsias' comedy *Konnos* frs. 7–10 PCG; Pl. *Euthd.* 272c, *Menex.* 236a), Cleon in Aristophanes' *Knights* featured a music teacher (Ar. *Equites* 987–996), Eupolis' *Aiges* included a teacher of music and grammar (Eup. frs. 17, 18 PCG), and Plato apparently wrote a comedy which included Pericles' music teacher (Pl. *Com. fr.* 207 PCG). On the function of musical education in Classical Athens, see Murray-Wilson [2004].

88 Cf. also Euripides versus Aeschylus and Simonides in Ar. *Nub.* 1361–1376.

89 On Euripides' connection with books, cf. Ar. *Ran.* 943, 1409.

90 Ar. *Nub.* 412–419, *Ran.* 52–54, 1114; Pl. *Menex.* 94b–c, *Prt.* 326c–d; *Euthd.* 276a, *Resp.* 376e, *Leg.* 764c–e, 795d–e, *Isoc. Antid.* 266–267, see further Morgan [1998] 9–14, Morgan [1999] 51–52.

91 O'Regan [1992] 11–17, 38–39.

2.1.5 Sophistic Education

Such changes should be set in relation with the sophists who established educational institutions.⁹² Although the sophists remained élitist in the sense that they taught privately, usually in aristocratic houses, they championed the interchange of opinions and ideas, and the development of arguments in public space. Social attitudes towards intellectual process were therefore advanced.⁹³

Sophists taught natural science, meteorology, astronomy, mathematics, geometry, rhetoric, literary criticism and grammar. Many sophists, such as Protagoras, Gorgias, Prodicus or Hippias, wrote prose treatises. Written texts constituted a significant part of their educational programmes, thereby contributing to a broadening of literacy and to a growing book culture.⁹⁴ However, the oral background still constituted the backdrop for these innovations, with written texts being employed for memorising and recollection. School children and also orators, trained by sophists, were required to learn by rote.⁹⁵ Written texts were a challenge due to the lack of divisions between words and an absence of accents and punctuation, obstacles that persisted up until the time of the Alexandrian scholars.

Old comedy offers a complex picture of tensions in the educational paradigm during the second half of 5th century BC (Aristophanes' *Daitales*, *Clouds*, *Wasps*, Ameipsias' *Konnos*, Eupolis' *Kolakes*, *Aiges*, Callias' *Grammatikē Tragōidia*). Aristophanes' *Daitales* (427 BC) which dealt in part with the generational gap in educational practices, has only survived in fragments. An older man asks a younger one the meaning of certain Homeric words, and the younger man provides a reply, and then enquires into the meaning of a number of obsolete and old-fashioned words from Solon's tablets (Ar. fr. 233 PCG). Solon's tablets were basic Athenian law; accordingly, whatever else the passage implies, the interpretation of words served an important purpose for law and in public life. In *Knights* Aristophanes mocked the usage of educational discourses and the distinction between technical and general tuition (Ar. Eq. 1235–1242).

The change in educational models took place within the context of shifts in the intellectual climate that were seen as a challenge to traditional values. Socrates became a symbol of these changes, combining an educational

92 Such as the outlandish φροντιστήριον staged in Aristophanes' *Clouds*, see Tomin [1987]; cf. Pl. *Lach.* 178a–180a.

93 On sociological approaches to such sophistic activities, see Tenbruck [1976] 63–74.

94 Ar. fr. 506 PCG, Pl. *Symp.* 177b, Xen. *Mem.* 2, 1, 21; D. L. 9, 52. See also above § 1.4 n. 45.

95 Pl. *Prt.* 325e, *Leg.* 811a; Xen. *Symp.* 3, 5; cf. Thomas [1992] 92–93; cf. also LSJ for ἀναγιγνώσκειν meaning 'know again, recognise' (sc. written characters).

paradigm with forensic rhetoric, natural philosophy and science.⁹⁶ By the end of the 5th century BC the term ‘school’ came to denote a separate place. Approximately at this time the expression διδασκαλείον in the sense of ‘school-building’ is first used.⁹⁷ An alternative expression for “going to school” was usually εἰς διδασκάλου “to the teacher’s” or a similar form.⁹⁸

2.1.6 The Concept of Education in the 4th Century BC

By the early 4th century BC the educational programme in Athens and other parts of Greek world had become more firmly established. From this point on, education was systematically discussed, often in the context of political, ethical and philosophical developments that constitute elements in the polis complex.⁹⁹ Thus, in Old comedy, linguistic and literary issues were depicted as essential elements in the polis’ life. Learning provided the intellectual and moral density that sustained the polis ideal, even in the context of a discordant reality. Knowledge based on literacy within the context of meeting the needs of the democracy, while also improving upon it, was therefore taught in increasingly formal (always élitist) educational institutions.¹⁰⁰

Plato’s dialogue *Protagoras* (dramatic date in the 430s, but written in the 390s BC) provides the *locus classicus* for the education of the Athenian boy (Pl. *Prt.* 325c–326e). An elementary education consisted of three subjects: grammar, music and gymnastics, each taught by a separate teacher.¹⁰¹ Having learnt the alphabet, pupils began to study the epic poets.¹⁰² The copying of selected texts as exercises in writing, and also in reciting, was typical, hence the first lines of famous works became more recognisable and widely quoted. From the very beginning students worked intensively with poetic texts, and

96 On Socrates’ relationship to intellectual innovations, see Woodruff [2011].

97 Also as a training room for choral singing; for διδάσκαλος as a ‘chorus trainer’, see Antipho *De Choreut.* 11; Adesp. fr. 515a TrGF, Th. 7, 29; Aeschin. *In Tim.* 9.

98 E.g. Ar. *Eq.* 1235, Pl. *Alc. I* 109d, 110b, *Prt.* 326c, *Grg.* 514c.

99 Isoc. *Areopag.* 48–50, Pl. *Prt.* 361a-d, *Leg.* 810a-c, Xen. *Mem.* 2, 2, 6, *Lac.* 1, 10; 2, 1; 3, 1, Arist. *Pol.* 7–8, 1336a23–1342b35; *Eth. Nic.* 1180b, and others, see also Beck [1964] 199–289, Morgan [1999] 57.

100 Harris [1989] 96–102; Morgan [1999] 46.

101 Cf. also Pl. *Clitopho* 407b-c, *Chrm.* 159c; on drawing as a further discipline see Arist. *Pol.* 1337b; Stob. *Flor.* 98; on the low status of the teacher of letters in society see Beck [1964] 111–114; Harris [1989] 98. Aischines’ father was apparently a teacher-slave in Athens, cf. Dem. *De Cor.* 129, 258, 265; *De Fals. Legat.* 249 providing evidence for schooling in late 5th century Athens.

102 On the method of learning letters, see Pl. *Pol.* 277e–278a, 285c, *Prt.* 326d; on reading poetry, see Pl. *Prt.* 325e.

the schoolwork they were expected to carry out involved explanations of linguistic and stylistic peculiarities and also a knowledge of mythology.¹⁰³ Lines from literature were used for some of the first writing exercises.¹⁰⁴ Numeracy also constituted a part of *γράμματα*; thus the ordinary Athenian citizen was taught to calculate as well as to write.¹⁰⁵

By the beginning of the 4th century the first higher educational institutions had been established. This reflected a trend towards increasing specialisation in the educational process.¹⁰⁶ Schools of rhetoric, previously practiced by the sophists, were accorded official status. Isocrates, who studied alongside the sophists and was known as Gorgias' student, founded the first school of rhetoric in Athens, around 390 BC. Isocrates himself did not deliver his speeches orally, but his speeches circulated as written texts (Isocr. *Panath.* 10). The introduction of something approaching a methodical education (age of pupils, duration of courses, quantity of material to be studied etc.) is linked to the name of Isocrates; his school became a model for the promotion of the teaching of rhetoric in Greece and in other states.¹⁰⁷ He taught alone, as both a teacher and director of a school; therefore, after his death, his school ceased to operate.

It was around 387 BC in Athens that Plato established his philosophical school, the *Academeia*. This was a rival to Isocrates' school of rhetoric, both schools constituting two branches of study, although the archaeological evidence on the literate or educational practices of the 5th and 4th centuries is too poor to provide reliable evidence.¹⁰⁸ It is known, however, that an introductory training course was compulsory before students could enter Plato's Academy. The Academy focused on teaching but also promoted research into ethics, philosophy, logic, mathematics and others fields, such as astronomy, biology, and political theory. It formed a complex system, where alongside Plato, the head of the school, a number of others also taught, such as Speusippos, Xenocrates and Aristotle. At first, the Academy was financed by Plato's financial resources, then through various donations, in marked contrast to the sophists who taught

103 Ar. *Ran.* 1030–1035; Isoc. *Paneg.* 159; Xen. *Symp.* 3, 5; see Beck [1964] 117–122 with further examples.

104 Pl. *Prt.* 325d–326a; *Chrm.* 159c; Isoc. *Antid.* 266–267; *In Soph.* 10.

105 E.g. Ar. *Ve.* 656, Pl. *Prt.* 318d, *Resp.* 522b–c, 536d–e, *Leg.* 809c–d, 819, *Men.* 4, 4, 7, Alex. fr. 15 PCCG, see also Morgan [1999] 52–53.

106 E.g. for judicial schooling in Athens, see Aeschin. *In Tim.* 9–12; Too [2001].

107 Isoc. *Paneg.* 47–50; *Nic. Cypr.* 5–9; *Nic.* 39; *Antid.* 180–181, 266–267, 271, 273; *Panath.* 200; Nilsson [1955] 9; Kühnert [1961] 118–121; Lüth [2006] 126 with further bibliography.

108 On the archaeological evidence for the Old Academy, see Huber [2008] 25–97 with further bibliography. For the so-called 'Academy inscriptions', which, so it was claimed, were schoolboys' writing tablets from the 5th or 4th century BC though they almost certainly belong to the 19th century AD, see Lynch [1983] and Threatte [2007].

for a fee. Common symposia in the tradition of the Pythagorean cults aimed at fostering a collegiate atmosphere. Plato discussed the educational principles of the Academy in many of his writings, especially in his *Republic* and the *Laws*, in the context of the possibility that a society could be ruled by reason.¹⁰⁹ A number of important markers for the development of criticism and scholarship were laid down at this time. Plato's school reinforced the sophistic predilection for disputes with *pro* and *contra*, dialectic being an art that was held to stimulate independent thought. Exercises in the distribution and definition of material were also practiced.¹¹⁰

Other disciples of Socrates, many of them close to sophistic circles, also worked on establishing schools for a secondary education. Thus, according to ancient tradition, one of Socrates' senior students Antisthenes may have founded a school at the Cynosarges gymnasium in Athens. The school was supposedly intended for illegitimate children.¹¹¹ There is also some further epigraphic evidence on educational practices from the middle of the 4th century BC.¹¹²

A number of 'minor schools' founded by Socrates' disciples further developed and interpreted Socrates' ideas. By the beginning of the 4th century BC Socrates' student Euclides of Megara had founded the so-called Megarian school which focused on dialectic questioning. This school is mentioned by Aristotle (the Megarians: οἱ Μεγαρίκοι), although it seems the school had no set location (members resided in various places).¹¹³ The philosopher in the barrel Diogenes of Sinope, influenced by Antisthenes, established the Cynic 'school' which emphasised the agreement of virtue with nature. Aristippus from Cyrene, another student of Socrates, returned to the practice of teaching for a fee. He and his followers, the so-called Cyrenaic school, interpreted

109 E.g. Pl. *Ep.* 7, 326b; *Resp.* 473c; 6, 499b; *Leg.* 801c, 804d, see Lodge [1950].

110 On Plato's Academy as an educational institution, see Kühnert [1961] 112–121; Pedersen [1997] 9–12; Müller [1999].

111 Dem. *Aristocr.* 213–214; Ath. 6, 234e; Plut. *Vit. Them.* 1, 3; D. L. 6, 13; see more Lynch [1972] 48–54; Billot [1993]; Döring [2011] 42–45. On the question of Antisthenes' teaching activities and subsequent links to the Cynic school, see Giannantoni [1993].

112 For scanty epigraphical evidence on educational practices, cf. IG 112 1168 = I.Eleusis 70 (a mid-fourth century decree from the deme of Eleusis in honour of Damasias of Thebes and Phryniskos of Thebes). Damasias, who seems to have been a musician, is honoured for his support of the Eleusinian Dionysia. Damasias' students (presumably music-students) also made contributions. See Ghiron-Bistagne [1976] 90–91. Cf. further an inscription from the middle to third quarter of the 4th century BC honouring the general Derkylos, inter alia, for educating boys, perhaps in a secondary school (see IG 112 1187 = I. Eleusis 99). I am grateful to Benjamin Millis for both references.

113 Arist. *Metaph.* 9, 1046b29–32. For more, see Döring [1998] 207.

Socrates' concept of pleasure.¹¹⁴ Phaedon of Elis and his pupils in conjunction with Menedemus of Eretria and his followers were conventionally called the school of Elis and Eretria (Ἡλιωκὴ and Ἐρετριακὴ αἵρεσις). They discussed for the most part the good and the truth, denying any real difference between them.¹¹⁵ With the exception of Plato's Academy, there is no evidence that the Socratic 'schools' functioned as formal institutions with a specific educational programme. Rather they were characterised by the relationship between the teacher and a circle of pupils who viewed him as an authority.

Aristotle, who studied in the Academy (around 367–357 BC) and then worked and taught there (357–347 BC), was invited to the court of Philip II in Pella as teacher of Alexander (343–340 BC). In 335/334 BC Aristotle, with Alexander's financial support, founded his own philosophic school at the sanctuary Lyceum in Athens. This location had been used as a place of philosophical and rhetorical debates by Socrates, Protagoras, Prodicus, and Isocrates as well as the rhapsodes.¹¹⁶

Like Plato, Aristotle believed that education should be provided by the state, for otherwise fathers would spend money only on providing musical education and gymnastics for their sons.¹¹⁷ Aristotle connects the idea that the education should be universal for citizens with the name of Phaleas of Chalcedon.¹¹⁸ The principles upon which Aristotle's institution functioned are presented on a number of occasions in his work.¹¹⁹ Though generally following the Academy, Aristotle's educational programme was in many respects different from Plato's; for example, he adopted Isocrates' method and taught rhetoric.¹²⁰ Further, relations between members of the school were supposed to be based on cooperation, rather than dialectical confrontation.¹²¹ Thus Aristotle's teaching was fixed through the composition of treatises in scientific prose, as opposed to the dialogues characteristic of Plato; the empirical principle was thus set in contrast to dialectical learning.¹²² Aristotle included many

114 Ath. 12, 544a–b; D. L. 2, 65; 2, 85, 86; Sext. Emp. *Math.* 7, 191–199.

115 Cic. *Acad.* 2, 42; D. L. 1, 18–19; 2, 135. See Döring [1998] 238–245.

116 Pl. *Euthd.* 271a, *Euthphr.* 2a, *Symp.* 223d, (Pl.) *Eryx.* 397c–d, Isoc. *Panath.* 33, Alex. fr. 25 PCG, Antiph. fr. 120 PCG, D. L. 9, 54, see Lynch [1972] 68–75 with further evidence from later periods. On the archaeological evidence for the site of the Lykeion building, see Ligouri [1996–1997].

117 Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1180a; *Pol.* 1337a.

118 Arist. *Pol.* 1266b32–33.

119 Arist. *Part. An.* 639a, 644b15–20; *Metaph.* 993a.

120 Cic. *De Or.* 3, 35, 141, on differences between the Lyceum and the Academy, see Lynch [1972] 83–96.

121 Arist. *Metaph.* 993a30–b5, contra see Pl. *Phdr.* 276e–277a, *Ep.* 7, 341c.

122 Arist. *An. Post.* 1, 19, 81b19–23.

elements that would characterise later Alexandrian scholarship in his methodology, such as the systematic collection of previous literature and analysis of information and sources.¹²³ In the Lyceum a number of disciplines were distinguished from philosophy, and philosophy became one subject among others. This differentiation of school disciplines was an important step leading to the later separation of philology.

Under Athenian law, metics such as Aristotle were not permitted ownership of land; therefore he had to rent the necessary facilities for his school. After Aristotle's death in 322 BC, Theophrastus continued Aristotle's programme of research and teaching in the Lyceum. When Demetrius of Phalerum assumed the leadership of Athens in 317 BC, Theophrastus purchased a plot of land and founded the school of the *Περίπατος*.¹²⁴ Theophrastus is reported to have had two thousand students. Following his death in 288/6 BC Theophrastus stipulated that after his death—which occurred in 288/6—the school would be bequeathed to ten “fellows” (*χοινωνοὺντες*) whom he authorised to select a new director; however his successors apparently treated the *Peripatos* as their own private property.¹²⁵

With the rise of Macedon the aims of literate education changed. Literate education fed the socio-political instruments of the Hellenistic state system, creating a sense of common cultural identity among different peoples. The language of administration throughout the Hellenistic world was Greek. With the help of this model of education avenues were opened for the young (both Greeks and non-Greeks) to become integrated into the ruling system.¹²⁶

Two more philosophic schools were established in Athens towards the end of the 4th century BC. Having studied in the Academy, Zeno from Kition founded the *Stoa* in 308 BC. Epicurus founded his *Kepon* in 306 BC. At the end of the 4th century BC Aristotle's student Eudemos founded a philosophical school in Rhodes, which later became a significant centre of scholarship and rhetoric.¹²⁷ Other educational and research institutions appeared in many parts of the Greek world, *e.g.* in Antioch, Byzantium, Heraclea on the Pontus, Ephesos, Smyrna, Tyrus.¹²⁸

This short overview of history of educational institutions in Greece should serve as a reminder of the essential social framework in which scholarship

123 For the Aristotelic influence on Alexandrian scholarship and exegetical method see Montana, Hunter, and Nünlist in this volume.

124 Cf. D. L. 5,51; 5,62; 5,70.

125 See Lynch [1972] 96–105.

126 Ath. 4, 184b; see Morgan [1998] 21–26; Morgan [1999] 60–61.

127 See below § 3.10. For Rhodes, see also Montana in this volume with further bibliography.

128 See Lüth [2006] 129.

could flourish. The establishment of the *mouseion* and the library, two state institutions founded by Ptolemy I in Alexandria in 300 BC, constitute a culmination of this process.¹²⁹

2.2 *Libraries and Archives*

According to later Ancient tradition, the early tyrants were known collectors of books. Libraries or book collections did not exist as public institutions: rather, from the first moment of the appearance of books, wealthy people started collecting them, thus establishing private libraries. There may have been a library at Miletus which supported the studies of Greek natural philosophy at the time of the tyrant Thrasybulus at the end of the 7th century BC.¹³⁰ The library of Peisistratus is mentioned in various later sources. The tyrant Polycrates of Samos was interested in poetry. He invited poets such as Ibycus and Anacreon to court, and is said to have possessed a collection of books.¹³¹

It is important to note that book collections and archives were located in many small cities throughout Greece, not only in Athens. Examples include the library of Hieron in Syracuse (Ath. 5, 207e–f), the book collection in Salmydessus in Thrace (Xen. *An.* 7, 5, 14), Heraclitus' book deposited in the temple of Artemis in Ephesus (D. L. 9, 5–6; Tatianus *Ad Gr.* 3, 12 Schwartz), and a private book collection in Aegina (Isoc. *Aegin.* 5).¹³² At Cos and at Cnidos, where medicine flourished, there may have been collections of medical books.¹³³

Archives were also a system for the collection of written texts, particularly official documents. From the Old Orient and Egypt onwards, archives and libraries were traditionally connected with shrines and temples.¹³⁴ The first public building in Athens where records of the council and assembly were kept was the Μητροῶν (from the shrine of the Mother of the Gods located there), established at the end of the 5th century BC.¹³⁵ Little is known on the filing of documents and access to them. The assistants of the secretary of the council worked with these documents, the public slave serving as a clerk. An average citizen would not have been able to locate a document without assistance. In

129 See Montana, this volume.

130 Wendel [1949a] 22–23.

131 Gell. *NA* 7, 17, 1; Ath. 1, 3a; Paus. 7, 26, 13; Tert. *Apol.* 18, 5; Hieron. *Ep.* 34, 1; Isid. *Etym.* 6, 3, 3–5, see further Platthy [1968] 97–110; Nicolai [2000b] 220–223.

132 For more, see Platthy [1968] 144–167.

133 Strab. 14, 2, 19, Plin. *Nat. hist.* 29, 1, Platthy [1968] 89, 146–148, 159; Nicolai [2000b] 226. For the possibility that texts were held in the shrine of the Muses on Helicon, as suggested by the later tradition, see Nicolai [2000b] 214–219.

134 Speyer [1992] 85.

135 Shear [1995] 185–186. See also Battezzato [2003] 10.

any case the Μητροῶν marked an important shift in social relationships to the written text: this was the first official collection of documents, thus fostering an archival mentality that was to be characteristic of the later archives and libraries of Hellenistic times.¹³⁶

Towards the end of the 5th century BC a number of libraries belonging to private persons are mentioned. Euripides was believed to have a book collection.¹³⁷ Xenophon reports that Euthydemus had a large collection of writings. Indeed, Euthydemus is supposed to have boasted that he would continue “collecting books until he had as many as possible”, including not only poetry and philosophy but also all the works of Homer.¹³⁸ Plato’s Academy must also have had a library. According to various later sources, Plato bought the three volumes of the Pythagorean philosopher Philolaus.¹³⁹ The first reference to a public library relates to Pontic Heraclea in Bithynia, established before the middle of the 4th century BC by the tyrant Clearchus who studied with Isocrates and Plato in Athens.¹⁴⁰

Fourth century BC comedy provides further information on libraries. In Alexis’ *Linos* Heracles is told by his teacher Linos to select any book from a vast collection of papyrus rolls (Orpheus, Hesiod, tragedy, Choerilus, Homer, Epicharmus and others), and Heracles chooses a cookery book by a certain Simos.¹⁴¹ The earliest use of the word βιβλιοθήκη meaning, in all probability, ‘book-case’ (LSJ) comes from this time. Pollux asserts that the comic poet Cratinus the Younger used this word in his play *Hypobolimaïos*.¹⁴²

It is likely that small technical libraries circulated in the 4th century BC. For instance, Isocrates mentions a seer who had a book collection on mantic art and left this collection to his friend, who used it for practicing the art himself.¹⁴³

136 For epigraphic and literary evidence referring to the city archive Μητροῶν and for the establishment of archives in the context of the interaction between oral and written culture, see Thomas [1989] 38–45 with further bibliography and Shear [1995].

137 On the connection of Euripides with written texts, see above § 2.1.4; cf. *Ar. Ran.* 943, 1409; *Ath.* 1, 3a. See Pinto [2013] 89, n. 17.

138 *Xen. Mem.* 4, 2, 1, 10. See Jacob [2013] 59–63; Pinto [2013] 90.

139 *Gell. NA* 3, 17; *D. L.* 3, 9; 8, 84–85; Platthy [1968] 121–124 and Pinto [2013] 90, n. 21. On the hypothetical reconstruction of Plato’s library, see Staikos [2013], especially pp. 9–12 and 158–162.

140 Recorded by the historian Nymphis from Heraclea, cf. *FHG* 3, 527 Müller, *FGrHist* 3B, 434, frs. 1, 2, pp. 337–38; see Platthy [1968] 158; Pinto [2013] 94–95.

141 *Alex. fr.* 140 PCG, *Ath.* 4, 164b–d, Arnott [1996] 406–415; Knox [1989] 166; Casson [2001] 28; Pinto [2013] 88.

142 *Crat. Jun. fr.* 11 PCG, *Poll. Onom.* 7, 211.

143 *Isocr. Aegin.* 5–6; Pinto [2013] 88–89.

However, the first systematic library with an extensive archive was established at Aristotle's school.¹⁴⁴ This is probably the reason why Aristotle was known in later Antiquity as the first collector of books.¹⁴⁵ The books of Aristotle's school were left to the physician Diocles, and this collection perhaps served as an example for the libraries at Alexandria and Pergamum.¹⁴⁶ However, the quality of the school's library may have declined after Theophrastus' death in 287 BC, with the apparent loss of many of Aristotle's works to Neleus of Scepsis.¹⁴⁷

By the end of the 4th century BC the fundamentals for the creation of a library such as Alexandrian had been met: works on a wide diversity of issues were obtainable, archives and scriptoria existed for keeping copies and copying in multiple ways, and the copies were sold.¹⁴⁸ The decree of Lycurgus ordering fixed written versions of the works of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides played an important role in the process of establishing public libraries, as these texts could then be referred to as reliable versions.¹⁴⁹

3 Philological Approaches in Pre-Alexandrian Greece

Though poets frequently commented on their own use of language, such self-referential deliberations should not be equated with the theoretical study of philology.¹⁵⁰ This section will focus on textual criticism and the growth of theoretical writing that consciously engaged with philological concepts and methods.

Philological ideas developed for the most part in three not necessarily clearly distinguishable directions: textual criticism, linguistics, and stylistics.

144 On Aristotle's archival studies in the form of lists of the victors at the Olympic games (Ὀλυμπιονίκαί), at the Pythian games (Πυθιονίκαί, Πυθιονικῶν ἐλεγχος), of victories in the dramatic contests of the Dionysia (Νίκαί Διονυσιακαί) and of the performances of plays at the Dionysia (Διδασκαλίαι, D. L. 5, 26), see Blum [1991] 23–43. On Aristotle's library, see Blum [1991] 52–64 and Pinto [2013] 90, n. 21.

145 Strab. 13, 1, 54: "Aristotle was—to the best of our knowledge—the first to have collected books and to have taught the kings in Egypt how to put a library together". See Jacob [2013] 74–76.

146 Platthy [1968] 89, cf. also Lapini in this volume.

147 Strab. 13, 1, 54; Jacob [2013] 66–74. See also Canfora [1999] 17–20, Battezzato [2003] 22–25, and Montana in this volume.

148 For an overview of the first Greek libraries up till the end of the 4th century BC, see Blanck [1992] 133–136. For the Alexandrian library, see Montana in this volume with further bibliography.

149 See above § 2.1.2. See also Battezzato [2003] 12–14.

150 For early Greek observations on poetry, see Lanata [1963]; Grube [1965] 1–12; Nagy [1989].

Attempts to explain etymology, questions of grammar and studies in semantics will be considered components in the linguistic field, whereas Homeric studies and also studies of a number of other poets including exegesis, criticism and hermeneutics will be considered as components of textual criticism.¹⁵¹

3.1 *Observations on Language in the Archaic Period*

Language requires self-referential observations, and so, like children toying with words, early poets naturally practiced linguistic games.¹⁵² The main linguistic object of attention for early epic poets was the relationship between name and denominated object. Proper names in epics are often eloquent, containing explicit etymologies. It was not the reconstruction of the root of a particular word that interested the epic poet, but rather the search for an explanation of the naming-motif. Emphasis was placed on the name as a reflection of character. Thus, the name “Odysseus” in Homer was felt to be related to the passive participle ὀδυσσάμενος (“odious”), in accordance with one of Odysseus’ characteristics, “to be wroth against, to be hated”.¹⁵³ In another passage his name is explained somewhat ambiguously: “wrath” is again mentioned here (*Od.* 1, 62), but Odysseus is also called ὀδυρόμενος (“lamenting”), this being a further characteristic (*Od.* 1, 55). There are various examples of double naming, when one person is called by different names. In *Il.* 1, 402–406 one of the Hecatoncheires is called Βριάρεως by the gods (denoting his power) and Αἰγαίῳν by men (after the Aegean Sea where he lives). Thus names are used to indicate the perspective of the speaker. The use of different names reflects the (in)capacity of words to fully convey the object or person described.¹⁵⁴

In Hesiod the nature of the denominated object is similarly denoted by the name.¹⁵⁵ For Aphrodite four etymologies are provided for four different names (*Hes. Theog.* 195–200). Both men and gods call her Aphrodite but on each occasion one particular aspect of the goddess’ nature is stressed.¹⁵⁶

151 See Hunter and Nünlist, this volume.

152 For a list of etymologies and wordplays practiced in the early Greek poetry and Aeschylus, see Lendle [1957] 117–121; for epic and lyric poetry and tragedy, see also Woodhead [1928] 9–43. On a discussion of ancient etymology in general, see Herbermann [1991], and also Sluiter in this volume.

153 *Od.* 19, 407; cf. *Soph. fr.* 965 TrGF.

154 Cf. below Pl. *Cra.* 391d–393b on Homer’s understanding of correctness of names; see more in Schmitter [1990] 16–19 with further bibliography.

155 Cf. the explanation of the name Cyclopes in *Hes. Theog.* 144–145, or Pegasus in *Hes. Theog.* 281–283.

156 See Schmitter [1990] 20, where the selection of different names for a given object according to the perspective has been termed ‘the phenomenon of ‘perspectivity’. See more in Schmitter [1991b] 61–64 and Schmitter [2000] 347–350.

3.2 *The Origins of Homeric Criticism*

Epic poetry was recited from memory and performed in a type of competition, and the rhapsodes were active in competitive performances, or agons. With the introduction of writing in Greece during the course of the 8th century BC the rhapsodes kept to texts.¹⁵⁷ The first exegesis originated from these reciters inasmuch as rhapsodes clarified the material they performed, first of all by explaining rare or unknown epic words or phrases (γλῶσσαί).¹⁵⁸ Homeric text was the basic text employed in education, its use becoming ever more important for the learning of reading and writing.¹⁵⁹ By the same token, the principal subject of interpretation was also Homer. A scholium on Pindar provides information regarding the Chian Homeride Cynaethus and his associates (the last third of the 6th century BC), who are said to have composed many of the lines and to have inserted them into the Homeric texts.¹⁶⁰ In the later tradition Solon and Peisistratus are credited with reading and criticising the Homeric text. Solon was praised for his abilities in illuminating Homer, whereas Peisistratus is reported to have edited a line out of the Hesiodic corpus and inserted it into the Homeric text.¹⁶¹

Early evidence of poetic criticism of Homer comes from the second half of the 6th century BC. The lyric poet Stesichorus of Himera wrote palinodies where he denied Homeric and Hesiodic accounts of the story of Helen and of the Trojan war; Helen, he claimed, did not go to Troy but remained in Egypt, whereas her phantom alone appeared at Troy.¹⁶² The rhapsode Xenophanes of Colophon both explained and criticised epic poetry.¹⁶³ Xenophanes believed that “all men always have learnt” from Homer, but he also faulted Homer and

157 See above § 1.1. On the *Homeridai* see also Burkert [1987] 49; West [2001a] 15–17; Graziosi [2002] 208–217.

158 Cf. Arist. *Poet.* 1459a9–10.

159 Cf. Pl. *Prt.* 325e–326d; see Latacz [2000] 2–3.

160 Sch. Pind. *Nem.* 2, 1c. West [2001a] 16–17.

161 Cf. Dieuchide 485 fr. 6 FG_{GrHist} ap. D. L. 1, 57; Her. Meg. 486 fr. 1 FG_{GrHist} ap. Plut. *Vit. Thes.* 20, 2; Cic. *De Or.* 3, 137. On possible Alexandrian backdating for such activities, see Pfeiffer [1968] 6. For Peisistratus' or the Peisistratids' 'edition' of the Homeric poems, see Pfeiffer [1968] 6–8, West [2000] 29. For the Panathenaic performances of Homer, and their connection with the copying and archiving of the texts, see above § 1.1, esp. n. 10.

162 Frs. 192, 193 PMGF; cf. Pl. *Phdr.* 243a; on Stesichorus' relationship to Homeric texts, see Willi [2008] 91–118, Grossardt [2012] 43–78, and Cassio [2012] 255–259; on Stesichorean performance, see Burkert [1987] 52–53; for the further tradition of rationalising Homer, cf. Pind. *Nem.* 7, 20ff.; Hdt. 2, 112–120; 4, 32; Thuc. 1, 1–22, cf. Richardson [1992a] 31–32.

163 D.-K. 21 A1, 11, 19, B 2, 10–12, 14–16.

Hesiod for their attribution of “everything that among men is to be reproached: stealing, adultery and cheating each other” to the gods.¹⁶⁴

The first allegorical readings of Homer belong to approximately this time. Allegorical interpretations were practiced by Pherecydes of Syros who regarded the Homeric gods as representations of cosmic forces. He wrote a prose theogony and cosmogony with allegorical passages, while also incorporating explanations in etymological terms (Pherec. D.-K. 7 A9).

In the last quarter of the 6th century BC, Theagenes of Regium, in South Italy, was credited with being the first to write a text on Homer’s life and poetry.¹⁶⁵ Theagenes discussed Homer’s historical background (Theag. D.-K. 8 A1), and dealt with textual criticism, problems of interpretation, and the allegorical exegesis of Homer’s poems. In fact, he offered an allegorical interpretation of the theomachy in *Iliad* 20 and 21, viewing it as both the conflict of physical elements in natural science and as a clash of moral values.¹⁶⁶ As a result of these studies, Theagenes was regarded by the later authors as the initiator of γραμματική τέχνη, by which they meant the knowledge of εὖ γράφειν (“to write beautifully”) and of ἔλληγνισμός meaning correctness in the usage of Greek.¹⁶⁷ Theagenes quoted a Homeric line (*Il.* 1, 381) with a rhapsodic variant, also found in the Cypriot and Cretan editions.¹⁶⁸

Little is known about Onomacritus, a compiler of oracles, who lived at the court of the tyrant Peisistratus. The Homeric scholia depict him as having made a number of interpolations into epic texts; he was also an industrious collector, as well as a forger of purportedly older oracles and poems. Herodotus reports that Onomacritus was hired by Peisistratus with the aim of compiling the oracles of Musaeus and then banished from Athens by Peisistratus’ son Hipparchus.¹⁶⁹

Γλώσσαί, part of the exegetical practice of the rhapsodes, were used in schooling perhaps in the form of lists with rare words. A number are found on papyri. These words were discussed by teachers and students during

164 D.-K. 21 B10–11; see more Pfeiffer [1968], 8–9; on Xenophanes’ criticism in sympotic context, see Ford [2002] 46–66; on linguistic approaches in Xenophanes, see Schmitter [1991b] 65–68.

165 Theag. D.-K. 8 A2, 13–14; A4.

166 Porph. *Quaest. Hom.* 1, 240, 14 = Theag. D.-K. 8 A2. See Janko [2009] 52.

167 Sch. Dion. T., *Ars gram.* GG I 3, 164, 23–29 and 448, 12–16 = D.-K. 8 A1a; see more in Wehrli [1928] 89–91; Pfeiffer [1968] 9–11; Ford [2002] 68–69. For the concept of ἔλληγνισμός, see Pagani in this volume.

168 Sch. A ad Hom. *Il.* 1, 381 (= D.-K. 8 A3); on Theagenes’ copies of the Homeric text, see Cassio [2002] 118–119 and Cassio [2012] 254–255.

169 Hdt. 7, 6, 3; see Diels [1910] 10–11; Cassio [2002] 116.

readings of Homer (cf. Ar. fr. 233 PCG). The first Homeric-Attic dictionaries, which formed the basis of the so-called D-scholium (from their attribution to Didymus) and as a result of later Homeric commentaries, had their origins in these lists. The interpretations of Homeric words sometimes required a knowledge of the religious and historical background as well as of the Homeric language.¹⁷⁰

3.3 *Early Linguistics*

Surviving fragments of Heraclitus of Ephesus include early approaches not only to Homeric criticism but also to semantics. Heraclitus adopted a critical attitude towards Homeric poetry (D.-K. 22 A22), Homer and Archilochus (D.-K. 22 B42) and Hesiod (D.-K. 22 B57), as well as belittling the philosophical authority of Homer and Hesiod (D.-K. 22 A22, B40, 56, 106). Though Homer was considered wiser than all other Greeks, it was his ignorance that Heraclitus chose to emphasise.¹⁷¹ Despite characterising Hesiod as the teacher of the vast majority of people, Heraclitus had no qualms about criticising him for the crudeness of his cosmology (D.-K. 22 B57). It was the content of Homer and Hesiod's work, not the manner in which they write, that lay at the centre of Heraclitus' attention.

Heraclitus' considerations on language are noteworthy and constitute an important contribution to early Greek linguistics; he deals with the meaning of *ὀνόματα* as a means of learning the nature of things. His most famous principle is that of the *λόγος*, with the multiple meaning of this term (D.-K. 22 B1). The *λόγος* as 'rule' and 'reason' rules natural processes. This use of *λόγος* exploits the inherent ambiguity between word and object represented. A word is a sign, and what is signified is typically an object, and the only way to indicate what is signified is to use the word.¹⁷² Thus Heraclitus is presented through his pupil Cratylus in Plato's dialogue as a supporter of the thesis of rightness of words (*φύσει*—thesis). Heraclitus is said in Plato to believe in the capacity of words to reflect the *οὐσία*, the unchangeable essence of things.¹⁷³ By contrast, in the extant fragments Heraclitus shows no belief in human ability to comprehend reality through words. A name might on occasion point to the oneness of the contraries; overall, however, names express only one aspect of reality and

170 See Latacz [2000] 4; Ford [2002] 70.

171 D.-K. 22 B56, cf. Pythagoras' punishment of Homer and Hesiod on the ground of their mendacity concerning the gods, cf. Hieron. fr. 42 Wehrli.

172 See Modrak [2009] 640–641; De Jonge-Ophuijsen [2010] 486–487.

173 Pl. *Cra.* 401c–d.

thus cannot be considered a secure source for the perception of true being.¹⁷⁴ Another enigmatic fragment reflects the one-sidedness of a perspective under which a name refers to an object: “one thing, the only truly wise, does not want and wants to be called by the name of Zeus” (ἐν τὸ σοφὸν μόνον λέγεσθαι οὐκ ἐθέλει καὶ ἐθέλει Ζηγὸς ὄνομα, D.-K. 22 B32).¹⁷⁵ Heraclitus was the first who understood that a word or text could have several valid meanings; arguably, this was, for Heraclitus, not a result of “conventional association”, but rather of “the nature of words as motivated signs”.¹⁷⁶

Heraclitus’s contemporary Parmenides of Elea wrote in verse, and separated the world of reliable truth from that of opinion or judgment.¹⁷⁷ In Parmenides’ poem the goddess marks the shift from truth to opinion by distinguishing between her own truthful speech (πιστὸν λόγον) and the fraudulent order of her words (κόσμον ἐμῶν ἐπέων ἀπατηλόν, D.-K. 28 B8, 50–53). In another fragment, the names of things are based on convention and on the arbitrariness of people, and the multiplicity of things is a deceit of human receptive organs. People made up ὀνόματα and misleadingly gave signs (σήματα) to them, each of which received a different name (τοῖς δ’ ὄνομ’ ἄνθρωποι κατέθεντ’ ἐπίσημον ἐκάστωι D.-K. 28 B19, 3).¹⁷⁸

Both Heraclitus and Parmenides affirmed that ὀνόματα mirror reality only in part. Parmenides further maintained the unity of language and thought, positing a division within this unity based on the distinction between ‘right’ and ‘wrong’ ways of thinking. For Heraclitus, however, the separation of thought from language was a condition for attaining knowledge.¹⁷⁹

Empedocles of Agrigentum also reflected on the meanings of names (D.-K. 31 B8; 15; 17, 21–24; 105), and his arguments are comparable to Parmenides’ concept of the arbitrariness of names (D.-K. 31 B9). Empedocles adopted a cognitive approach to language which he saw as fundamental to order (D.-K. 31 B15, 1–4). In his perspective, the theory and practice of language were closely related to the perception of knowledge.¹⁸⁰

174 Schmitter [1990] 23, cf. D.-K. 22 B23.

175 See further examples in Schmitter [1990] 21–24, see also Kennedy [1989b] 79–81.

176 Kennedy [1989b] 81.

177 D.-K. 28 B1, 28–30; B8, 28.

178 See further Woodbury [1958]; Schmitter [1990] 25; Kennedy [1989b] 81–82; De Jonge-Ophuijsen [2010] 486–487.

179 On Heraclitus’ and Parmenides’ vocabulary, see Havelock [1983] 15–39. More on linguistic approaches in Heraclitus and Parmenides, see Schmitter [2000] 351–354.

180 D.-K. 31 B2; 4; 133; for Empedocles’ linguistic approaches, see Willi [2008] 254–260.

Concepts of naming were broadly distributed among intellectuals in the middle of the 5th century BC. A treatise of this period, falsely attributed to the physician Hippocrates and revealing the influence of Protagoras' ideas, gives prominence to the question of the status of names.¹⁸¹ The author of the treatise argues that essences are prior with respect to names. The priority of the existential level can be found in another pseudo-Hippocratic treatise *On the nature of man*, written around 400 BC perhaps by Polybus. Four different names for four body humours (blood, yellow bile, black bile, and phlegm) were posited, corresponding to four distinct entities in reality.¹⁸²

Not only the effects and causes of natural phenomena but mathematical and abstract scientific problems were also investigated. In fact, investigation could even be thought of as a fashion. Cadmus and Palamedes, associated with discovery and linguistic development, were the subject of Euripides's plays.¹⁸³ Among others, Herodotus made observations on language, for the most part noting similarities between languages spoken in different parts of his world.¹⁸⁴

3.4 *Theatre as a Space for Philological Exercise*

3.4.1 Epicharmus

As a Sicilian intellectual Empedocles of Agrigento was anything but isolated. With the western Greek world flourishing during the first quarter of the 5th century BC, the court of the tyrant of Syracuse Hieron hosted a variety of poets, including Simonides, Pindar, Bacchylides, Aeschylus and Epicharmus. Epicharmus' comic fragments provide important evidence for the rhetorical and literary background in Sicily of this period. His comedies embody meta-epical and meta-dramatic reflections (frs. 97, 98, 161 PCG), literary criticism in his engagement with Xenophanes (fr. 143 PCG) or Aeschylus (fr. 221 PCG), and linguistic observations in his criticism of rhetoric (frs. 136, 144, 145 PCG). The first formal treatises of rhetoric, by the legendary Corax and Tisias, also belong to this period of the Sicilian acme.¹⁸⁵ Epicharmus' comedy includes attacks on intellectuals, thus recalling Aristophanes' *Clouds*; however, the extent to which

181 Hippoc. *De Art.* 2, see Sluiter [1997b] 175.

182 Ps.-Hippoc. *De Nat. hom.* 5, 6, 40.

183 Eur. frs. (448), 910 TrGF, see Platthy [1968] 86. Cf. M. Victor. *Ars. Gram.* 1, 4, 95–96.

184 Hdt. 1, 131, 148; 2, 52; 3, 115, see more in Diels [1910] 14; Sluiter [1997b] 175; on Herodotus' relationship with scientific circles and his participating in contemporary intellectual debates, see Thomas [2000].

185 Cic. *Brut.* 46; Arist. fr. 137 Rose; see Willi [2008] 290–291.

the cultural climate in Sicily in the first third of the 5th century BC mirrored Athens of the second half of the 5th century BC remains an open question.¹⁸⁶

3.4.2 Athenian Drama

The theatre was a critical space for the interaction of discourses.¹⁸⁷ Euripides' characters and choruses speculate on the function of poetry and other literary and rhetoric questions.¹⁸⁸ Linguistic theories were employed, parodied and interpreted in Old comedy. The methods of literary criticism were staged through the representation of competitive dialogue between comic writers and also between genres.¹⁸⁹ In effect, comedy is the only surviving source from the 5th century where the tensions between genres and literary polemics are clearly drawn. Criticism was introduced into the plot, as in the scenes with Euripides in Aristophanes' *Acharnians* (Ar. *Ach.* 393–489), or in the plot of the *Women at the Thesmophoria* or of the *Frogs* as a whole; Protagoras' and Prodicus' vocabulary and theories were similarly interwoven into the plot of the *Clouds*. There are many other examples. The integration of such discourses into the plot reproduced ideas about literature and linguistics current at the time in novel, at times grotesque or absurd, ways.

Comedy thus served as a new form of the critical staging of polemics between rivals and genres. As fragments reveal, this interest went far beyond the Aristophanic corpus.¹⁹⁰ Iambic and lyric poets were also parodied in comedy.¹⁹¹ One of the primary targets of comic writers of the 5th century was tragedy (cf. the Aristophanic coinage *τρογυφδία* for 'comedy' in Ar. *Ach.* 499–500 with the statement "what is right, comedy also knows"). Contemporary and earlier tragic writers were parodied at great length and thus interpreted through Old comedy.¹⁹² Such criticism provided an exegesis and new understandings of the tragic texts, while simultaneously reflecting and contributing to the

186 For a detailed analysis of Epicharmus' criticism in the literary context, see in Willi [2008] 162–192 and Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén [2012].

187 On 'transgressions' of genres in Athenian theatre, analysed by Plato and Aristotle, see Nagy [1989] 66–67.

188 More on Euripides as critic, see Wright [2010].

189 See a recent thorough study on the topic in Biles [2011] and Bakola-Prauscello-Telò [2013].

190 See more in Conti Bizzarro [1999], Silk [2000], Wright [2012]. On the self-representation of the comic poet and the allegory of comedy in Cratinus' *Pytine*, see Rosen [2000].

191 E.g. Stesichorus in Ar. *Pax* 796–816, Archilochus and Anacreon in Ar. *Av.* 967–988, 1373–1374, Alcmán in Ar. *Lys.* 1248–1320, Zimmermann [1993b], Zimmermann [2000]; on the parody of dithyrambic poetry in Aristophanes, see Zimmermann [1997].

192 For the classical work on the subject, see Rau [1967]; also a recent account in Wright [2012] 156–162.

establishment of a set style and canon in literature. Thus, although Euripides was quoted and parodied regularly, some ‘inferior’ poets like Morsimos or Melanthius were only represented through pejorative descriptions.¹⁹³

One of the programmatic works of Greek criticism is Aristophanes’ comedy *Frogs*, produced on stage in 405 BC. Dionysus, the god of theatre, presides over a contest between Aeschylus and Euripides with the purpose of determining which of the two was the superior dramatist.¹⁹⁴ The two tragic poets stand opposite each other and submit specimens of their art; they sing, they harangue, and their failings are characterised, visualised and (even) analysed. Finally, a weighing scale is brought to the stage, whereupon each of the two poets lays down a line on the balance. In the meantime, Dionysus has come to favour Aeschylus; though he had sworn that he would take Euripides to the world of the living, he replies with an allusion to a Euripidean line (*Ar. Ran.* 1477). It is Aeschylus who returns, resigning his tragic throne to Sophocles for the duration of his absence.¹⁹⁵

3.5 *The Rise of Homeric Criticism: Exegesis and Grammar*

By the second half of the 5th century BC the Homeric text, and a range of grammatical questions usually discussed on the basis of the Homeric text, had become the subject of thorough research. Three exegetical techniques are evident in these studies: glosses (Homeric words, for which Attic equivalents had to be found), paraphrases,¹⁹⁶ and *ὑπόνοια* or explanations of the ‘underlying sense’.¹⁹⁷ Herodotus’ statements on the Cyprian poems, which in his opinion do not belong to Homer, and his discussion of attribution of lines to Homer, serve as evidence for the diffusion of Homeric criticism at this time (*Hdt.* 2, 117; 4, 32).

Protagoras is known as the first to have formulated grammatical distinctions attributable to semantic issues. He reflected on the *ὀρθοπέπεια* (“correct use of

193 Kaimio-Nykopp [1997]; Wright [2012] 162.

194 On the intertextual relationship of this contest in Aristophanes’ *Frogs* with the *Certamen Homeri and Hesiodi*, see Rosen [2004].

195 On the role of the *Frogs* in the history of literary criticism, see Woodbury [1986] and Halliwell [2011] 93–154 with further bibliography. On other comedies with literary themes and on the overall climate fostering literary discussions in Athens of the last quarter of the 5th century BC, see above § 1.3.

196 E.g. Socrates’ paraphrase of Simonides’ poem in *Pl. Prt.* 338e–348a; cf. also *Pl. Resp.* 392c–394b.

197 See Sluiter [1997b] 166–168; on the word *ὑπόνοια* in earlier Greek to mean ‘allegory’, see Richardson [2006] 64–65.

words”) which he considered to be important in the composition of speeches.¹⁹⁸ He distinguished the genders of the noun (τὰ γένη τῶν ὀνομάτων) according to the biological difference between male (ἄρρενα), female (θήλεα) and inanimate (σκεύη) things.¹⁹⁹

The key-word in the linguistic theories put forward by Protagoras (as in the views held by his follower Prodicus) was ὀρθότης (“correctness”), as Plato relates.²⁰⁰ Aristophanes reacted to these ideas in the *Clouds*, with the portrayal of Socrates teaching Strepsiades the gender of nouns, the word ὀρθῶς appearing on a number of occasions.²⁰¹ Protagoras, who criticised Homer’s linguistically incorrect use of biological distinctions,²⁰² He differentiated between four types of discourse, which he called “foundations” (πυθμῆνας λόγων ἐκάλει Πρωταγόρας ὁ φιλόσοφος τὰς τῶν λόγων διαιρέσεις): prayer (εὐχολή), question (ἐρώτησις), answer (ἀπόκρισις), and order (ἐντολή).²⁰³ He censured Homer’s addressing the Muse in the imperative (ἐπίταξις),²⁰⁴ and he also interpreted Homer, though the papyrus evidence for this is not entirely clear: Protagoras believed that the battle of Achilles with the river Scamander was intended to form a transition from Achilles’ previous deeds to the theomachy (D.-K. 80 A30).

The Homeric text was interpreted allegorically by various intellectuals of this time (many of these were Ionians, hence the naming of Plato’s Ion and his originating from Ephesus).²⁰⁵ Anaximander of Miletus (FGrHist 9), Metrodorus of Lampsacus and Stesimbrotus of Thasus claimed to interpret the ὑπόνοια in Homer.²⁰⁶ Metrodorus, Anaxagoras’ pupil, treated the *Iliad* as an allegorical representation of his own scientific theory and cosmology. He was the first who “studied Homer’s physical doctrine”,²⁰⁷ and interpreted the gods as parts of the human body. He then extended this ‘natural’ explanation from the gods to the heroes, with Agamemnon serving as an allegory for the upper air, Achilles for the sun and Helen for the earth (D.-K. 61 A3, A4). He had a clear

198 See Pfeiffer [1968] 280–281; Fehling [1976]; Classen [1976], 218–226; Sluiter [1997b] 175; Di Cesare [1991] 100–104; Rademaker [2013].

199 Arist. *Rh.* 1407b6 = D.-K. 80 A27.

200 Pl. *Cra.* 391c, *Euthd.* 277e.

201 Ar. *Nub.* 658–693, note vv. 659, 679, cf. 228, 251. See Di Cesare [1991] 102–104.

202 Arist. *Soph. El.* 173b17 = D.-K. 80 A28.

203 Sud. 3132 s.v. πυθμήν.

204 D.-K. 80 A1 = D. L. 9, 53; D.-K. A29 = Arist. *Poet.* 1456b15–19.

205 See Cassio [2002] 120–121.

206 Xen. *Symp.* 3, 5–6, cf. Plut. *Mor.* 19e. See West [2001a] 24.

207 D. L. 2, 11 = D.-K. 59 A1.

interest in grammar as can be seen in his interpretation of the problematic lines *Il.* 10, 252–253.²⁰⁸

Stesimbrotus was known for emending the Homeric text.²⁰⁹ There is no direct evidence that Stesimbrotus propounded allegorical interpretations of the Homeric text, but allegorical discourse was current during this time. Stesimbrotus had a variety of other interests, mainly in the field of mythology and the mysteries. He wrote a treatise *On rituals* (107 frs. 12–20 FGrHist), with a mixture of allegories, etymological explanation and philology similar to that found in the Derveni papyrus.²¹⁰ Stesimbrotus is also mentioned in Homeric scholia in connection with problematic passages in the Homeric text.²¹¹ Stesimbrotus' explanations reveal an interest in cultural differences between the Greek world and other lands, and also in epic vocabulary, poetic techniques, all combined with detailed textual criticism. Additionally, Stesimbrotus is known as the teacher of the earliest editor of the Homeric text, Antimachus of Colophon (107 test. 5 FGrHist).

Hippias of Thasus was likewise known for emending the Homeric text, as in *Il.* 2, 15 and *Il.* 23, 328.²¹² Anaximander of Miletus, whose interests were akin to those of Stesimbrotus, is known for having written an exegesis of Pythagorean symbols, where he provided metaphorical interpretations of rituals.²¹³ Pythagorean discourses current at the time may have provided the framework for his interpretation of epic texts.²¹⁴ A certain Glaucon, mentioned in Plato (*Pl. Ion* 531d) and Aristotle (*Arist. Poet.* 1461a34–1461b3) may also have been engaged in Homeric interpretation.²¹⁵

Prodicus of Ceos probably belonged to a younger generation than Protagoras. He was known in connection with his attention to τῶν ὀνομάτων ὀρθότης (“linguistic correctness”), a concern that was linked to Protagoras' linguistic theories.²¹⁶ Prodicus presented three principles: 1) no two (or more)

208 D.-K. 61 A5 = Porph. *Quaest. Hom.* ad *Il.* 10, 252; cf. *Arist. Poet.* 1461a25, see Richardson [2006] 66–68; Janko [2009] 52–53.

209 *Arist. Soph. El.* 177b–178a. For the list of possible pre-Alexandrian emendations to the Homeric texts, see West [2001a] 26–28. See also Bolling [1925] 31–56. On rhapsodic emendations, see Jachmann [1949] 207–208.

210 See Richardson [2006] 72; cf. Obbink [2003]. Burkert suggested Stesimbrotus as the author of the Derveni papyrus, see Burkert [1987] 44.

211 *Il.* 11, 636–637; 15, 189, 193; 21, 76, see Richardson [2006] 72–75 with references.

212 *Arist. Soph. El.* 177b–178a, *Poet.* 5 1461a22; see Pfeiffer [1968] 45; Cassio [2002] 129–131.

213 D.-K. 58 C6; 9 test. 1 FGrHist; Porph. *Pyth.* 42.

214 Richardson [2006] 76–77 with further bibliography.

215 Richardson [2006] 78–79.

216 Cf. Lapini in this volume.

words should have the same meaning (near synonyms); 2) no one word should have more than one meaning or connotation (homonyms); 3) the etymology of a word should match its meaning, or at least should not contradict it.²¹⁷ Plato mentions that Prodicus dealt mainly with lexicography and synonymy,²¹⁸ distinguishing between synonyms by explaining differences in their semantic load.²¹⁹ Prodicus took part in the aforementioned discussion concerning the allegorical treatment of poetry. Like Protagoras, he used myths for the popular promotion of his ideas, and identified gods with physical objects such as bread (Demeter), wine (Dionysus), water or fire.²²⁰

Prodicus' contemporary Democritus showed an intense interest in linguistic and literary matters. Like his teacher, the atomist Leucippus, Democritus thought that language products are not a result of necessity, but of casual invention and connection. Democritus' linguistic observations should be understood in the context of his universal philosophical system.²²¹ In Proclus' commentary on Plato's *Cratylus*, Democritus is said to believe that the relation between names and things is arbitrary. His argument was fourfold: ἐκ τῆς ὁμωνυμίας, "from homonym", ἐκ τῆς πολυωνυμίας "from the multiplicity of names", ἐκ τῆς τῶν ὀνομάτων μεταθέσεως "from the change in names", and ἐκ δὲ τῆς τῶν ὁμοίων ἐλλείψεως "from the deficiency of similar items".²²² Democritus apparently compiled a Homeric dictionary explaining rare and ancient words Περὶ Ὀμήρου ἢ Ὀρθοεπειῆς καὶ γλωσσέων, a D-scholia form of dictionary. This seems to place him in the mainstream of linguistic and Homeric discussion of his time.²²³

The sophist Hippias of Elis combined scholarly and scientific knowledge. He investigated the antiquities (ἀρχαιολογία) from mythological, historical and geographical points of view. Cataloging and listing were his preferred forms.²²⁴ Hippias listed the poets Orpheus, Musaeus, Hesiod and Homer, a canon

217 Pl. *Prt.* 337a–c, 340a–341e; Hermog. *Sch.* Pl. Phdr. 267b; Arist. *Top.* 112b21–26; Gal. *Diff. febr.* 2; *Nat. Fac.* 2, 9; *Plac. Hipp. Plat.* 8, 6, 46–50; see Mayhew [2011] xv, see also Wolfdorf [2011].

218 Pl. *Prt.* 337a–c=D.-K. A13; Plat. *Euthd.* 277e; Mayer [1913].

219 Cf. Alex. *Aphr. Comm. Arist. Top.* 181; Mayhew [2011] 130–131.

220 Pl. *Prt.* 320c–322d; D.-K. 84 B5; cf. this motif in Eur. *Bacch.* 274–283; on Prodicus' famous allegory of virtue and vice, see Xen. *Mem.* 2, 1, 21–34; see also Richardson [2006] 67.

221 Cf. Arist. *Gen. Corr.* 315a34 = D.-K. 68 A35, see Pfeiffer [1968] 43. On Democritus as a source for Philodemus' work *On poems*, see Janko [2011] 208–215.

222 Proclus *Comm. Pl. Cra.* 16, 5, 25 Pasqu. = D.-K. 68 B26, see Sluiter [1997b] 172–173. More on Democritus' linguistic criteria, see Schmitter [2000] 354–356.

223 D.-K. 68 A33, 11; A101; B20a.

224 Pl. *Hp. Mai.* 285d, 382e; *Hp. Mi.* 368b–d; Xen. *Mem.* 4, 4, 5–25, see Pfeiffer [1968] 51–54; Blum [1991] 19.

which Plato may have subsequently used.²²⁵ Arguably, Hippias introduced the classical opposition of nature and convention (φύσει—νόμῳ, cf. Pl. *Prt.* 337c). He also discussed Homeric questions (86 B9, B18 D.-K.) and examined language together with music, distinguishing the importance of letters, syllables, rhythms and scales.²²⁶

Glaucus of Rhegium may have written his treatise on the ancient poets and musicians at this time, though information is scarce.²²⁷ The traditional Greek unity of word and music was maintained, but the emphasis appears to have shifted from music to language.²²⁸

Combining the roles of scholar and poet, Critias foreshadowed the Alexandrian model. He wrote elegies, but was also known as a collector of learned material, incorporating it into his verse (D.-K. 88 B9, 44). Another pupil of Stesimbrotus, Antimachus of Colophon, also combined these roles, and, as a result, he is regarded as a forerunner of Callimachus. Antimachus continued the tradition of the cyclic epic in Greece in the early 4th century BC. He made an edition of the Homeric text,²²⁹ emending and writing comments on the Homeric poems (he composed a book on Homeric problems 107 frs. 21–25 FGrHist). He also ornamented his own poetry with glosses and aetiologies.²³⁰

A number of philosophers authored material related to scholarly discussions of this time. Thus Socrates' disciple Antisthenes (see above § 2.1.6) was known for his Homeric criticism;²³¹ he wrote various treatises that addressed Homeric subjects and was concerned with Homeric interpretation, mainly with the *Odyssey*, but also to a certain extent with the *Iliad*. He interpreted the lines on Nestor's cup metaphorically. His famous interpretation of the word πολύτροπος (*Od.* 10, 330) reveals linguistic analysis and an understanding of context.²³² Antisthenes dwelt on literature, ethics and politics, but his primary interest was language. He adopted Socrates' view that the process of

225 D.-K. 86 B6; Pl. *Ap.* 41a, *Ion* 536b, cf. *Ar. Ran.* 1030ff., *Hermesian.* fr. 7, 16–40 Powell, see Pfeiffer [1968] 52; Snell [1976] 486–490.

226 Pl. *Hp. Mai.* 285d; cf. *Democr.* D.-K. 68 B15c, 16.

227 *Ps.-Plut. De Mus.* 4, 1132e; 7, 1133f; *Ps.-Plut. Vit. X Orat.* 833d; see Lanata [1963] 270–277.

228 Cf. above on the shift from musical to literate education § 2.1.4.

229 Frs. 131–148, 178, 190, cf. xxix–xxxi Wyss; 107 test. 5 FGrHist. See Pöhlmann [1994] 21. On the obscure Homer edition of Euripides, see Pfeiffer [1968] 72, n. 4.

230 Cf. *Od.* 21, 390 and *Antim. Lyd.* fr. 57; cf. frs. 3; 53 Wyss; on Antimachus' Homeric studies see Pfeiffer [1968] 93–95, Wilson [1969] 369; Matthews [1996] 46–51, 373–403.

231 Cf. fr. 189 Giannantoni, *Sch. Od.* 9, 106, see Richardson [2006] 80–81 with further bibliography.

232 *Antisth.* frs. 185–197 Giannantoni; for more, see Apfel [1938] 247; Giannantoni [1990] 331–346.

definition was fundamental for language and, more generally, for knowledge. He further argued that a thing could not be represented in language by any utterance other than its name.²³³ Following Socrates, Antisthenes examined questions of ethics, connecting investigations to language (cf. ἀρχὴ παιδείσεως ἢ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐπίσκεψις, “the beginning of education is the study of names” fr. 160 Giannantoni).

3.6 *Gorgias and the Beginnings of Stylistics*

One of the most significant figures for intellectual life in the Greek world of the second half of the 5th century BC was the Sicilian rhetorician and stylist Gorgias from Leontini. His primary aim was rhetorical education,²³⁴ and he created a new style in prose as a part of his rhetorical programme. This style, intended for oral communication, borrowed the persuasive elements of language such as metaphors, antithesis, isocola, parisa and homoeoteleuta from poetry,²³⁵ with immediate emotional effect.²³⁶ Gorgias studied these persuasive elements systematically. Considerations of poetry that go back to the 6th century BC, were repackaged and used by Gorgias for practical and pragmatic reasons.

Continuing in his teacher's footsteps, Gorgias' student Isocrates wrote a panegyric to λόγος.²³⁷ His λόγος aimed at rational persuasion.²³⁸ Another student of Gorgias, Alcidas of Elea also taught rhetoric and wrote scholarly texts. A number of points made by Alcidas became associated with Gorgias, such as Alcidas' focus on the ability of rhetoric ability to persuade (*sch.* Hermog. w. 7, 8); the need for the *narratio* of speech to be clear, magnificent, concise and plausible;²³⁹ the treatment of the following speech acts: φάσις (“affirmation”), ἀπόφασις (“negation”), ἐρώτησις (“question”), προσαγόρευσις (“address”)

233 Aristotle was especially interested in Antisthenes' views on language, such as Antisth. frs. 150 (=Arist. *Metaph.* 1043b), 152 (=Arist. *Metaph.* 1024b), 153 (=Arist. *Top.* 104b) Giannantoni. For Antisthenes on language (frs. 149–159 Giannantoni), see Brancacci [1990] especially 43–84, and Prince [2009] 80–82.

234 Pl. *Menex.* 95c; *Grg.* 459b–c.

235 On possible Empedoclean influences on Gorgias' use of figures, see Diels [1976], Classen [1976] 229.

236 The term ψυχαγωγία goes back to Gorgias, cf. *Gorg. Hel.* 9–10, 13, 15, Pl. *Phdr.* 261a7–8; 271c–272b; *Isoc. Nic.* 49, see Classen [1976] 226–230. See also Schmitter [2000] 359–360; de Jonge-Ophuijsen [2010] 489.

237 *Isoc. Nicocl.* 5–9, see Pfeiffer [1968] 49–50.

238 For Isocrates' educational aims, see above § 1.5. On Isocrates' praise of Homer, see Apfel [1938] 245–246.

239 Tzetz. *Chil.* 12, 566; Quint. *Inst.* 4, 2, 31; 36; 40; 52; 61.

as influenced by Protagoras.²⁴⁰ Alcidamas argued against Isocrates' practice of drafting and revising speeches, and supported his own students' abilities in improvisation.²⁴¹ Alcidamas compiled a collection, called the *Μουσεῖον*, of traditional stories on poets, such as Archilochus and Sappho, and philosophers, including Pythagoras and Anaxagoras. He also composed a treatise that starts with an argument between Homer as improviser and Hesiod as a poet who worked in an 'Isocratean' way.²⁴²

3.7 *Plato and Scholarship*

3.7.1 Plato's Approach to Linguistics

By the end of the 5th century BC, intellectuals were aware of the poetic, rhetorical and philosophical potential of language. 'Meaning' was located in the relationship between words and things, and also in the formulation employed by the speaker in the act of expression.²⁴³ Plato's thoughts on language were first developed in the dialogue *Cratylus*, one of the most important texts of ancient linguistics. The central issue of the dialogue is the relationship between names and reality, in addition to the correctness of names as a precondition for knowledge. Socrates discusses the issue with two interlocutors, Hermogenes and Cratylus (the second being, in all probability, a follower of Heraclitus). Hermogenes represents the thesis of the conventionalism of names (ξυνηγήκη-, or νόμω-thesis, Pl. *Cra.* 384c–d, 433b–439b) whilst Cratylus adopts naturalism (the φύσει-thesis) (Pl. *Cra.* 383a–b, 386e–390e, 427e–433b).²⁴⁴

The naturalist view held that names are correct either because they capture the nature of their referents or because they are meaningless sounds that fail to refer to nature. Cratylus argues for names as camouflaged descriptions that pick out their referents by correctly describing them. The conventionalist view makes the correctness of names purely a function of convention. Words may be crafted correctly or incorrectly. Both models were based on the method of imitation: either language imitates reality or language imitates a thought. Socrates developed these two models, stressing their common characteristic (Pl. *Cra.* 386a–387d, 434e): namely, they no longer contain a global understanding of the word, but distinguish between the material and mental dimension.

240 Sud. 2958 s.v. Πρωταγόρας; D. L. 9, 54.

241 ἀντοσχεδιάζω 'to extemporise' Alcidi. *Soph.* 3–4; Isoc. *In Soph.* 9.

242 Arist. *Rh.* 1398b10; cf. *Rh.* 1406a–b; see Pfeiffer [1968] 50–51; on the connection of Alcidamas' *Μουσεῖον* with the *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi*, see Richardson [1981].

243 See Sluiter [1997b] 177.

244 On the opposition of nature and convention in the philosophical debates, see Heinemann [1945].

A correct name was held to indicate the nature of the thing named (Pl. *Cra.* 425b), acting as a verbal representation of its referent in syllables and letters (δήλωμα συλλαβαίς και γράμμασι πράγματος ὄνομα εἶναι, Pl. *Cra.* 433b).²⁴⁵

Plato's understanding of language should be approached within the conceptual framework of his philosophy. Plato expanded the relationship between model and copy to cover language, language being a copy or an imitation of reality.²⁴⁶ The relationship between names, knowledge and reality is discussed in Plato's *Seventh Letter* (a significant text for the development of linguistics, whether it is spurious or, more probably, original). Plato distinguished between name (ὄνομα), definition (λόγος) and image (εἶδωλον), all of which contribute to knowledge (ἐπιστήμη). Name is what is uttered (ὁ νῦν ἐφθέγγεθα); definition is constituted by nouns and verbs (ἐξ ὀνομάτων και ῥημάτων συγκείμενος), image is physical: it is painted and then effaced and honed and then deleted (τὸ ζωγραφούμενον τε και ἐξαλειφόμενον και τορνευόμενον και ἀπολλύμενον). The fourth level is knowledge, reason and true opinion regarding these objects (ἐπιστήμη και νοῦς ἀληθῆς τε δόξα περι ταῦτ' ἐστίν). Knowledge is neither vocal nor physical but is something that exists in souls (οὐκ ἐν φωναίς οὐδ' ἐν σωματικῶν σχήμασιν ἀλλ' ἐν ψυχαίς ἐνόν; see Pl. *Ep.* 7, 342a–344d). A name is thus a basic notion of philosophical analysis for Plato.

These reflections on language are further developed in Plato's dialogues *Theaetetus* and the *Sophist*. In both dialogues, thinking (διανοεῖσθαι) is understood as a conversation of the soul with itself. It involves questioning, answering, affirming and denying.²⁴⁷ Thus a structural link between language and thought is affirmed.

In the *Theaetetus* the definition of knowledge (ἐπιστήμη) as true judgment combined with 'rational explanation' (λόγος) is discussed (Pl. *Th.* 201c–202b). This 'rational explanation' is understood as verbalised thought.²⁴⁸

In Plato's dialogues a distinction is formulated between "noun" (ὄνομα) and "phrase, verb" (ῥήμα), a problem which seems to have been discussed in

245 On the approach to language in the dialogue *Cratylus* with further bibliography, see Rijlaarsdam [1978], Baxter [1992], Williams [1994], Sedley [2003b], Del Bello [2005] 66–82, de Jonge-Ophuijsen [2010] 491–492, and Diehl [2012]. On the multiplicity of names, cf. Socrates' student Euclides of Megara who claimed that the good (τὸ ἀγαθόν) is one but can be given various names (πολλοῖς ὀνόμασι καλούμενον) such as intelligence, god, or reason (D. L. 2, 106).

246 See Sluiter [1997b] 177–188.

247 Pl. *Th.* 189e–190a, *Soph.* 263e–264a.

248 For contemporary research on the relationship of language and thought in the *Theaetetus*, see Annas [1982], Denyer [1991] 83–127, and Hardy [2001] 267–288.

Athens in conjunction with the development of grammatical terminology.²⁴⁹ The same terms *ὄνομα* and *ῥήμα* are used in the *Sophist* (Pl. *Soph.* 261c–262e). The discrepancy between an indication with the function of signifying action (*ῥήμα*) and an indication signifying those who act (*ὄνομα*) constitutes an essential feature of grammatical codes.²⁵⁰

Another important point first found in the *Theaetetus* is further developed in the *Sophist*: the falsehood involved in speaking and thinking. Words must be combined in a meaningful way, only names and verbs united together compose discourse (*λόγος*), and the crucial function of language consists in *λέγειν* “speaking”, or creating meaningful propositions capable of truth-value, and not in artless *ὀνομάζειν* “naming” (Pl. *Soph.* 262a–d). The issue of falsehood is discussed not at the level of individual words, but at the syntagmatic level. The internal link between speaking and thinking is formulated in the *Sophist*: thought (*διάνοια*) is equivalent to *λόγος*, *λόγος* being defined as “the stream which flows through the mouth in vocal utterance” (Pl. *Soph.* 263e).²⁵¹

3.7.2 Plato’s Approach to Literature

Plato’s writing also contributed to the establishment of certain normative issues in the analysis of the text and literary criticism. Plato returned to the question of divine inspiration, referred to in the poetic tradition;²⁵² that is to say, whether poets rely on *τέχνη*, “skill”, or on *θεία δύναμις*, “inspiration”.²⁵³ Plato developed an image of the poet as divinely inspired, an image that was transmitted through Roman writers such as Cicero and Horace and became a *topos*, influencing later literary theories.²⁵⁴

Plato’s approach to literature remains within the framework of his wider philosophy. In the *Apology* and in the *Ion* the relationship of language and thought is discussed in the context of poetic craft. In the *Apology* Socrates expects the poets to be able to interpret their own work, asking them “what they were saying” in the sense of ‘what they meant’ (Pl. *Ap.* 22b). Thus the difference between words and the additional level corresponding to the exegesis of these words is stressed as an element in interpretation. In the *Ion* some

249 Pl. *Th.* 206c–d; cf. also *Cra.* 421d–e, 425a, 431b–c and Aeschin. *In Ctes.* 72.

250 Cf. Rehn [1986].

251 On the philosophy of language in the *Sophist*, see Mojsisch [1986] and Borsche [1991] 152–158; on the function and meaning of language mainly in Plato’s dialogues *Cratylus*, *Theaetetus*, and in the *Sophist*, see Rehn [1982] and Bostock [1994].

252 See Nagy [1989] 24–29 and Maehler [1963].

253 See Plato’s principal passages on the topic in Murray [1996] 235–238.

254 For further discussion of inspired poets in Plato, see Büttner [2011].

crucial methodological points for Homeric criticism are discussed. Socrates defines the skill of the rhapsode in the same terms as the skill of a scholar or critic: “to understand (ἐκμανθάνειν) the thought (διάνοια) of the poet as well as the words”, for “the rhapsode must interpret the thought of the poet to his audience” (Pl. *Ion* 530b–c). In the *Ion* the role and qualification of the interpreter (Pl. *Ion* 539d–e) as well as the character and potential of literary exegesis are further discussed on a theoretical level.²⁵⁵ In the *Gorgias* poetic skill is compared with rhetoric. Like the orator, the poet does not want to improve his audience, but to please.²⁵⁶ The distinction between the word and its interpretation is discussed in the *Phaedrus*, which includes a critique of writing. Plato asserted that written words (λόγοι) cannot engage in dialectic directly; they always denote “one and the same” (ἔν τι σημαίνει μόνον ταῦτόν ἀεί, Pl. *Phdr.* 275d).²⁵⁷

The relationship to poetry in Plato’s dialogues is ambivalent, and was much discussed among ancient scholars.²⁵⁸ For Plato, poetry’s role is ethical and not aesthetic.²⁵⁹ Plato nonetheless praised Homer in his *Republic* (Pl. *Resp.* 607c–d) and used the Homeric text for his linguistic theories (Pl. *Cra.* 391c–393b). As had been noted by ancient stylists, Plato’s writing was particularly poetic and he transferred the flows of Homeric verse into his prose.²⁶⁰

Plato also provides a mass of information on poetic interpretative practice at the end of the 5th cent BC. In the *Ion*, poetry is understood as theatrical performance, and thus it can be evaluated in terms of its effects, without regard to the means employed to achieve them. In the *Protagoras* where the sophistic exegesis of a Simonides’ poem is criticised, a slightly differentiated approach to poetry is evident.²⁶¹ The reader is encouraged to understand the poem in order to evaluate the correctness of its interpretation; the traditional view of the poet as a teacher is however criticised.²⁶² In the *Hippias Minor* Socrates discusses the interpretation of Homer with the sophist (Pl. *Hp. Mi.* 365c–d). In all three dialogues Socrates is presented as unsatisfied by the level of exegesis provided by the sophists: the literary critic should not think of poetry as the

255 See in detail in Halliwell [2011] 167–170. On the *Ion* foreshadowing Alexandrian scholarship, see Hunter [2011].

256 Pl. *Grg.* 501d–502d, cf. *Gorg. Hel.* 8, 10.

257 See the distinction between the relative virtues of speech and writing in Pl. *Phdr.* 227a–e.

258 Halliwell [2011] 155–159.

259 For Plato’s hostility to poetry and the written word, see Pl. *Phdr.* 275d–277a.

260 Ps.-Long. *Subl.* 13, 3–4; cf. Richardson [1992a] 34–35; on Homeric criticism in Plato, see Apfel [1938] 247–250.

261 Pl. *Prt.* 338–348a; Simon. fr. 542 Page.

262 On this methodology, see Tsitsiridis [2001].

opinion of the author, since the poet only imitates words and does not necessarily mean what he says. Thus a crucial distinction is drawn between performance per se and the proper understanding of what is performed.²⁶³

If in Plato's earlier dialogues poetry is understood as theatrical performance, in the middle and later dialogues a further important function of poetry is considered: poetry as imitation. The theory of mimesis is explored in the 3rd and in the 10th books of the *Republic*.²⁶⁴ The image of the mirror was used for the description of the relationship between a work of art and nature (Pl. *Resp.* 596d–e). This characterisation of art as imitation, which is at a third degree from reality, led Plato to judge poetry as less than serious (Pl. *Resp.* 602b). If myths are to have worth, they should contain some moral truth, a truth only philosophers can perceive. For Plato, poetry harms its audience through the empowerment of non-rational parts of the soul, and its status as mimesis prevents it from providing knowledge.²⁶⁵

Plato returned to the question of allegorical interpretation, which had been discussed since the time of Pherecydes of Syros²⁶⁶ and was to be developed further by Chrysippus and Crates among many others.²⁶⁷ Plato considered allegorical interpretations of the Homeric theomachy.²⁶⁸ However, rationalistic allegorical interpretation ran contrary to Plato's principle idea that posited the divine inspiration of poets.²⁶⁹

In the *Laws*, emphasis is placed on the importance of poetry in the educational and cultural life of citizens. Only one who is morally worthy should be permitted to compose poetry.²⁷⁰ A number of critical theories are put forward in the *Laws*. The origins of poetry and music are traced back to the effect of a specifically human sense of rhythm; harmony is traced to the cries and motion of infants, and the permanent desire to please the crowd spoils artistic production and leads to 'theatrocracy' instead of an aristocracy of taste (Pl. *Leg.*

263 See Ferrari [1989] 99–104.

264 Pl. *Resp.* 392c–398b and 595a–608b.

265 On the theory of mimesis in Plato, see Ferrari [1989] 108–141, Belfiore [2006], Halliwell [2002] 37–150.

266 See above § 3.2.

267 Struck [1995] 224–228; Boys-Stones [2003b].

268 Pl. *Resp.* 378d, cf. Pl. *Phdr.* 229b–e.

269 On allegory as an exegetic possibility in Plato, see Tulli [1987]. For more on Plato and allegories in Homeric criticism, see Richardson [1992a] 35 with further bibliography.

270 Pl. *Leg.* 719c, 829c–e.

700a–701d). Plato stressed the need to keep the different genres fixed, objecting to excessive appeals to the emotions (Pl. *Leg.* 800d).²⁷¹

3.8 *Scholarly Thinking in the 4th Century BC*

The 4th century BC (see above the discussion in § 1.7) was characterised by the increasing role of the written text, and subsequently by more frequent textual criticism. This is reflected for example in the development of a terminology for discussing texts: ζήτημα (“question”), πρόβλημα (“problem”), ἀπόρημα (“puzzle”) or λύσις (“solution”). As Malcolm Heath put it: “Posing problems and suggesting solutions came to be an activity of cultured leisure”.²⁷²

Heraclides of Pontus, a prolific Academic associated with Speusippus, lost the scholarchate to Xenocrates after Speusippus’ death (339/338 BC) and established his own school in Heraclea on the Pontus. As ascertained by later sources, he also kept up relations with the Aristotelian school, a feature which explains his specific literary interests.²⁷³ His oeuvre included books dealing with logic, cosmology, physics, ethics, politics and religion, and also encompassed investigations into music (frs. 109–115B Schütrumpf), poetry and the poets (fr. 1(88) Schütrumpf), various treatises on Homer²⁷⁴ and on the three tragedians (fr. 1(88) Schütrumpf), three books on material in Euripides and Sophocles (fr. 1(87) Schütrumpf)²⁷⁵ and others. In his Collection (Συναγωγή) Heraclides may have discussed the mythical and historical genealogy of musicians, the invention of music and poetry and musical modes.²⁷⁶ He also had some interest in language, as a title of a book called Περὶ ὀνομάτων suggests (fr. 1(87) Schütrumpf).²⁷⁷ In his *Homeric solutions* (Λύσεις Ὀμηρικαί in two books) Heraclides criticised Homer’s treatment of certain episodes and pointed out some ‘inconsistences’ in the Homeric text, proposing ‘solutions’ of his own.²⁷⁸

271 For more detail on literary criticism in Plato, see Grube [1965] 46–65; Else [1986] 3–64; Ferrari [1989]; Murray [1996]; Ford [2002] 209–226; Halliwell [2011] 155–207 with further current bibliography.

272 See Heath [2009] 252–253 with further bibliography.

273 Podlecki [1969] 115–117; Wehrli [1983] 523–529; Montanari [2012d] 353.

274 Frs. 96–106 Schütrumpf. See Heath [2009] 264–271.

275 This work perhaps treated the plots of tragedies. Cf. Dicaearchus below § 3.10.

276 See Podlecki [1969] 115; Barker [2009]. On the connection of the Συναγωγή to the writings of Glaucus of Rhegium, see Wehrli [1969^{2e}] 112. On the links between music and the metric quantity of poetry, see Pl. *Resp.* 617d.

277 Wehrli [1969^{2e}] 117–119.

278 Frs. 99–104 Schütrumpf, see Heath [2009] 255–263. On the triviality of Heraclides’ judgments, see Gottschalk [1980] 136.

Heraclides' *Homeric solutions* should be interpreted in the context of the 4th century debates on Homeric criticism, in which Aristotle and other contributors were involved; they therefore constitute a key for understanding Aristotle's studies of Homer.²⁷⁹

Xenocrates, an academic philosopher of the 4th century BC, appears to have been an exegete and commentator on Plato's writings. He attempted to systematise the philosophy laid out in Plato by dividing it into the three disciplines of physics, ethics and logic.²⁸⁰ He wrote 31 books addressing the question of language entitled *Περὶ μαθημάτων τῶν περὶ τὴν λέξιν*, analyzing the relationship of sounds, letters and syllables.²⁸¹

Isocrates' student Cephisodorus wrote at least one didactic work on rhetoric.²⁸² He also composed an apology for Isocrates against attacks by Aristotle in four books. Here he argued that Isocrates' work as a logographer was of no great importance and that immoral aphorisms could be found in the works of other authors as well. He attacked Aristotle (*Κατὰ Ἀριστοτέλους*, also in four books) for not considering the collection of proverbs to be a worthwhile activity.²⁸³ He was also known for his criticism of Plato.²⁸⁴

Further evidence for scholarly work in the 4th century BC comes from the Derveni papyrus (around 340–330 BC), a carbonised papyrus roll found in 1962. This is a prose allegorical commentary on an Orphic poetic theogony (a type of book mentioned by Plato in *Resp.* 364c and by Euripides in *Hipp.* 954), perhaps produced in the circle of the philosopher Anaxagoras during the second half of the 5th century BC. The form of allegorical exegesis as a method of explanation is known from the 6th century BC (see above). The Derveni papyrus with its inclusion of critical vocabulary, methodology and literary and linguistic inquiries therefore represents a stage in the development of a universal knowledge of science, theology and scholarship.²⁸⁵

279 See Heath [2009] 254. On Heraclides as a Philodemus' source, see Janko [2000] 134–138.

280 Fr. 1 Heinze = Sext. Emp. *Adv. Logic.* 1, 16.

281 Cf. test. 2 Heinze = D. L. 4, 2, 13; see frs. 10, 11 Heinze; on Xenocrates' linguistic studies and their link to later Stoic programme, see Krämer [1983] 49–50.

282 Dion. Hal. *Amm.* 1, 2.

283 Dion. Hal. *Isoc.* 18; Ath. 2, 60d–e; cf. Ath. 3, 122b; 8, 354c.

284 Dion. Hal. *Pomp.* 1, 16; Num. in Euseb. *Praep. evang.* 14, 6, 9–10. Another Isocrates' student, the historian Theopompus, wrote a *Καταδρομή τῆς Πλάτωνος διατριβῆς* (Theopomp. 115 test. 7; 48; fr. 259 FGrHist).

285 For more on the methodology of criticism in the Derveni papyrus, see Henry [1986] and Obbink [2003]; on the vocabulary of criticism in this text, see also Lamedica [1991], Lamedica [1992].

Comic production during the 4th century BC also provides material concerning poetry criticism, self-referentiality being a characteristic of the genre of comedy. The comedy of this period inherited a range of common topoi on criticism from Old comedy. However, to a certain extent it was an altered form of comedy. In the 4th century BC it was the carefully structured plot of the comedy that was emphasised. The partial differentiation of comedy from political life should also be noted.²⁸⁶ An important example is Antiphanes' comedy *Poiesis*, in particular fr. 189 PCG (perhaps from the late 4th century BC). The speaker, representing comic poetry and playwrights, complains about the difficulty of writing a comedy as compared to a tragedy; the comic poets have to look for new names and plots for each play, while the tragic poets write down myths known to the audience before the actors utter a single word. It is interesting to note that the poet is discussing the structure and composition of his play, and uses vocabulary from critical analysis. In the lines 19–21: *κάπειτα τὰ διωκημένα πρότερον, τὰ νῦν παρόντα, τὴν καταστροφὴν, τὴν εἰσβολὴν* ("what happened before, the present situation, the catastrophe, the opening of the play"). According to a later source, construction of the plot was a central focus for the poets of Middle comedy.²⁸⁷ This fragment can also be discussed in the context of contemporary and later criticism of tragedy, and can usefully be examined in terms of the opposition between comedy and tragedy and the function of tragedy in the 4th century literary canon.²⁸⁸

As in Old comedy, the interweaving of contemporary discourses on criticism with the work and thoughts of the comic poet himself helped to foster novelty. Only fragments from Middle comedy survive and thus the plot cannot be reconstructed; fragment 189 PCG thus remains significant primarily as a reflection of contemporary discourses inquiring into the role and function of the comic genre.

3.9 *Aristotle as a Scholar*

3.9.1 Linguistic Studies

In contrast to Plato, Aristotle wrote no work that dealt with linguistic problems per se. However in several treatises he developed questions relevant to language, which had also been present in Plato's dialogues. As in Plato, so too

286 See Konstantakos [2004] 25–26, 54.

287 See references in Konstantakos [2004] 27.

288 For more see Konstantakos [2004] 11–13, 21–30, 54; on further criticism of comedy by Alexis, Xenarchos, Philippides and other comic poets of the 4th century, see Konstantakos [2004] 30–35.

in Aristotle, linguistic observation should be always considered in framework of his philosophy as a whole.²⁸⁹

Aristotle was interested in the functions of language both as a natural phenomenon and as a rational tool. His work analyses the art of language in terms of linguistic structures. In this perspective, logic, rhetoric, and poetic are seen as based on the natural properties of words, which are dictated by biological organs, as well as by conventional meanings, the latter being dependent upon human desires.²⁹⁰ Aristotle's physiological and psychological works focus on the acoustic and phonetic aspects of language. His *Poetics* and *Rhetoric* concentrates on the pragmatic aspects of language. However, he dealt with the subject of language most extensively in his *Organon*—his writings on logic. In the first work of the *Organon*, the *Categories*, Aristotle supplied a system of logico-semantic classification;²⁹¹ at the very beginning of the treatise he discusses the notions of homonyms, synonyms, and paronyms.²⁹²

Aristotle also discussed the nature of the linguistic sign in the treatise *On interpretation*, which dealt with the relationship between language, thought and reality, and drew a distinction between semanticity and truth or falsehood. He differentiated between the terms ὄνομα (“name”), ῥῆμα (“predicate”), ἀπόφασις (“negation”), κατάφασις (“affirmation”), ἀπόφανσις (“predication”), and λόγος (“statement-making sentence”),²⁹³ asserting that ὄνομα has no reference to time whilst ῥῆμα signifies ‘time’ and “is a sign of something said about something else” (ἔστι δὲ τῶν καθ’ ἑτέρου λεγομένων σημείον). In discussing sentences, he made a further distinction, based on the truth criterion: every sentence has meaning by convention (κατὰ συνθήκην); when a sentence expresses either truth or falsity, it constitutes a proposition (ἀποφαντικὸς λόγος). Aristotle presents a hierarchy of symbolic relationships; writing is symbolic of spoken language, and spoken language is symbolic of the affections in the soul. The concept of conventionality is emphasised by Aristotle in his definition of the ὄνομα.²⁹⁴ Whereas for Plato the relationship between thought and speech was built on the model of copying, for Aristotle language was symbolic:²⁹⁵ he described names as symbols of things.²⁹⁶ Through the use of language, both

289 See an overview of Aristotle's scholarly career in Düring [1954].

290 McKeon [1946] 193.

291 De Rijk [2002] 133–136.

292 Arist. *Cat.* 1a1–14; cf. *Soph. El.* 165b33; *Rh.* 1404b37–38.

293 Arist. *Int.* 16a–17a.

294 Arist. *Int.* 16a26–30.

295 See Sluiter [1997b] 191.

296 Arist. *Soph. El.* 165a6–15. On the signification and definition of names in Aristotle, see Charles [1994].

written and spoken words were, in his view, meaning-bearers. In particular, he maintained that the word is the bearer of meaning, whilst the sound bears no intrinsic relation to the mental content associated with the sound, or to the external referent of the word.²⁹⁷

In chapters 19–22 of the *Poetics*, Aristotle considered a more multilayered semantic classification. He differentiated between various forms of speech (τὰ σχήματα τῆς λέξεως; Arist. *Poet.* 1456b9) such as command, prayer, narrative, threat etc. He also analysed the components of speech (τῆς λέξεως τὰ μέρη; Arist. *Poet.* 1456b19) such as element (στοιχεῖον, *i.e.* letter), syllable (συλλαβή), connective (σύνδεσμος), noun (ὄνομα), verb (ῥῆμα), conjunction (ἄρθρον), inflection (πτῶσις), statement (λόγος).²⁹⁸

The pragmatic aspect of speech is also discussed in chapters 1–12 of the 3rd book of *Rhetoric*, where he considers the choice of words and their composition into sentences (σύνθεσις). Aristotle stressed grammatical correctness, thus foreshadowing the study of grammar in Stoic philosophy (Arist. *Rh.* 1407a). Rhythm in prose and forms of periodic style were also examined (Arist. *Rh.* 1408b–1410a).

Furthermore, Aristotle reflected on language from physical, biological and psychological points of view. In the treatises *On the soul* and in the *History of animals* his attention focuses on the scientifically oriented description of sound-production: ψόφος as “sound”, φωνή as “the capacity for articulated sound-production”, and διάλεκτος as “language”.²⁹⁹ Semanticity is significant for Aristotle, hence his distinction between meaningless and meaningful sound (σημαντικὸς ψόφος, Arist. *De An.* 420b32), φωνή being defined as the latter.³⁰⁰

3.9.2 Aristotle's Homeric Criticism

Aristotle's role in the history of ancient Homeric criticism is worth emphasising. His *Homeric problems*³⁰¹ offer a compilation of and a reflection upon the previous tradition of Homeric criticism until his time.³⁰² The twenty fifth

297 On the function of language in the treatise *On interpretation*, see further Arens [1984] 24–57; Hennigfeld [1994] 71–94; Sedley [1996]; Sluiter [1997b] 188–195; Modrak [2001]; Whitaker [1996]; De Rijk [2002] 190–357; on Aristotle's notion of meaning as discussed in his *Posterior Analytics*, see Charles [2000] 23–178.

298 Arist. *Poet.* 1456b–1459a.

299 Arist. *De an.* 419b; *Hist. an.* 535a27–28; 535b.

300 For more on Aristotle's theory of language, see Weidemann [1991], Ax [1992], Arens [2000], de Jonge-Ophuijsen [2010] 492–493, and Lapini in this volume.

301 Frs. 142–179 Rose and Ps.-Arist. frs. 20a (145), 30a (156), 38 (165) Rose. See Breitenberger [2006] 369–430.

302 See Heath [2009] 255–263 on the detailed analysis of Heraclides' and Aristotle's observations on Homeric problems. Heath argues that at two points Aristotle responded

chapter of the *Poetics* is a summary of this subject. Aristotle took up a position against critics of Homer such as Zoilus of Amphipolis (nine books of the *Κατὰ τῆς Ὀμήρου ποιήσεως Against Homer's poetry*),³⁰³ arguing that poetry is not subject to the same criteria as the other arts and sciences (Arist. *Poet.* 1460b13–15). Moreover, he considered the historical background and realia: Achilles' pitiless handling of Hector's body is compared with a later Thessalian practice (fr. 166 Rose). If a particular feature seemed historically incredible, Aristotle explained it as an idealisation. In his *Homeric problems* he also dealt with allegorical exegesis, apparently interpreting the number of Helios' cows in reference to the days of the lunar year.³⁰⁴

Aristotle replied to the Homeric 'questions' of those who attacked Homer in a systematic manner. Firstly he focused on Homer's artistic goal (τὸ τέλος τῆς τέχνης): Achilles' pursuit of Hector was impossible in practice, but the dramatic effect was remarkable (1460b23–26). Secondly, Aristotle stressed linguistic points such as the use of loan words (γλῶτται), metaphor (μεταφορά), explanation through punctuation (διάρρησις) or linguistic usage (τὸ ἔθος τῆς λέξεως). For instance, he pointed out that gods do not drink wine, but Ganymede "poured wine for Zeus" (*Il.* 20, 234), in which case the verb οἰνοχεύω might be considered as linguistic usage or alternatively a metaphor in this context (Arist. *Poet.* 1461a9–32). Through such exegetical interpretations Aristotle once again pre-figured Alexandrian scholarship.³⁰⁵

3.9.3 Aristotle's Theory of Literary Criticism

The six books of the *Homeric problems* and the three books of the early dialogue *On poets* (both surviving in fragments) were the two principle works in which Aristotle expressed his ideas on literature.³⁰⁶ The *Poetics*, which was originally meant for internal use in school,³⁰⁷ is the first extant philosophical treatise on dramatic theory (not fully preserved, the second book on comedy having been lost since late antiquity). After initiation into linguistic theory,

to Heraclides and at one point they both responded independently to an earlier scholar. See also Blum [1991] 21–23.

303 Fr. 6 Friedlaender, see Apfel [1938] 250–252; Heath [2009] 253–254.

304 Fr. 175 Rose = *Sch. Od.* 12, 129, see also Montanari [2012d] 348–349. Cf. Aristotle's note on the practice of allegory in Arist. *Metaph.* 12, 1074b and Montanari [1993b] 260.

305 See Apfel [1938] 253–257; Richardson [1992a] 36–37; Latacz [2000] 7–9.

306 The title *On Tragedies* has also survived. On the tradition of the treatises on poets, see Janko [2011] 385–386. On Aristotle's treatise *On poets*, see Janko [2011] 313–407 and 485–539.

307 Halliwell [1989] 149.

logic, the theory of science and rhetoric, pupils were taught subjects suitable for the composition and interpretation of poetry.

Aristotle considered “contemplation” (θεωρία), “action” (πράξις) and “making” or “production” (ποίησις) to be the fundamental human actions.³⁰⁸ He regarded poetry not as ποίησις but rather as a form of θεωρία (Arist. *Poet.* 1448b 4–17); his arguments also embodied the concept that generality is inherent in the particular and therefore not abstract.

In discussing the historical evolution of poetry, Aristotle built on the already existing canon while emphasising the history of separate genres.³⁰⁹ In his view, tragedy and comedy originated in earlier serious and also light poetry:³¹⁰ thus *Margites* had the same relation to comedy as the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* to tragedy (Arist. *Poet.* 1448b37–1449a2). In his assessment of the concept and φύσις of genre, Aristotle examined the evolution of comedy and tragedy and also the distinction between epic poetry and tragedy (Arist. *Poet.* 1449a7–1449b22). His judgment of poetry was determined by the character and aims of a particular genre and form (epic poetry, tragedy, comedy, dithyramb, music for aulos and lyre, Arist. *Poet.* 1447a).

Poetry is placed by Aristotle among the visual arts, music and dancing, in other words, within a more general concept of artistic imitation of life (μίμησις) as proposed by Plato and then developed further by Aristotle himself.³¹¹ The first four chapters of the *Poetics* establish principles for this concept (see also chapter 25). Imitation, which in Aristotle's view came naturally to people from their childhood onwards, is discussed as poetic μίμησις, in the sense that a poet reveals how a person's character is realised in a given situation (Arist. *Poet.* 1448b).

The poet's task is defined by Aristotle as depicting the kinds of things that could happen and are possible either in accordance with probability or necessity (οὐ τὸ τὰ γενόμενα λέγειν, τοῦτο ποιητοῦ ἔργον ἐστίν, ἀλλ' οἷα ἂν γένοιτο καὶ τὰ δυνατὰ κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἢ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον). This is in contrast to the historian, who depicts events which actually occur (Arist. *Poet.* 1451a36–39).

Aristotle believed that the emotional influence of poetry comes from the nature of the action described. He distinguished between the actions of superior characters who follow serious goals, represented in Homer, the actions of

308 Arist. *Metaph.* 1025b18–1026a3; 1064a16–1064b6; *Eth. Nic.* 1140a1–23; 1140b4–7.

309 For the preexisting canon, see above § 3.5.

310 On the opposition of tragedy and comedy already in Old comedy but also in discourses contemporary to Aristotle, see the reflection in Middle comedy such as Antiph. fr. 189 PGG. See above § 3.4.2, 3.8.

311 Cf. Pl. *Resp.* 392d–403c.

usual characters (“similar to us”), represented in the works of the minor tragic poet Cleophon, and the actions of inferior characters, represented by the composers of parody such as Hegemon of Thasos and Nicochares (Arist. *Poet.* 1448a1–17). This constitutes for Aristotle the principle difference between comedy and tragedy: tragedy aims to imitate characters superior to those actually existing, whereas comedy aims to imitate inferior figures (ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ διαφορᾷ καὶ ἡ τραγωδία πρὸς τὴν κωμωδίαν διέστηκεν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ χεῖρους ἢ δὲ βελτίους μιμείσθαι βούλεται τῶν νῦν, Arist. *Poet.* 1448a15–17).

The main section (Arist. *Poet.* 1449b24–1456a31) of the *Poetics* discusses tragedy: its essence, plot, structure, characters, emotional impact (κᾶθαρσις accomplished through pity and fear), style and language. Aristotle further discusses the epic genre (Arist. *Poet.* 1459a16–1460b5) and makes a comparative assessment of the two genres, tragedy and epic, (Arist. *Poet.* 1461b26–1462b19).³¹²

Aristotle’s *Rhetoric* is one of the most important works on Greek rhetorical theory and stylistics (the other two extant theoretical treatises of the 4th century BC are the anonymous *Rhetoric to Alexander* and Alcidas’ *On the sophists*). Theoretical and practical engagement with the language is central to Aristotle’s *Rhetoric*, in particular his discussion of ways to appeal to the audience and its emotions and his discussion of style (λέξις). Aristotle refined and developed the division of rhetoric into three genres (already found in Gorgias): deliberative, forensic, and epideictic rhetoric (ὥστ’ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἂν εἴη τρία γένη τῶν λόγων τῶν ῥητορικῶν, συμβουλευτικόν, δικανικόν, ἐπιδεικτικόν).³¹³ Ethics, he argued, should bear a relation to rhetoric (countering Plato’s criticism that rhetoric was uninterested in truth). Aristotle also provided a systematic overview of stylistic virtues, his discussion of metaphor in the 3rd book of his *Rhetoric* proving to be a significant influence on later stylistic and cognitive studies.³¹⁴ Metaphor in Aristotle is considered on the level of learning, its cognitive function being part of the dynamic process of communication.³¹⁵

Aristotelian principles of analysis were to become a seminal influence for Alexandrian scholarship—both in a narrow sense in terms of the scrupulous editing of classical texts, and also in a broader sense as a methodology for linguistic and literary criticism.³¹⁶

312 On the main principles of Aristotle’s literary criticism in the *Poetics*, see Grube [1965] 70–92, Halliwell [1989], Dale [2006], Bernays [2006], Schmitt [2008], and Halliwell [2011] 208–265.

313 Arist. *Rh.* 1358a36–1358b20; cf. *Rhet. ad Alex.* 1421b7; *Rhet. Her.* 1, 2, 2; Quint. *Inst.* 3, 3, 14.

314 Arist. *Rh.* 1405a–1406b; cf. Arist. *Poet.* 1457b7–9.

315 Arist. *Rh.* 1410b1–1413b2, see Levin [1982].

316 On Aristotle and his influence on Hellenistic scholarship, see Montanari [1993b] 262–264; Richardson [1994], Montanari [2012d], Montana, Nünlist, and Lapini in this volume.

3.10 *Early Peripatetic Scholarship*

Few fragments of the early Peripatetics survive. It is however clear that they treated a variety of fields such as biology, physics, logic and ethics, and also rhetoric, grammar and Homeric and literary criticism. Aristotle's school traced the origins and development of musical forms, the early poets and musicians, and studied the history of literature, reconstructing the lives of the authors. Literary works were thus regarded as a source of information and at the same time as an object for interpretation, exegesis, and commentary. In particular, peripatetic scholars showed an interest in Homer, with detailed textual criticism of individual lines.³¹⁷

Like other early Peripatetics, Aristotle's successor Theophrastus had wide-ranging interests, including rhetoric and stylistics. Theophrastus wrote treatises bearing such titles as *Παραγγέλματα ῥητορικῆς*, *Περὶ ποιητικῆς*, *Περὶ προθέσεως καὶ διηγήματος*, *Περὶ σολοικισμῶν*, *Περὶ τέχνης ῥητορικῆς*, *Περὶ λέξεως*, *Περὶ μουσικῆς*, *Περὶ μέτρων*, *Περὶ κωμωδίας*.³¹⁸ Following in Aristotle's footsteps, Theophrastus discussed different kinds of poetry, but parted company from his teacher in his addition of mime to the three traditional forms of dramatic poetry.³¹⁹ As Aristotle had done before him, he distinguished three kinds of rhetoric (deliberative, judicial and epideictic),³²⁰ and divided speech into parts. He also discussed the structure of rhetorical arguments, probably incorporating recent developments in hypothetical syllogistics to make the case for a five-part analysis of deductive reasoning.³²¹ Theophrastus also extended the Aristotelian triple division of good style into four qualities: correct Greek (*ἑλληνισμός*³²²), clarity, aptness and ornament.³²³ Theophrastus also appears to have analyzed the sentence according to its internal structure, and in his studies on diction, he insisted on loose prose rhythm and discussed the metrical foot *paeon*.³²⁴ He preferred the final *kolon* in a sentence to be longer than the preceding one, a subject in which he appears to have gone beyond the limits

Aristotle's influence can be seen in later anecdotes such as the testimonies collected by Platthy [1968] 124–129.

317 Podlecki [1969] 118; Montanari [2012d] 349–352.

318 Fr. 666 FHSg.

319 Frs. 708, 709 FHSg, see Fortenbaugh [2005] 351–375.

320 Fr. 671 FHSg. Cf. *Rhet. Alex.* 1421b6–7; *Arist. Rh.* 1, 3, 1358b6–8. In all probability the division was current in the rhetorical discourse of the 4th century BC. See Fortenbaugh [2005] 171.

321 Frs. 111a–e, 112a–c, 674 FHSg. On the discussion of early peripatetic syllogistic, see Barnes [1985] and Fortenbaugh [1998].

322 See Pagani, this volume.

323 See fr. 684 FHSg = Cic. *Orat.* 79. See Fortenbaugh [2005] 266–273. Cf. § 3.5 above.

324 Fr. 703 FHSg = Demetr. *Eloc.* 41; frs. 702, 704 FHSg = Cic. *Orat.* 218, 192–194; see further Fortenbaugh [2005] 327–335.

of Aristotle's thought, as the topic was only briefly touched on in Aristotle.³²⁵ On the other hand, Theophrastus shared Aristotle's concern with metaphor, to be used in order to elevate diction, but he apparently put forward the idea of avoiding exaggeration in metaphor. This was perhaps a sign of the *syntheia* concept, with actual language usage serving as a criterion in Hellenistic thought.³²⁶ In general, the mean (μεσότης) in style, rhythm and structure was of great importance for Theophrastus as well as for other peripatetics.³²⁷

The writings of another of Aristotle's disciples, Phaenias of Eresus, who corresponded with Theophrastus, have only partly survived, but the titles indicate both historical and philosophical content. He also wrote a treatise *On the poets*.³²⁸

Aristotle's student Eudemos of Rhodes, another scholar who kept up a correspondence with Theophrastus and also founded a school on Rhodes, continued many of Aristotle's ideas, with particular emphasis on logic and natural philosophy. In the surviving parts of Eudemos' *Analytics* (frs. 9–24 Wehrli) the author is almost always mentioned together with Theophrastus and can be presumed to have followed most of Theophrastus' innovations concerning syllogistic figures.³²⁹ Eudemos' *Περὶ λέξεως* (frs. 25–29 Wehrli) in two or more books was perhaps more oriented towards logic than the topics of the same name by Aristotle (Arist. *Rh.* 3, 1403b–1404b) and Theophrastus, which both dealt with the stylistic aspects of language. However, a number of Arabic sources provide evidence that Eudemos' did indeed take an interest in style as well.³³⁰

Theophrastus' pupil and friend Praxiphanes of Mytilene was considered by ancient sources to have been the founder of a new approach to grammar that included the critical exegesis of texts.³³¹ Praxiphanes engaged in further development of Aristotle's linguistic reflections, discussing the interpretations of poets as put forward by Plato and Isocrates. He also addressed a wide range of themes: poems, numbering in Plato's *Timaeus* 17a, complementary particles,

325 Fr. 701 FHSG = Cic. *De Or.* 3, 186–187; Fortenbaugh [2005] 326–327.

326 Siebenborn [1976] 90ff.; see also Pl. *Cra.* 434e4–435c1 and Fortenbaugh [2005] 276, 286–292.

327 See Innes [1985] 262–263.

328 Frs. 32, 33 Wehrli = Ath. 8, 352c, Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1, 21, 131, 6. See *Against the Sophists* (fr. 10 Wehrli); some treatises such as *On the Socratics* (frs. 30–31 Wehrli) seem to be purely biographical.

329 On the relationship of Eudemos' *Analytics* with Aristotle's and Theophrastus' work, see Huby [2002].

330 See Wehrli [1983] 530–531; Fortenbaugh [2002], especially 79–81.

331 Frs. 9a–c Matelli. See also Montana in this volume.

literary criticism and rare words; additionally, he wrote a commentary on the *Odyssey*, and offered an interpretation of Sophocles.³³²

Aristotle's interest in drama was widely shared among the early Peripatetics. One of his students, Dicaearchus from Messene, composed works on musical contests and dramatic productions³³³ (and also on the lyric poet Alcaeus).³³⁴ Dicaearchus' summaries of the plots (ὑποθέσεις) of the dramas of Sophocles and Euripides were an important source for later scholars (frs. 112–115B Mirhady). Dicaearchus wrote on musical practices and dancing (frs. 72–74, 96–98 Mirhady); furthermore, he discussed and criticised the Homeric text, while dealing with questions of performance, textual variations and ethics (frs. 92–95 Mirhady).³³⁵

Chamaeleon of Heraclea Pontica worked on drama and composed a book about satyr plays, and also wrote on Thespis, Aeschylus, and comedy. He studied, among other things, the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, Hesiod, Alcman, Sappho, Stesichorus, Lasus of Hermione, Pindar, Simonides and Anacreon.³³⁶ Chamaeleon's interests were oriented towards historical and literary research, combining literary scholarship with the genre of biography.³³⁷

Megaclides of Athens was known as an interpreter and critic of Homer (active around 300 BC). He composed two or more books that dealt with Homer,³³⁸ perhaps commenting on Homer's choice of dialect, and wrote on the *Shield of Heracles* which he considered to be have been written by Hesiod (Hyp. 1 in Hes. *Scut.*).³³⁹

Together with Megaclides, another Peripatetic critic (Megaclides' younger contemporary) Andromenides was often quoted in Philodemus' work *On poems*. Both Megaclides and Andromenides were important sources for Philodemus.³⁴⁰ Andromenides studied stylistics and poetics and divided the art of poetry into the creator of the poem, the composition, and arrangement

332 Frs. 22–31 Matelli. See also Matelli [2012c] 549–564.

333 Frs. 89–91, 99–104 Mirhady.

334 Frs. 105, 108 Mirhady.

335 On fr. 95 Mirhady, containing Dicaearchus' comment on a passage from the *Odyssey* (*Od.* 1, 332–335) and his critical observation on Penelope's behavior, see Montanari [2012d] 342–345. On Dicaearchus see also Wehrli [1983] 535–539.

336 Frs. 15–47 Martano.

337 On Chamaeleon's critical methodology and on his work on tragedy and Homeric epic, see Mirhady [2012].

338 On the probable reconstruction of the contents of these two books, see Janko [2000] 140–141.

339 For more on Megaclides' philological activities, see Janko [2000] 138–143.

340 On Andromenides' work, see Janko [2000] 143–154.

of the material in verse.³⁴¹ He developed a theory of sound, and was interested in glosses and word-choice, specifying criteria for word-choice such as appropriateness with respect to content, originality, onomatopoeia, and phonetic beauty.

Another student of Aristotle's, Aristoxenus from Tarentum, was known primarily as a music theorist. He composed three books entitled Ἀρμονικὰ στοιχεῖα, where he elaborated on the basic ideas of the ἀρμονικὴ ἐπιστήμη and criticised his predecessors (Epigonus, Eratocles, anonymous harmonists and Pythagoreans).³⁴² Some excerpts from his Ῥυθμικὰ στοιχεῖα confirm that metre had begun to be subsumed under the concept of musical rhythm, a process which first appeared in dramas of the 5th century BC. In his writings on musical theory Aristoxenus discussed the origins, development and characteristics of the modes and the adaptation of the modes for use by the tragedians (frs. 69–93 Wehrli).³⁴³ He also composed a number of philosophical biographies (on Pythagoras, Archytas, Socrates, Plato), a treatise on the dithyramb poet Telestes and a work *On the tragic poets*.³⁴⁴ Some extant fragments from his lost writings on the subject of choruses or tragic dance reveal an interest in drama, including discussion of the dances appropriate to various dramatic genres (frs. 103–112 Wehrli). In texts probably intended for teaching courses, Aristoxenus laid the foundation for the never completed Περὶ μέλους ἐπιστήμη.

In addition to music, the Peripatetics continued to regard rhetoric and stylistics as subjects of great importance, as revealed by the work of an early peripatetic scholar and politician, Theophrastus' pupil Demetrius of Phalerum.³⁴⁵ Demetrius was a prolific writer and exceeded in the quantity of his books and the number of lines composed almost all the Peripatetics of his time.³⁴⁶ Among much else, he contributed to the study of language, rhetoric and poetry, dealt with orthography,³⁴⁷ wrote on oral singers,³⁴⁸ Homer, composed a dialogue or a speech Ὀμηρικὸς in one book, two books on the *Iliad* and

341 Andromen. fr. 24 Janko, see Janko [2000] 146.

342 With regard to Aristotle's influence on Aristoxenus' harmonic science, see Gibson [2005] 23–38. On Aristoxenus' relationship to Pythagoreans, see Žhmud [2012].

343 Concerning the reliability of Aristoxenus' evidence on archaic music, see Barker [2012].

344 Frs. 11–32, 47–68, 113–117 Wehrli. Note a linguistic explanation in fr. 113. See also Podlecki [1969] 118–119. On Aristoxenus' methodology in writing biographies, see Schorn [2012].

345 See Innes [1985] 251 for ancient references.

346 D. L. 5, 80–81. On the attributions of various readings in the Homeric scholia to various grammarians called 'Demetrii', see Montanari [2000a] 392–396.

347 Fr. 148 SOD = fr. 173 Wehrli.

348 Fr. 146 SOD = fr. 192 Wehrli, see Montanari [2000a] 409–410.

four books on the *Odyssey*,³⁴⁹ a book on the comic poet Antiphanes,³⁵⁰ and also on prose writers, such as his criticism of Plato's style.³⁵¹ He made a critical analysis of the Homeric text, discussing the problems of the line *Il.* 2, 409.³⁵² This is the oldest source to have believed that this line is spurious, an opinion that would later be supported by some of the Alexandrian grammarians.³⁵³ He also commented on *Od.* 23, 296, a line which engendered further discussions in Alexandria.³⁵⁴ Demetrius of Phalerum is a good example of direct continuity between pre-Alexandrian and Alexandrian scholarship: in effect, he moved to Alexandria after 297 BC and worked there at least until 283 BC when Ptolemy II came to power, a period which coincided with Zenodotus in his prime.³⁵⁵

While this is indeed a story of increased literacy, with institutional development and thematic differentiation culminating in Alexandrian scholarship, this overall picture of progress should not be viewed as either inevitable or triumphant. The performative criticism embodied in Old comedy, to cite but one example, was largely lost *en route*. By the end of the 4th century BC, however, institutions supporting the development of scholarship had been largely established, together with the idea of a scholarly programme having linguistic studies and textual, stylistic and interpretative analysis at its core. Methodological, theoretical and practical approaches to philological analysis had already been developed by the time of philological scholarship began to flourish in the Alexandrian age.

349 Frs. 143–146 SOD = frs. 190–193 Wehrli.

350 See Montanari [2000a] 392.

351 Fr. 133 SOD = frs. 195, 170 Wehrli.

352 Fr. 143 SOD = 190 Wehrli = *Ath.* 5, 177f–178a.

353 See in detail, Montanari [2000a] 399–402 and Montanari [2012d] 341–342.

354 Fr. 145 SOD = fr. 193 Wehrli, see Montanari [2000a] 403–406 and Montanari [2012d] 345–347.

355 See Pfeiffer [1968] 96, 99–104, Richardson [1994] 13–14, and Montanari [2000a] 402–403. For Philitas of Cos, another example of such continuity, see Montana in this volume.

Hellenistic Scholarship*

Fausto Montana

1 Preliminaries

1.1 *Court Poetry and Scholarship in Hellenistic Societies*

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1 Preliminaries

1.1 *Court Poetry and Scholarship in Hellenistic Societies*

It is helpful to start by recalling some aspects, self-evident though they may seem, of the social context in which the surviving literary culture of the ancient Greek world evolved during the Hellenistic age (3rd–1st centuries).¹ A critical debate has arisen between diametrically opposed views: the traditional assumption of the duality of Hellenistic poetic culture, in contrast to an interpretation that argues in favor of its cohesive unity. The former depicts a twofold manifestation of cultural creativity: a high/learned literature, linked to urban royal courts, mainly bookish and designed to be recited, and a low/popular production, predominantly performative, thus including music and

* English translation by Rachel Barritt Costa.

1 If not otherwise stated, all dates are BC.

song;² whereas the latter emphasizes the cohesion of poetic culture deriving from its social pervasiveness, contending that this was sustained by a great number of public festival competitions, civic or religious ceremonies and private symposia.³ However, although appraisal of these issues is currently still fraught with controversy, a significant portion of the extant Greek poetry of this period can, by virtue of its characteristics of court literature, be regarded as the learned expression of fairly narrow elites. These elites were composed of select social groups living in urban centers of the traditional Greek world as well as of predominantly ethnic Greek minorities ruling over Hellenized non-Greek East-Mediterranean areas (Egypt, Asia Minor, Near East) subject to Macedonian-rooted monocratic dynasties, and eventually came to include the most educated circles of the Roman aristocracy. It is therefore no cause for surprise, in terms of social history, that a derived and intellectualized activity such as the professional study of literature—*i.e.* philology, which sprang up towards the beginning of the 3rd century—first arose and long remained as a minimal niche and ultimately became the self-referential expression of a Greek elitarian culture, in striking contrast to far less cultured and widely non-Greek backgrounds.⁴

Hellenistic scholarship was undoubtedly a most exceptional cradle of ideas and culture for militant intellectuals and poets of the age (who not infrequently were scholars in their own right); and, in the long run, such a phenomenon inevitably had a strong impact on the poetics, reception and transmission of Greek literary texts. Yet it cannot be overlooked that the highly specialized

2 *E.g.*, with varying emphasis, Hardie [1983] 15–36; Zanker [1987] 1–37; Bing [1988]; Gentili [1988] 174–176; Fantuzzi [1993] and in Fantuzzi-Hunter [2004] 1–41; Hunter [2003].

3 Cameron [1995], especially 44–103; cf. Falkner [2002] 343–344; Krevans-Sens [2006] 192–194; Pretagostini [2009]; Acosta-Hughes – Stephens [2012]. For the discussion stimulated by Cameron's monograph see Knox [1996]; Griffiths [1997]; Zanker [1997]; Green [1998]; Lehnus [1999]; Bing [2001]. Although within a reiteration of the dual view, Fantuzzi [2010] argues for some mutual influence between genuinely ritual-performative and learned-fictionalized (Callimachean and Theocritean) religious poetry.

4 On the multifaceted society of, for instance, Hellenistic Alexandria and the relations between its components (Macedonian/Greek citizens, ruling in a foreign land; Egyptian natives; selected Greek intellectuals, juridically *xenoi*, constituting the entourage of the court, according to the typology suggested by Fraser [1972] 1.60–92), see Lewis [1986]; Stephens [2010]; Vandorpe [2010] 171–173; Del Corso [2014]. For cultural implications in the times of Ptolemy II: Stephens [2003]; McKechnie-Guillaume [2008]. The debate on the Ptolemaic policy of intercultural integration has been revived by the discovery of monuments that seem to reinforce the idea of an Egyptizing attitude of the rulers: Empereur [2004]; Goddio-Claus [2006]; Manning [2009]; Weber [2010b].

studies and the finest achievements of scholarship effectively remained unavailable to the majority and exerted a low direct incidence on the average culture of their heterogeneous social contexts, except for the symbolic meaning externally attached to learning by its sponsors (royal courts), since this was mainly a propagandistic component aimed at rendering forced Hellenization more palatable in the eyes of non-Greek natives. Admittedly, Greek papyri from Egypt provide some evidence concerning the influence of scholarship on 'lower' culture, for instance with respect to the reception of a number of philological achievements in Greek schoolrooms, such as the standardizing of literary texts (both in the sense of choice of authors or 'canons' and also of textual uniformization) and reliance on learned exegesis for drawing up commentaries at some level of ordinary Greek education. But the influence of erudite culture on the educational training of a little section of the population can hardly be mistaken for a close interaction between scholarship and society *tout court*. Rather, "scholarship was surprisingly unaffected by social conditions";⁵ and although it can certainly be acknowledged as an outstanding chapter of ancient Greek history as far as cultural quality in itself is concerned, in sociological terms it appears to have been a collateral or quite marginal phenomenon that only faintly reflected and was reflected by the actual uses, trends and mentalities of the composite world within or beside which it developed.

Separateness and inequality between mass culture and the Hellenized learned elite was ultimately the outcome of various intertwined and partly planned transformations that affected the Greek world, such as the mutation and, in the event, the decrease or loss of political autonomy by the *polis*, as well as the mix of Greek and non-Greek populations within the same communities in the areas of most recent Hellenization. The first half of the 3rd century experienced the transition from a general picture of a large number of relatively small Greek *poleis* formally independent, ruled over by regimes which were in varying degrees isonomic and participative, to unusually vast monocratic entities marked by the scaling down of collective involvement of people in State/civic power and by an increasingly verticalized social structure. In the Hellenistic kingdoms outside Greece, the character of these collectivities was slowly becoming ethnically composite and in fact was predominantly non-Greek. These mutational processes were undoubtedly gradual and differentiated, but inexorable and with significant effects on the system of poetic communication.⁶ In the classical autarkic *polis*—though even it was not devoid

5 Wilson [1969] 370.

6 Overall, on the gradualness and complexity of the political and social transition: Graham-Shipley-Hansen [2006]; Strootman [2011] and [2013] 39–40; Wiemer [2013]; some case studies

of elements of social and cultural imbalance—the existence of a number of public and quasi-public occasions fulfilling pragmatic functions had ensured that organicity ruled between the community and political, philosophical, and literary discourse: namely, between orator and assembly, playwright and civic body, poet and audience, and so forth. Each of these performers and related addressees conventionally shared, or were expected to share to some degree, the same skill in their common code of communication. During the first decades of the Hellenistic Age, however, this order imploded, albeit little by little, and, symmetrically, Greek culture was in a sense projected outwards as a result of the forced Hellenization of non-Greek peoples and of the areas conquered by Alexander the Great, which were soon organized into monocratic structures. Inexorably, the modes and mechanisms of poetic communication once tailored to the free and virtually all-Greek *poleis* underwent a process of drastic reshaping. Until then Greek ‘literature’ had been the natural expression of unquestionable Greek identities, whereas now it paved the way for ruling Greek minorities to gain and perpetuate cultural and social prestige in foreign lands. Given these premises, it is legitimate to recognize in this search for status an essential driver of both Hellenistic high poetry and professional scholarship.⁷

Certainly, even during the Classical Age on the Greek mainland the literary system had already begun to undergo a process of transformation, for instance in Athens by the late 5th century (as deplored, among others, by Plato), and the elements of continuity should not be underestimated. In the end, however, the political mutation imposed on the Hellenized world by Alexander and his heirs, and its social consequences, dramatically and irreversibly affected the traditional modes of Greek poetic composition, performance and reception, with an impact on a wide range of features such as the context, occasion and function of poetry, the public role of poets, the composition of audiences, the skill in rhythmic, metrical and musical rules as shared by authors, performers and their addressees, with consequent adaptation of traditional poetry, still performed, to new tastes, needs and occasions, and so forth. This far-reaching upheaval had repercussions on the transmission of works and the related scholarship, and affected aspects involving the availability and actual understanding of oral and written records of ancient texts and music, the material

in van Nijf-Alston-Williamson [2011]. The ‘peer polity interaction’ between *poleis*, leading to networks of peer communities, is stressed as a major fact of continuity from Archaic to Hellenistic Age by Ma [2003].

7 Merkelbach [1981] 29–30; Bing [1988] 128–135; Nagy [1998].

and ideal relevance of the book, scholars' interest and proficiency in the metrical and musical features of ancient works.⁸

The separateness of the elite body of Greek scholars from the heterogeneous social bodies subject to Hellenistic monarchic powers can also be perceived by looking at their respective approaches to and reception of literature. One stream of current debate focuses precisely on the dynamics of musical and textual reception and transmission in the late 4th and early 3rd century, and on the closely related question of the actual skills and methods of Hellenistic scholars in these matters. Many scientists and learned Greek personalities (very often poets) were selectively summoned from their cities or countries to join small protected communities under royal patronage, as an organic intelligentsia and court entourage that would assure ideological cohesiveness. Such communities were positioned at the very tip of the social pyramid, far removed from its base, to a greater extent than had ever been the case before over the prolonged span of Greek history. The goal these scholars cultivated in their pursuit of literature differed from the quest for enjoyment and entertainment that had traditionally stirred ordinary audiences: rather, this learned elite was mainly called upon to respond to a demand for ethnic and political self-identification. In undertaking this task, they devoted great attention firstly to retrieving, riddling and collecting reliable books in royal institutions, and secondly to the aim of in-depth understanding and explaining of the actual text: *i.e. reading*, unraveling obscurities, emending corruptions, and discussing the textual surface and the value of ancient *written* works as such. This commitment resulted in taking a new special care of text transmission and, on the other hand, in apparently disregarding or overshadowing aspects concerning aural reception and performance that had played such a crucial role in the original conception of these works.⁹

A similar attitude is mirrored in an anecdote referred to by the 1st century Latin writer Vitruvius to illustrate the enormous book-oriented culture accumulated roughly a century earlier by Aristophanes of Byzantium, librarian-in-chief and one of the greatest scholars in Hellenistic Alexandria. The anecdote also has the virtue of offering a vivid portrayal of the relation that must have held between learned and popular reception of current poetry. Vitruvius relates that king Ptolemy (which Ptolemy was involved remains unspecified) designated Aristophanes together with another six judges to be the assessors in a competition of poets who were to be called upon to perform their works before

8 For a sketch of changes in poetic communication from 5th to 3rd century see Fantuzzi in Fantuzzi-Hunter [2004] 17–26.

9 Cf. Nagy [1996] 150.

a popular audience. While the other six took the public's reaction into account in forming their judgment, Aristophanes expressed the opposite evaluation (*eum primum renuntiarī iussit, qui minime populo placuisset*) and unmasked the fallacy of the criterion adopted by his colleagues. What Aristophanes demonstrated was that precisely the poet who had not been favorably received either by the audience or by the other judges was actually the only one to have performed an original poem of his own, whereas the remaining competitors had recited works that were not their own creation:

relying upon his own memory, he produced a great amount of scrolls from certain bookcases and, comparing them with the recited works, he compelled the poets to confess that they stole them

*fretus memoriae certis armariis infinita volumina eduxit et ea cum recitatis conferendo coegit ipsos furatos de se confiteri.*¹⁰

According to this picture, written records secured in libraries as well as cultural memory guaranteed by institutionalized scholarship organic to absolute power were conceived and felt (by the latter) as entities to which a primary and authoritative role was ascribed; consequently scholars and books embodied the faculty of exerting judgment and control from above on choices of current poets/performers and the common taste of ordinary audiences.¹¹ This points to a representation of scholars' aims and manner of working as divorced from contemporary compositive/performative trends as well as from the taste and skill of audiences, even contemplating—should the necessity arise—competition with or *against* accepted tastes.

The peculiarity of this reception of poetry is acutely desecrated as useless, eccentric and abstruse as late as the 2nd century AD by Lucian. In the *Vera historia* he satirically exploits his own anti-intellectualistic attitude, by imagining that he himself met Homer and asked him for an opinion on the long-standing wrangles among some notorious Alexandrian philologists over the genuineness or otherwise of several points of his poems:

I asked moreover whether the expunged lines had been written by him, and he answered that they were all of his own! Then I understood how

10 Vitruvius, *De arch.* 7 *praef.* 4–7; Ar. Byz. test. 17 Slater.

11 See Nagy [1996] 227–228 (where Vitruvius' passage is quoted as an evidence “on the negative attitude of Alexandrian scholars concerning the performance of poetry”) and [1998] 209–211.

great was the pedantry of the grammarians such as Zenodotus and Aristarchus.¹²

For all these reasons, the actual musical, orchestric and metric interests and competence of the Hellenistic (Alexandrian) scholars are central subjects of present-day critical debate. According to a recent reassessment, despite the contrast within critical opinion between radical skepticism¹³ versus wide-ranging trust¹⁴ there might still be scope for a middle way: the possibility of episodic and non-standardized contacts and exchanges between the pragmatic-performative and the strictly textual tradition of poetic songs (for instance between *Bühnenexemplare* and *Lesetexte* in the theatrical field) that may have taken place in Alexandrian scholarship from the early 2nd century onwards, with the aim of restoring their alleged original metrical display or colometry.¹⁵ In this perspective, the features connected with poetic performance, although more probably in contemporary adaptations than in its original context, seem to have interested the Hellenistic scholars, if anything, with regard to the contribution such features were expected to give to the textual constitution and metrical understanding and layout of a verse work. Hence this line of inquiry likewise leads to an image of scholarship as at least partially divorced from the concrete expectations of the surrounding society, not unlike the anecdotal sketch provided by Vitruvius and the fictitious satirical picture invented by Lucian.

To conclude on this point, although many aspects of continuity between late Classical and early Hellenistic Age have legitimately been stressed with regard to the modes of poetic performance and reception, the very different political backgrounds, the functional distinction between 'high' and 'low' culture operating in the increasingly multi-ethnic and strongly hierarchical societies of the Hellenistic kingdoms, and finally, as we will see in greater detail further on, the growing specialized professionalization of philology within and in the service of royal institutions seem to be sufficient historical reasons to

12 Lucian, *Ver. hist.* 2.20: see Nesselrath [2002]. "Pedantry" translates ψυχρολογία, lit. "coldness of mind". A comparable attitude dismissing philological activities is displayed by the Latin Stoic philosopher Seneca, *Ep.* 88.39; see most recently Braswell [2013] 36–38.

13 Upheld by von Wilamowitz and taken up again, among others, by Pfeiffer [1968] 181, Pöhlmann (most recently [2007]), and Parker [2001].

14 Fleming-Kopff [1992], followed among others by Gentili-Lomiento [2003], especially 7–11.

15 Prauscello [2003] and [2006], building on some positions maintained *e.g.* by Dihle [1981] 37–38, Falkner [2002], and Fantuzzi in Fantuzzi-Hunter [2004] 27–28 n. 101. Subsequent discussion: Lomiento [2007]; Prauscello [2007]; E. Ch. Kopff in Gentili-Lomiento [2008] 13–17; Tessier [2009] and [2010a].

confirm the view of court poetry and scholarship of the time as exclusive and elitarian entities. And while this does not go so far as to imply that poets and scholars were living and working in an ‘ivory tower’, it certainly seems to point in this direction.¹⁶

1.2 *Historiographic Pattern*

Germane to our subject is also an inquiry into how far a historical reconstruction of Hellenistic scholarship is actually possible at present. The available primary sources consist of sub-literature products, mainly via later (Byzantine) revisions, compendia or genuine reworkings such as scholia, lexica, grammatical treatises and paroemiographic collections, roughly mirroring the main ‘genres’ of the Hellenistic learned culture.¹⁷ Furthermore, we have a growing quantity of direct testimonies of ancient erudition thanks to papyrological finds. In spite of various intrinsic and non-negligible defects of this evidence, due above all to the fact that many of the finds came about quite by chance, in a discontinuous manner and almost exclusively from Egypt, increasing insight has been gleaned into the approaches and the concrete procedures through which the scholars and their more humble analogues, the Greek school teachers, worked on literary texts between the Hellenistic Age and the eve of the Byzantine Period.¹⁸ The nature of all these subliterate products, as working tools, encouraged users and ‘consumers’ to lower the threshold of inhibition *vis-à-vis* the feasibility of text manipulation for personal reasons and for

16 *E.g.* Fraser [1972], especially 1.305–312, with an extensive following, up to Rihll [2010] 410–411 (concerning Alexandrian science and technology) and Strootman [2010] 44–45. Against the idea of Hellenistic poetry and scholarship as an ‘ivory tower’: Pfeiffer [1968] 97–98 (a passage after which—significantly—in page 103 one finds the anachronistic and exaggerated view of the Ptolemaic Library as an open-access institution); cf. Nicolai [1992] 294–296; more vigorously Cameron [1995] 24–70, according to whom (29) “Modern critics have simply rationalized this [Victorian] prejudice [of alleged artificiality and lack of inspiration] against the postclassical, arguing that Hellenistic poets composed for a different audience and in a different way” (but, of course, claiming that a work was destined for a narrow audience and that it was a written composition does not *per se* involve an assumption of artificiality).

17 Montanari [1993b] 235–259; Dickey [2007]; Porro [2009]; Montanari [2012b]; Dickey and Dubischar, this volume. On the debated relation between ancient exegesis and Byzantine scholia: Maehler [1994]; Montana [2011a]; Montana-Porro [2014]. For an outline of the lexicographical and etymological tradition, from antiquity up to the Byzantine era, see Alpers [2001].

18 For this documentation see McNamee [2007] and the issues of *Commentaria et lexica Graeca in papyris*, Berlin-Boston, in progress. On education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt: Morgan [1998]; Cribiore [2001].

ideal as well as practical purposes. Thus testimonies and fragments surviving through exegetical and erudite works of various kinds and times are ultimately individual and highly selective outcomes of repeated and stratified idiosyncrasies. It follows that since the available documentation is so lacunose, composite and fluid, today the stoical inquiry into learned literature must be chiefly oriented towards reducing the naiveté of some apparently simplistic *vulgatae*, so that more detailed and nuanced reconstructions, rooted first and foremost in fresh and up-dated reliable editions of textual fragments, can be provided for such a complex and valuable cultural experience.

From this point of view, even the general perspective which constituted the traditional mainstay of the ancient and modern historiography calls for due caution: that is to say, the idea that the path of Hellenistic scholarship can be traced linearly and statically as a chain of *diadokhai* ('successions'), defined positively by cultural descent or filiation according to the teacher-disciple line, and negatively on the basis of polemical relationships nourished by drastic and non-reversible disputes, must be called into question. For while the line of successions is a standard of ancient historiographic accounts (suffice it to recall the structure in terms of *diadokhai* of the political and military successions to Alexander the Great or of the series of the scholarch philosophers) formally shaped in the archaic genealogical manner, some recent in-depth examinations of specific cases have exposed this representation as a simplified picture of more complex historical facts. In other words, possibly intertwined and multiple-branching cultural and professional relations within intellectual society have invariably been represented as uni-linear chains on the basis of stereotyped polar criteria such as loyalty vs rivalry, continuity vs opposition. To obtain a more credible historical mapping of the intellectual profiles and the relational network, two fields of further investigation are open to students: the evidence displaying the relationship of disciples with teachers and of 'minor' with 'major' grammarians (relations which the ancient sources often typically represent as a spiritless and servile attitude on the part of those who found themselves in an ancillary position, *i.e.* alignment with the dominant positions and endorsement of the polemical causes of the major philologists); and the testimonies on a variety of critical discussions between leading personalities and related 'schools', generally adduced or seen as episodes of intellectual rivalry and cultural/ideological conflict.¹⁹

19 Historical overviews of Hellenistic scholarship: Gräfenhan [1843–1850], Susemihl [1891–1892], Sandys [1921³], Pfeiffer [1968], and Fraser [1972]. Reassessments concerning different spheres of ancient scholarship in Montanari [1994a]; Montana [2012c].

1.3 *Scholarship and Knowledge*

As a preliminary step, one further aspect should be taken into account. In the eyes of the modern scholar, the most customary and regular expression of the ancient exercise of the philological method and techniques is to be found in the activity of editing, studying and commenting on literary—above all poetic—works. The alliance between Hellenistic scholarship and poetry can ultimately be described as a metapoietic or self-reflecting procedure that radiated bidirectionally. Intellectual activity involving the application of philological means to poetry not infrequently coexisted with the incorporation of philology *within* poetry, so that critical interpretation and poetry tended to merge. The poets themselves, becoming experts and editors both of their own poetic works and of those created by others, can legitimately be recognized as *scholar poets*, inasmuch as they were endowed with historical-philological skills, retrospectively oriented towards understanding the poetry of past ages and the cultural heritage, while at the same time also embracing a historical-pragmatic vision, prospectively aimed at (re-)constructing and establishing a new poetry substantially valid for their own time.²⁰ It is therefore hardly surprising that Rudolf Pfeiffer saw in poetry the breeding ground of ancient scholarship.²¹

Yet it is important to be aware that philology and literature are by no means fully overlapping categories, nor are they genuinely comparable with each other: on the contrary, the former is not even a genre that has clearly defined contours within the literary system.²² Rather, it is essentially a kind of methodical approach springing from a rational attitude. A more fine-tuned assessment is called for, in order to distinguish the tradition which, during the Hellenistic Age, gradually became shaped into a “separate intellectual discipline” involving studies on literature²³—it is this discipline that will be our chief concern here—from the more general underlying critical and analytic impulse that proves to have been common to several branches of knowledge. In effect, the connection between poetry and philology was *only one aspect* of the intellectual productivity officially encouraged and sponsored by the Hellenistic rulers. Such a recognition prompts a possible reversal of the narrow view that considers literature as a privileged *habitat* of scholarship: in its place, one may

20 Fantuzzi in Fantuzzi-Hunter [2004] 25–26.

21 Pfeiffer [1968] *passim*, e.g. 3 and 88, with some criticism by Wilson [1969] and Rossi [1973].

22 Sluiter [2000a], especially 199: “we have to conclude that there is no recognition of ‘secondary literature’ as a separate genre in ancient eidography (the description of genres) before Callimachus, and even then it is doubtful”.

23 Pfeiffer [1968] 3.

identify a vision of scholarship as an expression of an intellectual *habitus* (attitude) of a rationalist or scientific kind.²⁴ Oriented (not unlike the Aristotelian approach) towards natural and factual matters, both on the synchronic plane of theoretical reflection and in the diachronic perspective of historical reconstruction, this attitude increasingly spread, from the 4th century onwards, throughout different cultural fields extending well beyond the confines of textual philology, such as historiographic, geographic and antiquarian inquiry, as well as all the range of genuinely scientific research.²⁵

It is precisely this rational approach that seems to constitute the common and unifying ingredient of the cultural activity of some multifaceted figures of the Hellenistic era, whom we struggle to constrain in a clear and univocal manner within the categories of knowledge familiar to us.²⁶ Recognizing that Hellenistic scholarship embodies the application to literature of an approach that had wide validity for every branch of learning, that is to say for knowledge *tout court* and even for potentially encyclopedic culture, ultimately means reviving the Peripatetic inner imprint of its genetic code.²⁷

2 Alexandrian Scholarship to 144 BC

2.1 *Traces of Scholarship Outside Alexandria in the Early Hellenistic Age*

It is worth asking whether, in the framework of the Hellenistic kingdoms, one can legitimately speak of major networks of learned scholarship other than Ptolemaic Alexandria (with which we will be concerned first of all, in the following pages) when considering the period between the death of Alexander the Great and the middle of the 2nd century.

The mist shrouding from view the literary community that flourished at the very beginning of the Hellenistic Age on the Aegean island of Cos, of which

24 Rossi [1973] 115 identifies the core of philology as ‘*ansia di ricerca*’ (research anxiety); and, for instance, Russo [2004] 223 claims that “the Hellenistic linguistic notions . . . constitute an important aspect of the scientific revolution” and “Stoic semantics [opening up the Hellenistic path of observation and systematic definition of linguistic phenomena] is none other than an aspect of the same revolution in thought that led also to science”.

25 Romano [1993] 377, equating Vitruvius’ encyclopedic horizon to the ‘polycentrism’ distinctive of the Hellenistic culture, effectively describes the latter as “la crisi dei grandi sistemi di sapere in cui ogni scienza o arte riproduce al suo interno, in piccolo, una enciclopedia”. Cf. Romano [1987] 50; Montanari [1993a] 632–635; Bonanno [2000] 211–212; this volume, section III.3.

26 *E.g.*, about ‘scholar historians’: Montana [2009c]; cf. Dettori [2000a] 49 with n. 159, 50–52.

27 Fraser [1972] 1.313–316; cf. Montanari [2012d]; Hatzimichali [2013b]; below, § 2.2.

the poet and grammarian Philitas seems to have been the most important representative, has by no means been dispelled.²⁸ Here poets such as (possibly) Theocritus of Syracuse and Hermesianax of Colophon also dwelt for a while, and Theocritus himself as well as Callimachus offer deferential acts of homage to Philitas in their most important poems.²⁹ Ptolemy I Soter (“the Saviour”), the founder of the royal house of Hellenized Egypt who reigned from 305 to 283, chose Philitas as a tutor to his son,³⁰ who was born on the island in 309/8.³¹ Philitas presumably returned to Cos before the foundation of the Alexandrian royal Library, but he was also one of the teachers of the Ephesian Zenodotus,³² who was later appointed as the first librarian by Ptolemy. Philitas owes his place in the history of scholarship to his authorship of a word collection known as *Ἄτακτοι γλῶσσαι* or simply *Ἄτακτα*, perhaps “non-(alphabetically-) arranged unusual words”, only fragments of which remain, so that the title, content and nature of this work are still under discussion.³³ A special interest in Homeric glosses as well as dialectal (not only literary) words is undeniable. It is not possible to state with precision whether and how Philitas conceived of these two spheres of activity as related; but it is notable that Aristotle in the *Poetics* (21.2, 1457b 1–7), undoubtedly referring back to a more ancient practice, singled out among the body of λέξεις (“words”) the subcategory of γλῶσσαι, “unusual words” (in a relative sense, diachronic as well as diatopic, in comparison to the common use of a defined speaking community) also adopted as a stylistic feature in poetry (Homeric examples are quoted in 25.6, 1461a 10–16), among which dialectal words constitute a special type. This connection can ultimately be seen as one of the premises for an interest in dialectology among

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- 28 Editions of testimonies and fragments of Philitas: Dettori [2000a] (only grammatical); Sbardella [2000] (only poetic); Spanoudakis [2002]. The definition ποιητῆς ἄμα καὶ κριτικῆς is by Str. 14.657: Philit. test. 2 Dettori = test. 11 Spanoudakis. On Philitas' scholarship: Pfeiffer [1968] 88–92; Dettori [2000b].
- 29 Theoc. 7.40 (*Thalysia*); Callim., *Aitia* 1, fr. 1.9–10 Pfeiffer = 1.9–10 Massimilla.
- 30 *Suda* φ 332: Philit. test. 1 Dettori = test. 1 Spanoudakis.
- 31 *Marm. Par.*, *FGrHist* 239 B 19.
- 32 *Suda* ζ 74: Philit. test. 10 Dettori = test. 15 Spanoudakis.
- 33 Tosi [1994b] 146–149; Dettori [2000a]; Spanoudakis [2002]; Tosi, this volume. P.Hibeh 172, a fragmentary papyrus roll dated ca. 270–230, contains a poetic *onomastikon* (collection of nouns) arranged by groups or ‘families’ of terms linked not by semantic affinity, but by formal features. One could wonder if this was the grouping method also adopted in Philitas' *Atakta*: Turner [1955]; Pfeiffer [1968] 91–92; Tosi [1994b] 148–149; Dettori [2000a] 192–194. Nicolai [2000a] argues that ἄτακτοι in the title could, instead, mean “not canonical in the rhetorical use” or some such indication.

early Hellenistic grammarians and experts of poetry.³⁴ Philitas' method of lexical explanation seems to have been characterized by a more thorough critical approach than the elementary glossography displayed by exegetes collectively and anonymously quoted as γλωσσογράφοι, "glossographers", later often criticized by the Alexandrian scholar Aristarchus according to the scholia to Homer.³⁵ Philitas' approach loosened the stricture that bound lexicology to the limited and specific requirements of explanation for individual occurrences in a given literary passage or context by means of one-for-one word substitutions, thus allowing scope for the scholar's and poet's pursuit of more general linguistic and stylistic aims. The association of poetry and erudition, as well as the relationship of the first two Ptolemies with Philitas, point to the latter and to 3rd century Cos circles as the immediate antecedents and interlocutors of Alexandrianism. One would wish to obtain more extensive knowledge on this area.

In addition to the rather sketchy information available for Cos, we do have some knowledge on the culture that flourished in the context of Hellenistic Rhodes. After Alexander's death, the island regained its freedom and independence from Macedonian domination and gradually reinforced its role as an essential commercial and banking partner of the great Hellenized kingdoms and especially of Egypt. The lively culture flourishing on the island during the 4th-2nd centuries emerges from the long list of intellectuals of every branch who are known to have been working there.³⁶ As far as the 3rd century is concerned, the list includes three Peripatetics: Eudemus, Aristotle's direct pupil at Athens,³⁷ and Hieronymus,³⁸ both natives of Rhodes, and Theophrastus' disciple Praxiphanes of Mytilene.³⁹ While Eudemus' interests were oriented predominantly towards the history of science, Hieronymus and Praxiphanes

34 The rise of systematic study of dialects dates to the early 3rd century (Sosibius Laco) in the view of Pfeiffer [1968] 202 n. 2. On the relation between literary and spoken languages in ancient dialectology see Cassio [1993a], [1993b], [2007], and [2008] 5–7 and 29–31. As for dialectology in the ancient exegesis to Homer, some stimulating observations can be read in Montanari [2012a].

35 On γλωσσογράφοι: Dyck [1987] (with edition of the fragments); cf. Tosi [1994b] 152–155.

36 Mygind [1999]; cf. Bringmann [2002].

37 Edition of testimonies and fragments of Eudemus: Wehrli [1969²b]. See Mygind [1999] 254 (No. 2); Bodnár-Fortenbaugh [2002].

38 Editions of testimonies and fragments of Hieronymus: Wehrli [1969²d] 9–44; White [2004]. See Mygind [1999] 255 (No. 7).

39 Editions of testimonies and fragments of Praxiphanes: Wehrli [1969²c]; Matelli [2012a], [2012b]. On his life and works: Mygind [1999] 263 (No. 33); Martano-Matelli-Mirhady [2012].

became specialized in the history of literature and culture.⁴⁰ Praxiphanes, who may have been a teacher of Aratus and Callimachus,⁴¹ “was the first to be called *grammatikos* in today’s acceptance” according to an ancient testimony and possibly played a significant part as *trait d’union* between the Aristotelian thought on language and the first steps of grammatical approach at Alexandria (description of parts of speech).⁴² He is known for some scholarship on Homer, Hesiod and Sophocles.⁴³ One century later, the Alexandrian scholar Aristarchus held some of Praxiphanes’ opinions in great esteem, on the one hand sharing his skepticism about the authenticity of the proem of Hesiod’s *Works and Days* and, on the other hand, interpreting with merely stylistic reasons a typical Homeric feature, the reversal of the natural order in question-answer sequences (*deuteron proteron*, “the second first”), which instead Praxiphanes, commenting on *Odyssey* 11.163–203 (the dialogue between Odysseus and the shade of his mother Anticleia), explained on ethical, *i.e.* psychological, grounds.⁴⁴ Additionally, in his work *Περὶ ποιημάτων*, following a line clearly laid out in the sphere of the Peripatus, Praxiphanes focused on problems of literary criticism.⁴⁵ Aratus and Callimachus appear to have been involved in a polemic with him about poetics, testified by Callimachus’ work *To or Against Praxiphanes*.⁴⁶ This was also the period in which the poet

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- 40 With regard to this aspect of Hieronymus’ interests and activity: Martano [2004] (on the inauthenticity of [Hesiod]’s *Shield*); Mirhady [2004] (on Isocrates’ style); Matelli [2004], especially 307–309.
- 41 Thus in a debated source (Callim. fr. 460 Pfeiffer = Praxiph. fr. 7 Matelli) that convinces Cameron [1995] 209–213.
- 42 Clem. Al., *Strom.* 1.16.79.3; Praxiph. fr. 10 Wehrli = fr. 9A Matelli ὠνομάσθη δὲ γραμματικός, ὡς νῦν ὀνομάζομεν, πρῶτος. See Matelli [2012b], especially 31–40 and 248–253.
- 43 Praxiph. fr. 20 Wehrli = fr. 25 Matelli = CPF 86 2T (Homer); fr. 22a–b Wehrli = 28A–B Matelli (Hesiod); fr. 23 Wehrli = fr. 29A–C Matelli (Sophocles).
- 44 On Aristarchean reception of Praxiphanes’ opinions: Matelli [2009]. Particularly on the proem of Hesiod’s *Works and Days*: Montanari [2009a] 316–322; Matelli [2012b] 306–315. On Homeric ‘reverse order’: Lunden [1999d]; Nünlist [2009a] 326–337, especially 332–333; Matelli [2012b] 294–298.
- 45 Praxiph. fr. 12 Wehrli = fr. 27 Matelli (quoted by Phld., *On poems* 5.2). There are some differences of opinion as to whether Diogenes Laertius was referring to this same work when (3.8) he cites a text in which Praxiphanes described a discussion by Plato and Isocrates “on poets” (περὶ ποιητῶν): Praxiph. fr. 11 Wehrli = fr. 22 Matelli; Vallozza [2012] is in favor of maintaining the two works distinct. Overall, on literary historiography and criticism within the Peripatus: Montanari [2012d].
- 46 Callim. fr. 460 Pfeiffer = Praxiph. fr. 16 Wehrli = fr. 11 Matelli. The name of Praxiphanes apparently figures among the critics (“Telchines”) of Callimachus’ poetry who are listed in the so-called *scholia Florentina* to the *Aitia* (*PSI* 11.1219, fr. 1, *ad* Callim., *Aitia* 1, fr. 1

Sim(m)ias lived on the island of Rhodes: like his contemporary Philitas, he compiled a collection of glosses in three books.⁴⁷ The island is described on more than one occasion as a haven for Greek intellectuals in times of crisis at Alexandria: according to some sources, such was the case as early as around 245 for the great Alexandrian poet and librarian Apollonius, henceforth called Rhodius, and more certainly a century later for other Ptolemaic scholars forced or persuaded by political difficulties to abandon Egypt. In effect, in the second half of the Hellenistic Age, after having concluded a definitive alliance with Rome (164) Rhodes enjoyed a new era of cultural achievements, the outstanding features of which were represented by prestigious schools of rhetoric and philosophy.⁴⁸

The royal cities of Macedonian Pella and Seleucid Antioch on the Orontes in the early 3rd century guaranteed hospitality to numerous literary figures and intellectuals, among whom the didascallic poet Aratus of Soloi is remembered in ancient biographic accounts for having been concerned with the textual criticism of both of the Homeric poems.⁴⁹ But this seems an isolated case, on which it would be desirable to acquire further knowledge, and it appears to bear no direct relation to the coeval rise of scholarship in Alexandria. Although Antioch did at a certain point boast a ‘public’ library, the headship of which was bestowed on the poet Euphorion of Chalcis in the time of king Antiochus III the Great (223–188), its repository could in no way compete with the gigantic store of books in the Ptolemaic capital.⁵⁰

Pfeiffer = fr. 1 Massimilla); Praxiph. fr. 15 Wehrli = fr. 10 Matelli = CPF 86 4T; cf. Massimilla [1996] 62–63; Manetti-Montanari [1999]; Matelli [2012b] 253–259. A certain skepticism with regard to Praxiphanes’ involvement in the polemic to which Callimachus refers is expressed by Lefkowitz [1981]; Cameron [1995] 213, 220 and 376–377.

47 Mygind [1999] 271 (No. 65); Di Gregorio [2008].

48 On Hellenistic Rhodes: Berthold [1984]; Rossetti-Liviabella Furiani [1993]; Gabrielsen et al. [1999]; Bringmann [2002]. For late-Hellenistic Rhodes see also below, § 3.2.

49 Pfeiffer [1968] 121 with n. 4. Aratus’ work is qualified as a *diorthōsis* (i.e., as we shall see below, a textual revision preliminary to, and performed for, the purposes of a critical edition) in two ancient *Lives*: I, 8 Martin διώρθωσε δὲ καὶ τὴν Ὀδύσσειαν; III, 16 Martin καὶ τὴν Ὀδύσσειαν δὲ διώρθωσε καὶ καλεῖται τις διόρθωσις οὕτως Ἀράτειος ὡς Ἀριστάρχαιος καὶ Ἀριστοφάνειος. τινὲς δὲ αὐτὸν εἰς Συρίαν ἐληλυθέναι φασὶ καὶ γεγενῆσθαι παρ’ Ἀντιόχῳ καὶ ἀξιῶσθαι ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ὥστε τὴν Ἰλιάδα διορθώσασθαι.

50 Sources collected by Platthy [1968] 170–173 (Nos. 166–173), whose No. 166 = Euph. test. 1 van Groningen = test. 1 Acosta-Hughes – Cusset (by *Suda* ε 3801): ἦλθε πρὸς Ἀντιόχον τὸν Μέγαν ἐν Συρίᾳ βασιλευόντα καὶ προέστη ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐκεῖσε δημοσίας βιβλιοθήκης, “(Euphorion) went to Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, and was put by him at the head of the local public library”—a testimony defined by Acosta-Hughes – Cusset [2012] xvi “une des rares attestations qui nous soient restées de patronage de cour concernant les

Of the wonderful long-standing Athenian culture, above all the philosophical sphere prospered and was highlighted by the developments of the Academy and the Lyceum or Peripatus and enlivened by the foundation of the Stoa and the Epicurean Garden. We will see shortly that the Peripatus exerted a special influence on the conception of the Alexandrian cultural institutions. And some explanations of Homeric passages which can be found in fragments of Stoic thinkers such as Zeno and Chrysippus, where they are intended to clarify grammatical phenomena or support philosophical (theological and cosmological) doctrines, could have inspired or, in turn, have been influenced by the highly specialized scholarship that was rising in Alexandria during that period.⁵¹ Moreover, apart from a few private collections of books, such as those set up by Euripides and by Aristotle in their day, the foundation of a new library in Athens must be traced back to the Ptolemies themselves, as an image-building operation which, through evergetic homage to the *polis*, aimed at sharing its prestige and in some sense becoming its heirs, taking possession of its undisputed cultural primacy.⁵²

Finally, the learned culture of the city of Pergamum in Asia Minor reached its acme in the 2nd century, substantially as an aemulation of the Ptolemaic institutions by the kings of the enterprising Attalid dynasty; and Rome—where the first steps towards philo-Hellenism in some sectors of high culture date to the second half of the 3rd century—did not begin to exert a significant role in this historical framework until the 2nd/1st century. For this reason, both of these seats of learning will be dealt with in a later section of this chapter.

Thus, within the Hellenized world of the 3rd and first half of the 2nd century, apart from just a few localized centers (Cos, Rhodes) and some isolated personalities who may have acted as early forerunners or contemporary

Séleucides, et du souhait, chez ces derniers, de promouvoir les Lettres". As a scholar poet, Euphorion's focus of interest included, among other things, poetic-musical history, which he examined in works entitled *On the Isthmian Games* and *On the lyric poets* (fr. 65–68 and 69 Acosta-Hughes – Cusset). On a putative *damnatio memoriae* of Alexandria in Euphorion's poetic work, as a consequence of imperialistic rivalry between Seleucids and Ptolemies, see Magnelli [2013]. Overall on Hellenistic Antioch: Downey [1963]; Pack [1993].

51 Long [1992] 48–49.

52 Book collections in 4th century Athens: Pinto [2013]. Epigraphic testimonies on the Athenian *Ptolemaion* are collected by Platthy [1968] 110–112 (Nos. 28–35). About Hellenistic Athens: Ferguson [1911]; Habicht [2000]; Shipley [2000] 108–152. That 3rd century 'libraries' were rather institutionalized book collections, then thought of as libraries by subsequent generations of scholars, is contended by Hendrickson [2014]. In this chapter, however, the traditional naming of 'library / -ies' will be conventionally maintained.

competitors and sources of inspiration, Alexandrian scholarship under the Ptolemies shines as a leading center in its field, whereas a description in terms of a polycentrism of seats of learning and great public libraries should more properly be reserved for the period from roughly the middle of the 2nd century.⁵³

Two major events exerted a lasting effect on the historical line of Alexandrian philology. Firstly, the scaling down of the imperial ambitions of the Ptolemaic Crown, in the wake of the loss of the overseas dominions in the final decades of the 3rd century. In the second place, the political turning point marked by Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II's reprisals upon his accession to the throne in 145/144 after a severe crisis within the royal dynasty. This led on one hand to an impoverishment of the segment of the population represented by intellectuals from Greek areas, who in the previous decades had been the main reservoir of scientific and literary talents for the Ptolemies' cultural policy, and on the other to a diaspora of scholars departing from Alexandria, with the effect of a widespread insemination of scholarly interests and methods outside the Ptolemaic capital. We will adopt this latter historical reorientation in the tide of events as the watershed in our survey.

2.2 *Culture and Royal Patronage in Early Ptolemaic Egypt: The Museum*

The outstanding character of Alexandrian philology during the early Hellenistic Age was due first and foremost to its origin as the product of a successful large-scale planned cultural policy and personal patronage by the Ptolemaic (or Lagid) royal house.⁵⁴ The latter was formally constituted in 305 by Ptolemy son of Lagos,⁵⁵ one of the members of the high Macedonian aristocracy who as generals fought alongside Alexander the Great in his military campaigns and who, after the death of the king, battled with one another for imperial power (and thereafter were called *διάδοχοι*, "successors"). The initial steps taken by the first Ptolemies in their cultural enterprise appear to have been closely linked to

53 (Fresh) editions of fragments of early Hellenistic scholarship are especially needed in order to establish a more definite frame, as invoked among others by Dettori [2000b] 183–184.

54 On Ptolemaic patronage: Fraser [1972] 1.305–312; Murray [2008]. On cultural and ideological implications of the relationship between power and literature in Ptolemaic Egypt: Merkelbach [1981]; Weber [1993]. Historical overviews of the period: Bevan [1968]; Shipley [2000] 192–234; Thompson [2003]; Adams [2006] 38–43; Manning [2009]; Vandorpe [2010].

55 For a profile of Ptolemy see Ellis [1994].

the Peripatus.⁵⁶ Although this has been disputed,⁵⁷ today it is corroborated by rather plentiful direct and indirect evidence, ideally starting from the personal Macedonian roots of Aristotle and his aforementioned close relations with the kings Philip II and Alexander the Great.⁵⁸ According to Strabo, writing in the Augustan Age, Aristotle “was the first to collect a library and taught the kings of Egypt the planning of a collection of books (βιβλιοθήκης σύνταξιν).”⁵⁹ Given that the philosopher died in 322, we are compelled to draw from this statement that the Ptolemies deliberately *chose* the criteria of the Aristotelian private library for their own book collection. Ptolemy I established contacts with a number of Greek intellectuals, and sought to persuade them to move to Alexandria as preceptors of his son (a mention of Philitas was already made above). Among such intellectuals was the Peripatetic Theophrastus, who declined the invitation,⁶⁰ and Theophrastus’ pupil and future scholarch Strato of Lampsacus, named ὁ φυσικός (“the scientist”), who, persuaded by a sizeable fee, accepted.⁶¹ The king was also successful with Demetrius of Phalerum, himself a disciple and friend of Theophrastus and personally active in the field of literary criticism.⁶² Exiled from Athens after the seizure of the town by Demetrius Poliorcetes in 307, Demetrius of Phalerum took up residence firstly in Boeotian Thebes and later, after the death of Cassander (297), in the Ptolemaic capital,⁶³ perhaps

56 Selectively: Turner [1962] 140–141, 144 and [1968] 106–107; Bevan [1968] 124; Momigliano [1968]; Wilson [1969] 368–369; Fraser [1972] 1.314–315 and 320; Rossi [1976] 111–115; Blum [1977] 27–134; Arrighetti [1987]; Canfora [1993] 11–16 and [1999]; Nicolai [1992] 265–270; Montanari [1993b], 259–264; Richardson [1994]; Erskine [1995] 39–40; Nagy [1996], especially 187–206, and [1998] 189–206; Montanari [2000a].

57 Pfeiffer [1968], while not totally rejecting a link (*e.g.* 103–104), rules out the initial Peripatetic matrix of Alexandrian philology, preferring to stress the role of Philitas.

58 An inclination of Alexander towards the foundation of libraries and translation of books into Greek is argued by Canfora [1993] 18–19.

59 Str. 13.608.

60 Diog. Laert. 5.37: Fortenbaugh-Huby-Sharples-Gutas [1992] 20–21, No. 1.

61 Diog. Laert. 5.58: Strato fr. 1 Wehrly = fr. 1 Sharples, reporting the rumor of a fee of 80 talents. On Strato see Fraser [1972] 1.427–428; Desclos-Fortenbaugh [2011]. Editions of testimonies and fragments: Wehrli [1969^{2a}]; Sharples [2011].

62 Editions of testimonies and fragments: Wehrli [1968²]; Stork-Opujisen-Dorandi [2000]; a good number of fragments, of mostly historical interest, have been published by F. Jacoby as *FGrHist* 228. There remain a few fragments of Homeric scholarship and grammatical subject-matter: Dem. Phal. fr. 190–193 and 196 Wehrli = fr. 143–147 Stork-Opujisen-Dorandi; see Montanari [2000a] and [2012d].

63 Chiefly Str. 9.398: Dem. Phal. fr. 55 Wehrli = fr. 19 Stork-Opujisen-Dorandi; Diod. Sic. 20.45.4: Dem. Phal. fr. 50 Wehrli = fr. 30 Stork-Opujisen-Dorandi; Ael., *VH* 3.17: Dem Phal. fr. 65 Wehrli = fr. 40 Stork-Opujisen-Dorandi; Diog. Laert. 5.78 (Hermipp. fr. 69 Wehrli =

under the protection of Eurydice, Cassander's sister and the first wife of Ptolemy I.⁶⁴ He is said by ancient sources to have influenced the king's cultural policy, assisting him in the initial constitution of a royal Library and possibly providing him with the inspiration to found the Museum, or Shrine of the Muses, a cultural institution apparently moulded upon the Platonic and Aristotelian schools at Athens. The testimony of the 2nd/3rd century AD writer Athenaeus suggests that king Ptolemy II Philadelphus (283–246) bought from Neleus of Scepsis, a pupil of Theophrastus, the books constituting the private library of Aristotle⁶⁵ and it is those very works that may have made up the original fund of books of the Alexandrian Library.⁶⁶ However, again according to Strabo, the Aristotelian esoteric ('internal') writings, composed for specialized discussion within the Peripatus, did not become known to the general public until they were published in the second half of the 1st century.⁶⁷ The two testimonies can be reconciled by assuming that Neleus sold to Ptolemy the books owned by Aristotle except for the collection of Aristotle's own works.⁶⁸ While the full historical reliability of these testimonies may be open to doubt, they do at least document the ancient sensation of a strong connection—indeed a genetic link—between the Peripatus and the Ptolemaic cultural policy.

In fact an Aristotelian imprint appears from the internal structure and the activities themselves of the Museum. Describing the royal palace-complex in the Brucheion, the northeastern quarter of Alexandria, Strabo tells us:

The Museum is part of the royal quarter and it has a cloister⁶⁹ and an arcade and a large house in which is provided the common meal of the men of learning who share the Museum. And this community has common funds, and a priest in charge of the Museum, who was appointed previously by the kings, but now by Caesar.⁷⁰

FGrHist 1026 fr. 75); Dem. Phal. fr. 69 Wehrli = fr. 1 Stork-Ophuijsen-Dorandi. On Ptolemy's advances see Fraser [1972] 1.314–315. On Demetrius in Alexandria: Williams [1987] 90–91.

64 The connection is highlighted by J. D. Morgan *apud* Nagy [1996] 196 with n. 30 and 198 with n. 38.

65 Ath. 1.3b.

66 Blum [1977] 109–134; Canfora [1999]; Tanner [2000].

67 Str. 13.609.

68 We will return in detail to the question later, § 3.2.

69 In Greek *περίπατον*, a word emphasized by Nagy [1998] 198, by arguing that “[t]his physical feature is also a notional feature metonymically linking the Museum to the Lyceum”.

70 Str. 17.794, translated by Fraser [1972] 1.315.

According to this testimony, and to other surviving evidence, the organization of the Museum is shown to have been strongly influenced by the Academic and Peripatetic models. They were essentially permanent institutions which gathered together communities focusing on religious worship of the Muses, sharing intellectual activities and enjoying common dinners (συσσίτια).⁷¹ However, some major differences are worth underlining: the Ptolemaic Museum was physically incorporated into the royal palace, actually being a ‘property’ of the sovereign,⁷² and it had little of the twofold dimension—not only internal or introflexed, but public or acroamatic as well—so typical of both of the main philosophical Athenian schools. The Alexandrian Museum must have been open to no more than a few pupils, selected to be trained to work within the Ptolemaic institutions.⁷³ But ultimately, the “scientific attitude to literature and to all branches of natural study” displayed in the Museum with an inclination to encyclopedism is an unmistakable Peripatetic feature.⁷⁴

Thus in Alexandria the cultural gap between the prominent learned men patronized by royal power and the overall body of inhabitants was becoming increasingly pronounced. This fits well with what is known about the exclusive and intellectualized poetry favored by the majority of the learned men of the Museum (scholar poets), and it would seem to have been the target of some polemical verse addressed against Alexandrian thinkers by the 3rd century poet Timon of Phlius:

71 Str. 13.608–609; Diog. Laert. 5.51–57. See Fraser [1972] 1.312–316; Canfora [1993] 11–16. Lynch [1972] 121–123, on the contrary, minimizes the importance of these similarities. On the long-lasting debate concerning the alleged religious character (*thiasoi*) and juridical status of both of the philosophical schools in classical Athens see Natali [2013] 78–90, whose conclusion is that (86) “the principal purpose of the establishment of the philosophical schools was not the cult of the Muses but was something else, the implementation of the ideal of the theoretical life” as envisaged especially by Aristotle in terms of *συνφιλοσοφείν*. It was not before the 1st century that these schools became institutions juridically self-standing, according to Maffi [2008]. Luzzatto [2008], especially 151, rather stresses the influence exerted on the Alexandrian institutions by the Isocratean pattern of culture (*φιλοσοφία* in classical, still encyclopedic acceptance: see below, n. 76). Unfortunately the treatise *On the Museum at Alexandria* by the grammarian of the Augustan Age Aristonicus is lost.

72 As underscored by Canfora [1993] 15.

73 Fraser [1972] 1.318.

74 The quotation is from Fraser [1972] 1.305. The connection is confirmed by proven Peripatetic influences on interests, concepts and methods of militant Hellenistic scholarship: see e.g. Meijering [1987]; Richardson [1992a] and [1994]; Montanari [1994a]; Schironi [2009b]; Cadoni [2010]; Montanari [2012d]; Hunter and Nünlist, this volume.

πολλοὶ μὲν βόσκονται ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πολυφύλῳ / βιβλιακοὶ χαρακίται ἀπείριτα
δηριόωντες / Μουσέων ἐν ταλάρῳ

in the populous land of Egypt many are they who get fed, / cloistered
bookworms, endlessly arguing / in the bird-coop of the Muses.⁷⁵

Athenaeus, introducing the quotation of these lines, says that Timon is ridiculing “philosophers” of the Museum because they are like valuable birds fed in a coop.⁷⁶ Regardless of whether the metaphor Μουσέων ἐν ταλάρῳ is interpreted as “in a closed birdcage”, namely an entity secluded from the external world or a zoo,⁷⁷ or as “in a bird-coop” of a farm where delicacies for the table are fattened,⁷⁸ in either case “these birds are unfledged, confined to the nest, unable to nourish themselves, and thus dependent on their parent-bird”.⁷⁹ Contentious rivalry and inept seclusion seem to be closely combined in this confined environment. The imagery recalls the quarrelsome ambience portrayed in some of the prominent works by Callimachus, the great poet and scholar who likewise worked in the Museum during the first half of the 3rd century.⁸⁰

It has been argued that Peripatetic influence is not sufficient to completely explain the origin and specificity of the Alexandrian Museum. Intuitively, the organicity of the institution with the newborn royal power may suggest that an interest in culture was exploitable in several ways. On the one hand, in general terms the patronage of Hellenistic kings resumed and institutionalized the inclination of archaic and classical Greek aristocracies towards private patronage over intellectuals and artists in order to obtain personal prestige.⁸¹ On the other, one may perceive in the Lyceum-shaped Museum a response to the political needs of the first Ptolemy, whose main concern, immediately after his installation, lay not only in self-legitimation both as a Greek sovereign and as the true heir of Alexander (the relation of the latter with Aristotle being

75 Tim. Phl., *Silli*, SH 786 = fr. 12 Di Marco, quoted by Ath. 1.22d, here in the translation by Fraser [1972] 1.317.

76 The term φιλόσοφοι could well have represented, in its Isocratean wide (encyclopedic) acceptance, the official denomination and cultural profile of the learned members of the Alexandrian Museum: Luzzatto [2008] 147–154, with scrutiny of sources.

77 Di Marco [1989] 142–143.

78 As suspected by Fraser [1972] 2.471 n. 88, and argued by Cameron [1995] 31–32; cf. Clayman [2009] 93.

79 Bing [2001] 76–77.

80 *Iambi* 1 and 13 and the opening lines of the *Aitia*.

81 Nagy [1998].

well known)⁸² and of Alexander's imperial project, but also in bestowing on the Greek ruling minority of Egypt a cultural link with the past and present of Hellenic culture: a project he cultivated by summoning scientists and scholars from throughout the Greek world to serve in his Museum. With all likelihood Ptolemy I and at least both of his immediate successors aimed at leadership (or monopoly) of Greek culture as a means of displaying their (claimed) political leadership over the Hellenized world.⁸³ Ultimately, this provides insight into the reason why in ancient Alexandria scholarship was "central to a political elite".⁸⁴

This also appears to be the most satisfactory explanation of the fact that the cultural policy of the first Ptolemies was widely cosmopolitan within the Greek world, displaying a marked preference for learned men drawn from Greek regions and cities that boasted a long-standing and impressive tradition. There is some evidence of intense talent-scouting and a campaign for recruitment and transfer of intellectuals promoted by Soter and Philadelphus.⁸⁵ The advances of Ptolemy I to Theophrastus and Demetrius of Phalerum, as well as the choice of Philitas and Strato for the post of royal tutors, reveal the special attention devoted to the Greek intelligentsia (philosophers, scientists, and poets). One cannot impute wholly to chance the telling circumstance that the main 3rd century intellectuals (many of whom, if not all, were poets) recruited as scholars by the Lagids came from areas which had long been seen as defining the boundaries of the Greek landscape, though apparently with the absence of Western Hellas:⁸⁶ Alexander Aetolus (also linked to the poetic circle patronized by the Macedonian king Antigonus Gonata at Pella), Lycophron of Chalcis, Zenodotus of Ephesus, Eratosthenes and Callimachus, both of whom were from Cyrene. Thus the cosmopolitan philo-Hellenism inscribed in the cultural policy of the first Ptolemies can be traced back at least in part to the internal political situation of Egypt, which at that time was subject to forced Hellenization, as well as to the ambitions of imperial power nourished throughout an entire century by the Lagid dynasty.⁸⁷

82 Ellis [1976] 161–162, argues that the young Ptolemy son of Lagos was also a pupil of Aristotle at Mieza in about 342, among the Macedonian royal Pages of Alexander; cf. Ellis [1994] 4 and 61. About Pages: Heckel [1992] 237–298; Strootman [2013] 45–46.

83 Erskine [1995].

84 Murray [2008] 24.

85 Fraser [1972], especially 1.307–309.

86 We lack any positive evidence about a philological activity of Theocritus of Syracuse at Alexandria.

87 Erskine [1995] 45. On the thalassocratic policy pursued by the first Ptolemies: Buraselis-Stefanou-Thompson [2013]. For an instance of poetry mirroring Ptolemies' imperial ambitions see Bing [2005] (Posidippus of Pella).

The factors highlighted by research so far—interest in knowledge; traditional dynastic patronage; self-promoting power or imperial ideology in a Macedonized-Hellenized world—were undoubtedly intermingled and jointly contributed to inspiring the conception of the Alexandrian Museum. Factual, mental and symbolic aspects coalesced to produce an outstanding cultural entity. Moreover, even granted that the Greek intellectual community working in the Museum was primarily intended to serve propagandistic purposes, it was at the same time designed to be, and was in fact, neither static nor simply decorative, but lively and pro-active in the endeavor to provide open and unceasingly substantive research in a number of branches throughout the sciences and literature. In other words, the Aristotelian epistemological methodology and systemic/encyclopedic grid can be said to have been cloned at Alexandria not merely because such aspects were exploitable by power, but also, or perhaps rather, as a comparatively effective and therefore consciously and positively preferred means of knowledge.

2.3 *Making the 'Universal' Library*

A great Library was needed in the service of the activities of the Alexandrian Museum.⁸⁸ The model, apart from the Aristotelian influence, may have been previous collections of writings in tombs, temples, and royal buildings of the ancient Near East and Egypt.⁸⁹ Unfortunately, ancient writers have left no documentation either on the exact topography of the Library within the Brucheion, the royal quarter of the city, or its physical and operative links with the Museum. Ptolemy II—undoubtedly implementing and fulfilling an intuition of his father—equipped the royal quarter with such a facility, allegedly aided at first by positive assistance from Demetrius of Phalerum.⁹⁰ It is impossible to determine the extent of a putative role played by Demetrius, and one cannot rule out that it may have been a fanciful invention to ennoble the foundation of the Library.⁹¹ In favour of an actual role of Demetrius, it has been noted that he is said to have embraced the cult of Sarapis, newly introduced

88 The modern critic literature on the Alexandrian Library has impressively increased. Selectively: Parsons [1952]; Canfora [1990]; El-Abbadi [1992²]; the essays collected in MacLeod [2000], especially Barnes [2000], and in El-Abbadi – Fathallah [2008]; Berticosta [2010].

89 Haikal [2008], who claims (54) that the Ptolemaic royal Library “must have been the equivalent of the *pr md3t pr* ‘3 or ‘House of Books of the [Pharaonic] Royal Palace’ with its scribes”. Cf. Pedersén [1998]; Potts [2000].

90 Dem. Phal. fr. 17, 66, 67, 188, 199, 201, 202 Wehrli = fr. 58A-66 Stork-Ophuijsen-Dorandi. See especially Fraser [1972] 1.314; Canfora [1993] 12–13.

91 Honigman [2003] 88–91.

by the Ptolemies possibly in order to promote integration between Greeks and Egyptians.⁹² This may accord with the existence of another library, called “daughter” and “outer”, in the temple of Sarapis or Sarapeum built perhaps by Ptolemy I and later restored by Ptolemy III Euergetes I (246–221) in the Alexandrian quarter of Rhacotis.⁹³ However, whether or not Philadelphus was the founder of the great Library, and even though wholly sharing the ambitious project of his father, as soon as he came to the throne he dismissed Demetrius, who was charged with having supported a different heir to the kingship: for Demetrius had advised Soter to bestow the kingship on one of his sons by his first wife Eurydice, intuitively because she was Cassander’s sister,⁹⁴ but the king, on the contrary, had chosen his son by his second wife Berenice, princess of Cyrene.⁹⁵

It is known that the Library was directed by a librarian-in-chief. A list of the librarians of 3rd and 2nd centuries is provided by a papyrus found at Oxyrhynchus, to which we will return later. Some librarians, such as Zenodotus, Apollonius Rhodius and Aristarchus, are said also to have worked as tutors to the royal family and therefore with all probability this function was appointed by the king himself.

The Library was apparently designed from the very beginning as the venue for collecting the works of all times written in (or else translated into) Greek. Our fullest source concerning the Library, the *Prolegomena de comoedia* by the Byzantine writer John Tzetzes (ca. 1110–1185), states that the books (papyrus rolls or *volumina*) collected were “all the ones of the Greeks and of all other peoples and also of the Jews”;⁹⁶ this hyperbolic statement probably referring to translations into Greek of particularly important foreign works, as was the case for Jewish Law. The collection grew throughout the Hellenistic Age, reaching some hundred thousand books. Tzetzes gives the figures of 400,000 “mixed” (σμμυγείς) and 90,000 “unmixed” (ἀμμυγείς) rolls⁹⁷—a single work often being

92 Ellis [1994] 55–56. On the new cult of Sarapis: Tac., *Hist.* 4.83–84; see Fraser [1972] 1.246–249; Stambaugh [1972], especially 6–13; Pfeiffer [2008]; Bergmann [2010].

93 On the ‘daughter’ Library: Pfeiffer [1968] 102; Fraser [1972] 1.323–324; El-Abbadi [2008].

94 Nagy [1996] 198.

95 Diog. Laert. 5.78 (Hermipp. fr. 69 Wehrli = *FGrHist* 1026 fr. 75): Dem. Phal. fr. 69 Wehrli = fr. 1 Stork-Ophuijsen-Dorandi. Demetrius may have worked together with the first Ptolemy when the son of the latter was only associated with the royal power (285–283): e.g. Canfora [1999] 15. Collins [2000] 82–114 believes that Demetrius was genuinely the first to hold the position of head of the Library under the reign of Soter.

96 John Tzetzes, *Prolegomena, Prooemium* II (X1a II, 32.16–17 Koster).

97 John Tzetzes, *Prolegomena, Prooemium* II (X1a II, 32.9–11 Koster): Dem. Phal. fr. 58B Stork-Ophuijsen-Dorandi (cf. fr. 67 Wehrli). The *Scholium Plautinum* (Vat. Lat. 11469, f. 181r),

constituted by more than one roll⁹⁸—and the books reached the number of about 700,000 according to the 2nd century AD Latin writer Aulus Gellius.⁹⁹ In the same period, again as described by Tzetzes, the Library in the Sarapeum contained 42,800 rolls.¹⁰⁰

It is legitimate to imagine that the making of such a large and remarkable amount of books, though gradual over time, was planned by the first Ptolemies as the common goal of a specialized team of learned personalities working on what must, intuitively, have been at least a three-stage task: firstly, retrieval of copies; secondly, textual checking and emendation of the material in order to (re)establish authenticity, general reliability and correctness; and finally, critical re-editing of texts and drawing up commentaries together with study of the collected works by successive generations of learned men within the Museum. The second and third stages of activity will be described in the next section; here we will address the first stage.

Of interest in this regard is some traditional information, or rather stories, about the Ptolemies' book acquisition strategy, which consisted in importing, copying, and translation. Some sources, perhaps reflecting Ptolemaic propaganda itself, depict this process as a series of anecdotes about the kings' bulimia towards books, with particular reference to the second and the third Ptolemy. Their predilection for conspicuously flaunting the acquisition of available books could be interpreted as an 'imperialist' attitude.¹⁰¹ Many rolls were regularly purchased at the renowned book markets of Athens and Rhodes¹⁰² and one source attests that Philadelphus launched an impressive call for books "to all the kings and rulers of the earth" in order to obtain texts of every genre.¹⁰³ Other books were acquired through what might be termed (in a modern perspective) more questionable ways of appropriation, for example by commandeering all books coming into the town harbors by ship from abroad, and then returning copies to the legitimate owners instead of the originals.

a humanistic Latin annotation derived from Tzetzes, quotes Callimachus as the source for these numbers, but wrongly, as it seems: Parsons [1952] 108–112; Koster [1961]; Pfeiffer [1968] 48 n. 19, 175 n. 86, 184, 213–214.

98 Usually the adjective *συνμιγείς* is taken here to mean "containing several works" (e.g. Lloyd-Jones [1990] 27) or "compound" (e.g. Turner [1968] 102). In the opinion of Canfora [1993] 24 it designated the roll "che, insieme con altri, concorre a formare un'unica opera" [which, together with others, contributes to forming a single work].

99 Gell. 7.17.3.

100 Extreme skepticism with regard to these figures is expressed by Bagnall [2002].

101 Erskine [1995] 45.

102 Ath. 1.3b.

103 Epiphani. Schol., *De mensuris et ponderibus*, PG 43.252.

These rolls formed a fund called ἐκ πλοίων, ‘from ships’. A similar trick is attributed to Ptolemy III, who is said to have borrowed some precious rolls from the city of Athens, after depositing a sizeable security of 15 silver talents for the loan: these were none other than the rolls that had been created at the behest of Lycurgus during the political leadership of the latter (338–326) in order to establish an official and authorized text of the tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides. Ptolemy then apparently commissioned a costly copy of the books and sent these new copies back to Athens instead of the originals, forsaking the deposit.¹⁰⁴ The anecdote is a telling revelation of the value attributed to the Athenian exemplars in the eyes of Ptolemy, who evidently was well aware of the process of text corruption that frequently affected copies, and it is representative of the so-called ‘Alexandrian ideology’, eager to possess canonical texts of ancient literature(s).¹⁰⁵

Another important chapter in the story of early Ptolemaic voracity for books—whether the tradition is reliable or whether it is no more than a constructed myth—is represented by translations into Greek of relevant works written in different languages, such as those forming part of the Chaldaic, Egyptian, and Roman heritage;¹⁰⁶ a translation of the Zoroastrian *corpus* is also attested to by Pliny the Elder.¹⁰⁷ To this end, many “expert men” are said to have been engaged by the Ptolemies, “aware of their language as well as of the Greek one”.¹⁰⁸ Obviously, translation into Greek can be seen as part and parcel of the Hellenization (in the sense of the symbolic appropriation and subduing) of foreign cultures.¹⁰⁹ Furthermore, the philological relevance of translation is also worth noting: the process of transposition from one

104 Both of the stories on books “from ships” and the Athenian rolls of the tragic poets can be read in Gal., *In Hippocratis librum III epidemiarum* 2.4, 17/1.606–607 Kühn: Aeschylus test. 146 Radt = Sophocles test. 157 Radt = Euripides test. 219 Kannicht. See Wenkebach [1936] 79–80; Platthy [1968] 118–119; Fraser [1972] 1.480–481; Battezzato [2003] 19–22; Scodel [2007].

105 Nagy [1996] 201–205, who sees the seminal act of this Ptolemaic project as residing in the acquisition of the alleged Aristotelian ‘edition’ of the *Iliad* owned by Alexander (Plut., *Alex.* 8.2); cf. Honigman [2003] 43–44. A skeptical opinion in this respect is maintained by Sanz Morales [1994] 22–39.

106 Georgius Syncellus, *Chronographical selection* 516 Dindorf.

107 *HN* 30.2–4. Callimachus’ pupil Hermippus commented on the (translated) Zoroastrian *corpus* and provided it with indexes: *FGrHist* 1026 fr. 57, with the comment by Bollansée [1999b], especially 440–441.

108 John Tzetzes, *Prolegomena, Prooemium* II (X1a II, 33,1 Koster).

109 Erskine [1995] 43; cf. Canfora [1993] 21; Gruen [2006]; and more generally, on the attitude of Greeks towards foreign cultures, Momigliano [1975]. On Hellenization as a translation

language to another implies textual analysis, understanding and interpretation, *i.e.* functions closely comparable to emending and commenting on literary texts—both of which were typical activities of criticism undertaken in the Alexandrian Museum.

One of the most notable Ptolemaic achievements in this sphere is said to have been the translation from Hebrew into Greek of the Jewish Law (Torah), *i.e.* the first five books of the Bible or Pentateuch, by a selected commission of 72 Jewish elders. This was the core of the Greek translation of the *Old Testament* known as *Septuaginta* (LXX). The episode is the main narrative in the anonymous, and largely fictional, composition known as *Letter of Aristeeas to Philocrates*, which should more properly be called *Book of Aristeeas*. This work seems to have been composed in Alexandria around the middle of the 2nd century for an audience of highly educated Jews, as an aetiology of the LXX translation and designed to defend its accuracy and sacredness despite the poor quality of contemporary manuscripts, the text of which had undergone serious deterioration. The intellectual approach inspiring the *Book* may have been influenced by textual criticism on Greek works (chiefly the Homeric poems), in which the Museum excelled during this period, reaching results such as the highest achievements of Aristarchus.¹¹⁰ It is also worth recalling that possibly in the same period, namely the central decades of the 2nd century, Aristoboulos was composing, very probably in Alexandria, and dedicating to the king an exegetical work written in Greek in which some difficult passages of the *Old Testament* were explained, partly by resorting to allegoresis, thereby foreshadowing a method later abundantly displayed in Biblical exegesis by Philo of Alexandria.¹¹¹

The first person narrator in the *Book*, a court official of Ptolemy (the Philadelphus, as it seems) called Aristeeas, gives a report on his journey in Judaea as an envoy to Eleazar, High Priest of the Hebrews at Jerusalem, where his mission was to obtain the most authoritative exemplar of the Jewish Law from which to draw a reliable Greek version for the royal Library in Alexandria.

of Egyptian patterns and a means for their appropriation by the Alexandrian court and elite see Koenen [1993].

110 Thus the most recent comprehensive study on the topic, Honigman [2003], especially 119–143. On the dating of the *Book* see, therein, 128–130. On the extensive success and tradition of this work: Canfora [1996].

111 On the interaction between Jewish Biblical interpretation and Hellenistic scholarship: Siegert [1996]; Niehoff [2011]. On the Jewish community of Hellenistic Alexandria and relevant ancient representations: Fraser [1972] 1.54–58; Gruen [1998], [2003], [2006] and [2010]; Kovelman [2005].

Grafted into his narrative are several lengthy digressions shaped around the plot of the biblical *Exodus* and regarding the history of Judaism and the Graeco-Egyptian Jewish community up to the liberation from slavery by Philadelphus.¹¹² As an antecedent of the embassy, reference is made near the opening of the work to a conversational exchange—whose historicity is in fact mostly rejected as quite improbable—between Ptolemy II and Demetrius of Phalerum. Let us read the actual account given by the ancient writer.¹¹³

[9] When Demetrius of Phalerum was made head of the king's library, he was furnished with large sums of money to collect, if possible, all the books in the world. He started buying (them) and having (them) transcribed, and he brought the king's project to completion, as far as lay in his power. [10] In fact, when asked in our presence just how many tens of thousands of books there were, he said: "More than twenty, sire. Within a short time, I will fill up the remainder so as to bring the total up to 500,000. It is reported to me that the law books of the Jews too deserve to be transcribed and included in your library." [11] "Well, then," (the king) said, "what is keeping you from doing that? For everything you need has been put at your disposal." Demetrius said: "A translation is needed. For in the Jews' country they use their own special characters, just as the Egyptians (use their own) writing system: accordingly they also have their own special spoken language. They are supposed to use the Syrian language, but that is not true; (their language is a) different type."

Invited by the king to show some suggestions for transcription of the books of the Jewish Law, Demetrius drew up a memorandum in which he noted that

[30] . . . these are put in Hebrew characters and language, and have been recorded in written signs¹¹⁴ rather carelessly and not as well as is possible, as is reported by the experts. For they have not received a king's provident care. [31] It is fitting that these books too be available to you, in an

112 The relevance of this second theme is underscored by Kovelman [2005] 131.

113 *Book of Aristeeas* 9–11, 30–31, 38–39, 301–303, here in the translation by Stork-Ophuijsen-Dorandi [2000] 112–117 (their Dem. Phal. fr. 59), except for §§ 38–39 (not included in that edition).

114 More precisely "have been transcribed" (σεσήμανται), with reference to Hebrew copies made on the basis of the original or official Torah: Zuntz [1959] ([1972] 133–135); Honigman [2003] 48.

accurately established text, because this code of laws is both quite philosophical and uncontaminated, being as it is, so to speak, of divine origin.

Ptolemy endorsed Demetrius' suggestion. In his letter to Eleazar, after an account of the emancipation of the Jewish captives, he put forward the request in the following terms:

[38] Now since I am anxious to show my gratitude to these men and to the Jews throughout the world and to the generations yet to come, I have determined that your law shall be translated from the Hebrew tongue which is in use amongst you into the Greek language, that these books may be added to the other royal books in my library. [39] It will be a kindness on your part and a regard for my zeal if you will select six elders from each of your tribes, men of noble life and skilled in your law and able to interpret it, that in questions of dispute we may be able to discover the verdict in which the majority agree, for the investigation is of the highest possible importance. I hope to win great renown by the accomplishment of this work.¹¹⁵

Eleazar agreed and sent the books together with the 72 selected elders, who, as can be read near the final part of the *Book*, were taken to the small island of Pharos off the coast of Alexandria. There, working with great zeal, they achieved their task in 72 days under Demetrius' supervision.

[301] Three days later Demetrius took them along with him, passed along the seven stades' dam in the sea, which led to the island, crossed the bridge, and proceeded to the northern part, where he established working sessions in a house prepared for that purpose near the beach, excellently furnished and located in a very quiet spot. There he invited the men to accomplish the translations, anything they might possibly need for their work being at their command. And they accomplished each (of the translations), achieving agreement among themselves through discussion. [302] The (text which was) produced through agreement was thus written out in a fitting manner under the direction of Demetrius. [303] The sessions lasted until the ninth hour; after that they broke up to take care of their bodily needs.¹¹⁶

115 The translation of §§ 38–39 is by Andrews [1913].

116 The story is summarized by posterior sources, among which very succinctly John Tzetzes, *Prolegomena, Prooemium* II (XIIa II, 33.2–3 Koster): Ptolemy obtained the Greek trans-

An impressive critical debate has arisen concerning the ideal and religious implications that underlie LXX and also concerning the genre, aim, audience, and historical reliability of the *Book of Aristeas*.¹¹⁷ Whatever the answer to these questions, as far as our specific topic is concerned the *Book* provides non-negligible evidence on (a later perception or recasting of) the Ptolemaic Hellenocentric interest—extending between the 3rd and mid-2nd century—in books representative of non-Greek cultures as well as in related philological translations apparently carried out with the same accuracy and skill that habitually characterized editions of texts.¹¹⁸

The life of both the Library and Museum, which continued throughout the Hellenistic Age, is from our perspective identified with the body of knowledge on the work of many personalities of Alexandrian scholarship—with which we will be concerned later.

The post-Hellenistic history of the Library and the circumstances of its end are still under debate. According to ancient sources it was accidentally destroyed, but more probably only diminished, by the torching of the Egyptian fleet anchored in the Eastern Harbor of Alexandria, when the blaze spread to the shore in the days of the Alexandrian War fought by Julius Caesar in his pursuit of Pompey (48/47).¹¹⁹ However, the scholars operating in Alexandria during the Augustan Age such as Didymus, Theon, and Tryphon, must still have been able to avail themselves of a fairly extensive repository of books in the city for their studies;¹²⁰ and when Strabo, who was visiting Alexandria in about the year 25, briefly describes the site of the Museum (though without mentioning the Library), he makes no reference to a relatively recent fire or destruction within the Brucheion. Therefore, it is widely agreed that the Library substantially survived at least until the days of the emperor Aurelianus, who in 273 AD attacked Alexandria where he aimed to defeat Firmus, an ally of Zenobia the

lation “of the Jewish *Bible* through seventy-two Hebrew interpreters expert in both languages”.

117 Honigman [2003] 105–118. In the steps of Erskine [1995], she argues (117) that the acquisition of the LXX and its incorporation into the Library could have served political purposes in the 3rd century dispute between the Ptolemies and the Seleucids for the control over (Judaea in) Coele-Syria. In her opinion, the 2nd century author of the *Book* is chiefly concerned with the (good) quality and consequent reliability of the Greek translation of the LXX, in order to build up a ‘charter myth’, *i.e.* an apologetic validation for it through a narrative. Collins [2000], on the other hand, attempts a reappraisal of the overall historicity of the *Book*; cf. Niehoff [2011].

118 Cf. §§ 30–31 of the *Book*, quoted above; see Zuntz [1959]; Honigman [2003] 44–48.

119 Cherf [2008]; Bäbler [2010].

120 Fraser [1972] 1.334–335. Cf. Hatzimichali [2013a].

queen of Palmyra.¹²¹ In contrast, the tradition which attributes the destruction of the Library to ‘Amr ibn al-‘Ās upon the order of the Caliph ‘Umar at the time of the Arab conquest of Alexandria (641 AD) can be credited with only very scanty historical reliability.¹²² Furthermore, the definitive destruction of both the main libraries of the city, probably in the 3rd and 4th centuries AD, by no means implied a cessation of the intense Alexandrian cultural life, above all in the philosophical and scientific fields, which continued at least until the Arab conquest and even beyond.¹²³

2.4 *Philology for Books, Books for Philology*

Understandably, the gigantic influx of rolls into the Library involved a number of severe problems. The completely anarchic copying and circulation of ancient handwritten works in antiquity provides the most self-evident and natural explanation of the need for an activity complementary to book retrieval, which was to be undertaken by the scholars working in the Library. It involved the search for unequivocalness and authenticity, mainly by checking textual reliability and, if necessary, emending the copies, in order to establish the correctness, true form and authorship of works. Moreover, if the 2nd century AD physician and scholar Galen is to be believed, the bibliophily or bibliomania itself of the Ptolemies (and later of the Attalid kings of Pergamum) can be suspected of having been one of the main causes of widespread forgery of works.¹²⁴

Ancient sources use the term διόρθωσις (*diorthōsis*) to describe the “emendation” of texts that is carried out with the aim of restoring them to the high-

121 Canfora [1990]; cf. Lloyd-Jones [1990] 29; Ellis [1994] 56–57; Empereur [2008].

122 Lewis [2008]; Quassem [2008]. On the contrary, Mojsov [2010] maintains the old view that an active and crucial role in bringing about the final downfall of the Library was played by religious fanaticism, first Christian and then Arab, between the 5th and 7th century AD.

123 Majcherek [2008]. On the destruction of the ‘daughter’ library in 391 AD, as an outcome of the attack on the Sarapeum by the mob instigated by the Bishop Theophilus, see El-Abbadi [2008]. The notion of the Alexandrian Library has been and is usually exploited, and abused, as the standard myth of both universal written culture and book burning: e.g. Polastron [2004]; Raven [2004].

124 Gal., *In Hippocratis de natura hominis* 15.105 Kühn πρὶν γὰρ τοὺς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τε καὶ Περγᾶμῳ γενέσθαι βασιλεῖς ἐπὶ κτήσει παλαιῶν βιβλίων φιλοτιμηθέντας, οὐδέπω ψευδῶς ἐπεγέγραπτο σύγγραμμα, “in fact, before the Alexandrian and Pergamene sovereigns launched into the race for book acquisition, there existed no falsely attributed works”. Similar statements were made with regard to the *corpus* of Aristotle’s writings by various late antique commentators, quoted by Fraser [1972] 2.481–482 n. 151. On *Echtheitskritik* in ancient philology see Bühler [1977] 49–53.

est possible original quality by removing errors, interpolations or forgeries. The result was the *ἐκδοσις* (*ekdosis*), the “edition”, that is to say, placing the alleged good text of a work at the disposal of others.¹²⁵ The concept of emendation needs to be defined more precisely. The ordinary task of the διορθωτής (*diorthōtēs*), a scribe with the function of “corrector”, within a *scriptorium* was to emend scribal mistakes he himself or another scribe might have made while copying a text; he would perform the emendation by comparing the text with its antigraph or by resorting to his own skill. In contrast, as far as the philological *diorthōsis* was concerned, it was designed to restore the highest possible degree of authentic correctness—not of a single copy, but of a literary work in its own right. Naturally, each of these tasks involved its specific premises and purposes and was confronted with problems of different kinds.¹²⁶

Whether for scholarly *diorthōsis* the Alexandrians restricted themselves to text interventions inspired by their personal culture and insight—in a word, by conjecture—or whether they genuinely resorted to comparison or collation of different copies of the same work, is still a subject of debate. The sphere that provides the most helpful clues for evaluating this aspect is ancient scholarship on Homer. Here the comparison among copies is not only clearly attested, albeit in an episodic and discontinuous manner, but it was in a sense inescapable and forced by the atomization of the textual tradition of the poems at that time, represented as they were by a number of local (πολιτικάι or κατὰ πόλεις) and individual ‘editions’ (κατ’ ἄνδρα, as, for instance, that provided by the epic poet Antimachus of Colophon, living in the 5th/4th century).¹²⁷ Furthermore, there is no reason to suppose that the *diorthōsis* of the Alexandrian scholars refrained from making use of this possibility, since it was an integral component of the standards of the more humble task of the *diorthōtēs* of scribal errors. These and other similar facts seem to suffice to claim that the philological principle of the collation of handwritten witnesses was in a sense already in action in Hellenistic Alexandria.¹²⁸

125 Montanari, this volume.

126 Nickau [1977] 10–11; cf. Montanari [2009b] 151, [2009d], [2011b], and [forthcoming]; Rengakos [2012] 248.

127 On ancient ‘editions’ of Homer: West [2001a] 50–72; Pagani-Perrone [2012]. The efforts by van der Valk [1963–1964] to dismiss as scholars’ conjectures the variant readings quoted as from the *politikai* editions in the Homeric scholia have been rendered fruitless by Citti [1966]; cf. Rengakos [1993] 74 n. 5; Nagy [1996] 147; Haslam [1997] 69–74.

128 Nagy [2004] 87–109; Montanari [2009b], especially 159–161; Rengakos [2012]; Conte [2013] 44–50; Montanari [forthcoming]; cf. e.g. Battezzato [2003] 25, with respect to the Alexandrian scholarship on classical tragedy. In the opinion of West [1998–2000] 1.VI–VIII and [2001a] 36 and 67–72, on the contrary, this procedure did not appear before

More frequently, one can recognize textual interventions apparently prompted by conjecture, based upon the evaluation of aspects internal to the work under edition. The Alexandrian scholars had developed various editorial criteria based on clues pointing to suspected corruption with respect to the content, such as inconsistency and inappropriateness (the latter in accordance with the principle of ἀπρέπεια, “unsuitableness”, whose roots are Aristotelian),¹²⁹ repetitions, eccentric passages not in harmony with a particular writer’s usage. Thus there arose the praecept “Ὅμηρον ἔξ’ Ὀμήρου σαφηνίζειν, “to explain Homer by Homer”, which was generally taken to mean that apparent obscurities and problems in the text should be solved first and foremost by seeking an answer in the poetic and stylistic choices typical of a given author¹³⁰—a view also consistent with the Aristotelian concept of poetics as an autonomous, self-standing, and self-justifying sphere.¹³¹ This highlights one of the most significant features of the Alexandrian scholars’ manner of proceeding: the interaction between textual criticism and literary interpretation.¹³²

Another point under discussion today is the practical nature of Alexandrian scholars’ approach to emendation and therefore the material characteristics of the *ekdosis*. With all likelihood, this consisted not so much in preparation of a new corrected copy containing the constituted text, but rather in inserting corrections together with brief related explanations directly into an already existing book, chosen as a working copy; the editor would then put forward his line of reasoning in greater depth orally before the circle of his pupils (as was probably the case for Zenodotus, in the early 3rd century) or by writing them in a *hypomnēma* (ὑπόμνημα, lit. “memory aid”), that is, a “commentary”, arranged on a separate roll. The extensive and erudite *hypomnēma* began to acquire importance not before the first half of the 2nd century through the work of Aristarchus. In the procedure Aristarchus devised, the link between main text and comment was accomplished by a system of marks or critical “signs” (σημεῖα): the same sign was set at the left of the line concerned, in the copy of the literary work, and at the beginning of the related annotation in the

the 2nd century (Callistratus of Alexandria, Crates of Mallos at Pergamum, and especially Didymus in the 1st century).

- 129 On the aesthetic and critical category of τὸ πρέπον (“the convenient”): Pohlenz [1933]; van der Valk [1963–1964] 2.11–35; Schenkeveld [1970] (with subsequent assessments by Lundon [1998], [1999a], and [1999b]); Nickau [1977] 183–229.
- 130 Quoted by the 3rd century Porphyry, *Quaestiones Homericae* 1.11 (56.3–4 Sodano). On the debate concerning the (Aristarchean?) authorship of the maxim, begun with Pfeiffer [1968] 225–227 and Wilson [1971], see Porter [1992] 70–85; Montanari [19970] 285–286.
- 131 Porter [1992], especially 70–71 and 74–75.
- 132 Montanari [2004].

autonomous commentary.¹³³ While the *hypomnēmata* were syntagmatic commentaries, or explanations word by word or phrase by phrase in the order in which they occurred in the commented text, the *syngrammata* (συγγράμματα) were monographs focusing on a specific topic. These *syngrammata* are also defined as περι-literature, or critical works “on” / “strictly concerning” a point of the text or a single question, taking the name from an usual feature of their titles, plausibly traceable to a Peripatetic usage.¹³⁴ A further typical tool of Hellenistic scholarship was the compilation of collections of terms (γλῶσσα, “unusual words” of literary use, and, with a more inclusive perspective, λέξεις, simply “words”) which were believed to need explanation, in the age of a more and more standardized Greek language (*koinē*).¹³⁵ It is worth noting that the first steps in glossography, literary dialectology (*i.e.* study of literary words or languages based on specific dialectal identities distinguished by geographic provenance) and grammar taken by the 3rd century Alexandrian scholars also seem to be primarily connected to the need for understanding, emendation, attribution of archaic and classical works and providing a commentary on them, although one cannot exclude an episodic but progressively self-standing interest in spoken dialects and language.¹³⁶

In the Greek world the activity of commenting was rooted in the ancient art of problem-solving, which experienced uninterrupted development in the time intervening between the exegetic practices of the rhapsodes in the Archaic Age and the text analyses carried out by sophists, philosophers and other intellectuals in the Classical Age; and discussions on the Homeric texts, attested to for the 6th-5th century, culminated in the next century with the ‘edition’ of the *Iliad* drawn up by Antimachus.¹³⁷ Over the time span covering the development of Alexandrian scholarship, a chiefly ecdotic philology seems to have prevailed during the 3rd century, above all with figures such as Zenodotus and Aristophanes of Byzantium, while in the first half of the 2nd century the

133 On the editorial features of the *hypomnēmata*: Del Fabbro [1979]; Luppe [2002]; Messeri Savorelli-Pintaudi [2002]; Schironi [2012a]. On the Alexandrian *sēmeia*, an important testimony of which is the so-called *Anecdoton Parisinum* (ms. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 7530), see Ludwig [1884–1885] 1.19–22; Gudeman [1922b]; McNamee [1992].

134 Pfeiffer [1968] 146 with n. 2. For definitions of *hypomnēma* and *syngramma* see also Dubischar in this volume.

135 Pfeiffer [1968] 198.

136 Such an interest is well attested, alongside and in connection with the work on literary languages, in the late Hellenistic and Imperial Age: Pfeiffer [1968] 202; Cassio [1993b], especially 81 with n. 24.

137 *E.g.*, especially on Homer, Richardson [1975], [1992a] and [2006]; West [2001a] 3–32; Cassio [2002]; Novokhatko, this volume.

ekdosis was often accompanied by great learned commentaries such as those composed by Aristarchus. This evolution may have been partly due to the progressive stratification of the critical work and to the accumulation of a body of philological knowledge within the Museum, but it can plausibly also be attributed to the special and previously unheard-of practical organizational requirements arising at the very outset of the Library's constitution: namely, given the massive and heterogeneous stock of books collected therein, it was vital first of all to establish order in the great quantity of works and manuscript witnesses and—a circumstance that must have been a quite frequent occurrence—proceed to the *reductio ad unum* or disambiguation of texts transmitted non-univocally by two or more different exemplars purchased for the Library. It is thus no cause for surprise to learn that Ptolemy II's plan for the initial activities in the Museum required the project to be the teamwork of scholars specialized in literary genres and bibliography. Nor can it be overlooked that the temporary predominance of editing as compared to commenting, perhaps ascribable to the mentioned practical reasons, exactly mirrors what has become a non-reversible principle of modern philological methodology, namely the availability of a critically constituted text as an indispensable prerequisite for a well-founded understanding of a literary work. On the other hand, as modern experience likewise teaches, literary interpretation and textual criticism were reciprocally intermingled and their interaction resulted in a fertile continuous exchange. This awareness reached full maturity with Aristarchus. The comment served the function of encouraging debate on textual problems and was oriented towards investigating and seeking to understand the origin of a reading, offering arguments for or against the text constitution choices made in the edition (with focus on constitution of the text). The constituted text helped to explain aspects of the literary work that were felt to be intrinsically obscure for reasons of content or style (here the focus was on the meaning of the text as it had been constituted, namely the literary text in itself).

In the diachronic and typological dynamics of collecting, emending, editing, and explaining ancient works within the Library and Museum, another remarkable circumstance deserves to be pointed out. As far as is known from currently available documentation, it can be inferred that the attention of the first scholars and their royal patrons focused overwhelmingly on archaic and classical poetry. Therefore both prose writers and Hellenistic literature may appear to have been excluded from the immediate horizon of early Hellenistic philology until the 1st century, when Alexandrian scholars such as Asclepiades of Myrlea, Didymus, Artemidorus of Tarsus and his son Theon devoted a great portion of their attention to these fields. But this impression is almost certainly misleading.

Traces of an interest in prose literature by the earliest Alexandrian scholars are not lacking.¹³⁸ Historians and orators are quoted in some fragments of the *Λέξεις* (*Lexeis*, or *Words*, a lexicographic collection) compiled by Aristophanes of Byzantium in the second half of the 3rd century. The remnants of a papyrus scroll preserve a fragment of a *hypomnēma* composed by Aristarchus to Herodotus' *Histories*¹³⁹ and some sources testify an intervention of *anagnōsis* ("reading", in the meaning of "word division") in a passage from Herodotus by the grammarian Hellanicus, Aristarchus' contemporary.¹⁴⁰ Moreover, the late 2nd century Dionysius Thrax, a pupil of Aristarchus, defines the *grammatikē* as "empirical knowledge of what is mostly said by poets and prose writers";¹⁴¹ and one may well wonder whether the commentaries on the Attic orators composed in the late 1st century by Didymus might not actually constitute a beginning rather than (as for most of Didymus' philology) the final culmination of previous lines of research.¹⁴² Furthermore, we have some examples of exegetic activity performed on texts of scientific literature with a pragmatic intent but without excluding a linguistic and lexical interest. The Medieval tradition has preserved a quite elementary commentary, of a scientific-pragmatic nature, by Apollonius of Citium (1st century) on a medical writing of Hippocrates, *On joints*.¹⁴³ And the 1st century AD grammarian Erotianus, introducing his *Collection of Hippocratic words*, puts forward an argument designed to assert the stylistic value of Hippocrates' prose, in which he claims that

many of the learned persons, not only physicians but also grammarians, devoted their attention to explaining (the works of) this man and to translating his words into a more common linguistic usage.

138 Nicolai [1992] 271–275; Irigoin [1994] 50, 54, and 88 (discussion with D. M. Schenkeveld).

139 P.Amh. 2.12 (2nd century AD): we will return to this when treating Aristarchus. As regards papyrus evidence of exegesis on Greek prose authors: McNamee [2007] 117–125, Dickey in this volume.

140 *Schol. Soph., Phil.* 201 (357 Papageorgius) and *Suda* ε 3753; Hellanic. fr. 5 Montanari, concerning Hdt. 2.171.2; cf. F. Montanari [1988] 52.

141 Dion. Thrax, *Tekhnē grammatikē* 1 (cf. Sext. Emp., *Math.* 1.57).

142 Apart from fragments (Schmidt [1854]), we have the remnants of a 2nd century AD papyrus scroll, P.Berol. 9780 (Mertens-Pack³ 339), which contain parts of Didymus' *On Demosthenes* concerning Dem. 9–11 and 13: a work based on a pre-Didymeian Alexandrian edition of the Attic orator, in the view of Luzzatto [2011].

143 Editions: Schöne [1896]; Kollesch-Kudlien [1965].

In support of this argument, Erotianus then appends a long list of Hellenistic authors of Hippocratic lexicography.¹⁴⁴ Other remnants of scholarship on prose writers—attested to by papyrus commentaries datable no earlier than the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD—may possibly be traced back to more ancient *hypomnēmata*, but they mainly reflect a late- and post-Hellenistic paramount interest in formal and rhetorical patterns as a means of promoting authoritative compositional models.

We can infer from this evidence that an independent and genuinely philological attention to prose did exist, but at the same time we can argue that this interest apparently arose slightly later than the studies in poetry, perhaps—this is a mere hypothesis—starting from the observation of linguistic affinities and intertextuality between the two literary spheres. For some examples display a sort of role reversal between prose and poetry: what the interpreters normally invoked as an *explicans* is taken as the *explicandum*, i.e. the prose work, usually quoted as a source of information, becomes the object of a comment in that it is explored in its own right, as a literary product; and, on the other hand, what normally acted as the *explicandum* now serves as an *explicans*, that is to say, some poetic parallels are adduced to explain prose passages. This is true of the scanty fragments of Aristarchus' above-mentioned commentary on Herodotus, or the anonymous *hypomnēma* on Thucydides' book 2 attested to by a fragmentary papyrus copy of the late 2nd century AD (P.Oxy. 6.853), in which parallels from Homer, Pindar, Euripides and Callimachus are quoted. In a similar way, Aristarchus' pupil Ammonius (2nd/1st century) investigated the Homeric features traceable in Plato's works (*Περὶ τῶν ὑπὸ Πλάτωνος μετενηνεγμένων ἐξ Ὁμήρου, Plato's loanwords from Homer*), possibly in the footsteps of his teacher.¹⁴⁵ Symptomatic of the custom, by then deeply ingrained, of reading the great prose writers against the background of Homeric poetry is the fact that the penetrating author of the treatise *On the sublime* (Augustan Age?)¹⁴⁶ underscored the epic patina of Platonic style, rhetorically wondering whether “only Herodotus was most Homeric”.¹⁴⁷ In this light, it may not be purely on the basis

144 Erotian., *Vocum Hippocraticarum collectio, praef.* 4–5 Nachmanson.

145 Cf. Phot., *Lex.* η 51 ~ *Suda* η 100, where Aristarchus compares Homer and Plato in relation to use of forms of the past of the verb ἡμί, “to say”. From this and other indications, Schironi [2005] 427–428 derives the hypothesis of an Aristarchean *hypomnēma* to Plato, based on an edition drawn up by Aristophanes of Byzantium. The evidence, however, remains shaky.

146 For the disputed dating: Mazzucchi [2010a] XXXIII–XXXVII.

147 *On the sublime* 13.3. Cf. the elegiac inscription from Halicarnassus (2nd/1st century BC), firstly edited by Isager [1998], where in l. 43 Herodotus is defined τὸν πεζὸν ἐν ἱστορίαισιν Ὁμηρον (“the prose Homer in the realm of history”, as translated by Lloyd-Jones [1999] 3);

of personal idiosyncrasy that Bacchius of Tanagra (3rd century) in his own Hippocratic lexicon explained some medical words by means of poetic parallels drawn, according to Galen (2nd century AD), specifically from the *Lexeis* of his contemporary Aristophanes,¹⁴⁸ moreover, under the influence of such models, Galen himself drew up a pragmatic work (*πραγματεία*) containing a selection of words “from the whole of ancient comedy”, apparently conceived as nothing short of a comprehensive reference book helpful in interpretation of traditional medical terminology.¹⁴⁹ Formal contacts with poetry, prompted by language-related observations of aid in lexicographical and dialectological investigations, thus seem to have played a significant role in the Alexandrian approach to prose works and may have been a valid incentive and starting point for philology on prose writers.¹⁵⁰

With regard to the philological study of early Hellenistic (thus roughly contemporary) literature, new perspectives have come to the fore thanks to recent debates. Although Quintilian expressly attests to the exclusion of contemporary authors from the range of poets *in numerum redacti* (i.e. ‘chosen’ for philological study),¹⁵¹ one should not underestimate the fact that the Alexandrian scholars did take them into consideration and made use of them in their inquiries. As a matter of fact, at least two well known fragmentary papyri both datable to the late 3rd/early 2nd century attest to some exegetical activity on contemporary poetic compositions; namely the anonymous elegy “on the oyster” and some poems of the third book of Callimachus’ *Aitia*.¹⁵² Additionally, the question has been raised of whether Aristarchus’ recourse to parallels drawn from Callimachus’ works with the aim of interpreting Homeric passages

likewise, according to Dion. Hal., *Pomp.* 3, Herodotus composed his work in a varied manner, “inasmuch as he was a fan of Homer” (ποικίλην ἐβουλήθη ποιῆσαι τὴν γραφὴν Ὀμήρου ζηλωτῆς γενόμενος). See Pfeiffer [1968] 224; Boedeker [2002]; overall, on Herodotus’ reception in Hellenistic Age: Murray [1972]; Priestley [2014].

148 Gal., *Gloss. Hippoc. explicatio* 19.65 Kühn. See Irigoin [1994] 93 (discussion with R. Tosi).

149 Gal., *De indolentia* 23b Boudon-Millot – Jouanna.

150 Rosén [1962] 231; Pfeiffer [1968] 224 with n. 6; Montana [2009c] 166–170. Nicolai [1992] 186–197 and 265–275 emphasizes the continuity of an interest in prose literature from the Peripatus to the early Alexandrian scholars.

151 Quint., *Inst.* 10.1.54 *Apollonius* (scil. *Rhodium*) *in ordinem a grammaticis datum non venit, quia Aristarchus atque Aristophanes, poetarum iudices, neminem sui temporis in numerum redegerunt.*

152 Respectively P.Louvre inv. 7733 verso (firstly edited by Lasserre [1975]; *SH* 983–984) and P.Lille 76d+78abc+82+84+111c (firstly edited by Meillier [1976]; *SH* 254–265 = Callim. fr. 148, 151, 150, 152, 143, 153 Massimilla). On both as testimonies of early Hellenistic exegesis on contemporary poets see Montanari [2002c] 74–77.

was not simply exploitable for purposes of explanation, and thus as an exegetic tool involving only a second-degree interest in the quoted author, but whether, on the contrary, it presupposed knowledge and an investigative approach of a philological type also intrinsically pertaining to the work adduced as a parallel.¹⁵³ The Hellenistic scholarly reception of Menander's plays provides another small series of good examples. Aristophanes of Byzantium's avowed admiration for the theatrical *mimēsis* of Menander is one among other concrete clues suggesting that he took a philological interest in this author.¹⁵⁴ Two generations later, in the 2nd century, the multiskilled Apollodorus, Aristarchus' pupil, included biographical notes on Menander in his *Chronicle*, also stating the total number of Menander's works: the incorporation of this type of information is representative of the typically Alexandrian interest in ascertaining the authenticity and compiling catalogues of literary works.¹⁵⁵ In addition, we have some evidence concerning a commentary on Menander's *Kolāx* composed by the 2nd/1st century Rhodian Timachidas—who was also the author of a commentary on the poem by Eratosthenes entitled *Hermēs* (we will return to this later). Lastly, an analogous perspective of a critical-exegetical approach on quasi-contemporary poetry is detectable with regard to an astronomical work in three books on the *Phenomena* of Aratus and on his scientific source Eudoxus of Cnidus, that was composed around the mid-2nd century by the geographer Hipparchus of Nicaea and which has come down to the present day intact through the direct Medieval tradition. This work was intended to emend the conceptual errors of Aratus' poem, given the wide-ranging acclaim and diffusion of the latter, and to refute some favourable interpretations of the *Phenomena* advanced by an earlier commentator, Attalus of Rhodes: this decidedly scientific and pragmatic character of Hipparchus' writing has been the real reason of its survival.¹⁵⁶

Thus we have reached the third stage in the scholarly task required by the Museum and the Library: interpretation. From the time of the foundation of these Ptolemaic institutions up to the middle of the 2nd century, Alexandrian

153 Montanari [1995a], raising the question; Rengakos [2000], answering essentially in a negative way; Montanari [2002c], relaunching his thesis especially as far as Callimachus, Aratus, and (in the footsteps of Fantuzzi [2000]) Apollonius Rhodius are concerned.

154 Montana [2007].

155 Apollod., *FGrHist* 244 fr. 43.

156 Edition of Hipparchus' writing: Manitius [1894]; see Fraser [1972] 1.422–423. More information on this subject by Luiselli, this volume. In the same 2nd century, an interest in Aratus' poem is documented in the works of the Pergamene scholars Crates of Mallos (in the fragments of his Homeric exegesis 50, 65, 131–133 Broggiato) and Zenodotus of Mallos (fr. 5–6* Broggiato): on both see below, §§ 3.1 and 3.2 respectively.

scholarship grew in complexity, intricacy and sophistication, finally evolving into a structured discipline with its own tradition of studies. Overall, disregarding the finer points, it can be stated that after devoting their efforts mainly to retrieval, emendation (*diorthōsis*) and cataloguing of books, the scholars found themselves in the ideal condition of having at their disposal a vast array of material which had to some extent been critically edited (*ekdoseis*): thus they were now in a position to fulfill the philological task, namely improvement on previous results, the possibility of creating further editions and commenting on the works in view of new critical or aesthetic evaluation. In sum, scholarship having begun in the form of work on a mass of books in order to obtain reliable copies, these copies in turn became the field for scholarly study on the form and content of literary works themselves. As in an uninterrupted chain, each scholar could no longer abstain from engaging in dialogue with his predecessors and making further material for debate and critical comparison available for the next generations.

Once scholarship arrived at this stage, its influence on circulating books and textual transmission grew accordingly. It has been pointed out, for instance, that Homeric papyri discovered in Egypt and dated to the middle of the 2nd century, in the age of the authoritative editions and commentaries by Aristarchus, show some corresponding stabilization and standardization of the text of the poems with respect to the number and sequence of lines.¹⁵⁷ However, somewhat paradoxically, no sooner had this progression reached its peak than it came to a dramatic, although temporary, halt on account of the dynastic crisis in the year 145/144, which resulted in the end of the Aristarchean curatorship of the Library, the diaspora of many scholars and the drastic scaling down of the Museum. These circumstances and the general line of development outlined so far must be taken into account if one aims to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the intellectual achievements of Alexandrian scholarship.¹⁵⁸ It is now time to meet the personalities of this history.

2.5 *Librarians' Diadokhē and Learned Community*

A variety of ancient testimonies provide us with information about the *diadokhē* or succession of the Alexandrian librarians, unfortunately not without puzzling inconsistencies. An Oxyrhynchus papyrus datable to the 2nd century AD (P.Oxy. 10.1241), containing a historical and mythological chrestomathy,

157 West [1967]; cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 109–110 and 215; Nagy [1996] 187–206; Haslam [1997] 64–69 and 84–87; West [1998–2000] LVII.

158 On the divergent general evaluation by modern critics see Montanari [2004] and [2009b] 160 n. 32.

gives this by no means irreprehensible list at the end of its damaged first column and in its second column (ll. 1–21):

[Ἀπολλώ]||ν[ι]ος Σιλλέως Ἀλεξανδρεὺς | ὁ [κ]αλούμενος Ῥόδιος Καλλι[ι]μάχου
 γνώριμος· οὗτος | ἐγένετο καὶ διδάσκαλος τοῦ | ⁵πρώτου βασιλέως· τοῦτον |
 δ[ι]εδέξατο Ἐρατοσθένης, | μεθ' ὃν Ἀριστοφάνης Ἀπελλοῦ Βυζάντιος καὶ
 Ἀρίσταρχος· εἶτ' Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀλεξαν¹⁰δρεὺς ὁ <ε>ἰδογράφος καλούμεινος·
 μεθ' ὃν Ἀρίσταρχος Ἀρι|στάρχου Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἄνω|θεν δὲ Σαμόθραξ· οὗτος καὶ
 | διδ[ά]σκαλος [ἐ]γένε[το] τῶν | ¹⁵τοῦ Φιλοπάτορος τέκνων· | μεθ' ὃν Κύδας
 ἐκ τῶν λοχοφ[ό]ρων· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ἐνάτῳ | [[β]α]σιλεῖ ἤκμασαν Ἀμμώ[νι]ος καὶ
 Ζηνό[δοτος] καὶ Διο²⁰[κλ]ῆς καὶ Ἀπολλό[δ]ωρος γραμμ[α]τικοί.

... [Apollo]||nius, Silleus' son, of Alexandria, named Rhodius, Callimachus' pupil; he also was the teacher of the first king. He was succeeded by Eratosthenes, after whom came Aristophanes, Apelles' son, of Byzantium, and Aristarchus. Then Apollonius of Alexandria, nicknamed "the classifier". After whom Aristarchus, Aristarchus' son, of Alexandria but originating from Samothrace; he too was a teacher of (Ptolemy IV) Philopator's sons. After whom Kydas from the lanciers. Under the ninth king, the grammarians Ammonius and Zeno[dotus] and Diocles and Apollodorus flourished.¹⁵⁹

This fragment, although in some respects constituting vital evidence, presents a number of indisputable mistakes and also raises some problems of consistency, both internal as well as with other sources. For instance, it is not fully in agreement with several biographic entries on Hellenistic scholars given in the Byzantine encyclopedic lexicon *Suda* of the 10th century (entries traceable back to the lost *Onomatologos*, a dictionary composed by Hesychius of Miletus in the 6th century AD) and with other learned sources closely linked to the textual tradition of the classical authors.¹⁶⁰ With regard to the specific issue of the *diadokhē* of the Librarians, granted that Zenodotus must have been the first scholar cited in P.Oxy. 10.1241 at the lost beginning of the list, the most tricky problem is the repetition of the name of Aristarchus before Apollonius "the classifier" as well as after him. Very briefly, this circumstance has been explained in opposite ways: some have seen the first reference to Aristarchus

159 See van Rossum-Steenbeeck [1998] 323 (No. 68).

160 On the problems of chronology: Pfeiffer [1968] passim; Fraser [1972] 1.330–333; Blum [1977] 182–187. The list is rather "a catalogue of grammarians in their capacity as διδάσκαλοι to the future Ptolemies" in the view of Murray [2012] (§7).

as an inappropriate advance mention and have adopted the sequence Eratosthenes-Aristophanes-Apollonius “the classifier”-Aristarchus;¹⁶¹ others have explained the repetition as a clue pointing to a scribal mistake and have conjecturally placed Apollonius “the classifier” between Eratosthenes and Aristophanes.¹⁶² The question is not crucial for our present purposes; but since a choice must necessarily be made, we will endorse the first solution, which, if anything, seems to offer a somewhat more economical explanation of this inconsistency in the papyrus list.

Before giving an overview of the personalities who directed the Library, an important aspect should be made clear. Certainly the librarian-in-chief must always have played a fundamental role in characterizing the cultural policy of the Library, since he was in close and direct relation with the approach favored by the Ptolemaic court, to which he was accountable for the organization of the institution. In this sense, therefore, the librarians’ history is a history of the Library. But one should not be misled into conceiving of this framework in an overly rigid and simplified manner. It is imperative to bear in mind that the Ptolemaic cultural institutions were a gathering place for a remarkable quantity of intellectuals, who each contributed, with greater or lesser intensity, to characterizing Alexandrian Greek culture and learning. Suffice it to recall that Callimachus, perhaps the most significant personality of Hellenistic Alexandrian culture, was indeed active within the Library yet, it would appear, he never held the post of librarian. The librarians’ *diadokhē* thus constitutes a convenient and linear scaffold of historiographic description, handed down to us by the ancient tradition, behind which we must however endeavor to recognize a far more complex historical background of intellectual experiences and relations.

The massive need for *diorthōsis* of literary copies collected in the early days of the royal Library inspired from the very beginning an activity simultaneously conducted by different scholars working in different branches, with a clear-cut subdivision of the areas of scholarship based on literary genre.¹⁶³ Ptolemy II had to find suitable means, pecuniary as well, to persuade two Greek poets, Alexander Aetolus and Lycophron of Chalcis, both at a certain time guests at the Macedonian court in Pella and included among the renowned authors of

161 Pfeiffer [1968], *e.g.* 172 with n. 2; Fraser [1972] 1.332.

162 Blum [1977] 185–186.

163 John Tzetzes, *Prolegomena, Prooemium* I (XIa I, 22.1–23.7 Koster) and II (XIa II, 31.1–32.4 and 33.22–25 Koster); cf. *Anonymus Cramerii* II (XIC, 43.1–4 and 17–19 Koster). Alexandrian awareness of genres and literary systems is one of the manifestations of continuity between Classical and Hellenistic culture, according to Rossi [1976] 110–111.

tragedies known as the Pleiad,¹⁶⁴ to devote themselves to revising and emending (διορθοῦν, *diorthoun*)¹⁶⁵ copies of ancient Greek dramatic texts held in the Library at Alexandria. Alexander dealt with tragedy and satirical drama, Lycophron with comedy, both apparently benefiting from help offered by Eratosthenes of Cyrene (a later librarian). Lycophron was also the author of a treatise *On comedy* in at least 9 books,¹⁶⁶ in which he sought to give an explanation of comic words used by playwrights of the *arkhaiā* (5th century)¹⁶⁷ and also, it seems, of that which was becoming to be called the *mesē* (4th century).¹⁶⁸ This work marked the beginning of a line of inquiry that was to have an authoritative following in the subsequent generations of scholars concerned with comedy. The *diorthōsis* of other poetry including Homeric works was undertaken by Zenodotus of Ephesus, the first head librarian. Callimachus of Cyrene was entrusted with drawing up a repertory of a number of literary authors and works collected in the Library, a task that was to be carried out by means of a gigantic bio-bibliographical compilation, the *Pinakes* or *Tables*. According to this picture, at the beginning of Alexandrian philology equal teamwork among the Museum community seems to have prevailed over individuality and leadership. It is only a conjecture, albeit rather plausible, that the common objectives the group was set by the royal patron acted as a unifying factor in planning the work and in the pioneering definition of a critical methodology by individual scholars—although this by no means averted occasions of quarrel and rivalry.

As we have seen, the first scholar who took up the post of librarian, Zenodotus of Ephesus (ca. 330–260), was a pupil of Philitas of Cos and is said to have been

164 Testimonies and fragments in *TrGF* I, respectively 100 and 101 Snell. On Alexander in Philadelphus' service: Magnelli [1999] 10–11; cf. Montanari [2009c] 412. On these figures as both poets and scholars: Lowe [2013].

165 It is wrong to interpret διορθοῦν in the passage of Tzetzes as “to put in right order”, as some have done in the wake of the *scholium Plautinum* (above, n. 97), which recites *poeticos libros in unum collegerunt et in ordinem redegerunt*: Pfeiffer [1968] 106–107.

166 Editions of the fragments: Strecker [1884] 2–6 and 23–78 (all known fragments, including many hypothetical or dubious); Rutherford [1905] 417; Bagordo [1998] 35–36 and 150 (No. 63; only three fragments of sure attribution).

167 Lyc. fr. 85 Strecker = 63 fr. 3 Bagordo (cf. Pherecrates, fr. 101 Kassel-Austin).

168 Lyc. fr. 13 Strecker = 63 fr. 1 Bagordo: Antiphanes, test. 8 Kassel-Austin. The threefold division *arkhaiā*, *mesē* and *neā* is traceable back to Callimachus and Aristophanes of Byzantium (Nesselrath [1990] 28–187, especially 186–187; cf. Sidwell [2000] 255–256), rather than to Aristotle (as in the opinion of Janko [1984] 247–250, based on *Tractatus Coislinianus de comoedia* 18: *contra* Nesselrath [1990] 147–149; cf. Halliwell [1987] 87 n. 2 and [2000³] 273–274; Preßler [1999] 161–162 n. 618).

a poet and grammarian, as his teacher was before him.¹⁶⁹ Zenodotus also followed in the steps of Philitas by succeeding the latter as the tutor of the royal family and compiling a collection of *Glōssai*, which however, in contrast to that of Philitas, appears to have been alphabetically ordered: this introduced a criterion which, though apparently achieving some immediate success,¹⁷⁰ would be widely adopted in later lexicography.¹⁷¹ One cannot exclude that another collection known by the title of *Ἐθνικαὶ λέξεις* (*Dialectical words*)¹⁷² attributed to a Zenodotus, hypothetically identifiable with the Ephesian, actually coincided with a special section of the *Glōssai*, with which, unlike Philitas, he sought to build up a body of dialectal lexicography considered as a field in its own right.¹⁷³

Only a few fragments survive from his *diorthōseis* of Hesiod and Pindar, and perhaps Anacreon,¹⁷⁴ while the Medieval scholia to Homer allow us to gain greater insight into his activity on the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.¹⁷⁵ The interventions that have come down to us illustrate quite clearly the practice of emending the Homeric text, a practice which, one may surmise, was ineluctable when the editor found himself facing the challenge of the great amount of copies that had made their way into the Alexandrian Library, often with fairly divergent texts. The papyri prior to the mid-2nd century confirm the instability of the text—particularly with regard to the number of lines—that the first Alexandrian editor found himself having to deal with.¹⁷⁶ To address this difficulty, the philological method devised by Zenodotus on the one hand plausibly availed itself

169 He is described as ἐποποιός, “writer of verse”, by *Suda* ζ74 (cf. *SH* 853), but this statement—which could be an autoschediasm moulded on the profile of his teacher Philitas—is generally regarded as suspicious by modern critics.

170 Neoptolemus of Parion in Mysia, known as a poet and glossographer (γλωσσογράφος, test. 1 and fr. 12a Mette) possibly living in Zenodotus’ days, composed a work *On Homer’s glosses* (*Περὶ γλωσσῶν Ὁμήρου*) in no less than three books, that seems to have been an alphabetical glossary containing explanations based on etymology: Mette [1980] 14 and 21–22; cf. Cassio [1987–1988]. Parts of an alphabetical lexicon are preserved in P.Hibeh 175, datable to ca. 260–240.

171 Zenod. fr. 1 Pusch (*schol. Hom., Od.* 3.444b1 Pontani). Cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 115 with n. 2, 195; Tosi [1994b] 151. In the view of Latte [1925] 154 and 162–171, the collection of words in question should not be taken as belonging to this Zenodotus, but to a younger namesake; cf. Blum [1977] 166–167.

172 Pusch [1890] 175.

173 Nickau [1972a] 40–43; Tosi [1994b] 152.

174 Pfeiffer [1968] 198–200; Nickau [1972a] 38–39. For Hesiod: Montanari [2009a] 332–335.

175 Düntzer [1848]; van Thiel [2014] (for the *Iliad*).

176 Cf. above, n. 157.

of comparison (collation) among the variants present in the different copies,¹⁷⁷ while on the other it aimed to identify content-related inconsistencies within the text (such as repetitions, and alleged contradictions and indecorousness), with the aim of singling out the non-authentic lines and purging them of the impurities, either by deleting (οὐ γράφειν, *ou graphēin*, meaning “not to write”, *vel similia*)¹⁷⁸ or more frequently marking them as deserving to be expunged (ἀθετεῖν, *athetein*). The critical sign (σημεῖον, *sēmeion*) adopted by Zenodotus to mark expunction (ἀθέτησις, *athetēsis*) was the *obelos* (ὀβελός, literally “spit”), a short horizontal stroke written in the margin on the left of the line concerned. One should not overlook the significance of the scholar’s firm resolve to record the philological doubt, *i.e.* the condition intermediate between either accepting a text handed down by tradition or rejecting it outright. Thus the editor did not shy from leaving a trace of his negative judgment, yet without precluding the possibility for other critics to form an opinion of their own and make an independent decision. This was a system which embryonically prefigured the apparatus of modern critical editions.¹⁷⁹

What material form of *ekdosis* is likely to have been compatible with the above described characteristics? The most widely shared reconstruction is that which holds that the scholar did not draw up a fresh version of the text, but instead based himself on an already existing copy he regarded as fairly reliable, and then inserted his corrections into this text and made an annotation of the *sēmeia*.¹⁸⁰ There is no positive evidence that Zenodotus composed any written explanation of his textual interventions. The hypothesis that Zenodotus provided his edition with many marginal notes aimed at explaining his textual preferences¹⁸¹ seems partly contradicted by the fact that the later grammarians had to reconstruct and interpret Zenodotus’ choices.¹⁸² It can reasonably be assumed that he actually annotated some explanations in the margins of his *ekdosis* of Homer, while many of his carefully formulated

177 Strong skepticism in this respect and a radical disparagement of the Zenodotean *diorthōsis* are put forward by West [2001a] 33–45 and [2002].

178 οὐκ εἶναι, οὐ φέρεσθαι, αἴρειν, περιαιρεῖν, περιγράφειν: cf. Nickau [1977] 1–30.

179 Cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 115.

180 Pfeiffer [1968] 110; Nickau [1972a] 30–31; Nagy [1996] 119–152; West [2001a] 33–45 and [2002] (Zenodotus’ working copy was a 4th century Ephesian rhapsodes’ text); Montanari [2009b] 143–154, [forthcoming] and this volume. That Zenodotus’ *ekdosis* consisted, on the contrary, in a new copy of the poems, in which the chosen variants were incorporated in the text, while doubtful lines were marked with the *obelos* and lines held to be false were eliminated *tout court*, is the opinion of Haslam [1997] 73; Rengakos [2012] 248–251.

181 As in the opinion of van Thiel [1992], [1997] and [2014] 1.8.

182 Nickau [1977]; cf. Montanari [1998a], [1998d], [2002a], and [2009b]; Rengakos [2012] 251.

arguments for or against some readings present in his edition were laid out in other writings such as, for example, the *Glōssai*.¹⁸³ Furthermore, we know that he took care to express his own interpretations in purpose-composed monographic writings: for instance, an epigraphic source seems to attest a work of Zenodotus on the problem of the actual number of days of the Trojan War involved in the narrative of the *Iliad*.¹⁸⁴ This notwithstanding, reconstruction of Zenodotus' interventions and arguments already constituted a serious problem even in antiquity, if the 2nd century Alexandrian grammarian Ptolemy nicknamed Epithetes (Ἐπιθέτης, *i.e.* the "Opponent", for the critical stance he adopted against Aristarchus)¹⁸⁵ devoted an entire work to reconstructing and, it seems, defending the readings of Zenodotus' edition (τὰς Ζηνοδότου γραφὰς ἐκτιθέμενος) so strongly opposed by Aristarchus.¹⁸⁶ Ultimately, we must interpret this apparent lack of a genuine comment as a silent clue pointing to the still largely oral character of this ecdotic/exegetic practice and of the related transmission within the Museum.¹⁸⁷

The notable diffusion and widespread acclaim of Zenodotus' editions become clear if one reflects that they were taken into consideration by the epic poet Rhianus of Crete in performing his own *diorthōseis* of the Homeric poems in the second half of the 3rd century,¹⁸⁸ and that they exerted some influence on the poetic works of Callimachus and Apollonius of Rhodes. Moreover, the fact that a monograph by Apollonius called into question some editorial choices made by Zenodotus is an incontrovertible demonstration of the high regard enjoyed by this *ekdosis* among the Alexandrian poets and scholars.¹⁸⁹ In

183 Nickau [1972a] 39–40; Montanari [1993b] 266; Tosi [1994b] 151.

184 IG 14.1290 (*Tabula Iliaca*); cf. Lachmann [1865²]; Pfeiffer [1968] 116–117.

185 Ptol. Epith. test. 1 Montanari.

186 Ptol. Epith. test. 2 = fr. 1 Montanari, with F. Montanari [1988] 83–85. Ptolemy's Homeric scholarship included a work *On the Iliad* (Περὶ Ἰλιάδος; test. 3 and fr. 2–5 Montanari) and a *hypomnēma* on the *Odyssey* (test. 1 Montanari, cf. Pontani [2005b] 54–55).

187 Montanari [2009b] 154. A similar problem arises for Aristophanes of Byzantium, who composed numerous and important *ekdoseis* but, as far as we know, no *hypomnēmata*: it can plausibly be suggested that the explanations of Aristophanes' ecdotic choices were gathered together (and discussed) in the *hypomnēmata* written by his disciple Callistratus (see below, § 3.2).

188 More than forty textual readings from Rhianus' editions are attested to in the scholia to Homer: edition by Leurini [2007]; see La Roche [1866]; Mayhoff [1870]; Aly [1914]; van der Valk [1949] 107–108; West [2001a] 56–58; Esposto [2008]. On Rhianus poet and "scholar" (γραμματικός according to *Suda* ρ 158): Castelli [1994], with further bibliography.

189 Pfeiffer [1968] 139–140 and 146–148; Rengakos [1993] 49–87 and 169–170, [1994], [2001], and [2002a]; Montanari [1995a] and [2002c] 59–64.

this context it is worth reporting a story concerning Timon of Phlius, whom we mentioned earlier as a detractor of the Alexandrian Museum. In response to an inquiry by the poet (and scholar) Aratus as to which was the best available text of Homer, Timon advised him to prefer “the old copies” (τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἀντιγράφοις) rather than the “already corrected” (τοῖς ἤδη διωρθωμένοις), the latter expression alluding to the Zenodotean *diorthōseis*.¹⁹⁰ This anecdote—apart from attesting to Timon’s skeptical attitude towards the aims and methods of philology¹⁹¹—is another telling clue of the contemporary fame, ill fame in this case, of Zenodotus’ editions and therefore of the novel approach they represented in comparison to the several previous ‘*ekdoseis*’ of the poems.

Among Zenodotus’ Alexandrian pupils, Agathocles of Cyzicum is worth citing for his somewhat unusual intellectual profile.¹⁹² Starting from an intuition suggested by Carl Müller and substantially shared by Felix Jacoby, this 3rd century grammarian is identified with the author by the same name of a work on local history, *On Cyzicum* (*Περὶ Κυζίκου*). Jacoby noted the pervasive similarity of proficiency and interests that runs throughout the seven historiographic fragments and the four of philological content which pertain to Homeric interpretation.¹⁹³ Of the latter group of fragments, one derives from a miscellany entitled *Ἰπομνήματα* and is quoted in a scholium to Apollonius Rhodius’ *Argonautics* in relation to the location of Hephaestus’ forge: a subject well according with author’s interests in local history and which suggests a learned-antiquarian approach of the *Ἰπομνήματα*.¹⁹⁴ Of the other three grammatical fragments, all transmitted without the title of the work to which they belonged, one quotes a Pergamene gloss, testifying to an interest in dialectology consistent with Zenodotus’ teaching;¹⁹⁵ and two show Agathocles’

190 Diog. Laert. 9.113 (= Tim. Phl. test. 1 Di Marco). See Pfeiffer [1968] 98; Fraser [1972] 1.450 with 2.650 n. 22. One could legitimately wonder whether this anecdote is obliquely lampooning the *diorthōseis* of the Homeric poems performed by Aratus himself (see above, n. 49).

191 Clayman [2009] 213–214, at the same time (107–108) claiming that Timon was aware of the Zenodotean philology from a comparison of Tim. Phl., *Silli*, *SH* 804 = fr. 30 Di Marco with its Homeric model *Il.* 3.150–152: in l. 152 Timon seems to have preferred the Zenodotean and more unusual reading δένδρει against δένδρέω, which later on the contrary was chosen by Aristarchus.

192 *Suda* π 3035 attests to the chain teacher-pupil Zenodotus-Agathocles-Hellanicus-Ptolemy Epithetes.

193 *FHG* IV 288 (n.); *FGrHist* 3b *Kommentar* 372; cf. F. Montanari [1988] 15–19. Editions: *FGrHist* 472; F. Montanari [1988] 26–30 (text) and 31–42 (comment).

194 *Schol.* Ap. Rhod. 4.761–765b: Agathocl. fr. 8 Jacoby = test. 4 and fr. 8 Montanari.

195 Agathocl. fr. 10 Jacoby = fr. 10 Montanari.

inclination to solve by way of allegorical interpretation the cosmological problems posed by Homeric poetry, foreshadowing the hermeneutic approach endorsed in the next century by the Pergamene scholar Crates of Mallos.¹⁹⁶ Thus historiography and scholarship on the one hand, as well as Zenodotean textual philology and allegorical interpretation on the other, both appear as paired terms jointly and fruitfully operating in the same scholar, and encourage us to move towards a less schematic vision of the intellectual patterns of the Hellenistic culture.¹⁹⁷

As regards Callimachus of Cyrene (ca. 310–240), no ancient source states that he effectively held the post of librarian, if one excepts the unreliable *Scholium Plautinum*,¹⁹⁸ and there is no suggestion that he drew up editions of literary works or commentaries on them. He should be recalled here mainly for his *Tables of persons eminent in every branch of learning, together with a list of their writings* (*Πίνακες τῶν ἐν πάσῃ παιδείᾳ διαλαμψάντων, καὶ ὧν συνέγραψαν*), or, briefly, *Tables*, in 120 books.¹⁹⁹ This was in fact a great critical ‘catalogue’ of poetic and prose works collected in the Library. It was apparently structured by genres and, within each genre, by alphabetical order of the writers, and was designed to inventory information on the identity, biography and literary production of the authors in order to discuss and solve problems of authorship and genuineness. Accordingly, it constituted at the same time an invaluable guide and historical database of Greek literature.²⁰⁰ The possible intentional selectivity of the *Tables* can be inferred from the participle *διαλαμψάντων* (“eminent”, literally “brilliant” or “shining”) in the title, very likely indicating that not all the known authors and works would figure in the repertory²⁰¹—nor perhaps in the Library itself. It appears that the repertory gave the title, opening words, and extension of each recorded work; and many questions concerning

196 Agathocl. fr. 9 and 11 Jacoby = fr. 9 and 11 Montanari. Montanari argues that the three fragments of Homeric scholarship belonged to the *Υπομνήματα*; furthermore he publishes, albeit with reservation on the authorship, a possible new fragment identified by H. J. Mette (*Fragmentum dubium*). On Crates see below, § 3.1.

197 Montana [2006b] 208 and [2009a] 177–178.

198 See above, n. 97. The assumption that Callimachus held the post of librarian is defended by Blum [1977] 177–191.

199 *Suda* κ 227.

200 The fragments are edited by Pfeiffer [1949–1953] 1.344–349 (fr. 429–453). Most detailed study: Blum [1977]; cf. Pfeiffer [1949–1953] 1.349 and [1968] 127–131; Fraser [1972] 1.452–453. With regard to the influence of the pinacographical (Callimachean) criteria on the standardization of book titles in antiquity: Caroli [2007] 61–79.

201 Canfora [1993] 24.

authenticity²⁰² or problems with titles²⁰³ were addressed. One can assume, for instance, that a Callimachean epigram referring to the poetic value of the epic poem *The capture of Oechalia* disputably attributed to Creophylus of Samos, and so implicitly decreeing its admissibility into the Library, could be associated to this activity of critical cataloguing.²⁰⁴ Furthermore, Callimachus is known to have written at least two other *Pinakes* on more sectorial fields, the *Table and inventory of the dramatic poets in chronological order and from the beginning*,²⁰⁵ for which the author is likely to have drawn on the Aristotelian *Didaskaliai*, and the *Table of glosses and writings (?) of Democritus*, probably concerning lexical innovations introduced by the philosopher.²⁰⁶ A specific interest in lexicology and the inclination towards a classifying method may perhaps have been a feature of a collection of *Dialectical nouns* (*Ἐθνικαὶ ὀνομαστικά*), apparently shaped as an *onomastikon*, i.e. a writing that, unlike Zenodotus' *Glōssai*, placed in succession lists of words not ordered alphabetically, but grouped according to a semantic affinity or kinship. At least the presence of a section concerning names of fish is adequately attested to.²⁰⁷ As already mentioned, the work *To or Against Praxiphanes* criticized the aesthetic theories of this pupil of Theophrastus²⁰⁸ and must have contained appreciations in the sphere of literary criticism, since Callimachus expressed within it a favorable judgment towards the poetic quality and scientific information embodied by the astronomical poem of his contemporary Aratus.²⁰⁹

It is widely known that Callimachus used to great advantage the impressive cultural background he had acquired through his activity within the Library, boldly opening up new perspectives in contemporary poetry as well as displaying erudite and antiquarian implications in his sophisticated poems, mainly and programmatically in the *Aitia*.²¹⁰ An instance of this tendency can be seen in the final part of the love elegy on Acontius and Cydippe, where the digression concerning the historical-antiquarian source employed (Xenomedes, the 5th century author of a local history on Keios) is an emblematic illustration of

202 E.g. Callim. fr. 442 and 451 Pfeiffer.

203 E.g. Callim. fr. 448 Pfeiffer.

204 Callim., *Epigram* 55 Gow-Page = 6 Pfeiffer. The assumption is by Cameron [1995] 399–401.

205 Callim. fr. 454–456 Pfeiffer; 23 fr. 1–5 Bagordo.

206 Pfeiffer [1949–1953] 1.350.

207 Callim. fr. 406 Pfeiffer. Pfeiffer [1968] 135; Tosi [1994b] 149–150 and this volume.

208 Praxiphanes may have been among Callimachus' teachers (see above, n. 41).

209 Callim. fr. 460 Pfeiffer = Praxiph. fr. 16 Wehrli = fr. 11 Matelli. On Praxiphanes see above, § 2.1.

210 Rengakos [1993] and [2002a]; Tosi [1997a]; Montanari [2002c] 59–64. Cf. Acosta-Hughes – Stephens [2012]; Harder [2013].

this attitude.²¹¹ But in particular, Callimachus' greatest and most long-lasting contribution to the developments of scholarship consists in having revived the Peripatetic tradition of learned antiquarian and paradoxographic studies, thereby enhancing this field through a new and decisive impulse in the context of the Hellenistic Ptolemaic institutions.²¹² An eloquent testimony of this innovative drive is seen in the *Pinakes*, which can be considered as marking the birth of the genre of learned biography placed at the service of the understanding of literary works, and as pointing to the Alexandrian evolution of Peripatetic biography.²¹³ A similar development can also be noted in the variety of approaches favored by Callimachus' most talented pupils: Hermippus of Smyrna specialized in biography, Philostephanus of Cyrene in geography, and Ister, perhaps himself from Cyrene, in Attic antiquities.²¹⁴

Another great poet, who is likewise said to have been a pupil of Callimachus,²¹⁵ Apollonius of Rhodes (ca. 300–220), was born in Alexandria²¹⁶ and was appointed by Philadelphus to succeed Zenodotus at the head of the Library and as a royal tutor entrusted with the task of educating the future king Ptolemy III Euergetes.²¹⁷ At a certain point, Apollonius resigned or was forced to resign from his position and moved to the island of Rhodes. This circumstance is

211 *Aitia* 3, fr. 75-53–77 Pfeiffer = fr. 174-53–77 Massimilla, with the comment by the latter ([2010] 376–392).

212 Pfeiffer [1968] 134–136; Fraser [1972] 1.453–456.

213 The most significant extant example of Peripatetic biography is the *Life of Euripides*, in dialogue form, by Satyrus of Callatis (P.Oxy. 9.1176), who belonged to the next generation after that of Callimachus, edited by Arrighetti [1964] and Schorn [2004] (F 6; commentary: 181–347). On the highly disputed spheres of the origins, characteristics and typology of ancient biography see Momigliano [1993]; Arrighetti [1987] and [1994]; and the essays collected in Erler-Schorn [2007].

214 On the three Callimacheans: Jacoby [1954] 618–627; cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 150–151. On Hermippus: Bollansée [1999a] and [1999b] (edition of the fragments); the list of Aristotle's writings in Diog. Laert. 5.21 goes back to the Peripatetic Aristo of Ceos (Moraux [1951] 237 ff.) more probably than to Hermippus (Düring [1956]; cf. Tanner [2000] 83–86). On Philostephanus: Capel Badino [2010]. On Ister: Fraser [1972] 1.511–512; Jackson [2000]; Berti [2009] and [2013].

215 Chiefly P.Oxy. 10.1241, quoted at the beginning of this section, and *Suda* α 3419; Callim. testt. 11a–19a Pfeiffer.

216 Str. 14.655; P.Oxy. 10.1241; *Suda* α 3419.

217 The biographical entry in the *Suda* is wrong in placing Apollonius' librarianship after that of Eratosthenes (διάδοχος Ἐρατοσθένους γενόμενος ἐν τῇ προστασίᾳ τῆς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ βιβλιοθήκης, "being successor of Eratosthenes in the direction of the Alexandrian Library"), merging information concerning the poet with that on his homonymous nicknamed "the classifier": Pfeiffer [1968] 141–142; Fraser [1972] 1.330–332; Blum [1977] 184–187.

explained, in two less than accurate *Lifes*,²¹⁸ as due to the hostile reception of a public recitation of a draft (*proekdosis*) of his major literary work, the epic poem *Argonautics*. Only later, according to one of these biographies, did he return to Alexandria, achieving the long-awaited success with his final edition of the poem. However, the reliability of this account is regarded with some suspicion, and it seems preferable to view Apollonius' departure from Alexandria in relation to the accession to the throne of the third Ptolemy in 246 and, possibly, also in connection with the fact that the new king favoured Eratosthenes, a scholar who is said to have been a pupil of Callimachus. Eratosthenes was a native of Cyrene like Callimachus, and this happened also to be the homeland of the new queen Berenice.²¹⁹

Our primary surviving evidence of Apollonius' scholarship resides precisely in the *Argonautics*, in which historical and literary learning, undoubtedly encouraged by the wide availability and use of books in the Library, coexists and intermingles with intertextual emulation and interpretation of Homeric poetry.²²⁰ As an instance of this, we may recall that in the last line of the *Argonautics* (4.1781 ἀσπασίως ἀκτὰς Παγασηΐδας εἰσαπέβητε, "you happily landed at the Pagasian coast") the poet apparently alludes to *Od.* 23.296 (ἀσπασίοι λέκτροιο παλαιοῦ θεσμὸν ἔκοντο, "they (Odysseus and Penelope) happily regained full right of possession of their old bed"), thus perhaps indicating that in his opinion the latter marked the true end of the Homeric poem, as indeed later assumed by such authoritative scholars as Aristophanes of Byzantium and Aristarchus.²²¹ Effectively, in tackling Homeric problems Apollonius found himself in disagreement with textual and interpretive solutions previously adopted by the first librarian and editor of the poems, and he gathered together his own observations in a writing *Against Zenodotus* (Πρὸς Ζηνόδοτον). Evidently the Zenodotean edition had risen to the status of a reference text within the Library and offered much material to the lively intel-

218 Edited by Wendel [1935] 1–2. See Mygind [1999] 272 (No. 69).

219 Due emphasis should be assigned to the circumstance: Pfeiffer [1968] 141–142; Cameron [1995] 214–219.

220 Erbse [1953]; Rengakos [1993], [1994], [2001] and [2002a]; Fantuzzi [2000].

221 *Schol. M^aVX Hom., Od.* 23.296 Dindorf, speaking of τέλος τῆς Ὀδυσσεΐας, it is unclear whether in the meaning of 'actual end' (so e.g. Rossi [1968] and [1976] 114 n. 3) or in the (Aristotelian) sense of narrative 'fulfillment' (Gallavotti [1969]; Erbse [1972] 166–177); cf. Eust., *Od.* 1948.49. On the question see Pfeiffer [1968] 175–177; Richardson [1994] 21–22; Pontani [2005b] 36, 49. Montanari [2012d] 345–347 underscores that Demetrius of Phalerum had already highlighted the relevance of this line for the economy of the *Odyssey*, because it marks the recomposition of the conjugal σωφροσύνη (Dem. Phal. fr. 193 Wehrli = fr. 145 Stork-Opuijsen-Dorandi).

lectual dialectics of its members and to further research and interpretation. Apollonius also worked on Archilochus, to whom he devoted a monograph (*Περὶ Αρχιλόχου*),²²² and on Hesiod, defending the authenticity of the *Shield of Heracles* while rejecting that of the *Ornithomanteia*, which in the ancient tradition followed l. 828 of the *Works and Days*.²²³ Apollonius' considerable interest in archaic epic poetry, and in iambic poetry closely linked to the latter, is an attitude consistent with his original creativity within the epic genre. His attention to epics both by poetic emulation (in the *Argonautics*) and, at the same time, by scholarly concerns can also be seen in his quotation—recovered from a fragmentary work of Homeric scholarship (*BKT* III 8439)—of a verse of Antimachus of Colophon, the author considered by modern critics as a forerunner of Alexandrianism during the Classical Age.²²⁴

Eratosthenes of Cyrene was born around 275 according to the *Suda*,²²⁵ or earlier if one is to believe that he listened to the lessons held in Athens by the philosopher Zeno of Citium²²⁶ (the founder of the Stoic school, who died in 262/1), and he is said to have reached the age of eighty.²²⁷ Therefore his life covers a large part of the 3rd century. Cyrene and Athens were the places where he received his training, and Alexandria constituted the frame that shaped his intellectual maturity.²²⁸ In Cyrene he had as his teachers the grammarian Lysanias and the poet Callimachus, and in Athens the Stoic Aristo of Chios as well as the Platonist Arcesilaus; his pupils in Alexandria included Aristophanes of Byzantium.²²⁹ It is generally agreed that Eratosthenes was appointed librarian in 246, after Apollonius, when Ptolemy III Euergetes came to the throne; Ptolemy's wife, the Cyrenean princess Berenice, may possibly have been influential in the choice of a personality originating from her own homeland. Although it is not attested explicitly, the suggestion that at the same time as his librarianship Eratosthenes may also have fulfilled the task of tutor of the prince, the future Ptolemy IV, cannot be ruled out.²³⁰

222 Ath. 10.451d. On the interest in Archilochus' works during the Classical and Hellenistic Ages see Pfeiffer [1968] 144–146.

223 Montanari [2009a] 323–324 and 335.

224 Cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 146. See Novokhatko, this volume.

225 *Suda* ε 2898; Eratosth. *FGrHist* 241 test. 1.

226 Str. 1.15; Eratosth. *FGrHist* 241 test. 10. Pfeiffer [1968] 154 with n. 3, gives little credence to this suggestion.

227 *Suda* ε 2898; Ps.-Luc., *Macrobian* 27.

228 A sketch of Cyrene as a center of Hellenic culture is provided by Fraser [1972] 1.786–789; Montanari [1993a] 636–638.

229 Again *Suda* ε 2898.

230 Pfeiffer [1968] 154–155.

A scholar and scientist, and also apparently a poet of some acclaim,²³¹ in an organic synthesis that calls to mind the Peripatetic model (although his culture lacks a systematic structure comparable to Aristotelian thought), Eratosthenes understandably rejected as too limiting the epithet *γραμματικός*, “skilled in letters”, that is to say, a sectorial expert in literature,²³² and preferred to define himself as *φιλόλογος*, “man of knowledge” or “man of learning” endowed with an encyclopedic culture.²³³ Germane to this point is his definition of *γραμματική* as “a complete mastery (*ἔξις*) in letters”, namely in written compositions.²³⁴ His open and broad-based approach to many branches of learning earned him a series of polemical and humoristic nicknames, such as “pentathlet”, “new Plato”, and “Beta”, *i.e.* “Second” with the malicious insinuation that he failed to excel in any of the numerous fields of knowledge in which he was competent.²³⁵

Within the boundaries of linguistic and literary research, Eratosthenes compiled lexicographical works, among which two *onomastika* entitled *Ἀρχιτεκτονικός* and *Σκευογραφικός* perhaps connected with studies on comedy,²³⁶ and he also composed two books of *Γραμματικά*, probably a miscellaneous writing.²³⁷ Following in the steps of Lycophron, he wrote a treatise *On the old comedy* (*Περὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμωδίας*), in no less than 12 books:²³⁸ the extant fragments, in which Pherecrates, Cratinus, Aristophanes, and Eupolis are quoted

231 Poetic fragments: Powell [1925] 58–68; Lloyd-Jones – Parsons [1983] 183–186 (fr. 397–399); Lloyd-Jones [2005] 48–49. The author of the writing *On the sublime* expresses *en passant* a far from hostile judgement on the elegy entitled *Ērignonē* (*Subl.* 33.5: Eratosth., *Erig.* test. 1 Rosokoki; see the comment by Rosokoki [1995] 76). The short poem *Hermēs* gained the honor of a commentary by the 2nd/1st century Rhodian Timachidas (cf. Powell [1925] 58–59 and below) and had a very favorable reception over the next centuries (*e.g.* Agosti [2008]).

232 See Pfeiffer [1968] 156–159.

233 Cf. Suet., *Gram. et rhet.* 10 (Eratosth. *FGrHist* 241 test. 9): (*L. Ateius*) *philologi appellationem assumpsisse videtur, quia sic ut Eratosthenes, qui primus hoc cognomen sibi vindicavit, multiplici variaque doctrina censebatur.*

234 *Schol. Vat.* to Dion. Thrax, in *GG* 1/3.160.10–11 Ἐρατοσθένης ἔφη ὅτι γραμματική ἐστὶν ἔξις παντελῆς ἐν γράμμασι, γράμματα καλῶν τὰ συγγράμματα. On this definition see Matthaios [2011a]; cf. Pagani [2011] 17–18 with n. 3; Swiggers and Wouters, this volume (section 11.2).

235 *Suda* ε 2898.

236 Eratosth. fr. 17 and 60 Strecker, and Strecker [1884] 13 = 43 fr. 21–23 Bagordo.

237 Clem. Al., *Strom.* 1.16.79.3.

238 Fragments collected by Strecker [1884] and Bagordo [1998] 127–136 (No. 43). In fr. 25 Strecker = 43 fr. 2 Bagordo, Eratosthenes explicitly criticizes Lycophron because the latter “is ignorant” of the meaning of a neologism coined by the comic poet Cratinus (Ἐρατοσθένης τὴν λέξιν ἀγνοεῖν φησι Λυκόφρονα κτλ): see Montana [2013].

(to whom the comic poet Plato can be added, if a statement by Eratosthenes about this author's career, found in a papyrus commentary, is to be assigned to the same work),²³⁹ point to an interest in the language of the playwrights and the features of the classical Attic dialect, explicitly also as a function of the debate on the authenticity of the plays.²⁴⁰ Additionally, his writings highlight an attention to the chronology of authors and works and to questions involving performance and other issues generally related to the world of comic drama. For instance, in a fragment Eratosthenes contests the authenticity of the *Miners* (*Μεταλλεῖς*) attributed to Pherecrates, applying the dialectological criterion with a strictness that some have seen as a forerunner of much later Atticism.²⁴¹ In another passage Eratosthenes confutes the story about Eupolis allegedly murdered by Alcibiades during the navigation towards Sicily in the year 415:²⁴² such an event, of dubious historical reliability, had risen to the status of a fundamental node in the debate on comic *parrhesia* and on its presumed limitations in the evolution of comedy between 5th and 4th centuries, with consequences on reconstruction of the transformations and on periodization of the comic genre.²⁴³ In yet another fragment Eratosthenes corrects Callimachus, who in his *Table* on the dramatic poets had thought he perceived a mistake in the Aristotelian *Didaskaliai* concerning the reciprocal chronology of Aristophanes' (first and second) *Clouds* and Eupolis' *Marikas*.²⁴⁴ It was possibly when discussing the poetic models underlying some comic passages

239 P.Oxy. 35.2737 (Ar. fr. 590 Kassel-Austin = Aristophanes 27 CLGP = Eratosth. 43 fr. 18 Bagordo), Fr. 1, Col. II, ll. 10–17; see the comment by Montana [2012a] 174–177; cf. Perrone [2010] 91. A second quotation from Eratosthenes has been hypothesized by W. Luppe in l. 31 of the same column of the papyrus: Montana [2012a] 179.

240 The playwrights attested to in the fragments show that ἀρχαία κωμῳδία of the title stands roughly for what we precisely mean by 'Archaia': Pfeiffer [1968] 161; Nesselrath [1990] 176–180 and 181 n. 93; Bagordo [1998] 38.

241 Eratosth. fr. 93 Strecker = 43 fr. 5 Bagordo, cf. fr. 46 Strecker; another attribution is treated in fr. 149 Strecker = 43 fr. 17 Bagordo. On Eratosthenes' tendency to Attic purism when treating Attic comedy see Tosi [1994b] 168–171.

242 Eratosth. fr. 48 Strecker = *FGrHist* 241 fr. 19 = 43 fr. 12 Bagordo. Cf. Duris, *FGrHist* 76 fr. 73. The sources of the episode are discussed by Storey [2003] 56–60 and 379–381.

243 Nesselrath [1990] 178–179 and [2000] 237–240: the debate set up a contrast between the Alexandrian or 'literary' approach to comedy (Eratosthenes) and the Peripatetic or 'political' approach (e.g. Platon., *Diff. com.* 21–23 Perusino, who identified the reprisal against Eupolis as the watershed between *arkhaiā* and *mesē*: cf. the comment by Perusino [1989] 14–15 and 48–49).

244 Eratosth. fr. 97 Strecker = 43 fr. 14 Bagordo; cf. Callim. fr. 454 Pfeiffer. See Storey [2003] 61.

that Eratosthenes addressed specific problems posed by lyric texts.²⁴⁵ It had been shown as early as in Lycophron's work on ancient comedy that this genre could provide highly fertile and stimulating material for the study of language; Eratosthenes' *syngramma*, with its composite and lively character and the tendency to purism in evaluating the literary use of the Attic dialect, exerted an undeniable influence in this direction, representing an important source for later lexicographers and paroemiographers.²⁴⁶

Eratosthenes' training in philosophy was further enhanced by his studies on the history of thought, one of the fruits of which was the work *The philosophical schools* (*Περὶ τῶν κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν αἱρέσεων*). But the field in which he particularly excelled among his contemporaries was that of science, which had been strongly promoted by the Ptolemies since the very outset of their cultural enterprise, that is to say, since the time when the Soter invited to Alexandria the Peripatetic Strato of Lampsacus, ὁ φυσικός. Eratosthenes engaged in intense activity in the sectors of chronology, geography, mathematics, astronomy and musical theory, earning high esteem, as eloquently testified by the fact that Archimedes of Syracuse dedicated to him his own treatise *On the mechanical theorems*.²⁴⁷ We will limit ourselves here to mentioning some aspects of Eratosthenes' scientific achievements that are most significant for the present topic.

In the *Chronographies* (*Χρονογραφίαι*) Eratosthenes established the relative chronology of some historical events and set key dates for the period between the mythical past and the death of Alexander the Great in 323, such as the fall of Troy in the year 1184/3, the 'return of the Heraklids' 80 years later, and the first Olympian Feasts in 776/5. He unified the dating system, adopting the list of Spartan kings up to 776/5 and, starting from this date, the four-yearly succession of the Olympiads, the universal effectiveness of this chronological system being guaranteed by the pan-Hellenic character of these Feasts and Games. Furthermore, within this grid, overcoming the localistic limitations of previous annalistic records, he arranged and concatenated events that concerned the entire span of Greek history.²⁴⁸ In the next century, on the basis of

245 Eratosth. fr. 136 Strecker = *FGrHist* 241 fr. 44 = 43 fr. 16 Bagordo, on the genre of Archil. fr. 324 West; fr. 101 Strecker, on the popular song *PMG* 735 Page, assigned by Eratosthenes to the poet Lamprocles.

246 Tosi [1994b] 187–189. On the possible impact of Eratosthenes' exegetical approach to ancient comedy in later scholarship, see Montana [2013].

247 On Eratosthenes in the context of Hellenistic science: Fraser [1972] 1.409–415. Especially on his role in musical theory: Creese [2010] 178–209.

248 Edition of the extant fragments: *FGrHist* 241 fr. 1–3 and 9–15.

this work Apollodorus of Athens composed his own *Chronicle*, which in turn became one of the sources of the Christian chronography on which depends a large part of our knowledge of ancient chronology. In another work, entitled *The Olympian wins* (*Ὀλυμπιονόμοι*), Eratosthenes drew up a list of winners of these competitions, achieving an improvement over earlier attempts.²⁴⁹

His masterwork is considered to be the *Geography* (*Γεωγραφικά*), originally in three books, many fragments of which are preserved by Strabo, the geographer writing in the Augustan Age.²⁵⁰ One of the novel elements in this work as compared to analogous previous compositions certainly consisted in its marked broadening of horizons and geographic knowledge, as a consequence of the immense conquests made by Alexander the Great. Another innovative aspect, so characteristic of this author, was the application of a scientific attitude to the subject of his investigations. His belief, expounded in his history of the discipline, that the setting of the Homeric poems was the fruit of imagination and was not traceable to real places—for it was his conviction that the aim of poetry is “to capture the soul” rather than “to learn”—draws on a traditional line of thought mocked by Stoic thinkers.²⁵¹ Famous in this regard, and emblematic of his attitude, is the sarcastic statement that

a man might find the places of Odysseus’ wanderings if the day were to come when he would find the leatherworker who stitched the goatskin of the winds.²⁵²

Opinions such as these could seem to bear some affinity with Plato’s disparagement of the educational value of poetry, especially epic poetry; but Eratosthenes’ main focus seems not so much to concern philosophical or ethical truth as, rather, scientific epistemology; he aimed to clear the field of the

249 *FGrHist* 241 fr. 4–8 and 9–15. Hippias of Elis, in the 5th century, drew up a *List of the Olympian winners*.

250 The fragments have been edited by Berger [1880]. For a reassessment and a commentary see Roller [2010].

251 Str. 1.15 (Eratosth. fr. I A 20 Berger) ποιητὴν γὰρ ἔφη (Ἐρατοσθένης) πάντα στοχάζεσθαι ψυχαγωγίας, οὐ διδασκαλίας. Eratosthenes’ assertion is quoted and criticized by Strabo in the context of a well-structured defense, of Stoic inspiration, of the truth value of poetry: Halliwell [2002] 269–271. Cusset [2008] 126–127 argues for the positive acceptance of ψυχαγωγία in this context, given the Platonic (Socratic) use of this term as a definition of rhetoric (*Phaedrus* 261a–c and 271c–272b).

252 Str. 1.24 (Eratosth. fr. I A 16 Berger) τότε’ ἂν εὐρεῖν τινα, ποῦ Ὀδυσσεὺς πεπλάνηται, ὅταν εὕρῃ τὸν σκυτέα τὸν συρράψαντα τὸν τῶν ἀνέμων ἄσκόν. Cf. Eust., *Od.* 1645.64 (concerning *Od.* 10.19).

need to base the interpretation of poems on elusive apologetics, which was too easily confutable in historical and factual terms, as apparently was the case with allegoresis.²⁵³ Making use of the vast repository of books in the Library, in the *Geography* he also addressed genuinely historical and chronological questions, for example placing the acme of Homer a century after the capture of Troy and arguing that Hesiod lived at a later date than Homer. Furthermore, Eratosthenes was the first to apply a mathematical method systematically to map-making, even succeeding in devising the conception and design of the network of the earth's meridians and parallels, and in *The measurement of the earth* (*Περὶ ἀναμετρήσεως τῆς γῆς*) he calculated the measure of the earth's circumference using mathematical means, coming up with a figure which, surprisingly, was in error by no more than a few hundred kilometers.²⁵⁴ Works of this nature are considered decisive in having prompted a movement whereby geography, traditionally linked in the Greek world to the spheres of historiography and ethnography, began to be repositioned in the direction of physics and mathematics, thus taking on the aspect of a scientific discipline. At the same time, it is symptomatic that three centuries later the geographer Strabo, albeit expressing himself in a sarcastic vein, used the term *diorthōsis*—a word which, as shown above, formed part of the philological vocabulary—to define Eratosthenes' mathematically based revision of earlier geographic convictions.²⁵⁵

Among Eratosthenes' works, one that offers extremely eloquent insight into the unity and interpenetration of his scientific and philological culture is *Constellations* (*Καταστερισμοί*), which has come down to us via the Medieval tradition in an epitome of a later date. It describes the heavenly constellations, giving an indication of the mythological origin of their names, and one can hardly fail to be struck by an affinity between this theme and the literary creation of Aratus, who in the *Phenomena* had rendered in verse the content of the star catalogue composed by the astronomer Eudoxus of Cnidus.²⁵⁶

In short, the work of Eratosthenes can be regarded as no less than one of the founding pillars of early Hellenistic scientific and methodic thought, and a

253 Pfeiffer [1968] 166–167. Eratosthenes, allowing the Alexandrian mould, admitted scientific erudition in his own poems, but as a feature subject to the psychagogic function of poetry: Cusset [2008].

254 E.g. Russo [2004] 273–277.

255 Str. 1.62 ἐν δὲ τῇ δευτέρῃ πειρᾶται διόρθωσίν τινα ποιείσθαι τῆς γεωγραφίας, “in the second (book) he seeks to make a critical revision of the geography”.

256 Recent commented editions of *Constellations'* epitome: Pàmias i Massana [2004]; Pàmias-Geus [2007]; Pàmias i Massana-Zucker [2013]; see also Santoni [2009].

history of ancient scholarship should recognize in him the true emblem of the union and reciprocal influence of (poetry,) philology and science.²⁵⁷

Endorsing a 'neo-humanist' vision of the birth and nature of ancient scholarship, Rudolf Pfeiffer emphasized the novelty and uniqueness of the figure of Eratosthenes as the driving force behind the convergence of science and philology. Viewing the situation from this standpoint, Pfeiffer was able to deny any direct Peripatetic derivation or imprinting of Alexandrian learning. If, however, the perspective is broadened from single individualities to the ensemble of Ptolemaic institutions and cultural policy, it should be recognized that scientists and scholars were gathered together as a group in the Museum, and that since its very foundation they had been working according to a carefully planned and organic project which in many respects mirrors the multifaceted approach of the Aristotelian school. In such a context, Eratosthenes can in a sense be seen as accomplishing in his own person the synthesis properly belonging to the ordinary nature and structure of the Alexandrian institutions themselves. Furthermore, even if one sets aside the appeal to scholarship and science within Alexandrian poetry designed to achieve realism,²⁵⁸ the blend of philology and science and the mutual exchange of practices and methods can also be perceived in a number of significant personalities within and outside Alexandria.²⁵⁹ In the medical field, for instance, examples include Eratosthenes' contemporary Bacchius of Tanagra, a physician and lexicographer, who was also an editor and commentator of Hippocratic works, and, in the next century, his colleague Zeuxis the Empiricist, who is even credited with commentaries on Hippocrates and was active in ensuring the acquisition of medical writings for the Ptolemaic Library.²⁶⁰ Likewise, the Alexandrian scholar Ptolemy Epithetes, in the 2nd century, was the author of a work on the wounds in the Homeric poems, which seems to stand midway between philology and medicine.²⁶¹ Mention could also be made of Apollodorus of Athens, a pupil of Aristarchus and the true heir of Eratosthenic learning in the 2nd century interchange between Alexandria and Pergamum (see below). Thus

257 Pfeiffer [1968] 152–153, 155–156, 167–168; cf. Jacob [1992]; Tosi [1998a]; Geus [2002]; Cusset [2008].

258 Zanker [1987] 113–131.

259 Mette [1952] 62–64; Montanari [1993a] 635.

260 About Bacchius: Von Staden [1989] 484–500 and [1992]. Other Hippocratic lexica are attributed by sources to Xenocritus of Cos, Philitas' contemporary; Philinus, himself from Cos and the founder of the empirical school of medicine; and the poet Euphorion of Chalcis, on whom see Acosta-Hughes – Cusset [2012] xvi and 100–101 (fr. 49–50). On Zeuxis: Deichgräber [1930] 221 (fr. 343); Von Staden [1989] 481 with n. 4.

261 Ptol. Epith. test. 1 Montanari, with F. Montanari [1988] 81–83 and [1993a] 634.

there is ample justification for asserting that the opportunity for exchange and osmosis between the two spheres on the issues of concepts and methodologies was by no means lacking in Hellenistic and Alexandrian culture: indeed, the claim that such opportunities did exist is fully warranted and, at the very least, it calls for more adequate and in-depth exploration.²⁶²

Aristophanes of Byzantium (ca. 265/257–190/180), Eratosthenes' successor at the head of the royal Library, opens the more mature season of Alexandrian philology. The son of an army officer who had moved from Byzantium to Alexandria, he is said to have been a disciple of Zenodotus (although this suggestion is open to considerable doubt for chronological reasons), as well as of Callimachus and indeed of Eratosthenes himself. The comic poet Machon, Dionysius Iambus and a certain Euphronidas are also remembered among his teachers. Aged 62, Aristophanes became the fourth librarian-in-chief and held this post for fifteen years, until his death. It is during this period that he is supposed to have been imprisoned in Alexandria—assuming that this piece of information genuinely concerns his life and that it is in fact true—for having planned to 'desert' the patronage of Ptolemy V Epiphanes in favor of that of Eumenes II, king of Pergamum from 197, who at the time was intent on founding his own cultural patronage.²⁶³ However, it would not be surprising were the story to turn out to be a forgery, moulded on the traditional picture of a strong rivalry between these two main centers of learning from the beginning of the 2nd century onwards. What is certain is that it implies the idea of jealous and fierce competition between royal powers, even more than between philologists residing in the two different capitals.

Among his activities within the Library, it is worth citing, first and foremost, a contribution in the sphere of pinacographical studies, the work *In addition to* (better than *Against*)²⁶⁴ *Callimachus' Tables* (*Πρὸς τοὺς Καλλιμάχου πίνακας*). This was an updating, and possibly also a discussion or defense of debated issues,²⁶⁵ of the great catalogue arranged by Callimachus fifty years earlier, in which a number of problems concerning the genuineness, attribution and cataloguing of books now needed to be addressed.²⁶⁶ As an instance, Aristophanes' doubts concerning the authenticity of the *Shield* attributed to Hesiod—in agreement

262 Overall, on science in Ptolemaic Alexandria and in the Hellenistic world: Fraser [1972] 1.336–446; Lloyd [1973]; Giannantoni-Vegetti [1984]; Russo [2004].

263 *Suda* α 3936, s.v. Ἀριστῶνυμος; Ar. Byz. test. 1 Slater.

264 Nauck [1848a] 245–247; Pfeiffer [1968] 133; Slater [1986] 134.

265 Slater [1976].

266 Ar. Byz. fr. 368–369 Slater; cf. Callim. fr. 439 Pfeiffer and Pfeiffer [1949–1953] 1.349 (after Callim. fr. 453); Bagordo [1998] 44–45 and 88 (No. 15 fr. 1–3).

with Hieronymus of Rhodes' opinion and against Apollonius of Rhodes'—can be recalled.²⁶⁷

The editing of poetic texts, however, is the field in which Aristophanes marked a turning point in ancient scholarship. Building on the varied and complex activity of *diorthōsis* concerning epic, lyric and dramatic works carried out in the previous decades, he successfully expanded and enhanced it with his own original contributions, thus assuring that the learned men attached to the Ptolemaic institutions benefited from the availability of new and more homogeneous textual editions of ancient poetry, which would later be acknowledged as indisputably authoritative.²⁶⁸ In his edition of the *Iliad*, with regard to lines of debatable authenticity he adopted an even more cautious and conservative approach than that of Zenodotus, abandoning the practice of not writing the lines whose dubious genuineness had aroused the greatest controversy, and turning instead to systematic utilisation of the *obelos*. Thus many lines eliminated by Zenodotus were maintained or restored into the text, marked by the sign of *athetēsis*. Other innovations moved in the same direction of more painstaking and scrupulous precision in critical-textual work: for example the introduction of two new textual/exegetical *sēmeia*, i.e. the *asteriskos* (ἀστειρίσκος, "little star": ※), to indicate repeated lines, and the pair *sigma-antisigma* (C, ∩) to indicate two consecutive lines having the same content and thus interchangeable. Additionally, remarkable advances were made in the notation of lectional signs, namely those designed to assure a correct reading and word distinction, such as breathings, accents and punctuation.²⁶⁹

As well as focusing on Homer and Hesiod, Aristophanes also took an interest in lyric verse and dramatic poetry. Work on Alcaeus, Anacreon, Pindar is attested to, as well as on Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, and plausibly Aeschylus.²⁷⁰

267 *Argumentum Scuti*; see Montanari [2009a] 336.

268 As regards the prose writers, the supposition of an Aristophanean 'philological' *ekdosis* of Plato's dialogues, based on the evidence of the scholar's preference for an ordering of the philosopher's writings by trilogies instead of tetralogies (attested to by Diog. Laert. 3.61–62), is still an issue of open discussion: for instance, it was championed by Alline [1915] 84–103 and Jachmann [1942] 334–341, but ruled out by Pasquali [1952²] 264–266, Erbse [1961] 219–221 and Pfeiffer [1968] 196–197; more recently it has been revived by Schironi [2005], especially 428–429 and 431–432. In the absence of further evidence, the ancient testimony on trilogies could pertain more to Aristophanes' *Πρὸς τοὺς Καλλιμάχου πίνακας* than to an *ekdosis*: Carlini [1972] 18 ff. and [1977] 353.

269 Pfeiffer [1968] 178–181. Inventory of Aristophanes' Homeric scholarship: Slater [1986] 175–203; van Thiel [2014]. Both Slater (207) and van Thiel (1.19) downsize Aristophanes' role in editing poetic texts, particularly with reference to the Homeric poems.

270 Pfeiffer [1968] 192–194; Wartelle [1971] 143–161; Montanari [2009c].

Furthermore, his strong admiration for the *mimesis* of Menander²⁷¹ accords well with some clues suggesting that he took a philological interest in this author.²⁷² These studies probably made a substantial contribution to defining the canons (τάξεις) of authors and related works (later called ἐγκριθέντες, “chosen”, and πραττόμενοι, “treated” by the grammarians) and to their classification within the appropriate genres. For instance, the canon of the melic poets, as attested to by more than one witness, at a certain time included the following nine: Pindar, Bacchylides, Sappho, Anacreon, Stesichorus, Simonides, Ibycus, Alcaeus and Alcman.²⁷³ This kind of arrangement was to have crucial consequences, both favourable and adverse, for school practice and the transmission of ancient texts in subsequent centuries.²⁷⁴

One important acquisition perhaps owed to Aristophanes, although some doubt has been cast on this matter, is the retrieval or restoration of the metrical layout of lyric works, including the sung parts of drama.²⁷⁵ When the texts of melic poetry were written out, their metrical structure was no longer ignored, as had often been the case, but instead they were regularly divided by *kōla*, i.e. the rhythmic elements gathered together into sequences by the poets in order to form larger metrical units were now distinguished.²⁷⁶ Aristophanes adopted

271 Ar. Byz. test. 7 and 9 Slater = 15 fr. 11–12 Bagordo = Men. test. 83 and 170c Kassel-Austin. See Pfeiffer [1968] 190–191; Cantarella [1969] 189–194.

272 Montana [2007].

273 *E.g.* A.P. 9.184. The definition of the Alexandrian canon was strongly influenced by Peripatetic studies on lyric poetry, in the view of Carey [2011] 453.

274 Pfeiffer [1968] 203–208; cf. Nicolai [1992] 251–265 and 275–296.

275 This assumption, chiefly based on Dion. Hal., *Comp.* 156 and 221, has been contested by Tessier [1995] 1–34.

276 Pre-Aristophanean colometric arrangements of melic texts, although rare, are positively attested to by extant 3rd century papyri (a list of five items including texts of Sappho, Stesichorus, Sophocles and Euripides is drawn up by Pöhlmann [2007] 105 n. 9) or hypothesizable (*e.g.*, with regard to Pindaric poems, Tessier [1995] and D'Alessio [1997]). In particular, some colometric discrepancies in the same verse of Pindar ‘edited’ in two Greek papyri of Imperial Age, P.Oxy. 5.841 (Pindar’s *Paeans*) and P.Oxy. 15.1792 (Pindar’s *Prosodia*), respectively as *Paeon* 6 triad 3 (Rutherford [2001] 301–302 with his comment, especially 336–338) and as a *prosodion*, have been interpreted by D'Alessio as different arrangements hardly both included in the Alexandrian (Aristophanean) edition (as, by contrast, believed by Rutherford [2001] 148), but rather going back to divergent colizations arranged by prior Hellenistic scholars or to performers’ texts with musical notation (a suggestion owed to Liana Lomiento), or else to the 5th century and possibly to Pindar himself, namely as a traditional reflection of two distinct original performative occasions. The latter solution is shared by Prauscello [2006] 84 n. 260 and is not ruled out by Battezzato [2008] 145, while in the view of Tessier [2010a] 13–16 the colometric diver-

this kind of treatment apparently when working on the Pindaric poems, providing them with purpose-designed *sēmeia* for metrical-textual scansion: the *korōnis* (κορωνίς, namely the stylized picture of a “little crow”), inserted in the left margin, divided the compositions from one another; the *paragraphoi* (παράγραφοι), horizontal strokes written to the left of the text, between the lines, distinguished the strophes of a given composition; and, as attested to for the edition of Alcaeus’ poems, the *asteriskos* (instead of the *korōnis*) was introduced to mark the distinction between two poems of different meter.²⁷⁷ Although there are some critical arguments suggesting that when dealing with the colometry of poetic texts the Alexandrian scholars resorted directly to musical scores designed for performance, we are still far from being able to document that such an approach was actually implemented in a standardized and systematic manner.²⁷⁸ What we can positively observe, and at present this must be presumed even for Aristophanes, is some episodic interaction or interlacing between the musical/performative and the textual/bookish tradition.²⁷⁹ As for the text layout and colometry (as well as musical notation?) of the melic sections of classical Attic tragedy, one cannot exclude that Aristophanes may have been significantly aided by the Lycurgan copies of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides held in the Alexandrian Library: and this would provide an even more convincing explanation of the irresistible attraction exerted by these books over king Ptolemy III, who sacrificed a fortune to obtain them.²⁸⁰ But at present this remains a mere hypothesis.²⁸¹

gences could more plausibly give evidence of scores provided with different musical and rhythmic notation which were available to Hellenistic scholars.

277 Heph., *Enkheiridion* 73.16–74.14 Conbruch. See Negri [2004]; further, Porro [1994], especially 222–226.

278 See above, nn. 14, 15, and 276. A skeptical attitude in this respect is maintained by Battezzato [2003] 19 with n. 52; Prauscello [2003] and [2006]. Prauscello has reexamined the scanty available papyrological evidence, focusing on the only two papyri carrying musical notation which, as for the text is concerned, are comparable with the medieval tradition: P.Vind. G 2315 (Eur., *Or.* 338–344) and P.Leid. inv. 510 (Eur., *IA* 1500?–1509 and 784–793), both dating to the first half of the 3rd century. It is worth remembering, with Lucia Prauscello, the telling circumstance that the (fragmentary) musical scores known to date normally display “a general non-colometric disposition of the lineation” and therefore this category seems unlikely to have constituted the usual source of Alexandrian colometry (183). Pöhlmann [2007] 106 mentions some additional epigraphic evidence.

279 Overall, Prauscello [2006].

280 Cf. Fleming-Kopff [1992] 763.

281 Prauscello [2006] 10. Pöhlmann [1991] highlights the lack of evidence of musical notation in the Lycurgan text of the tragic songs. Scodel [2007] points out that the character of

Metrical analysis, besides consideration for the original pragmatic destinations and contexts of the poetic compositions, was closely functional to their classification into groups qualified by affinity, namely genres. The metrical and genre characteristics of the works, as well as their length, represented useful conditions for the editorial organization of the *ekdoseis*, given the usual limits on the storage capacity of one papyrus roll. For instance, the first three books out of nine of the edition of Sappho's poems followed a metrical criterion; among these, book 1 contained all the poems composed in Sapphic strophes, for a total of 1,320 *kōla*. Alcaeus' works were divided into ten books on the basis of content (*e.g.* political, sympotic, erotic)²⁸² or of more generic thematic affinities and to some extent the chronobiography of the author.²⁸³ Pindar's poems were ordered and arranged into 17 books by lyric genres: hymns, paeans, dithyrambs, prosodia and so forth, ending with epinicia (subdivided in turn by the seat of the Games into four books: *Olympians, Pythians, Isthmians, Nemeans*), the only ones that have come down to us through the Medieval manuscript tradition.²⁸⁴

As well as in editions, Aristophanes enshrined the results of his erudite research on ancient poetry in a number of *syngrammata* and other critical tools (apparently he did not compose *hypomnēmata*).²⁸⁵ Thus in the treatise *Περὶ τῆς ἀχρυσμένης σχυτάλης* he scrutinized in detail this pair of words used by the archaic poet Archilochus, which had previously been discussed by Apollonius Rhodius in his *Περὶ Ἀρχιλόχου*.²⁸⁶ The titles of other writings show their exegetic purpose in the field of dramatic (comic) literature: *On characters* (*Περὶ προσώπων*),²⁸⁷ *On Athenian hetaerae* (*Περὶ τῶν Ἀθηνησιν ἑταιρῶν*)²⁸⁸ and, as attested to by Porphyry in Eusebius, *Παράλληλοι Μενάνδρου τε καὶ ἄφ' ὧν ἔκλεψεν ἐκλογαί*, in all likelihood a collection of pairs of poetic passages of Menander and other poets that bore an affinity to one another either by virtue of their meaning or their form.²⁸⁹ As a typical example of an Aristophanean erudite

the Athenian official copy was plausibly above all symbolic and ideological, more than authoritative from a textual and performative point of view.

282 Porro [1994] 5–6, with previous bibliography.

283 Liberman [1999] XLVIII–LXI, especially LVIII–LX.

284 Ar. Byz. fr. 380A and 381 Slater. See Irigoin [1994] 45–49.

285 This possibility, however, with respect to Aristophanes' work on the Homeric poems is inductively argued by Slater [1986] 205–210.

286 Ar. Byz. fr. 367 Slater.

287 Ar. Byz. fr. 363 Slater = 15 fr. 4 Bagordo.

288 Ar. Byz. fr. 364–366 Slater = *FGrHist* 347 fr. 1 = 15 fr. 5–9 Bagordo. See Montana [2006b] 214.

289 Ar. Byz. fr. 376 Slater = 15 fr. 10 Bagordo = Men. test. 76 Kassel-Austin. See Montana [2007] 257–258.

product one may cite his succinct introductions to the plays, or *hypotheses* (ὑποθέσεις, “subjects”), containing information on the first performance, the setting, characters and plot of each work, some elements of which remain, variously transmitted by papyri and Medieval manuscripts.²⁹⁰ The most significant precedent, according to a (debatable) ancient testimony,²⁹¹ is represented by some ὑποθέσεις τῶν Εὐριπίδου καὶ Σοφοκλέους μύθων (“subjects of plots of Euripides and Sophocles”) composed by the late 4th century Peripatetic Dicaearchus of Messana.²⁹² The importance of this genre of literary erudition cannot be underestimated, as it is the outcome of the use and combination of two different and converging critical approaches: on the one hand, Peripatetic antiquarian inquiry into theatre performances (the Aristotelian *Didaskaliai*) as well as into the plots of the plays (μῦθοι, to which Aristotle, in the *Poetics*, assigns a fundamental role for the aesthetic evaluation of works); and on the other, the spirit of reconstruction and erudite rearrangement that characterized early Alexandrian (Callimachean) pinacography.²⁹³ This two-fold approach is recognizable in other Aristophanean areas of research, such as studies on the literary use of proverbs and proverbial features (Aristophanes collected four books of *Non-metrical* and two of *Metrical proverbs*), which were rooted in Aristotelian interest in the tradition of paroemiographic wisdom,²⁹⁴ or the paradoxographic work *On animals* (*Περὶ ζώων*), to a large extent an epitome of various Peripatetic sources.²⁹⁵

The experiences of, among others, Lycophron, Callimachus and Eratosthenes provided a good illustration of the fact that critical study devoted to attribution, text constitution and interpretation of literary works derived great benefit from in-depth observation of the authors’ vocabulary. Aristophanes by no means neglected this feature, which was closely linked to his editorial activity, and he collected the results of his research in this respect in the *Λέξεις* (*Words*), a broad-based lexicographic compilation. It opened with the section *On the*

290 Pfeiffer [1968] 192–196; Meijering [1985]; van Rossum-Steenbeeck [1998]; Montanari [2009c]. This learned type of didascalical *hypothesis* linked to the name of Aristophanes must be kept distinct from the more popular ‘narrative *hypothesis*’ of Euripides’ plays, which circulated widely in Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman Egypt, as attested to by many papyri, on which see e.g. Bing [2011]; Meccariello [2014].

291 Sext. Emp., *Math.* 3.3; Dicaearch. fr. 112 Mirhady.

292 *Status quaestionis* by Montanari [2009c] 384–390.

293 On this convergence: Pfeiffer [1968] 192–193; Montanari [2009c] 399–401.

294 Ar. Byz. fr. 354–362 Slater. On Peripatetic paroemiography: Tosi [1994b] 179–182. On Aristophanes’ studies in this field and their relation with the Peripatetic tradition: Tosi [1993] and [1994b] 182–187.

295 Ar. Byz. fr. 377 Slater.

words which are suspected of not having been used by the ancients, apparently a collection of glosses whose antiquity (*i.e.* their belonging to the vocabulary of classical authors) was disputed.²⁹⁶ Some of the sections were arranged according to different semantic areas—probably on the example of Callimachus' *Ἐθνικαὶ ὀνομασῖαι*²⁹⁷—systematically listing Greek words (*e.g.* *Nouns indicating age, Kinship nouns*)²⁹⁸ and providing them with an explanation based on form, dialect, evolution, meanings, literary attestations and so forth. Aristophanes' interest in lexical correctness, in dialects—focus on the latter being traceable back at least to Philitas and possibly Zenodotus, and to Aristophanes' teachers Callimachus and Dionysius Iambus as well²⁹⁹—and especially in the Attic language (although apparently with more moderation and a more open approach than Eratosthenes)³⁰⁰ undoubtedly furnished solid support for the later appreciation of the Attic dialect. This trend would ultimately develop into the preferential and prescriptive literary use of this dialect, or Atticism, from the late 1st century onwards.³⁰¹

His familiarity with lexical phenomena and linguistic uses and anomalies—in literature as well as in the vernacular³⁰²—apparently attracted Aristophanes' attention to the recurrence of certain patterns of inflection. As is known, the first reflections on language can be found in the context of 5th and 4th century philosophy and rhetoric. At the beginning of the Hellenistic Age, Stoic

296 Ar. Byz. fr. 1–36 Slater. According to Slater [1976] 236–237, in this part of the *Lexeis* Aristophanes assumed an 'antipuristic' attitude, directed against those who considered as 'modern' (and therefore less pure) some of the strangest and very rare Greek words. Slater's statement is shared but partially reassessed by Tosi [1994b] 155–162 and 202–205 (discussion with D. M. Schenkeveld).

297 Wendel [1939a] 508; cf. Tosi [1994b] 166–167.

298 Ar. Byz. fr. 37–336 Slater.

299 Dionysius was the author of a work *On dialects* (*Περὶ διαλέκτων*) in which he made use of parallels drawn from spoken languages (Ath. 7.284b).

300 Ar. Byz. fr. 36 Slater, with regard to the Attic use of εὐθύ, shows a less rigid position than that displayed by Eratosthenes in fr. 46 and 93 Strecker also in relation to the attribution of the comedy *Miners* to Pherecrates: Slater [1976] 240; cf. Tosi [1994b] 169 with n. 47.

301 Ar. Byz. fr. 337–347 Slater are labeled as *Ἀττικαὶ λέξεις*. For an assessment and up-dated bibliography on the debated question of the alleged influence of Alexandrian lexicography on later Atticism see Ascheri [2010] 127–128 with n. 10; Tosi, this volume. In particular, on the close relation between Aristophanes' lexicography and the lexicon of the Imperial Age known as *Antiatticista* (so called inasmuch as, although within an Atticistic frame, it offers a moderate view in opposition to the rigorous purism such as that of Phrynichus) see Alpers [1981] 108; Tosi [1994b] 162–166 (who also discusses some objections advanced by Slater [1986] 120); Tosi [1997b].

302 Pfeiffer [1968] 202.

philosophers such as Zeno and Chrysippus had become interested in language processes (etymology), identifying categories and a specialized terminology that would have a parallel in 3rd and 2nd century Alexandrian scholarship,³⁰³ and they had underlined (and legitimated) phenomena of anomaly and current usage (συνήθεια, lat. *consuetudo*).³⁰⁴ This orientation was to exert a strong influence over the 2nd century philologists of Pergamum.³⁰⁵ The convergence of lexical observation and text criticism, which we saw coming into effect in the work of the most ancient philologists, evolved in Aristophanes in the direction of empirical observation and description of formal aspects of language, focusing for instance on certain characteristics of nominal and verbal inflection, with a tendency to emphasize linguistic regularity or analogy.³⁰⁶ As we shall see, this approach was then endorsed and actively applied to literary texts as a pragmatic principle by his pupil Aristarchus. Thus although Aristophanes' interest in this subject-matter seems to have been oriented mainly towards a descriptive approach, essentially aiming at text constitution and interpretation, in actual fact he paved the way towards the establishment of grammar as an independent discipline, starting from the generations of scholars immediately following his own.³⁰⁷

The reflections put forward earlier concerning the position of Aristophanes in the history of Alexandrian scholarship in relation to the activity of *diorthōsis* and *ekdosis* are also relevant for an account of his lexicographic studies, and can usefully serve for a few closing remarks on this scholar. Since his work built on the outcome of earlier scholars' learned enterprises and achievements, his main intellectual merit is that of having undertaken and brought to completion an impressive task of rational structuring, productive utilization and advancement of knowledge which was to be of enormous benefit to the grammarians who came after him. Therefore, he represents a watershed, the culmination of one era and the starting point of another. His capacity to develop specialized and innovative areas of scholarship in virtually the entire range of the philological subjects, tools and methods of the previous genera-

303 E.g. Blank [1982] 1–10; Frede [1987b]; Taylor [1987]; Schenkeveld [1994], also emphasizing the Peripatetic influence; cf. Ax [1993]; Matthaios [2001a] and [2002f].

304 Gutzwiller [2010] 354–359 and, for further bibliography, 365.

305 Most recently: Sluiter [2000b]; in this volume, Novokhatko, and Swiggers and Wouters (section III.2).

306 See Ar. Byz. fr. 370–375 Slater. We have no positive proof of a supposed Aristophanean treatise *On analogy* (Περὶ ἀναλογίας): Pfeiffer [1968] 202–203; Callanan [1987] 107; Ax [1990] 12 and [1991] 282. Overall, on analogy: Callanan [1987]; Ax [1990]; Schenkeveld [1990] 290–297; Pagani, this volume.

307 Matthaios [2001a] and [2002f].

tions of scholars is reminiscent of versatile and intellectually vibrant figures such as Callimachus and Eratosthenes, not by chance mentioned among his teachers by the ancient tradition. At the same time, Aristophanes seems to have been the first among the great Alexandrian scholars to have been integrally and exclusively a grammarian, rather than also a poet or a scientist. This aspect was thenceforth to become a generalized characteristic—despite significant exceptions—and can be interpreted as a definitive step towards the professionalization of textual philology. In addition, since he had received his training in the capital of Hellenized Egypt and had been appointed director of the Library during the period encompassing the definitive downfall of the ambition for imperial power nourished at length by the Ptolemies throughout the 3rd century, Aristophanes marks the interruption of the series of Greek intellectuals summoned from their homelands to Egypt in support of the aims of the Ptolemies' panhellenistic propaganda, and opens the chain of scholars more closely and genuinely attached to Alexandria by birth and/or education.³⁰⁸

Two personalities connected for different reasons with Aristophanes of Byzantium, Euphronius and Callistratus, must be recalled at this point. The first of these two scholars appears to have been a fairly important figure, yet his specific position within the frame of Alexandrian scholarship is hard to define. Information from ancient sources describes him as the author of commentaries on individual plays by the comic poet Aristophanes;³⁰⁹ in some fragments there remain traces of an interest in the literary use of proverbs that was also noted above for Aristophanes of Byzantium and was not unknown to Eratosthenes' *On the old comedy*.³¹⁰ Identification of this Euphronius with the tragic poet of the Pleiad, contemporary with Ptolemy II, and possibly one of the teachers of Aristophanes of Byzantium according to a modern emendation in the relevant entry of the *Suda*,³¹¹ has long been the mainstream

308 For opposite evaluations of Aristophanes' philology see Slater [1976], [1982] and [1986] 205–210 (negative); and Blank-Dyck [1984] (positive).

309 Ar. test. 113 Kassel-Austin. In the scholia to Aristophanes, Euphronius is quoted 27 times (of which 14 in the scholia to the *Frogs*, 9 in those to the *Wasps*). See Pfeiffer [1968] 160–161. The fragments of Euphronius' exegesis to Aristophanes' plays are collected by Strecker [1884].

310 Eratosth. fr. 72, 105 and 114 Strecker. See Tosi [1994b] 189.

311 *Suda* α 3933 (Ar. Byz. test. 1 Slater) testifies that Aristophanes was a pupil Εὐφρονίδα τοῦ Κορινθίου ἢ Σικυωνίου, “of Euphronidas the Corinthian or Sicyonian”, a passage which has been corrected (Slater [1986] 1, cf. Schmidt [1848] 327 n. 53; Nauck [1848a] 2 n. 3) to Εὐφρονίου <καὶ Μάχωνος> τοῦ Κορινθίου ἢ Σικυωνίου, “of Euphronius <and Machon> the Corinthian or Sicyonian” on the basis of a further correction by Bergk in Choerob., *Comm. in Heph.* 241.15–17 Consbruch (Ar. Byz. test. 14 Slater) ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι τοῦτου τοῦ Εὐφρονίου γέγονεν ἀκροατῆς Ἀρίσταρχος ὁ γραμματικὸς, οὐ μόνον Ἀριστοφάνους τοῦ Βυζαντίου

view.³¹² However, Euphronius is not cited in the fragments of Eratosthenes' study on ancient comedy³¹³ and it is hardly plausible that he could have devoted himself to word-by-word commentaries on the comedies before they had been issued in a reliable edition by Aristophanes of Byzantium, especially since it would appear from a scholion to Aristophanes' *Wasps* that Euphronius was able to utilize a copy that included *sēmeia*.³¹⁴ Therefore it seems more likely that this Euphronius should be kept distinct from the poet of the Pleiad and from Aristophanes' teacher and that he was either contemporary with or only a little later than Aristophanes himself.³¹⁵

In the scholia to Aristophanes' comedies, Euphronius is often cited together with a pupil of Aristophanes of Byzantium, Callistratus of Alexandria.³¹⁶ The *floruit* of the latter is thus to be placed in the first half of the 2nd century, when another and more illustrious pupil of Aristophanes, Aristarchus of Samothrace, was also active in the Ptolemaic capital. According to a modern interpretation of an ancient tradition, the two co-disciples seem to have been opposed by a strong rivalry.³¹⁷ Callistratus devoted himself to study and comment on the Homeric poems (whether he provided an edition of his own is still disputed)³¹⁸ and on works of Hesiod, Pindar and several dramatic authors, for all of which he is likely to have utilized the editions freshly drawn up by

(Ἀριστοφάνηος ὁ Βυζάντιος con. Bergk), "it is important to bear in mind that the grammarian Aristarchus was a pupil of this Euphronius, not only of Aristophanes of Byzantium" (Bergk would correct "Aristophanes of Byzantium" to the nominative subject).

312 Strecker [1884] 7–9; Susemihl [1891–1892] 1.281–282; Cohn [1907e]; Pfeiffer [1968] 160–161; Fraser [1972] 2.663 n. 100.

313 As observed by Pfeiffer [1968] 161.

314 *Schol. Ar., Vesp.* 696b (VTAld) (Euphr. fr. 57 Strecker) τὸν θίνα ταραττεις: ἐκ βυθοῦ με κινεῖς, ἀντὶ τοῦ τὴν καρδίαν. Εὐφρόνιος δὲ καὶ σεσημειώσθαι φησιν, ὅτι τὸν θίνα ἀρσενικῶς, ὡς καὶ Ὀμηρος, εἶρηκεν παρόσον καὶ ὁ θίς ἐν βάθει τοῦ πελάγους κείται καὶ τὸ θυμικὸν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ, "you cause disruption on the seabed: you trouble me sorely from deep down, thereby indicating the heart. Euphronius says that the locution has been marked by a *sēmeion*, for (Aristophanes) said τὸν θίνα in the masculine, like Homer, since the seabed is located at the bottom of the sea and the seat of feelings (is located) in the heart". This testimony is highlighted by Henderson [1987] LXII n. 18.

315 Such a relative chronology fits well with the mention by Georgius Choeroboscus (see above, n. 311) of Euphronius beside Aristophanes as a teacher of Aristarchus—a testimony usually rejected by modern critics.

316 Collection of fragments: Schmidt [1848].

317 Ath. 1.21c. See Gudeman [1919] 1738.

318 This is a conviction held by West [2001a] 60–61, against the old opinion of Ludwich [1884–1885] 1.45.

his teacher. In the surviving fragments of his Homeric scholarship,³¹⁹ gleaned from the writings *Πρὸς τὰς ἀθετήσεις*, *Περὶ Ἰλιάδος* and *Διορθωτικά*, Callistratus displays a genuinely independent critical approach: sometimes he champions Aristophanes of Byzantium's standpoint, while at other times he opposes his teacher by putting forward an opinion of his own; and, if at times he adopts a position against an Aristarchean choice, on yet other occasions he is in agreement with him. These circumstances refute the well rooted, but simplistic, assumption that Callistratus' work was purely ancillary to the positions espoused by Aristophanes; they also controvert a presumed unyielding reciprocal hostility towards Aristarchus.³²⁰ Among the Alexandrian scholars of early Hellenistic Age, Callistratus is the most quoted in the scholia to the comedies of Aristophanes,³²¹ from which one may surmise that his comments showed a broad spectrum of interests ranging from grammar to lexicology, paroemiography (an interest, as we have seen, of Peripatetic imprint and common to Eratosthenes, Aristophanes of Byzantium, and Euphronius),³²² history, and geography. Since there appears to be no evidence that Aristophanes of Byzantium enshrined in a *hypomnēma* the explanation of his own textual choices, it is tempting to think that they were written down in the commentaries composed by his pupil. Finally, the sources mention under his name a miscellaneous philological collection, entitled *Σύμμικτα*,³²³ and an erudite work *Περὶ ἑταιρῶν*,³²⁴ analogous to that bearing the same title by Aristophanes of Byzantium and very likely a complement to it. This grammarian, therefore, provides a good example of how some rigid and obsolete categories of historiographic description (ancillarity, rivalry) may represent the convenient and easily welcomed outcome of the fossilization of commonplace ideas and thus may sometimes have given rise to mistaken beliefs. Furthermore, the relations holding between Aristophanes of Byzantium, Euphronius and Callistratus, and between the latter and Aristarchus, examined in the perspective adopted here, suggest that intellectual activity in the Alexandrian institutions must in general have been rather more complex and nuanced than that traditionally built on the simple straight line traced by the *diadokhē* of librarians.

319 Edition and study: Barth [1984].

320 For the traditional view see Gudemann [1919] 1747 ('Famulusnatur'); Pfeiffer [1968] 210. For a reassessment: Schmidt [1986]; Montana [2008].

321 Roughly 30 quotations, mainly in the scholia to *Frogs* (10), *Birds* (7), and *Wasps* (6).

322 Tosi [1994b] 189.

323 *FGrHist* 348 fr. 2–6.

324 *FGrHist* 348 fr. 1 = 24 fr. 1 Bagordo.

According to an interpretation of the list of librarians given by P.Oxy. 10.1241, after Aristophanes the royal Library was directed by Apollonius dubbed *ὁ εἰδογράφος* (“the classifier”). He was possibly appointed to the post around 190 and in all probability held it until about 160, when he was succeeded by Aristarchus.³²⁵ Apollonius’ nickname is explained in a late lexicographical source as “classifier (of poetry) by (musical) genres (εἶδη)”.³²⁶ Whether his classifications reflected technical skill concerning musical modes as well as the availability of poetic texts with musical notation³²⁷ is still an open question. Alternatively, they may have been based on a natural inclination of Apollonius himself to focus on musical genres, either by inferring musical modes of the odes from their metrical frame and from references to performance within the poetic texts,³²⁸ or by basing himself on empirical observations, namely by watching and listening directly to sung performances of the works concerned or parts of such works, which in all likelihood were rearrangements moulded on the changing musical features and rules, contexts and occasions of Hellenistic society. That he did have an aptitude for musical appreciation seems to be confirmed, apart from other arguments, by the fact that the same source mentioned above presents Apollonius’ special ability as an unusual natural talent (εὐφυῆς ὤν, “being naturally talented”).³²⁹ Furthermore, if the criterion of classification by ancient *harmoniai* had been based on musical scores that were readily available and on extensive background knowledge and concern—albeit widespread only in the restricted Museum circles—it would be difficult to explain why it did not impose itself as the authoritative mainstream and dominate the entire range of subsequent Alexandrian editions of lyric and dramatic poetry.³³⁰

325 On the problems posed by the list and on Apollonius’ place after Aristophanes see above, at the beginning of this section.

326 *Etymologicum Genuinum* AB s.v. εἰδογράφος = *Etymologicum Magnum* 295.52 ff. This manner of classification was perhaps applied to the Pindaric odes, according to *schol.* Pind., *Pyth.* 2 *inscr.* and 2.31 Drachmann.

327 Thus Fleming-Kopff [1992] 762; Fleming [1999] 25.

328 Most [1985] 100 n. 26.

329 Prauscello [2006] 29–33, summarizing some assumptions of Irigoin [1952] 50, and Fraser [1972] 2.666 n. 126. She also derives from the testimony of Aristox., *Harm.* 2.39 (49.1 ff. Da Rios) that “being able to grasp and recognize the different musical modes does not seem necessarily to entail the ability to write down and then consequently decipher musical diagrams” (31).

330 Prauscello [2006] 33: her argument would be particularly strong if we could succeed in demonstrating that Apollonius was appointed as librarian before Aristophanes of Byzantium, who arranged many authoritative editions of poetry such as the Pindaric odes

The post of head librarian was then assigned to Aristarchus of Samothrace (ca. 215–144), the most brilliant pupil of Aristophanes of Byzantium and the most illustrious personality of the whole of Hellenistic scholarship. He was originally from the island of Samothrace, in the north-oriental Aegean Sea, which at that time was under the rule of the Ptolemies; later he acquired citizenship in Alexandria, where he spent almost all the rest of his life. During the long reign of Ptolemy VI Philometor (180–145) he held the positions of librarian and tutor of the royal House, but in 145/144 his career and life underwent a dramatic reversal, when he suffered the consequences of the dynastic struggle that resulted in the murder of Ptolemy VII and the usurpation of the throne by Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II. The reprisals unleashed by the latter against his predecessor's supporters forced many to flee from Alexandria, and Aristarchus sought refuge on the island of Cyprus, where he died shortly afterwards.

Aristarchus' ecdotic and hermeneutic activity is quite exceptional: not only did his work take into consideration an incredible number of authors of all poetic genres, even—as is documented—embracing prose, but he also exerted enormous influence over subsequent generations of scholars, leaving a lasting memory that lived on in tradition. Following in the footsteps of Aristophanes, who had maintained the tasks and competences of his own scholarship within the perimeter of textual philology, Aristarchus devoted himself to an intense activity of *diorthōsis* and *ekdosis*; he expounded his approach not merely in numerous *syngrammata* focusing on individual topics,³³¹ like Aristophanes before him, but above all in a vast array of *hypomnēmata*, very extensive commentaries wherein text interpretation enjoyed pride of place.³³²

His edition of Homer superseded the previous editions by Zenodotus and Aristophanes, as emerges from the great quantity of his interventions handed

(this possibility is contemplated, together with the opposite case, by D'Alessio [1997] 53 with n. 178). On Hellenistic eidography, especially with respect to the classification of the Pindaric songs, see Rutherford [2001] 90–108 and 152–158, who assumes that (107) “most cases of eidographic indeterminacy arose because Hellenistic classifiers tended to neglect the performance scenario of songs in favour of formal features, and to the extent that they were concerned with performance, they may sometimes have misinterpreted it”.

331 The following dealt with Homeric problems: *Against Philotas*, *Against Comanus*, *Against Xenon's uncommon opinion*, *On the Iliad and Odyssey*, *On the ships at the anchor*.

332 The biographical entry in the *Suda* (α 3892) attributes to Aristarchus “more than 800 books (*i.e.* rolls), only as far as his commentaries”. Nonetheless, “von Aristarch selbst scheint es keine publizierten Kommentare zu Homer gegeben zu haben” in the opinion of van Thiel [2014] 1.8.

down by the Homeric scholia.³³³ A subscription repeated at the end of almost every book of the *Iliad* in the manuscript *Venetus A*,³³⁴ the witness both of *sēmeia* and of the most important family of Homeric scholia traceable back to Alexandrian scholarship, lists their ancient exegetical sources. We thus learn that the *diorthōsis* and the related *hypomnēmata* of Aristarchus formed the object of specialized studies by later grammarians, such as the 1st century *On the Aristarchean diorthōsis* (*Περὶ τῆς Ἀρισταρχείου διορθώσεως*) by Didymus and *On the sēmeia of the Iliad and Odyssey* (*Περὶ σημείων Ἰλιάδος καὶ Ὀδυσσεύσεως*) by Aristonicus, which gathered together the explanations attached by Aristarchus to the *sēmeia* he inserted in his edition of the poems, and, in the Imperial Age, *On the prosody of the Iliad* (*Περὶ ἰλιακῆς προσωδίας*, on metrical problems) by Herodian and *On punctuation* (*Περὶ στίγμης*) by Nicanor.³³⁵ The influence of the Aristarchean edition is also revealed by the fact that, as from the mid-2nd century, it became regarded as the standard version attested to by papyri, or *vulgata*, as far as the number of lines was concerned: from then on, the athe-tized lines, or ‘plus-verses’, of the Homeric poems seem to disappear from the tradition.³³⁶ On the other hand, the fact that many of the textual choices made by Aristarchus and his predecessors were not confirmed in the *vulgata* should cause no surprise. This absence signals that in many cases the philolo-gists did not intervene to carry out concrete modifications of the text they had chosen as the standard ground of their work; rather, they kept details of their

333 Standard editions of the Homeric scholia *maiora* containing Aristarchean scholarship are, for the *Iliad*, Erbse [1969–1988]; for the *Odyssey*, Dindorf [1855] and Pontani [2007–2010] (in progress). Partial collections or editions of Aristarchus’ fragments include Lehrs [1882³]; Ludwich [1884–1885]; Matthaios [1999]; Schironi [2004]; van Thiel [2014].

334 Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. 822 (*olim* 454), of the 10th century.

335 The fragments of these works are edited separately by Schmidt [1854] 112–179 (Didymus); Friedländer [1853] and Carnuth [1869] (Aristonicus); Lentz [1867–1870] 3.2.2.1 22–165 (Herodian); Friedländer [1857²] and Carnuth [1875] (Nicanor). P.Oxy. 8.1086, fragments of an anonymous *hypomnēma* on the *Iliad* (comments on 2.751–827 survive; another scroll, P.Oxy. 65.4451, with comment on *Il.* 1.56–58, is written by the same hand and displays similar features), dated to the 1st century, therefore composed shortly after Aristarchus’ life-time and perhaps earlier than Didymus’ and Aristonicus’, is an intriguing testimony, since it explicitly quotes and apparently endorses a lot of Aristarchean methods (*e.g.* *sēmeia*) and opinions, whose entity, provenance and authenticity are disputed: see Lundon [2001] (with objection by M. Haslam at 839 n. 46), [2002b] and [2011a] 172–174.

336 Bibliography quoted above, n. 157. But the phenomenon may have been due to the fact that “Aristophanes and Aristarchus . . . followed another source or sources more similar to the vulgate”, in the belittling opinion of West [2001a] 36. On the debated concept of *vulgata* of Homer’s text: Haslam [1997] 63.

interventions in specialized learned tools that were of no direct interest or easy availability to ordinary readers and booksellers.³³⁷

On account of several apparent ambiguities in the ancient records, there is some debate as to whether Aristarchus' Homeric scholarship was expressed materially only in one *hypomnēma* which also contained his opinions on the textual setup, or in an *ekdosis* and in a *hypomnēma* as well, in one or more redactions.³³⁸ A fairly plausible reconstruction, which is coherent with the sources, can be established by the following sequence: firstly a *hypomnēma* based on Aristophanes of Byzantium's Homeric edition (cf. *schol.* A Hom., *Iliad* 2.133a ἐν τοῖς κατ' Ἀριστοφάνην ὑπομνήμασιν Ἀριστάρχου); then an *ekdosis* by Aristarchus himself accompanied by a new *hypomnēma* based on this *ekdosis*; finally, further critical-textual interventions carried out by Aristarchus on his own copy/edition of the Homeric text (later known as ἐπεκδοθείσα διόρθωσις, "re-edited *diorthōsis*"), but without his having the time to update his own *hypomnēma* or to compose a new one. Aristarchus' pupil Ammonius gave an account of these last Aristarchean interventions in his work, now lost, *On the re-edited diorthōsis* (Περὶ τῆς ἐπεκδοθείσης διορθώσεως); in another work, *On there not having been more than one edition of the Aristarchean diorthōsis* (Περὶ τοῦ μὴ γεγονέναι πλείονας ἐκδόσεις τῆς Ἀρισταρχείου διορθώσεως), he apparently set himself the task of explaining that the "re-edited *diorthōsis*" had not been concretely composed in the form of a second edition, but had remained at the stage of *addenda et corrigenda* directly annotated in the first edition.³³⁹

337 Cf. Pasquali [1952²] 216–217. *Status quaestionis* by Haslam [1997] 84–87.

338 Pfeiffer [1968] 215–217; West [2001a] 61–67.

339 For this interpretation: Montanari [1998a], [1998d], [2000b] and [2009b] 156–159. Different views have been put forward by West [2001a] 62–63 (both Ammonius and Didymus knew two *ekdoseis* by Aristarchus) and by Nagy [2004] 86 and [2009] 21–33 (there were two Aristarchean *diorthōseis* according to Ammonius, two *ekdoseis* according to Didymus). It is worth noting, however, that in at least two instances Didymus in his *Περὶ τῆς Ἀρισταρχείου διορθώσεως* was referring to Aristarchus' work on the text of the *Iliad* by the plural διορθώσεις: *schol.* A Hom., *Il.* 1.522a¹ αἱ Ἀριστάρχου... διορθώσεις, and *schol.* A Hom., *Il.* 2.192b¹ κὰν ταῖς διορθώσεσιν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν (*scil.* Ἀριστάρχου). See Montana [2014]. According to Helmut van Thiel, Aristarchus by no means wrote *hypomnemata* and all his interventions were shaped as "Randnotizen" in his working copy of the poem (see above, n. 332); furthermore, (van Thiel [2014] 1.8) "die beiden aristarchischen 'Ausgaben' (αἱ Ἀριστάρχου) wurden nach seinem Tod von einem Schüler kombiniert und publiziert. Der Herausgeber benutzte Aristarchs ursprünglichen Handtext und vermutlich Aristarchs persönliches Exemplar der Ekdosis, in das er zusätzliche Notizen eingetragen hatte, die wiederum nur für ihn verständlich sein mussten"; and, so doing, the "Herausgeber" misunderstood and contaminated the genuine Aristarchean tradition and induced Ammonius to give a clarification (cf. 14). Finally, van Thiel (192, cf. 140) takes διορθώσεις in both of the

This reconstruction could be supported now by the testimony of the recently recovered text *Περὶ ἀλυπίας* (*Avoiding distress*) by Galen.³⁴⁰ In § 13 Boudon-Millot – Jouanna, the Pergamene physician evokes the picture of the damage inflicted on his own personal library and on the holdings of some public libraries in Rome as a result of the great fire that swept in 192 AD. In this context, mentioning books that were not rare but particularly sought-after “due to the exactness of the text (διὰ τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τῆς γραφῆς)”, he recalls “those of Aristarchus, which are the two Homers” (Ἀριστάρχεια, οὔτινές εἰσιν Ὅμηροι δύο). This passage not only incontrovertibly documents the existence of Aristarchean editions of Homer’s *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in late 2nd century AD Rome, but it also reserves another point of interest: in the immediately following lines, although the text is somewhat obscure and is the object of heated debate, it would appear that Galen regarded the value of those lost exemplars as residing precisely in the fact that

within these writings those texts were preserved which, book by book, had been written or transcribed for their own personal use by those of whom the same books bore the names.³⁴¹

Thus one may perhaps surmise that these lost copies contained *addenda* and *corrigenda* dating back to the very eponyms of the rolls and therefore, with regard to the Ἀριστάρχεια (βιβλία), to Aristarchus in person. If so, this could confirm that at the time of Galen a single Aristarchean edition of the two Homeric poems was in circulation, enriched by contributions and corrections that had been added by the philologist himself at a date subsequent to his original edition: therefore, in Ammonius’ words, a re-edited *diorthōsis* (ἐπεκδοθείσα διόρθωσις).³⁴²

Didymean scholia mentioned above as “vermutlich Randnotizen der Hörer und Schüler Aristarchs in ihren Homertexten”.

340 Editions of *Περὶ ἀλυπίας* (*De indolentia*): Boudon-Millot [2007b]; Boudon-Millot – Jouanna [2010]; Kotzia-Sotiroudis [2010]; Garofalo [2012a]. See also Vegetti [2013] 249–303 and Nutton [2014].

341 διασφραζομένων ἐντός (ἐν τοῖς cod.) τῶν γραμμάτων ἐκείνων αὐτῶν, ἀ καθ’ ἕκαστον βιβλίον ἢ ἔγραψαν ἢ ἀνεγράψαντο οἱ ἄνδρες, ὧν ἦν ἐπώνυμα τὰ βιβλία, according to the text given (following in the footsteps of Roselli [2010]) by Garofalo [2012a].

342 See Montana [2014]. On the rich debate sparked by Galen’s passage see—in addition to the contributions by Roselli and Garofalo cited in the previous note—at least Boudon-Millot – Jouanna [2010] 52–54; Stramaglia [2011] 120–129; Manetti [2012b] 14–16; Mazzucchi [2012] 252–253.

For the purposes of textual criticism Aristarchus introduced new critical *sēmeia* in addition to those adopted by his predecessors: the *diplē* (διπλή: >) highlighted a particularly interesting passage, which became the object of erudite exegetic observations and clarifications in the *hypomnēma*; the *diplē periestigmenē* (διπλή περιεστιγμένη, i.e. *diplē* surrounded by dots: >:), signaled disagreement with regard to Zenodotus.³⁴³ Aristarchus' editions of melic poetry appear to have endorsed the colometric layouts introduced by Aristophanes of Byzantium and the relevant signs of scansion—with an exception, it seems, for the meaning of the *asteriskos*, generically used by Aristarchus for separating different compositions without consideration of meter.³⁴⁴

This interaction and continuous exchange between critical text constitution and literary interpretation was given its most characteristic expression in the principle traceable to Aristarchus according to which an author is his own best interpreter, a principle that became consolidated in the tradition in the formulation Ὅμηρον ἐξ Ὁμήρου σαφηνίζειν, “to explain Homer by Homer”. That is to say, an author's distinctive literary *usus* (συνήθεια), drawn from his work(s), was selected as an internal criterion of an analogic type applied to philological analysis and to emendation on the level of language, style and content of the work itself—a procedure that involved an evident risk of circularity, for which due awareness of *hapax legomena* provided a helpful remedial measure.³⁴⁵ Let us consider a couple of examples. At the very beginning of the *Iliad*, according to the text of the *vulgata* it is said that the ruinous anger of Achilles sent many a brave soul hurrying down to Hades, and many others were turned into “a prey for dogs (l. 5) and for *all the birds*”, or οἰωνοῖσι τε πάσι. In the manuscript *Venetus A*, l. 5 is marked with the *diplē periestigmenē*, which indicates a difference of opinion as compared to Zenodotus, but this does not correspond to any explanation in the scholia preserved by this or other manuscripts of the poem. It is Athenaeus (2nd/3rd century AD) who tells us what really happened: Zenodotus, in his own edition, had written οἰωνοῖσι τε δαῖτα, “and *meal* for birds”, but someone (identifiable with Aristarchus on the basis of the *diplē periestigmenē* in *Venetus A*) had rejected this reading and adopted the other, pointing out that in Homer δαῖς is never found in reference to a meal for animals.³⁴⁶ In *Iliad* 1.277 Aristarchus read Πηλεΐδῆθελε(ε)—as a crasis of

343 On the Aristarchean *sēmeia*, see the references quoted above, n. 133, and further at least Pfeiffer [1968] 218; Montanari [19970] 274–281; van Thiel [2014] 1.29–30.

344 The circumstance is attested to with respect to Alcaeus' edition by Heph., *Enkheiridion* 74.11–14 Consbruch; see Porro [1994] 3–4.

345 See above, n. 130.

346 Ath. 1.12e καὶ ἐπὶ μόνων ἀνθρώπων δαῖτα λέγει ὁ ποιητής, ἐπὶ δὲ θηρίων οὐκέτι. ἀγνοῶν δὲ ταύτης τῆς φωνῆς τὴν δύναμιν Ζηνόδοτος ἐν τῇ κατ' αὐτὸν ἐκδόσει γράφει· κτλ., “the poet uses

Πηλείδῃ ἔθει(ε)—instead of Πηλείδῃ θέλ(ε), since he believed he could identify as a Homeric συνήθεια the use of the verb ἐθέλω, trisyllabic, instead of its bisyllabic equivalent θέλω (*schol. Hom., Iliad* 1.277a–c). It is only too easy today, in the light of fundamental concepts that have been critically explored and established as valid such as *Kunstsprache* and oral poetry, to look down one's nose and smirk at Aristarchus' valiant but 'naive' and unnatural attempt at normalizing Homeric diction. Less simple, but more worthwhile, is the endeavor to grasp the significance and the contribution of his critical approach in the context of the long arduous path towards a fuller understanding of the historical and formal complexity of epic poetry.³⁴⁷

In order to engage in the task of text constitution Aristarchus typically had recourse to careful observation of the characters internal to the work in question, thus mustering the powers of meticulous and painstaking interpretation and conjecture. But if the occasion arose he would also proceed to a cautious comparison with a broad range of manuscript witnesses selected for their authoritativeness or reliability. For instance, in a rich and complex Didymean scholium to ll. 423–424 of the first book of the *Iliad* an *excerptum* from his *hypomnēma* is quoted, in which he adduces the testimony of five ancient 'editions' in support of the reading κατὰ δαίτα against μετὰ δαίτα: *schol. A Hom., Iliad* 1.423–4 οὕτως δὲ εὕρομεν καὶ ἐν τῇ Μασσαλιωτικῇ καὶ Σινωπικῇ καὶ Κυπρίᾳ καὶ Ἀντιμαχείῳ καὶ Ἀριστοφανεῖ, "so we found in the editions of Massalia, Sinope, Cyprus, and those by Antimachus and Aristophanes (of Byzantium)"³⁴⁸—where the use of the verb εὕρεῖν, "to found (by searching)", deserves to be stressed.³⁴⁹ With regard to *Iliad* 9.222 where, on the subject of the heroes who arrived at Achilles' tent as ambassadors sent by Agamemnon, it is said that "they satisfied themselves with drink and food", he is again reported by Didymus (*schol. A Hom., Iliad* 9.222b¹) as having noted that this passage is in conflict with the previous ll. 177–178, in which it is said that they had drunk their fill in Agamemnon's tent shortly before. Accordingly, the scholion continues, Aristarchus was tempted to suggest that the expression in l. 222

the word δαίς only for human beings, never for beasts. But Zenodotus, ignoring the meaning of this term, in his own edition writes: etc." In actual fact, δαίς occurs in our text of the *Iliad* (24.43) in reference to the meal of a lion.

347 Overall, on Aristarchean interpretation of Homeric vocabulary: Nünlist [2012b].

348 In his edition, Erbse takes the quoted words to be part of the *excerptum* from Aristarchus' *hypomnēma*; this position is shared, among others, by Rengakos [2012] 245. The opposite opinion is maintained by West [2001a] 70–72 (cf. Führer-Schmidt [2001] 5–6), who is inclined to attribute these words, and the act of collation of different Iliadic testimonies, to the source of the piece of information, namely Didymus, rather than to Aristarchus. See also above, n. 128.

349 Nagy [2004] 87–109.

handed down by tradition, “they satisfied themselves” (ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο), should be conjecturally emended with “straightaway *or* once again they fed themselves” (ἄψ *vel* αἶψ’ ἐπάσαντο)—implying that even though they were already satiated they did not wish to offend Achilles. However, as pointed out in the scholion, Aristarchus exercised extreme prudence and refrained from modifying the text, believing that its genuineness was corroborated by the presence of the suspicious reading in many manuscripts.³⁵⁰

The above example also gives an eloquent illustration of how Aristarchean philology took effect with regard to the content and narrative of the poems. Although more cautiously and with more careful attention to the manuscript tradition than Zenodotus, Aristarchus did not forsake the habit of emending or athetizing the text, introduced by the first librarian: rather, he applied these procedures in a regular manner in cases which he felt would otherwise have resulted in internal inconsistency and moral unseemliness (ἀπρέπεια) from the point of view of the content. In the first book of the *Iliad*, for instance, Aristarchus athetized lines 29–31, included in the threatening apostrophe directed by Agamemnon against the priest Chryses and alluding to the fate of Chryseis at Argos, for in his opinion not only do they blunt the vehement tension of the passage, but it is also “unseemly (ἀπρεπές) for Agamemnon to say such things”.³⁵¹ Thus emendation and *athetēsis* of what appeared to be ‘non-Homeric’ was the analogist internal methodology chosen by Aristarchus to address content problems which his contemporary colleagues at Pergamum were on the contrary in the habit of solving by respecting the transmitted text and justifying the (alleged) defects by means of anomaly and allegorical interpretation. An echo of Aristarchus’ lukewarm (if not hostile) attitude towards systematical allegoresis³⁵² can be perceived in a scholium to the *Iliad*, which reports his doctrine according to which interpreters, when commenting on the

350 ἄλλ’ ὅμως ὑπὸ περιττῆς εὐλαβείας οὐδὲν μετέθηκεν, ἐν πολλαῖς οὕτως εὐράν φερομένην τὴν γραφήν. The same is repeated, more succinctly, in *schol.* 222b² and b³. This case is also adduced, with other instances, by Rengakos [2012] 245 and 247.

351 *Schol.* A Hom., *Il.* 1.29–31 (Aristonicus). On Aristarchus’ *athetēseis*: Lührs [1992]. For the decoding of the dialectics between Aristarchus’ and Zenodotus’ *athetēseis* the ancient grammarians availed themselves of Callistratus’ *Πρὸς τὰς ἀθετήσεις* and other similar works: see Montana [2008] and below.

352 Reassessments by Cucchiarelli [1997], underlining the actual admission of “rhetorical allegory” (μεταφορά) by Aristarchus and the Alexandrian scholars (with regard, for instance, to the interpretation of Alcaeus’ intrinsically allegorical imagery); and by Nünlist [2011], stressing the actual tepidity of this alleged Aristarchean controversy.

poems, should not waste time on “anything else than what is actually said by the poet.”³⁵³

Through his analysis of language together with an exploration of the historical and cultural aspects of the works, Aristarchus thus formulated a definition of a specific Homeric *quid* (τὸ Ὀμηρικόν), distinct from that of later cyclic poets (called οἱ νεώτεροι, “the younger ones”)³⁵⁴ and Hesiodic poetry. On the basis of this organic historical-literary vision, he defended the Homeric authorship of both poems, thus adopting a position which contrasted with a view held by other scholars—among whom Xenon and Hellanicus³⁵⁵—known as χωρίζοντες (*khōrizontes*, “those who separate”), an appellative reflecting their belief that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were works by two distinct authors, with only the first poem belonging to Homer and the second to a younger poet.³⁵⁶

Aristarchus is known to have composed a commentary on Hesiod, where in all probability he shared Praxiphanes’ opinion of the non-authenticity of the poem of *Works and Days*.³⁵⁷ Within the canon of lyric poets that was gradually being determined, he himself produced an edition of Alcaeus and possibly of Anacreon, which superseded those by Aristophanes of Byzantium,³⁵⁸ and drew up a commentary on Alcman, Pindar (with regard to whom the Medieval scholia testify to seventy-odd Aristarchean interventions) and Bacchylides; in addition, he concerned himself with Archilochus, Semonides, Hipponax and

353 *Schol. D Hom., Il.* 5:385 μηδὲν ἔξω τῶν φραζομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ; cf. Eust., *Il.* 561.28 ff. ἡ δὲ ἀλληγορία, εἰ καὶ ὁ Ἀρίσταρχος ἤξιου, ὡς προεγράφη, μηδὲν τι τῶν παρὰ τῆ ποιήσεσι μυθικῶν περιεργάζεσθαι ἀλληγορικῶς ἔξω τῶν φραζομένων, κτλ. See Porter [1992] 70–71.

354 Severyns [1928].

355 This Hellanicus, Agathocles of Cyzicum’s pupil as well as Ptolemy Epithetes’ teacher, was already mentioned earlier for an intervention consisting of word division in a passage of Herodotus’ *Histories*: F. Montanari [1988] 52–53; above, n. 140.

356 Proclus, *Vita Homeri* 73–74 Severyns: Hellanic. test. 2 Montanari: γέγραφε δὲ (“Ὀμηρος) ποιήσεις δύο, Ἰλιάδα καὶ Ὀδύσειαν, ἣν Ξένων καὶ Ἑλλάνικος ἀφαιροῦνται αὐτοῦ, “Homer wrote two poems, *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, the latter of which Xenon and Hellanicus strip from him”. On the *khōrizontes*: Kohl [1917]. On Hellanicus and Xenon: F. Montanari [1988], respectively 43–73 and 109–121. Aristarchus wrote a treatise against Xenon (see above, n. 331).

357 See above, n. 44.

358 Hephaestio on the one hand (74.12) contrasts the edition of Alcaeus by Aristophanes of Byzantium with that by Aristarchus, qualified as “the present Aristarchean (*scil.* edition)” (τὴν νῦν τὴν Ἀριστάρχειον; see Porro [1994] 3–4), on the other (68.22) mentions “the present (*scil.* Aristarchean) edition” (τὴν νῦν ἔκδοσιν) of Anacreon, implicitly referring to one older (Aristophanean?) edition of this poet. See Pfeiffer [1968] 185.

perhaps Mimnermus.³⁵⁹ With regard to drama, it is certain that he worked on Aeschylus,³⁶⁰ Sophocles and Ion, and while there is no clear documentation for Euripides, we do have positive evidence that he commented on at least eight comedies of Aristophanes.³⁶¹ Finally, if one takes into account his technique of utilizing parallel passages drawn from works of Callimachus and other post-classical poets when commenting on Homer, then the idea that he may also have focused specific attention on the poetry of his own era becomes something more than an abstract hypothesis.³⁶²

In the preceding pages we touched on the question of the rather scanty evidence of Alexandrian interest in classical prose writers, recalling that some traces can be perceived in the lexicographical research of Aristophanes of Byzantium but that little precise evidence is available at least up to Aristarchus. In a 3rd century AD papyrus (P.Amherst 2.12), the conclusion of a somewhat selective *hypomnēma* on the first book of Herodotus' *Histories* is followed by a subscription in which Aristarchus is mentioned as the author of the comment: Ἀριστάρχου Ἡροδότου ἁ ὑπόμνημα (*Aristarchus' commentary on Herodotus' book 1*).³⁶³ Such an authoritative attribution understandably leads to anticipation of a particularly analytical and erudite commentary, but this expectation is to some extent frustrated, and not merely because of the very minimal size of the fragment. The scanty remnants of the first column include lemmata from no less than three chapters of *Histories* 1 (1.191.6, or 1.183.2, up to 1.194.2);³⁶⁴ and in what remains of the second column, which is the better preserved of the two, four lemmata can be identified, the first of which is drawn from *Histories* 1.194, while the other three are from *Histories* 1.215, with a jump of more than twenty chapters (the greater part of the ethnographic *excursus*

359 Raffaelli [1992]. Some points of view put forward by Aristarchus, when discussing historical questions issued from two Pindaric passages, were refuted by the Pergamene 'scholar historian' Artemon, fr. 1–2 Broggiato. On the negative evaluation of Aristarchus' historical proficiency, widespread in antiquity as well as in modern times, see Broggiato [2014] 16 with n. 21; partial reassessment by Muzzolon [2005] 59–60 (scholarship on Aristophanes) and Vassilaki [2009] (scholarship on Pindar).

360 In *schol.* Theoc. 10.18e (p. 229 Wendel) Ἀρίσταρχος ἐν ὑπομνήματι Λυκούργου Αἰσχύλου, the reading Ἀρίσταρχος (mss. UEAGPT) is preferred to Ἀριστοφάνης (ms. K); Wendel, l.c.; Pfeiffer [1968] 222–223 n. 7; Wartelle [1971] 165 n. 1; Montanari [2009c] 416–417.

361 Muzzolon [2005].

362 Montanari [1995a] and [2002c]; skeptical, Rengakos [2000].

363 Editions: Grenfell-Hunt [1901] 3–4; Viljoen [1915] 17–22; Paap [1948] 37–40. A new edition by myself is forthcoming within the *corpus* of *Commentaria et lexica Graeca in papyris* (CLGP).

364 Montana [2012b].

on the Babylonians and of the description of the Persian subjugation of the Massagetes is not explained). On the other hand, the comment reveals a linguistic-literary perspective of a quintessentially erudite flavor, making use of poetic parallels to illustrate Herodotean expressions. For example, with regard to *Histories* 1.215.1, first one finds an evocation of the battle practices of the (Homeric) heroes (οἱ ἵρῳες), designed to elucidate a reading (ἄμιπποι, “having horses joined in pairs”) that called for explanation on account of its intrinsic difficulty, and possibly also because it represented a variant preferred by Aristarchus instead of the *vulgatum* ἄνιπποι, “not having horses”;³⁶⁵ this is followed shortly afterwards, at the very end of the commentary, by a citation of a passage drawn from Sophocles’ *Shepherds* (fr. 500 Radt), apparently as a merely formal parallel.³⁶⁶

That the comment is characterized by marked sporadicness, while the critical explication includes observations of an erudite-literary type, both characteristics being jointly observable in the space of just a few lines, suggests that this fragment may perhaps be interpreted as a witness of an abbreviated redaction of the original *hypomnēma*.³⁶⁷ The circumstance that the text is penned on the *verso* of a documentary roll, a procedure extensively attested in the Herodotean papyri (especially for the first book of *Histories*), also points in this direction.³⁶⁸ Such a practice has been recognized as the trace of a private utilization that was prompted by an elevated cultural motivation, conceivably linked to an educational context of a fairly good level.³⁶⁹ In short, this piece of evidence, precisely because it is isolated and notwithstanding the reworking of which it seems to be the outcome, is of great intrinsic value and is fully

365 As recognized by Vannini [2009], ἄμιπποι should now be considered as part of the lemma and not of the comment, and therefore as a veritable Herodotean *lectio* upheld by Aristarchus.

366 Π 13–16 σιδῆ|ρῳ| δὲ οὐ|δ’ ἀργύρῳ χρ[ῶ]νται: Σοφοκλήης ἐν Π[οι]||μέσι· οὐ χαλκός οὐ σίδηρος ἄπτε|ται χρός, “they do not use iron nor silver: Sophocles in the *Shepherds* (fr. 500 Radt) (says) ‘neither bronze nor iron enter into contact with the flesh’”.

367 See Pfeiffer [1968] 224; McNamee [1977] 141; Radt [1977] 396 (app.); Del Fabbro [1979] 94 n. 78; Montanari [1993b] 248 and [2013] 6–7; Messeri Savorelli-Pintaudi [2002] 43 with n. 1; Vannini [2009] 93 n. 1; West [2011] 80–81; Montana [2012b]. Paap [1948] 39–40, suggested the jump from 1.194 to 1.215 may be due to a mechanical cause (a lacuna in the model of the papyrus).

368 Six scrolls apart from P.Amh. 2.12: Bandiera [1997] 52.

369 For the Oxyrhynchite area see Lama [1991] 112–113.

sufficient to keep the question of an Alexandrian philology specifically devoted to prose writers wide open.³⁷⁰

The work of editing and interpreting literary texts was supported by, and in a certain sense intimately connected with, investigations into language. We noted earlier that this interactive tendency characterized philology uninterruptedly from the very beginning right up to its more mature season, from Philitas to Aristophanes of Byzantium, taking shape through the collection and study of 'difficult' words (*glōssai*) or even more inclusive vocabulary (*lexeis*). Aristophanes' notes on language, in particular his observation of trends in word inflection, from which there derived the concept and the descriptive principle of regularity or analogy, constituted an embryonic grammatical reflection. Furthermore Aristarchus, whose Homeric exegesis shows he was attentive to problems of dialect (which he approached with the assumption that Homer was Athenian and that Homeric language was basically an old Attic dialect or παλαιὰ Ἀτθίς)³⁷¹ and of linguistic correctness, regularity and coherence (ἐλληνισμός, especially with regard to orthography, nominal and verbal inflection, and prosody),³⁷² seems not to have restricted himself to empiri-

370 Nicolai [1992] 265–275; Montanari [19970] 282–288 and [2013] 30–32; Montana [2009c]; Priestley [2014] 223–229. That Aristarchus also commented on the second book of Herodotus' *Histories* is inferred by Matijašić [2013] from St. Byz. 466.12–13 Meineke Μώμεμφις πόλις Αιγύπτου. Ἡρόδοτος δευτέρῃ (2.163.2, Dat. -φι; 2.169.1, Acc. -φιν). κλίνεται Μωμέμφεως, ὡς Ἀρίσταρχος. The supposition that he realized an *ekdosis* of the *Histories* (Jacoby [1913] 515; cf. Rosén [1962] 211, 231; Hemmerdinger [1981] 154–164) is rejected by Pfeiffer [1968] 225 n. 3; Alberti [1983] 195; Baldwin [1984] 32; West [2011] 79–80; reticent Irigoin [1994] (see 50, 54, 88). The attractive hypothesis that Aristarchus may have commented on Plato's works from a philological and linguistic point of view, as maintained by Schironi [2005] with interesting but not incontrovertible arguments, awaits more solid confirmation.

371 Cf. Proclus, *Vita Homeri* 59–62 Severyns; *Vitae Homeri* 244.13 and IV, 247.7–8 Allen; *schol. A Hom., Il.* 13.197 (Aristonicus). This assumption was put forward in the work *Περὶ τῆς πατριδος, scil. Ὀμήρου*: Davison [1955] 21; Pfeiffer [1968] 228; Janko [1992] 32 n. 53 and 71; Nagy [1996] 151; Heat [1998] 27–28; Cassio [2002] 110; Ascheri [2010] 133–134 n. 31) and it stood in contrast to the belief of a derived Pisistratean (Attic) recension of the Homeric poems in the 6th century, whether this recension was a rather ancient construct (Nagy [1998] 227), or whether it was a recent invention of the Pergamene scholars (West [1983] 249). Some importance must be attached to the observation that in Aristarchus' view the dialectal words different from the Ionic present in the Homeric poetry could be treated as *glōssai* in the Aristotelian sense (words felt as eccentric for diachronic or diatopic reasons): Montanari [2012a].

372 The grammarian Ptolemy nicknamed "the Pindarion", one among the many pupils of Aristarchus, devised a theory that merged together *synētheia*, linguistic correctness and

cal observation of linguistic categories and tendencies. Rather, he appears to have taken a decisive conceptual step towards morphological description and classification and then to abstraction of normative/prescriptive rules, thereby making a transition from empirical to technical grammar.³⁷³ The *Tekhnē grammatikē* that has come down to us under the name of Dionysius Thrax, one of Aristarchus' pupils, could represent a prime testimony of the Aristarchean grammatical vision, were it not for the fact that substantial doubts regarding its authenticity and age prevent it from being used as a reliable witness in this respect (we will return to this below). Nonetheless, the results of extensive systematic inquiries into hundreds of Aristarchean fragments do allow the inference that although Aristarchus unquestionably started out from pragmatically inspired individual observations oriented towards text constitution and interpretation, and built up his work partly by using existing grammatical concepts of philosophical (Peripatetic)³⁷⁴ and rhetorical coinage and relevant previous discussions among philologists,³⁷⁵ he then proceeded to delineate a codification of linguistic categories, in particular concerning the doctrine of the parts of speech.³⁷⁶

As evinced by this promising line of research, there are concrete documentary reasons for believing that important constitutive steps in the shaping of grammatical science had already been taken as early as the first half of the 2nd century, a generation before Dionysius Thrax. The modern discussion centering around the empirical versus technical nature of this grammatical knowledge—*i.e.* having an instrumental and pragmatic character, tending towards the anomalist position, and exploitable to textual criticism, as opposed to having a theoretical character and a validity in itself, tending towards the analogist position, and pertaining to an autonomous discipline or τέχνη³⁷⁷—still

analogy by recognizing the excellence of *hellēnismos* in the Homeric *synētheia*: Sext. Emp., *Math.* 1.202–208: fr. 12 in Boatti [2000]. On ἑλληνισμός, a concept dating back to Aristotle, *Rh.* 1407a 19ff, see Pagani, this volume.

373 Fundamental in this respect are the inquiries mainly of Erbse [1980]; Ax [1982] and [1991]; Matthaios [1999], [2001a], [2002f], [2009a], and [2010b].

374 Matthaios [1999] 623–624; cf. Matelli [2012b] 40, on Praxiphanes of Mytilene as a possible intermediary in this field between the Peripatus and Alexandria.

375 Besides Aristophanes of Byzantium, at least the contemporary of the latter, Comanus of Naucratis, is worth recalling, against whom Aristarchus wrote a *Πρὸς Κομανόν* (allegedly restricted to Homeric scholarship). Commented edition of Comanus' fragments: Dyck [1988b].

376 Matthaios [1999], collecting and studying 225 Aristarchean fragments.

377 A contraposition mirroring the ancient controversy about the epistemological status of grammar (ἐμπειρία vs τέχνη): Matthaios [2011b].

remains open, but it can now base its arguments on a substantial body of critically collected and studied evidence.³⁷⁸

This profile of Aristarchus can be completed with a few concluding considerations. In the context of a general belittling of Alexandrian philology, some critics have expressed an overall negative assessment of this scholar, emphasizing the defects inherent in his conjectural and analogist approach to the Homeric text and pointing to a number of visibly mistaken and debatable textual and interpretive choices. This is a judgment which contains elements of truth, but it fails to award due credit to other aspects, such as Aristarchus' awareness of the importance of the textual tradition or, in more general terms, the historical and cultural background of the scholar. Modern disregard for such aspects of Alexandrian scholarship may lead to an underestimation both of the philological reliability of Aristarchus and his pupils and also of the intellectual and methodological progress they achieved.³⁷⁹ On the other hand, one should guard against an overestimation of Aristarchus' attainments, great though the merits of this scholar may have been. For it is a moot point whether he could have reached the same results without the benefit, as a preliminary starting point, of the enormous work conducted by Aristophanes on literary texts (edition, colometry, antiquarian documentation), vocabulary and language. Admittedly, with regard to the fields of learning to which both of these scholars devoted their efforts, we have far less documentation for Aristophanes than for Aristarchus, but in many cases this is to be ascribed to the fact that their opinions were in agreement on many issues: in short, the assumption that the disciple apparently overshadowed the teacher is possibly a misleading distortion to be imputed to the tradition.³⁸⁰ Therefore, the assessment of the historical role of the two erudites and of their reciprocal relation should be addressed with extreme caution. Finally, it is important to bear in mind a further aspect that ultimately helps us to comprehend the true greatness of Aristarchus: namely, the inspirational nature of his teachings, which produced a wealth of (direct and indirect) disciples who excelled in their fields, to the point that it became customary to speak of an Aristarchean 'school', in reference to at least two generations of scholars after his own.³⁸¹ Some of these

378 Overviews of the question: Swiggers-Wouters [2002c] and [2005]; Pagani [2010a] 105–107 and [2011]; Matthaios [2012] and [forthcoming/b].

379 On this discussion, started in modern times by van der Valk [1949] and [1963–1964], see most recently Montanari [2009a] 318–319, [2009b] 160 with n. 32, and [forthcoming].

380 Richardson [1994] 21.

381 Aristarchus' pupils reached the number of roughly 40, according to *Suda* α 3892. See Blau [1883].

scholars, continuing along the lines laid out by their teacher, played a fundamental role in the development of a number of sectors and disciplines. Since their biographic and intellectual vicissitudes became intertwined with the severe political crisis of 145/144 that risked almost irremediably compromising the learned activity within the Museum—a crisis which we have for this very reason taken as a chronological watershed—we will address these personalities in a later section of this chapter.³⁸²

3 The Spread of Scholarship in the 2nd and 1st Centuries

3.1 *Rise and Zenith of Pergamene Scholarship (2nd Century)*

A city of ancient Mysia in the hinterland of Aeolic Asia Minor, Pergamum began to take on a significant role in the magmatic panorama of the early Hellenistic Age when the diadochus Lysimachus chose it as the place to stash away a sizeable part of his massive hoard of war booty and selected one of his Macedonian officers, a eunuch of half-Greek origin by the name of Philetaerus, to act as the treasurer. As the showdown between Lysimachus and Seleucus—which would take place in the battle of Corupedium in 281—loomed ever closer, Philetaerus took the side of Seleucus, sensing that the latter was likely to emerge victorious. Philetaerus thus succeeded in coming out unscathed of this critical circumstance and in maintaining a front position at Pergamum; he was later even able to cultivate proposals of independence from the Seleucid kingdom. In 263 Philetaerus yielded control of the city to his nephew Eumenes (I) and the latter, in turn, in 241 to his own nephew Attalus. The family aspiration to an independent kingdom was finally crowned with success when, after defeating the Galatians in around 237, Attalus claimed the title of king with the name of Attalus I Soter, subsequently strengthening his position little by little as he wrested vast tracts of land in Asia Minor from the Seleucids. He pursued an active and shrewd foreign policy: while on the one hand he established a

³⁸² Our main source about the dynastic crisis in 145/144 is Ath. 4.184b, who, apparently basing himself on the testimonies of Meneclēs of Barca (*FGrHist* 270 fr. 9) and Andron of Alexandria (*FGrHist* 246 fr. 1), points out that, with the accession of the cruel new Ptolemy, somewhat paradoxically “there was a second renewal of all sorts of learning” (ἐγένετο . . . ἀνανέωσις πάλιν παιδείας ἀπάσης): the king, partly killing and partly banishing the Alexandrian intellectuals loyal to his predecessor, in fact “filled the islands and towns (*scil.* outside Egypt) with grammarians, philosophers, geometers, musicians, painters, trainers, physicians and many other men of skill in different fields; who, compelled by poverty to teach what they knew, produced a great number of celebrated pupils”. On this testimony see Pfeiffer [1968] 252–253; stimulating discussion in Luzzatto [2008] 151–154.

friendly—albeit self-seeking—relationship with Rome, and indeed Pergamum thereafter became a loyal pillar of support for Rome in the turbulent and fluid political and military scenario of the oriental realms, on the other he made overtures to some of the still symbolically prestigious centers of the traditional Greek world, with which he sought to set up special relations. For instance, emulating the evergetism of the Ptolemies, he bolstered his rapport with Athens by the gift of splendid monuments, and distributed largesse to the Apollinean sanctuaries of Delphi and Delos.³⁸³ The members of the emergent Attalid royal house, whose origins had been so unpretentious, now proposed to create for themselves an ideology and an image of their own that would enable them to compare not unfavorably with the other consolidated Hellenistic royal dynasties.³⁸⁴ This explains both their activism in the direction of the *poleis* that were a symbol of Greek classicism, and also Attalus' drive to build up an advanced Pergamene culture, including studies of antiquarian erudition.

This strong-willed thrust towards expanding their power and building up a grandiose public image of themselves was to become a distinctive feature of the entire Attalid dynasty, reaching its climax as early as Attalus' successor, his son Eumenes II (197–159), who continued to cultivate privileged relations with Delphi and Athens. Eumenes enriched these cities, as well as his own, with spectacular monuments, the most famous of which was the magnificent altar of Zeus on the acropolis of Pergamum, reconstructed and adorned with a magnificent frieze; he offered hospitality and means of livelihood to scholars and founded a great Library, which was second only to that of Alexandria.³⁸⁵ Plutarch (1st/2nd century AD) attests that when Marc Antony was libelously accused of having given the Pergamene Library to Cleopatra as a present, it contained 200,000 scrolls.³⁸⁶ Such a vast collection also implied an enormous need for a supply of long-lasting writing material that could be procured at a reasonable cost, which probably explains the preference for appropriately

383 On the Attalids' overtures and close relations established with the Academy and the Peripatus, see Hansen [1971] 396–397. Nagy [1998] 214 prefers to emphasize the competitive attitude of Pergamum towards contemporary Athens more than towards Alexandria.

384 *E.g.* Kosmetatou [2003] 166–173.

385 Collection of ancient testimonies on the Library: Platthy [1968] 159–165 (Nos. 138–153). Penetrating observations concerning the ideology underlying the Pergamene Library are put forward by Nagy [1998]; cf. Nicolai [2000b].

386 Plut., *Ant.* 58.9, speaking of two hundred thousand βιβλία ἀπλᾶ, “single rolls”, *i.e.* without taking account of their reciprocal relation as ἀμιγείς or συμμιγείς (see above, n. 98). While the figure can be credited with some likelihood, the purported gift to Cleopatra has, in contrast, been devoid of credibility since as early as Plut., *Ant.* 59.1; cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 236–237.

tanned and treated animal hides, namely parchment (gr. ἡ περγαμηνή, *scil. διφθέρα*, lit. “the skin from Pergamum”, Lat. *membrana*), rather than papyrus, since the latter had to be imported from Egypt. This circumstance lies at the origin of the ancient legendary tradition which set the invention of parchment in Eumenes’ time (whereas it was actually known long before) as a response to an embargo on papyrus decreed against Pergamum by Ptolemy v.³⁸⁷ With regard to management of the Attalid Library we are far from having a quantity of evidence comparable to that available for Alexandria. For Pergamum we do not even have a transmitted list of the succession of librarians: instead, it is necessary to rely on conjectures and scraps of information, as in the case of a reference to the Stoic thinker Athenodorus of Tarsus, later one of Augustus’ teachers in Rome, who is said to have emended some of Zeno’s philosophical works during his Pergamene librarianship.³⁸⁸

Eumenes II’s cultural enterprises, following in the footsteps of Attalus I, were visibly aimed at self-image-making, as an emulation of Ptolemaic policy, and they implicitly shared a similar ideological and propagandistic target, namely self-accreditation as a prestigious Greek dynasty (precisely because of and despite the Attalids’ more recent, lowly and half-breed origins), together with self-promotion as a leading power in the fast-moving scenario of the Hellenistic kingdoms. By the beginning of the 2nd century, when the Ptolemies were resigning themselves to a scaling down of their imperial ambitions, the Attalids were clever enough to deploy an aggressive bent in wielding their power, and they pursued a determined quest for leadership among the Hellenistic powers. Seeking to portray themselves as worthy competitors or successors of the Ptolemies’ prominence in the Hellenized world, they did not disdain to exploit cultural means.³⁸⁹ It follows that the traditional representation of the relations between the cultural institutions of Alexandria and Pergamum in terms of bitter rivalry³⁹⁰ can ultimately be seen as a projection into the field of learned culture of a wide ranging—and in essence political—competition between royal dynasties. Our difficulty is to establish, case by case, whether this projection corresponded to a situation of genuine intellectual contest and rivalry; and, if so, whether such contests should be interpreted as true opposition between different schools, *i.e.* in a sense as an ‘ideological’

387 Plin., *HN* 13.70. See Pfeiffer [1968] 236.

388 Isidorus of Pergamum by Diog. Laert. 7.34.

389 Erskine [1995] 46–47.

390 *E.g.* *Suda* α 3892 (Ἀρίσταρχος) Κράτητι τῷ γραμματικῷ Περγαμηνῷ πλείστα διημιλλήσατο ἐν Περγάμῳ, “(Aristarchus) was very often opposed at Pergamum by the Pergamene grammarian Crates”.

contrast, or whether, more simply, they represented occasional episodes of disputes on special topics and methods between individuals or small groups. In short, it cannot be excluded that this representation may partly have been the outcome of the broader aim of image-making and competitive self-promotion on the part of both dynasties, and that the official shaping of high culture both instrumentally and in symbolic terms was one of the crucial strategies employed. Evidence suggesting attempts at contact, or even actual contacts, of Alexandrian scholars with Pergamene culture reveals features that contribute to keeping the question open, potentially allowing a glimpse of a more nuanced and dynamic intellectual map.³⁹¹

The same political-cultural line was maintained by Eumenes' brother Attalus II (159–138), while Eumenes' son, who had become king as Attalus III (138–133), in effect voluntarily brought the dynasty to an end by indicating Rome as the heir to the kingdom in his will. Understandably, Mithridates VI Eupator, king of the neighboring small realm of Pontus from 121 to 63, made a determined effort to rein in the expansion of Rome in Asia Minor, nurturing his own hopes of supplanting the Attalids in the role of the leading Hellenistic dynasty of this area. Indeed, for a certain period he did manage to unshackle Pergamum from the control of the advancing Western power, but his hopes were definitively crushed in 64. It is incontrovertible that acquisition of the kingdom of Pergamum by Rome, a watershed which can be seen as the final outcome of a long story of strategic (unequal) alliance, constituted a fundamental step in the path of Hellenization and the spread of scholarship in Roman culture. Under Roman rule, the Pergamene tradition of erudite studies, previously founded and patronized by the Attalids, blossomed anew during the Imperial Age.³⁹²

Attalus I's reign at the end of the 3rd century coincided with a season of antiquarian studies at Pergamum.³⁹³ The versatile Antigonos of Carystus (on the island of Euboea), who seems to have been a sculptor and (Academic)

391 Alexandrian personalities who had, or are thought to have had, affinities or relations with the Pergamene cultural *milieu* were, among others, Agathocles of Cyzicum, Aristophanes of Byzantium (for both scholars see above, § 2.5), Demetrius Ixion, Apollodorus of Athens (see below, § 3.2).

392 Overall, on ancient Pergamum: Evans [2012]. On the Attalid dynasty, ideology, and cultural policy: Hansen [1971]; Virgilio [1993]; Gruen [2000]; Shipley [2000] 312–319; Kosmetatou [2003]. On the Attalid Library as a 'classical model', namely a means of acquiring prestige: Nagy [1998]. On Pergamene scholarship in Imperiale Age: Matthaïos, this volume.

393 Hansen [1971] 397–407.

thinker,³⁹⁴ summoned to court by Attalus, was the author of a work on artists and sculptors, a collection of paradoxographic excerpts drawn from Callimachus' *Παράδοξα*, and biographies of philosophers of his time. In the latter, Antigonus—unlike his contemporaries Satyrus and Hermippus and presumably as a reaction to their biographic method autoschediastically based on literary sources—provided first-hand profiles grounded on direct personal experience.³⁹⁵ The life of Polemo of Ilium, a subject of the Attalids by birth, unfolded not long after this period. Polemo was the author of several learned writings on various topics, among which one may cite his antiquarian periegesis, *i.e.* a description of antiquities and monuments scattered around the Hellenized world in various different places, which was among the sources utilized by the periegetes Pausanias in the 2nd century AD. Similarly to the case of Antigonus' biographies, Polemo's antiquarian research was also based on autopsy, as is testified first and foremost by his special interest in transcribing inscriptions, which earned him the nickname of *στηλοκόπας* (probably "tablet-glutton").³⁹⁶ In the work *On Eratosthenes' stay at Athens* (*Περὶ τῆς Ἀθήνησιν Ἐρατοσθένους ἐπιδημίας*) Polemo criticized the great Alexandrian scholar with an antiquarian eye as regards some information on Athens given in the treatise *On the old comedy*;³⁹⁷ and in *Against Timaeus* (*Πρὸς Τίμαιον*) he was also concerned with problems inherent in Sicilian comedy and indicated Hipponax as "the one who invented parody" (*εὐρετῆς τῆς παρωδίας*), quoting as a proof the four hexameters in which the archaic Ephesian poet ironically distorted the poem of the *Iliad*.³⁹⁸ In the subsequent generation Demetrius of Scepsis (in Troad), who however does not appear to have had particularly close relations with the Pergamene court, followed in the footsteps of his fellow countryman Polemo by concerning himself with Homeric history and the topography of his own homeland in a vast comment on the *Catalogue of the Trojans* (Hom., *Il.* 2.816–877) in thirty books. This work contained some polemical remarks

394 This Antigonus should be regarded as distinct from the 1st century poet(s) by the same name: Dorandi [1999] xvii–xxiii.

395 Edition of the fragments: Dorandi [1999]. On Antigonus' idea of biography: von Wilamowitz [1881]; Pfeiffer [1968] 246–247, cf. 134; Hansen [1971] 397–400; and Dorandi [1999] xxxiii–lxxxii, who argues for the pertinence of Antigonus' lives to "littérature de mémoires" rather than to biography in the strict sense (lxxx).

396 Herodicus of Babylon fr. 9 Broggiato, *apud* Ath. 6.234d.

397 Polem. fr. 47–48 Preller, cf. 76 fr. 3–5 Bagordo.

398 Polem. fr. 45 Preller = 76 fr. 1 Bagordo, quoting Hipponax, fr. 126 Degani = fr. 128 West. In general on Polemo: Preller [1838] (study and edition of the fragments); Pfeiffer [1968] 247–249; Hansen [1971] 400–403.

against his contemporary, the Pergamene scholar Crates,³⁹⁹ and it was widely used later as a source by the Aristarchean Apollodorus in composing his *On the catalogue of the ships* (*Περὶ τοῦ τῶν νεῶν καταλόγου*).⁴⁰⁰ And to conclude this brief survey of the culture that flourished under the reign of Attalus I it is worth recalling the ‘Great Geometer’ Apollonius of Perge, who had received his training in Alexandria from the successors of Euclid and under the influence of Archimedes, and then had come into contact with the Pergamene environment through Eudemus of Pergamum—although the suggestion that the dedicatee, by the name of Attalus, of several books of Apollonius’ fundamental treatise on *Conic sections* should be identified with the ruling king is very unlikely.⁴⁰¹

Pergamene scholarship reached its acme in the first half of the 2nd century, as one of the planned achievements of king Eumenes II.⁴⁰² Unlike Alexandrian culture, which at that time had also risen to its highest degree, the cultural approach of Pergamum shows an almost exclusive inclination to literary studies and significant receptiveness to philosophical inputs. Eumenes invited and welcomed as a guest in the capital the scholar who would become the most illustrious figure in the learned circle of Pergamum, Crates from Mallos in Cilicia (southern Asia Minor). The biographic entry devoted to him in the *Suda* states that he was a “Stoic philosopher”, nicknamed “the Homeric and the Critic” because of his grammatical and literary studies, and “a contemporary of Aristarchus the grammarian in the time of Ptolemy [VI] Philometor”, who reigned from 180 to 145.⁴⁰³ An anecdote concerning Crates’ life is mentioned by the Roman biographer Suetonius: sent by the Attalids on a diplomatic mission to the Senate in about 168, in Rome he accidentally suffered a leg injury and put to use his forced stay in the city by holding a series of lectures, thus effectively transmitting the germ of philology to the Roman cultural establishment⁴⁰⁴—or, more precisely, enhancing a branch of studies which had already for some time been experiencing the development of a tradition of its own in Rome.⁴⁰⁵ Although no definite evidence is available, it is pos-

399 Str. 13.609.

400 Edition of Demetrius’ fragments: Gaede [1880]. Cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 249–251; Hansen [1971] 404–405.

401 Apollon. Perg. 4 *praef.* See Toomer [1970] 179; Fraser [1972] 1.417–418; Fried-Unguru [2001] 416 n. 1.

402 Hansen [1971] 409–433.

403 *Suda* x 2342: Crates test. 1 Broggiato.

404 Suet., *Gram. et rhet.* 2.1–2: Crates test. 3 Broggiato.

405 Kaster [1995] 61–63.

sible that Crates may have actively contributed to the setting up of the Attalid Library, which during that very period was undergoing a phase of considerable expansion and had recently been equipped with a catalogue (πίνακες) on the model of the Alexandrian Library.⁴⁰⁶

In defining his philological activity, Crates distinguished his position from that of the γραμματικός, “grammarian”, whose task he viewed as embodying the limited perspective of an expert in *glōssai* and the prosody of literary texts (a definition that would seem to refer to the Alexandrian scholars of his day). To describe his own activity Crates preferred to use the denomination of κριτικός, “critic”,⁴⁰⁷ which he saw as expressing a wider and more in-depth organic approach to language and literature, ultimately seeking to provide a critical appraisal of works rather than focus purely on textual details:

he stated that the *kritikos* is different from the *grammatikos* and the former must be an expert in all philosophical knowledge concerning language (πάσης... λογικῆς ἐπιστήμης), the latter instead simply having to explain glosses and give account of the prosody and be knowledgeable about such questions: so that the *kritikos* can be likened to a master builder, the grammarian to a workman.⁴⁰⁸

From this there derived a tripartite division of κριτική, attributed to Crates’ pupil Tauriscus but possibly traceable to the teacher himself and applying a terminology also known from the wider Hellenistic debate on the epistemological

406 The Pergamene *pinakes* are attested to by Dion. Hal., *Din.* 1 and 11 (respectively 297.15–16 and 317.3–4 Usener-Radermacher), and Ath. 8.336e.

407 The use of this word in a technical meaning is prior to that of *grammatikos*: Gudeman [1922a] 1912; Schenkeveld [1968]. Philitas of Cos, as mentioned above (n. 28), was called “poet as well as critic” (ποιητῆς ἄμα καὶ κριτικός) by Str. 14.657.

408 Sext. Emp., *Math.* 1.79; Crates fr. 94 Broggiato. The metaphor exploits the polarization between master builder (ἀρχιτέκτων) and workman (ὕπηρέτης), or higher (intellectual) and lower (practical) *tekhnitēs* (“expert”), which is typical in ancient debate on *tekhnai*, beginning at least with Plato and Aristotle: Romano [1987] 48–49. In the view of Crates, therefore, “the *kritikoi* of Pergamon stand for a more holistic approach to scholarship than the *grammatikoi* of the Library of Alexandria” (Nagy [1998] 187). Crates’ definition of κριτική is comparable to that of grammar ascribed to the Stoic philosopher Chrysippus (3rd century) in a passage, previously unknown and recently discovered in the ms. Riccardianus gr. 62, of the *Prolegomena* to the *scholia Vaticana* to Dionysius Thrax’ *Grammar* (Meliadò [2013]): grammar is “homeland of those who learn” (μητρόπολις μαθητῶν), inasmuch as it “is mother of every form of education involving language” (μήτηρ γάρ ἐστιν πάσης λογικῆς παιδείσεως).

nature of *tekhnai*: the “logical” part (λογικόν), namely concerned with diction and grammatical figures; the “practical” or “empirical” (τριβικόν), regarding dialects and styles; and finally, the “historical” (ἱστορικόν), dealing with “what cannot be methodically organized”, namely myths and historical facts.⁴⁰⁹

A long-standing traditional line of interpretation has attributed great importance to the Stoic influence on Crates’ scholarship, maintaining that in the field of linguistic theory he shared the assumption that superiority should be awarded to custom (συνήθεια), which champions the dignity of different uses or anomaly (ἀνωμαλία), against the Alexandrian tendency to prefer regularity, *i.e.* abstract normative rules or analogy. However, in the current debate the portrayal of the two different views in terms of a sharp theoretical controversy between Alexandrian analogists and Pergamene anomalists, or dogmatic *vs* empirical thought,⁴¹⁰ is mainly regarded as devoid of genuine historical reliability, ultimately to be seen as the outcome of the dichotomic reconstruction of the question provided by the Roman erudite Varro (116–27) in his work *De lingua Latina*. Instead, such a conception is giving way to the picture of a more mobile and intertwined discussion arising from (pragmatic) difficulties, such as how to single out and apply linguistic regularities for the constitution of literary texts and to determine the correctness of language (ἑλληνισμός): this eventually achieved the first steps towards the foundation of grammar as a *self-standing science* or τέχνη (that means, in our present concern, free in essence from philosophical purposes).⁴¹¹ Given this sphere of interest—shared both by Alexandrian and Pergamene scholars—in the definition of ἑλληνισμός, one may ascribe some plausibility to the highly hypothetical attribution to Crates of Mallos, instead of his namesake from Athens, the student of antiquities,⁴¹² of the work *On the Attic dialect* (Περὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς διαλέκτου), some fragments of which quoted by Athenaeus show a moderately Atticistic attitude.⁴¹³

409 Sext. Emp., *Math.* 1.248–249; Tauriscus fr. 1 Broggiato = Crates test. 20 Broggiato. On Tauriscus, Κράτητος ἀκουστής according to the quoted testimony, and his fr. 1 see Broggiato [2014] 145–153.

410 See Mette [1952]; most recently, Calboli [2011], especially 322–325.

411 Fehling [1956] 264–270; Pinborg [1975] 110–112; Taylor [1987] 6–8; Blank [1994] and [2005]; Schenkeveld [1994] 283–287; Broggiato [2001] XXXIII–XL (with her fr. 102–105). Overviews with further bibliography: Dickey [2007] 6 n. 15; Pagani [2011]. In the opinion of Ax [1991] 289–295, viewing the conflict between analogy and anomaly as a purely academic dispute is an oversimplification, as the issue involves a fairly broad-ranging cultural question which had a bearing on philology (establishing the correctness of the classical texts), instruction (endowing language with rules) and rhetoric.

412 Cf. *FGrHist* 362.

413 See Broggiato [2001] XLII–XLVI (with her fr. 106–121*).

The ancient sources agree in attesting that in the field of literary criticism Crates applied allegorical interpretation. According to a modern commonplace, this was a Stoic device which paved the way for the use of philosophical thought to aid the explanation and understanding of poetry. However, despite Pfeiffer's authoritative statement,⁴¹⁴ it is quite uncertain whether allegoresis was genuinely a standard set up by the first generations of Stoic thinkers, who rather appear to have been interested in the study and interpretation, also in terms of etymology, of divine names and myths transmitted by archaic poetry.⁴¹⁵ Of Crates' activity on the Homeric poems two titles remain, to which a large part of the surviving fragments are to be attributed: the *Διορθωτικά* (or *Περὶ διορθώσεως*), in eight or nine books, were devoted above all to textual criticism, while the *Ὀμηρικά* in all likelihood addressed exegetical questions of a more general character, including aspects of a cosmological and geographical nature.⁴¹⁶ In the *Suda* the first work is defined as *diorthōsis* (in acc. *διόρθωσιν*, a correction of the transmitted *δὲ ὄρθωσιν*), but an edition of the poems by Crates in the Alexandrian acceptance is excluded by almost all the modern critics.⁴¹⁷ It is also debated—but in a sense it may be an idle question—whether these writings were *hypomnēmata* or rather *syngrammata*.⁴¹⁸ The extant fragments frequently show views contrasting with the position of Aristarchus, especially if they are considered in the light of Crates' different exegetical premises, namely the assumption that Homeric poetry can be the basis for cosmological, astronomical and geographic knowledge and investigations, as illustrated in the following instance. In explaining the narrative of Hephaestus falling down from the sky to earth after having been flung down by Zeus, in book 1 of the *Iliad* (ll. 590–593), Aristarchus interpreted the words *πάν ἡμᾶρ* (l. 592), expressing the time of the god's fall, literally as “for all the remaining time of the day”, till evening. Crates, on the other hand, took these words as giving a precise indication of the overall duration of the fall, in the sense of “during a whole day”, *i.e.* the entire span of time required for the sun to cross the sky; moreover, he considered them as useful evidence to calculate the size and the spherical

414 Pfeiffer [1968] 237.

415 Steinmetz [1986]; Long [1992] and [1997]; cf. Porter [1992] 85–111; Pollmann [1999]; Broggiato [2001] LX–LXV. The opposite view is maintained *e.g.* by Most [1989]; Blönnigen [1992] 22–56; Boy-Stones [2001] 31–42; Ramelli in Ramelli-Lucchetta [2004] (especially on Crates, 171–203; cf. Ramelli [2003] 478–488). Overall, on scholarship and allegoresis see the contributions by Novokhatko and Matthaïos, this volume.

416 Crates fr. 1–77 Broggiato.

417 Broggiato [2001] XXI; for the opposite view *e.g.* Nagy [1998] 215–223.

418 Pfeiffer [1968] 239; Broggiato [2001] XXI.

shape of the universe according to Homeric cosmology.⁴¹⁹ He adopted a similar viewpoint in explaining the shield of Agamemnon briefly depicted in *Il.* 11.32–35 as an imitation of the cosmos (μίμημα τοῦ κόσμου); accordingly, it is possible that the Pergamene scholar should also be credited with an interpretation of the new historiated shield of Achilles, described in book 18 of the *Iliad*, as a cosmological allegory. Unfortunately, however, the tradition concerning this point of ancient Homeric allegoresis is too condensed to allow the original contributions of the individual exegetes to be unraveled, and it is thus not possible to have any certainty that one or both of the transmitted highly detailed allegoreses of the Homeric shields can ultimately be traced back to Crates.⁴²⁰

A few other remnants of Crates' exegesis concerning authors other than Homer (such as the lyric poets Alcman, Stesichorus, Pindar, and the tragic poet Euripides)⁴²¹ possibly originate not from individual writings devoted to these various figures, but from discussions within more general contexts. It has been established, in particular, that some observations concerning the *Phenomena* of the Hellenistic poet Aratus effectively derive from Crates' works of Homeric scholarship.⁴²² The same may hold for a few fragments on Hesiod,⁴²³ among which one is of particular interest, regarding the expunction by Crates of both the transmitted proems of the two Hesiodic poems, while the Peripatetic Praxiphanes and Aristarchus only athetized the proem of *Works and Days*: on the basis of its content and line of reasoning, this fragment could belong to a critical discussion focusing on poetic theories rather than to a commentary devoted to the Hesiodic poem.⁴²⁴ What is known is that Crates addressed questions of poetics, especially with respect to euphony, namely the sound quality, and rhythm of the verse, in a text which is often referred to in the fragmentary treatise *On poems* by the later Epicurean philosopher Philodemus of Gadara.⁴²⁵

419 See Crates fr. 3 Broggiato with her comment (142–144). On Cratetean cosmology: Mette [1936].

420 Crates fr. 12 Broggiato. In contrast to Mette [1936] 30–41, Pfeiffer [1968] 240–241, and Porter [1992] 91–94 (and additionally Halliwell [2002] 274–275; Gutzwiller [2010] 356), Broggiato [2001] 157–164 adopts a cautionary position with regard to the Cratetean authorship of the two allegorical explanations.

421 Respectively Crates fr. 82–84 (lyric poets) and 86–89 Broggiato (Euripides). See Broggiato [2001] XXIV–XXV.

422 Maass [1892] 167–203; cf. Broggiato [2001] XXII.

423 Crates fr. 78 Broggiato, with related comment (and further Broggiato [2001] XXIII).

424 Most recent discussion: Montanari [2009a] 316–322.

425 Broggiato [2001] XXVII–XXXIII (with her fr. 94–101). On Crates' discussions scrutinized by Philodemus in his first book *On poems* (fr. 96*–98* Broggiato) see Janko [2000] 120–189. Cf. Porter [1992] 112–113; Halliwell [2011] 317–319.

It appears quite natural to assume that Crates, as a *kritikos*, directed the results of his textual scholarship towards the aim of genuine “criticism of literary works” (κρισις ποιημάτων), which, in the next generation, the Alexandrian Dionysius Thrax, the pupil of Aristarchus, would recognize as the final part, and the highest achievement, of the *grammatikē tekhnē*. In contrast, we must resign ourselves to the lack of any positive evidence about the possibility that a Crates repeatedly quoted by John Tzetzes for opinions relevant *inter alia* to the “parts” (μέρη) of comedy and the parabasis, subjects which probably formed part of a treatise on ancient drama, may be identified with the Pergamene scholar.⁴²⁶

3.2 *Pluralism and Exchange in Late Hellenistic Scholarship (144–31)*

The generations of scholars immediately following that of Aristarchus and Crates could certainly not disregard the achievements of these great teachers, some of whose research lines they developed further with original contributions of their own. At the same time, they laid the basis for the collection and conservation of the erudite heritage accumulated up to that time by Hellenistic scholarship as well as its transmission to Graeco-Roman culture. But before approaching this issue, a statement of premises is in order.

As we have underlined, the ancient tradition dramatically emphasizes the contraposition between the Alexandrian and Pergamene school, Aristarchus versus Crates and their respective disciples, probably at least in some cases projecting backwards certain concepts and categories belonging to later eras in which such conflicts were really or more operating. However, this picture needs to be re-examined in order to allow for the possibility that the situation may not have been so clear-cut, starting out from the recognition that Pergamene scholarship does not seem to have assumed the characteristics and the solidity of a veritable ‘school’.⁴²⁷ In addition, there is no lack of evidence indicating points of contact and intersection among personalities and experiences of these two main centers of learning. We can once again recall, for instance, the ancient information reporting Aristophanes of Byzantium’s

426 Broggiato [2001] xxv–xxvii (with her fr. 90*–93*). Bagordo [1998] 61 and 116–118 (No. 28), subscribes, albeit cautiously, to the identification of this Crates with the Athenian Academic philosopher of the 1st century, the author of a work *On comedy* (Περὶ κωμωδίας).

427 E.g. Montanari [1993c] 648–649. On scholars mentioned by ancient sources as Crates’ pupils or *Kratēteioi*, see Crates testt. 20–27 Broggiato; Hansen [1971] 418–422; Broggiato [2001] xviii–xix and 137–138; Broggiato [2014]. On Tauriscus, Κράτητος ἀκουστής, see above, n. 409. Broggiato [2014] also includes among Crates’ pupils the scholar historian Artemon of Pergamum (*FGrHist* 569; Pitcher [2007] in *Brill’s New Jacoby*).

intention of taking up a post under Eumenes II;⁴²⁸ or that Crates himself is said to have appreciated some Homeric interpretations of a cosmological and allegorical flavor put forward by Agathocles of Cyzicum, who had been a pupil of Zenodotus in Alexandria.⁴²⁹ In the subsequent period, other significant examples of Pergamene frequentation are offered by some Aristarchean pupils, precisely those who according to the standard representation would arguably have nursed the greatest hostility towards the environment in which Crates was active: we shall soon meet Demetrius of Adramyttion and Apollodorus of Athens; and a further instance is possibly offered by the grammarian Ptolemy of Ascalon, who lived and taught in Rome perhaps in the late 2nd century, rather than in the Augustan Age as often claimed,⁴³⁰ and apparently belonged to the Aristarchean line of scholarship. In his writing *On the doctrine of Crates* (*Περὶ τῆς Κρατητείου αἰρέσεως*) he upheld a Zenodotean reading in the *Iliad* at the same time discarding Aristarchus' choice, possibly under the positive influence of Crates' opinion.⁴³¹

Furthermore, for various reasons, towards the middle of Hellenistic Age the geographic horizons of scholarship broadened and other newly emerging cultural centers began to come to the fore beside Alexandria and Pergamum. Earlier, mention was made of the competition between the Ptolemies and the Attalids in their attempts to become the embodiment of a symbolic continuity with the culture of Athens, partly by making donations to the city in the form of cultural assets, buildings and monuments: in effect, this provided a guarantee that the ancient capital of Greek culture would succeed in continuing to compete in the scenario of the eastern Mediterranean as one of the best equipped, most prestigious and attractive centers of high culture. In this context, we will shortly also take a look at the extremely refined culture that flourished on the island of Rhodes, describing the outcome of an important branch of the Aristarchean school. Moreover, the relentless political and military expansion of Roman power in the Orient explains the increase in the number of Greek grammarians stably settled in Rome by the 1st century. In fact, some of the main political and social transformations that swept through the late Hellenistic Age were due above all to the strategic interference of Rome in the intricate relations among the Hellenistic kingdoms and the resulting

428 *Suda* α 3936, s.v. Ἀριστῶνυμος; Ar. Byz. test. 1 Slater.

429 Broggiato [2001] XIX with n. 18, 182, 188–189, concerning Crates' fr. 21 and 26.

430 West [2001a] 82.

431 *Schol. A Hom., Il.* 3.155b (Nicanor): Ptol. Ascal. p. 64 Baege; Crates test. 19 = fr. 5* Broggiato. Crates' influence is supposed by Düntzer [1848] 134; Baege [1882] 21–22; Blau [1883] 26; Montanari [1993c] 650; Broggiato [2001] 146–147. On Ptolemy's work see below, n. 456.

gradual absorption of the latter under Roman rule. Among the effects of this epoch-making historical transition one may cite, as of particular interest here, a greater circulation of intellectuals and scholars of different imprint and, consequently, greater opportunity for cultural exchange and influence, which to all intents and purposes brought an end to the apparent monopoly, or duopoly, of Hellenistic scholarship.⁴³²

Overall, acknowledgment of the opportunities for close-meshed cultural interaction between the major seats of learning in the late Hellenistic Age, as well as of the expansion of the horizons of scholarship on the eve of and during Romanization, calls for an act of epistemological frankness. Specifically, there should be a willingness to overcome once and for all in our historiographic description the Manichean preconception implicit in the pattern ‘Alexandria vs Pergamum’, which hinders the possibility of fair recognition that, alongside differences of vision and polemical approaches, there were undoubtedly also cultural links and convergences, reciprocal influences, more wide-ranging frequentations and more pluralistic strands of belonging.

A grammarian who apparently adopted the critical line traced by Crates is his fellow countryman Zenodotus of Mallos (2nd or 2nd/1st century), plausibly to be identified with a Zenodotus qualified as *Kratēteios*, “disciple of Crates”, in a Homeric scholium.⁴³³ A work entitled *Against Aristarchus’ expunction of lines of the Poet* (*Πρὸς τὰ ὑπ’ Ἀριστάρχου ἀθετούμενα τοῦ ποιητοῦ*) is ascribable to him:⁴³⁴ this lost monograph, of alleged polemical aim, took shape in the context of a lively debate about the Aristarchean *athetēseis* in the Homeric texts.⁴³⁵ Before Zenodotus, the debate had already seen the contributions of at least two Alexandrians: Callistratus, Aristophanes’ pupil, and Demetrius of Adramyttium (in Mysia), called Ixion, one of the many disciples of Aristarchus, the author of two works of Homeric scholarship entitled *Against* or *On the explanations* (*Πρὸς τὰς ἐξηγήσεις*) and *Against* or *On the athetized lines* (*Πρὸς τοὺς ἠθετημένους, scil. στίχους*).⁴³⁶ In the ancient tradition, this Demetrius was branded as a ‘betrayal’ of his teacher (this is the sense of the nickname Ixion,

432 Jolivet [2010]. On the political and economic background of this cultural transition: Monson [2012].

433 *Schol. ex. Hom., Il.* 23.79b: Crates test. 24 Broggiato = Zenod. Mall. fr. 5 Pusch = fr. 3 Broggiato.

434 *Suda* ζ 275, s.v. Zenodotus of Alexandria: Zenod. Mall. test. 2* Broggiato.

435 On Zenodotus of Mallos: Nickau [1972b]. Editions of the scanty fragments, predominantly pertaining to Homeric scholarship: Pusch [1890] 149–160; Broggiato [2005] and [2014] 107–140.

436 On Callistratus see above, § 2.5. Demetrius also was concerned with the comic poet Aristophanes and possibly Hesiod (for the latter see Montanari [2009a] 341). The fragments have been edited by Staesche [1883] and those pertaining to Homeric scholarship

alluding to the mythic Thessalic king, a prototype of betrayal and lack of gratitude), as if, or so it would seem, he had deserted the Alexandrian school and defected to the ‘enemy’ camp of Pergamum.⁴³⁷ Some possible clues of Pergamene influence can be seen in his interest in etymology, a field typically engaging the attention of Stoic thinkers, and dialectology, a sphere in which Demetrius produced a collection of *Attic words* (*Ἀττικάι λέξεις*) and a treatise devoted to recognizing and describing a specific Greek Alexandrian dialect (*Περὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων διαλέκτου*).⁴³⁸ However, the Homeric scholia preserve numerous points of agreement between the two scholars, alongside a majority of Demetrius’ arguments against Aristarchus’ *athetēseis*. This makes it possible to mitigate the conventional view of this grammarian as an ‘apostate’ in favor of a profile characterized by a certain degree of independence of opinion and critical thought.⁴³⁹ It is worth adding here that, not unlike Demetrius ‘the betrayer’, his contemporary Dionysius of Sidon is remembered in the Homeric scholia for agreements as well as for divergences with his teacher Aristarchus concerning textual choices in many passages of the Homeric poems.⁴⁴⁰

Another interesting point of contact in the period between Alexandria and Pergamum can be recognized in a parallelism of interests in the field of studies on ancient comedy. The Alexandrian Ammonius, a pupil and successor of Aristarchus at the head of the ‘reformed’ Ptolemaic Library after 144, not only carried out studies on Plato’s Homeric style and on Aristarchean Homeric scholarship, as mentioned earlier, and performed his own inquiries into the Homeric poems, but he also wrote two distinct works on comedy, following in the footsteps of Aristophanes of Byzantium and Callistratus: one about hetaerae (mentioned in Greek comedies) and another concerning the *κωμωδοῦμενοι*, *i.e.* individuals “who were lampooned by comic playwrights”. These writings were designed to distinguish among homonyms, give an elementary prosopography and list mentions of such types of people in the comic

by Ascheri [2003] and, far more inclusively, van Thiel [2014], who (1.10 and 20–22) readily identifies Ixion as the main author of the so-called exegetical scholia to the *Iliad*.

437 *Suda* δ 430 (= Dem. Ix. test. 1 Ascheri) Δημήτριος ὁ ἐπίκλην Ἰξίων. ... ἐπεκλήθη δὲ τοῦτο, ... ὅτι τῷ διδασκάλῳ Ἀριστάρχῳ ἀντήρισεν, “Demetrius called Ixion. ... He received this surname, ... because he opposed his teacher Aristarchus”. See Blau [1883] 19–20.

438 That Demetrius may have been open to solutions of an anomalist type is argued by Ascheri [2010], especially 149–150, according to whom the grammarian upheld a moderate Atticism congruous with the Ptolemaic ambition to assimilate Alexandrian and Athenian cultures and languages.

439 Ascheri [2003] x–xvi, [2004] 337–338, and [2010].

440 For divergences see *e.g. scholl. Hom., Il.* 1.364b², 1.554c, 2.262b. On Dionysius: Montanari [1997i]; Pontani [2005b] 56.

tradition, for the purposes of literary explanation.⁴⁴¹ The same categories (real persons satirized in comedy, among whom parasites and high society courtesans) were taken into consideration during the same period by the Pergamene Carystius, author of a work on stage productions (*Περὶ διδασκαλιῶν*),⁴⁴² and the *Kratēteios* Herodicus of Babylon in a work entitled *Κωμωδοῦμενοι*, two surviving fragments of which, drawn from the sixth book, concern the hetaerae Sinope and Phryne;⁴⁴³ a mention of a second and different staging of Aeschylus' *Persians*, inferable from a statement attributed to Herodicus in a scholion to Aristophanes, may originate from the same work.⁴⁴⁴ The Cratetean definition of the *kritikos* in opposition to the *grammatikos* can be detected by reading between the lines of a satirical epigram by Herodicus designed to stigmatize what he felt to be the pedantic limitedness of views held by the *Aristarkheioi* in the field of linguistic correctness.⁴⁴⁵

The *secessio doctorum* which affected Alexandria in 145/144 undoubtedly acted as one of the involuntary factors of further fruitful intellectual exchange in the late Hellenistic Age. By the irony of fate, at the very time of the Aristarchean apogee many Alexandrian scholars were forced to seek refuge and a new cultural homeland in Pergamum or in other centers of learning beyond Ptolemaic control. Such was the destiny, for example, of the Athenian Apollodorus (ca. 180–110). After receiving his training in Athens at the school of the Stoic philosopher Diogenes of Babylon (or of Seleucia), also one of the presumed teachers of Crates, he moved to Alexandria where he was a disciple and co-worker of Aristarchus. It appears that at the time of Ptolemies' dynastic crisis he fled to Pergamum and then eventually returned to Athens. This intellectual experience provides eloquent evidence of the actual possibility that multiple cultural inputs from major centers of learning of the time (Athens,

441 *FGrHist* 350; Bagordo [1998] 50 and 74–76 (No. 3). See Steinhausen [1910].

442 Bagordo [1998] 57 and 111 (No. 25).

443 Ath. 13.586a and 591c: 55 fr. 1–2 Bagordo = Herodicus fr. 6–7 Broggiato (see her comment, [2014] 78–80). On Herodicus as a *Kratēteios* see Crates test. 25 Broggiato = Herodicus test. 2 Broggiato; Düring [1941]. The identification of Herodicus 'the *Kratēteios*' with his namesake of Babylon, author of the epigram quoted below in the text (see n. 445), is almost generally accepted: Broggiato [2014] 42 with n. 3. Herodicus' chronology is debated, but the second half of the 2nd century is a plausible inference: Broggiato [2014] 42–43.

444 *Schol. Ar., Ran.* 1028e = Herodicus fr. 10 Broggiato, a note conceived in order to explain the reference in l. 1028 of the comedy to king Darius as a character in the *Persians*. Herodicus' fr. 2–5 Broggiato concern Homeric scholarship; it is uncertain to which work they belonged.

445 Ath. 5.222a: *SH* fr. 494 = Herodicus fr. 1 Broggiato; see De Martino [1997]; Manetti [2002]; Broggiato [2014] 59–68.

Alexandria, Pergamum) may converge in the same person, thus belying the conventional picture of sharp conflict and rivalry among these communities of scholars.⁴⁴⁶

An ancient source defines Apollodorus as a “philologist” (φιλόλογος), in the same manner as Eratosthenes,⁴⁴⁷ of whom he was ideally a successor, partly by virtue of his comparable intellectual curiosity, and partly also because he had cultivated fields of inquiry bearing some similarity to those in which Eratosthenes was active.⁴⁴⁸ One of these common fields is chronology. Apollodorus’ *Chronicle* (Χρονικά), dedicated to the Pergamene king Attalus II and composed in iambic trimeters for the sake of memorization, was evidently inspired by Eratosthenes’ work and intended to improve on it. In a chronological grid that extended from the capture of Troy (1184/3) up to the author’s own days and which was based on the list of the Athenian archonts, political and military events were recorded alongside information concerning several branches of human activity and knowledge such as philosophy, art, and literature. It is worth underscoring that the information Apollodorus provided included biographical data on Menander, with an indication of the total number of his plays (105), drawing on the tradition of the *didaskaliai* widely plundered by the Alexandrian scholars.⁴⁴⁹ As far as can be gathered from the very scanty material that has come down to us, the work *On the gods* (Περὶ θεῶν) constituted a perfect synthesis of Apollodorus’ multifaceted personality and a mirror of his composite cultural-biographic background. It was in essence a study of religious history, carried out in a contextual setting of Homeric scholarship and endeavoring to conduct an in-depth analysis of divine names and epithets, even resorting to etymology. Thus the Alexandrian predilection for lexical inquiry and literary interpretation blended with a historical-antiquarian interest and with a methodology that applied hermeneutics by etymology, possibly under Stoic/Pergamene influence.⁴⁵⁰ The work *On the catalogue of the ships* (Περὶ τοῦ τῶν νεῶν καταλόγου), concerning problems posed by the

446 Cf. Fraser [1972] 1.470, though admitting contacts only “on a purely personal level” and excluding “a general dilution of the hostility between the two schools”.

447 Ps.-Scymnus, *Periegesis* 16–49 (with the comment by Marcotte [2000] 151–152): *FGrHist* 244 test. 2.

448 Edition of the fragments in *FGrHist* 244, to which should be added Theodoridis [1972] and [1979], and Mette [1978] 20–23.

449 Apollod., *FGrHist* 244 fr. 43. See Pfeiffer [1968] 257.

450 *FGrHist* 244 fr. 88–153. Mention can be made here of the *Library* (Βιβλιοθήκη), a mythographic handbook of the 1st or 2nd century AD, wrongly assigned to Apollodorus by medieval manuscripts (although it may be not completely extraneous to his research on religion and myths). See Wagner [1926²], Carrière-Massonnie [1991], Scarpi [1996], Fowler

catalogue of the Achean army at Troy in the second book of the *Iliad* and, more generally, by the puzzling Homeric geography, offered contributions to this highly specialized and challenging sphere of ancient scholarship, which Eratosthenes, Demetrius of Scepsis, and Aristarchus had previously grappled with.⁴⁵¹ The scope of Apollodorus' literary study also extended to theater: he composed monographic studies on Doric authors of comedy and mime (*On Epicharm*, *On Sophron*) and on the Athenian hetaerae introduced as characters into Attic comic plays (*Περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησι ἑταιρίδων*).⁴⁵² This had become a typical subject of Hellenistic erudition, having been treated in the previous century by Aristophanes of Byzantium and his pupil Callistratus, and, in the times of Apollodorus himself, by his Aristarchean fellow-disciple Ammonius and the *Kratēteios* Herodicus. Let us conclude this profile by mentioning Apollodorus' studies on vocabulary (*Glōssai*) and etymology, the latter being treated not only in the *On the gods*, but also in a dedicated work of *Etymologies*, which apparently represented an original fusion of Stoic and Alexandrian inputs.⁴⁵³

Slightly younger than Apollodorus, the Alexandrian Dionysius Thrax (ca. 170–90) was able to complete his training at Aristarchus' school just before the diaspora of 144, which led him to move to Rhodes, where he obtained a teaching position.⁴⁵⁴ That he adopted a polemical attitude towards the most representative Pergamene scholar is openly testified to by his *syngramma Against Crates* (*Πρὸς Κράτητα*),⁴⁵⁵ of which a precedent can be perceived in a work bearing the same title composed by the roughly contemporary Alexandrian Parmeniscus.⁴⁵⁶ Dionysius' philological and exegetical activity on the Homeric poems, partly in agreement and partly in contrast with

[2000], Dräger [2005], Meliàdò, this volume; and the bibliographical database ABEL (*Apollodori Bibliotheca Electronica*) at <http://abel.arts.kuleuven.be/>.

451 Str. 8.339 attests to the extensive use of the works of Eratosthenes and Demetrius by Apollodorus. The fragments are edited in *FGrHist* 244 fr. 154–207.

452 *FGrHist* 244 fr. 208–218; Bagordo [1998] 45–46 and 80–84 (No. 10).

453 Frede [1977] 52; Schenkeveld [1984] 348.

454 Mygind [1999] 263–264 (No. 34). Dionysius was the author of a historiographical work on Rhodes (*FGrHist* 512).

455 Dion. Thrax fr. 15 in the edition by Linke [1977]; cf. Crates test. 29 Broggiato.

456 Parmeniscus fr. 2 Breithaupt; Crates test. 28 Broggiato. By contrast, we cannot establish with precision what kind of topics were addressed in the discussions forming the object of the mentioned work *On the doctrine of Crates* composed by Ptolemy of Ascalon: see above, n. 431.

Aristarchus, is widely documented,⁴⁵⁷ and the same can be said—albeit to a lesser extent—for his work on Hesiod and Alcman.⁴⁵⁸ Other extant fragments of Dionysius’ works concern rhetoric and grammatical problems,⁴⁵⁹ which point to a linguistic interest in what constituted one of the long-established spheres of Alexandrian philology. But this also brings up one of the controversial issues in the field of Dionysius’ learning: for the ancient tradition attributes to him a treatise of grammatical content, which the 2nd century AD Sextus Empiricus defines as “precepts” (παραγγέλματα, perhaps the title of a work),⁴⁶⁰ but it probably has very little to do with the work entitled *Grammar* (Τέχνη γραμματική) that has actually come down to us under Dionysius’ name.⁴⁶¹ A fierce and extremely complex debate has arisen in connection with the question of the authenticity of the *Tekhnē*, especially since serious doubt has been cast on the Dionysian authorship of this work, due to objective structural and content-related incongruities.⁴⁶² Only the first paragraph, containing a definition of grammar as “empirical knowledge of what is mainly said by poets and prose writers”⁴⁶³ and a taxonomy of the discipline in six parts, are unanimously held to be genuine,⁴⁶⁴ the rest is regarded as spurious and probably dates to late antiquity, the period to which one can also trace the rich ‘scholia’ (a veritable continuous commentary) and some ‘supplements’ associated with the *Tekhnē*, both preserving a great amount of information on ancient grammatical thought and practice.⁴⁶⁵ The justifiable doubts concerning the authenticity

457 Dion. Thrax fr. 1–47 Linke. For instance, Dionysius (fr. 47) endorsed Aristarchus’ analogist criterion and the assumption of the Athenian origin of Homer.

458 For Hesiod: Montanari [2009a] 341.

459 Dion. Thrax fr. 53–55 Linke.

460 Sext. Emp., *Math.* 1.57.

461 Edition by Uhlig [1883] 1–101; then Pecorella [1962], with commentary. Greek text reproduced in Lallot [1998²], with French translation and commentary; Kürschner [1996], with German translation; Swiggers-Wouters [1998], with Dutch and German (= Kürschner [1996]) translation; Callipo [2011], with Italian translation and commentary.

462 The controversy started with Di Benedetto [1958–1959].

463 Γραμματική ἐστὶν ἐμπειρία τῶν παρὰ ποιηταῖς τε καὶ συγγραφεύσιν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ λεγομένων. Sext. Emp., *Math.* 1.57 gives the non-innocuous variant ἐμπειρία ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλείστον τῶν παρὰ ποιηταῖς τε καὶ συγγραφεύσιν λεγομένων, “empirical knowledge as far as possible of what is said by poets and prose writers”. On the much debated interpretive problem posed by the discrepancy between these passages see the comment by Lallot [1998²] and more recently Ventrella [2004].

464 Overview of the question in Pagani [2010b] and [2011], with exhaustive assessments of the overwhelming bibliography on the topic.

465 The supplements were edited by Uhlig [1883] 103–132, the scholia by Hilgard [1901]; for a recent addition see above, n. 408.

of the greater part of the *Tekhnē* have also been used to deny the existence of grammatical reflections and interests on the part of the Alexandrian scholars belonging to the earlier age (Aristophanes and Aristarchus).⁴⁶⁶ On the other hand, this argument has been countered by pointing out that the question of the genuineness or otherwise of the *Tekhnē* in no way impairs the basic fact that Dionysius was the author of a grammatical treatise: the definition of grammar genuinely attested to by the *Tekhnē* and by Sextus and some documented positions held by Dionysius in matters concerning parts of speech (which reveal signs of Stoic derivation, in particular from Diogenes of Babylon),⁴⁶⁷ as well as the similar achievements traceable to Aristophanes and Aristarchus, are sufficient to provide a sound foundation for the statement that the science of grammar began to burgeon in Alexandria starting at least from the 2nd century, in the form of linguistic observation closely linked to / aimed at constituting and interpreting literary texts.⁴⁶⁸ The new perspectives opened up by research into the actual grammatical knowledge of the 2nd century philologists, jointly with the current state of the discussion concerning Dionysius Thrax, ultimately allow a picture of the achievements of these generations of scholars in terms of first steps and evolution in the gradual process of translating philosophical, rhetorical and philological concepts about language into technical grammar.⁴⁶⁹

Attempts to ascertain the chronology and cultural framework of the grammarian and historian Asclepiades of Myrlea (later Apamea, in Bithynia)⁴⁷⁰ leave us with an *aporia*, partly because the related biographical entry in the *Suda* is of only limited usefulness as it is clearly corrupt or contaminated.⁴⁷¹ The available data allow him to be placed roughly between the second half of the 2nd and the first half of the 1st century. Knowledge of opinions put forward by Dionysius Thrax detectable in the fragments of Asclepiades demonstrate that the latter was either contemporary with or shortly later than Aristarchus'

466 This line of reasoning has been upheld by Di Benedetto, first and foremost in his study of 1958–1959 and then repeatedly ([1973], [1990], [1998], [2000]), and it has been endorsed by *e.g.* Pinborg [1975]; Siebenborn [1976]; Frede [1977]; Taylor [1987]; Law [2003]. The opposite position includes Erbse [1980]; Ax [1982] and [1991]; Matthaios [1999], [2001a] and [2002f].

467 On the influence of Stoic grammar on the Alexandrian post-Aristarchean scholars (Apollodorus and Dionysius), see *e.g.* Schenkeveld [1994] 280–281; Matthaios [2009a] 399.

468 Pagani [2010b].

469 Matthaios [2001a], [2002f] and this volume (with further bibliography). An outline of the theoretical definitions and development of ancient Greek systematic grammar is traced by Pagani [2011]; Seppänen [2014]; see further Swiggers-Wouters, this volume (section II.2).

470 He wrote a *History of Bithynia* (Βιθυνιακά): *FGrHist* 697.

471 *Suda* α 4173; Asclep. Myrl. test. 1 Pagani.

pupil. It cannot be ruled out that Asclepiades may have spent part of his life in Rome and in Spain (Baetica). There is no clear-cut evidence, although it is plausible, that he was a pupil of Crates or that he stayed in Pergamum. Effectively, a Stoic and/or Pergamene influence seems difficult to deny, if one considers the cosmological-allegorical methodology applied to Homeric exegesis in his *syngamma On Nestor's cup* (*Περὶ τῆς Νεστορίδος*), concerning the form, function and sense of this bowl described in *Iliad* 11.632–637, which is interpreted as an allusive image of the sky and of the Pleias constellation in the heavens.⁴⁷² A commentary on the *Odyssey* is explicitly attested to by the sources⁴⁷³ and another on the *Iliad* is arguable from some indirect evidence.⁴⁷⁴ It is particularly significant that, in addition to his work on Homer, he also concerned himself with Pindar, Theocritus and perhaps—though it is uncertain whether in purpose-composed *hypomnēmata* or in monographs devoted to other topics—also with Aratus and Apollonius of Rhodes, thus becoming one among the first exegetes of Hellenistic poets.⁴⁷⁵ Of equally fundamental importance, in the current critical debate on the origins of Greek grammatical science, are the remains of Asclepiades' *Grammar* (*Περὶ γραμματικῆς*), in particular his definition of grammar, clearly polemicizing against Dionysius Thrax, not as “empirical knowledge” but as “*tekhnē* of what is said by poets and prose writers”. By this statement he effectively proclaimed the character of grammar as, in a sense, both scientific and exhaustive, against an idea of this discipline as a conjectural and imperfect intellectual activity. In another fragment Asclepiades proposed a threefold subdivision of grammar, one technical (*i.e.*, systematic description of language), one concerning the *historiai* (namely, philological study of *realia*), and one strictly philological, which to some extent recalls the Pergamene partition conceived by Tauriscus and traceable to Crates.⁴⁷⁶ Finally, we know of a work *On the grammarians* (*Περὶ γραμματικῶν*),

472 Asclep. Myrl. fr. 4–10 Pagani; see Pagani [2007a] 18–23 and her comment, 149–225; Gutzwiller [2010] 356–357.

473 Asclep. Myrl. test. 12 and fr. 3 Pagani; see Pagani [2007a] 16–18.

474 Asclep. Myrl. fr. 1–2 Pagani; see Pagani [2007a] 16.

475 On Asclepiades' actual or presumed work on all of these poets: Pagani [2007a] 24–31; especially concerning Theocritus: Belcher [2005] 192–194 and 199–200 (texts); Pagani [2007c] 287–288 and 298 (texts). A treatise *On Cratinus* by Asclepiades, apparently attributed to him by Athenaeus (cf. Bagordo [1998] 60 and 102–103, No. 20), is generally ruled out: Pagani [2007a] 40 and 218–219.

476 Asclepiades' definition of grammar: Sext. Emp., *Math.* 1.72–74. His subdivision of grammar: Sext. Emp., *Math.* 1.252; see Slater [1972]; Blank [1998] 146–148 and 264–266.

in eleven books, plausibly a collection of biographies and an inventory of works, studies and theories.⁴⁷⁷

Second century Rhodes, where Dionysius Thrax developed his activity, was a lively venue of interchange of learning and cross-fertilization between Athens, Pergamum and Alexandria, on the one hand, and Rome, on the other. The island had experienced a century of prosperous independence, achieved upon the death of Alexander and defended both by taking to arms if necessary (in 305/4 Demetrius Poliorcetes laid siege in vain to the island) and also through a well thought-out policy of balance of power among the greatest Hellenistic monarchies, which was guaranteed by its privileged position as an economic hub of international trading and banking, essential especially for Egypt. At the end of the 3rd century, however, partly due to the crisis that was afflicting the Ptolemaic kingdom at the time, Rhodes (allied with Pergamum) found itself constrained to call upon Rome for aid in order to protect itself from aggression by the Macedonian king Philip V (201). This move definitively opened the floodgates to legitimate interference of Western power in the Greek peninsula and the Aegean sea. A few decades later, after the Roman victory in 168 at Pydna at the end of the third Macedonian war, Rhodes was no longer able to decline the formalization of an unequal and permanent alliance with Rome (164). Despite this, the loss of full freedom did not mark the end of economic and cultural prosperity: on the contrary, at least up to the Roman civil wars, the reassuring protective wing of Rome guaranteed some continuation—albeit without stemming the gradual decline—of the period of affluence.⁴⁷⁸

In this era the island became particularly famous for its schools of rhetoric, headed by personalities among whom the names of Apollonius from Alabanda, known as Rhodius (end of the 2nd century), and Apollonius Molon deserve to be mentioned.⁴⁷⁹ The latter was among the scholars with whom Cicero and Caesar came into contact during their periods of study on the island in the first half of the 1st century.⁴⁸⁰ Philosophy, which in the early Hellenistic Age had blossomed in Rhodes through the presence of such figures as the Peripatetics Eudemus, Praxiphanes and Hieronymus, during the 2nd and 1st centuries saw the development of flourishing schools of Stoic thinkers such as the Rhodian Panaetius, who was a pupil of Crates⁴⁸¹ and also of Dionysius Thrax while the

477 On Asclepiades' grammatical writings: Pagani [2007a] 31–36.

478 Schmitt [1957]; Berthold [1984] 213–232.

479 Mygind [1999] 260 (respectively No. 22 and No. 24).

480 *E.g.* Mygind [1999] 287–288 (Nos. 146 and 148); Garcea [2012] 22–23.

481 Str. 14.676c: Crates test. 21 Broggiato = Panaet. fr. 5 van Straaten = fr. 5 Alesse.

latter was on the island,⁴⁸² and Posidonius of Apameia.⁴⁸³ Both of these figures were the expression of an eclectic idea of culture, which seems to have constituted an intellectual trend in Rhodes at the time, even for ‘minor’ personalities. This can be observed in the case of the versatile Timachidas of Lindos, the author of an erudite poetic work in hexameters entitled *Banquet* (*Δεῖπνον*, 11 books or more), of a collection of *Γλῶσσαι*, and of commentaries on Euripides’ *Medea*, Aristophanes’ *Frogs* and—taking his place among the pioneers in the field of the exegesis on Hellenistic literature—Menander’s *Kolāx* and Eratosthenes’ *Hermēs* (in at least four books). In addition, he has been identified as one of the citizens of Lindos entrusted with drawing up the highly erudite historical inscription known as the *Chronicle of the temple of Lindos*.⁴⁸⁴

Given the political relations officially established between Rome and Rhodes towards the mid-2nd century, one can easily understand why numerous members of the Roman elite would frequently visit the island to refine their philosophical and rhetorical training. Thus after its by no means insignificant earlier period as an economic hub in the Eastern Mediterranean, when it passed under Roman control Rhodes achieved considerable status as a lively and highly attractive focus of cultural cross-fertilization. It is important to bear in mind that this was indeed the context which Dionysius Thrax adopted as the seat of his work and his chosen *milieu* of cultural learning after abandoning Alexandria. Rhodes became a unique venue that allowed the blending of

482 See Pfeiffer [1968] 232, 245, 270; cf. Nagy [1998] 222–223; Mygind [1999] 256–257 (No. 10). Ath. 14.634c testifies to Panaetius’ admiration towards Aristarchus, whom he defined as a “prophet” (μάντις) capable of penetrating into the real meaning (διάνοια) of Homeric poetry—unless the sentence had an ironical overtone, as Porter [1992] 70 is inclined to think. As far as concerns the ‘Plato of Panaetius’ testified by Gal., *De indolentia* 13 Boudon-Millot – Jouanna, rather than being an ‘edition’ (as argued by Gourinat [2008] 141), it is more likely to have been an exemplar of the Platonic *Dialogues* possessed and annotated by Panaetius (thus Dorandi [2010b] 171; cf. Stramaglia [2011] 125).

483 See Mygind [1999] 257 (No. 12). Edition of Posidonius’ testimonies and fragments: Edelstein-Kidd [1989²]; cf. *FGrHist* 87.

484 *Δεῖπνον*: fr. 1–4 Blinkenberg; *SH* 769–773. *Γλῶσσαι*: fr. 18–32 Blinkenberg. Commentaries: on Euripides’ *Medea*, fr. 15–16 Blinkenberg; on Aristophanes’ *Frogs*, fr. 5–13 Blinkenberg; on Menander’s *Kolāx*, fr. 14 Blinkenberg = Men. test. 77 Kassel-Austin; on Eratosthenes’ *Hermēs*, fr. 17 Blinkenberg (Ath. 11.501d, where the reading Τιμαρχος has been corrected into Τιμαρχιδας by Susemihl), cf. Powell [1925] 58–59. For the *Chronicle*: *StG*³ 725; Blinkenberg [1915]; *FGrHist* 532. On Timachidas see Mygind [1999] 264 (No. 35); Montana [2009c] 179–180. A new edition of all of the extant fragments is being prepared by Thomas Coward.

long-standing traditions of philosophy, rhetoric and philology.⁴⁸⁵ Of particular significance, as far as our topic is concerned, is the possibility this afforded the Roman elite—who were already familiar with Pergamene criticism from the days of Crates' visit to Rome in 168—to enter into contact with one of the most authoritative witnesses and epigones of Aristarchean scholarship. It is a telling circumstance that, around the year 100, L. Aelius Stilo Praeconinus (ca. 150–85) went to the island, where he is supposed to have attended Dionysius' lectures: he was later regarded as the first of the Roman grammarians and is remembered for having adopted the Aristarchean critical *sēmeia* in his scholarly activity on the archaic Latin writers;⁴⁸⁶ moreover, he acquired renown and following among many of his younger contemporaries, such as Varro and Cicero. Finally, we should not omit the names of two rhetoricians and grammarians who were active in Rhodes at the end of the Hellenistic age: firstly, Theodorus of Gadara, who numbered the future emperor Tiberius among his pupils, and secondly Aristocles of Rhodes, a contemporary of Strabo (according to the latter, 14.655c), author of commentaries on Plato's dialogues and a specialist of Hippocratic vocabulary.⁴⁸⁷

Another of Dionysius' pupils in Rhodes,⁴⁸⁸ Tyrannion of Amysus (ca. 100–25), likewise contributed to the dissemination of grammatical thought in Rome, albeit by a different pathway. He had moved to Rome around the year 71, had been one of the teachers of Cicero's son, and found himself having to deal with Aristotle's unpublished writings that Sulla had brought with him from Athens. That Tyrannion belonged to the Aristarchean line of philological descent is well testified by his work *On Homeric prosody* (*Περὶ τῆς Ὀμηρικῆς προσωδίας*), which concerned problems of accentuation within the poems and is often quoted by Herodian in the scholia to Homer. In the case of various other writings there is some doubt as to whether the authorship should genuinely be attributed to him or rather to his pupil Diocles (also known as Tyrannion "the Younger", to distinguish him from his teacher); the reverse is

485 Di Benedetto [1958] 202, argues that great importance should be attached to the contacts in 2nd century Rhodes between rhetoric and grammar, with regard to establishment of the respective tasks and boundaries.

486 *Anecdota Parisina* (ms. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 7530), edited by Bergk [1845] = Bergk [1884] 580–612; see also Suet., *Gram. et rhet.* 10, quoted above (n. 233).

487 Theodorus and Tiberius: Mygind [1999], respectively 261–262 and 289 (Nos. 29 and 154); Bringmann [2002] 77. Aristocles: Mygind [1999] 264 (No. 36); Bringmann [2002] 77. A short sketch of the influence of Hellenistic (especially Homeric) scholarship on Roman intellectuals and poets of late Republican Age can be read in Pontani [2005b] 57–59.

488 *Suda* τ 1184.

also true, for example concerning a Homeric *diorthōsis* attributed to Diocles.⁴⁸⁹ On the other hand, the period Tyrannion and Diocles spent in Rome provides a feasible reason of why one of these two authors wrote a work *On the Roman language*, where—according to the ancient source—it was claimed that Latin “derives from the Greek (language)” (*Περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς διαλέκτου* ὅτι ἐστὶν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς),⁴⁹⁰ a circumstance that can be seen as a true sign of the times.⁴⁹¹ Similarly, Diodorus and Artemidorus, both originally from Tarsus and active in the first half of the 1st century (and known as *Aristophaneioi* in the ancient sources for their allegiance to the interests and methods of the great Alexandrian librarian) are described as experts of language: Diodorus compiled a collection of *Italic glosses* (*Ἰταλικάι γλωσσάι*), while Artemidorus—also to be mentioned for having published the oldest known *corpus* of bucolic poetry, which focused on the works of Theocritus⁴⁹²—composed a treatise *On the Doric dialect* (*Περὶ Δωρίδος*) and a gastronomic lexicon especially rich in comic vocabulary.⁴⁹³ Tyrannion’s contemporary Philoxenus of Alexandria also lived in Rome and was the author of a number of critical works concerning text, prosody and content of the Homeric poems, among which it is worth citing *On the sēmeia in the Iliad* (*Περὶ σημείων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰλιάδι*) and a commentary to the *Odyssey*. He also specialized in studies on language. In his work *On monosyllabic verbs* (*Περὶ μονοσυλλάβων ῥημάτων*), diverging from the Stoic etymological doctrine focusing on nouns, he stated that the majority of Greek words derive from monosyllabic verbs which, if lost in everyday use, could be reconstructed via the analogical technique—a theory which exerted great influence on subsequent research in this field. Several titles that have come down to us testify to intense activity in the spheres of lexicography and dialectology, e.g. *On the dialect of the Syracusans* (*Περὶ τῆς τῶν Συρακουσίων διαλέκτου*), *On the dialect of the Lacons* (*Περὶ τῆς τῶν Λακόνων διαλέκτου*), *On the Ionian dialect* (*Περὶ τῆς Ἰάδος διαλέκτου*), *On correctness of the Greek* (*Περὶ ἑλληνισμοῦ*), *On glosses* (*Περὶ γλωσσῶν*), *On glosses in Homer* (*Περὶ τῶν παρ’ Ὀμήρω γλωσσῶν*). But Philoxenus’ name is most closely linked to the work *On the dialect of the Romans* (*Περὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων διαλέκτου*), in which he claimed, apparently in the steps of Tyrannion/

489 Suda τ 1185.

490 Again Suda τ 1185.

491 Dubuisson [1984]. A comparative approach to Greek and Latin languages is detectable in some etymological observations by the scholar historian Hypsicrates of Amysus, Tyrannion’s coeval and countryman: *FGrHist* 190 fr. 6–7 = fr. 1–2 Funaioli (in Funaioli 1907). The fragments of Tyrannion and/or Diocles are edited by Haas [1977]; see also Dyck [1982b]. On Diocles and the related problem of identity: Montanari [1997h].

492 Pagani [2007c] 286–287.

493 On both grammarians see Bagordo [1998], respectively 60 and 122–123 (No. 33), and 63 and 98–100 (No. 18).

Diocles and on the basis of some alleged affinities of Latin with Aeolic, that Latin is a Greek dialect.⁴⁹⁴ This trend in the dialectological inquiry fits well with the more general growing tendency towards cultural integration of the Roman and Hellenistic elites during the last decades of the Republic; a process which emblematically also included learned-ideological discussions about the descent of Rome from Greece (in competition with the Trojan thesis, particularly upheld by scholars close to Pergamene patronage) and culminated in the assumption of the Roman origin of Homer.⁴⁹⁵

As a matter of fact, the centrality of Rome as a political and military capital of the Mediterranean on the eve of the Principate was rapidly undergoing a transformation into centrality as a new cultural capital, which prided itself on its libraries and its formidable array of scholars in addition to a wealth of opportunities for study, edition, copy and contamination of ancient textual traditions. Indeed, Rome could now justifiably claim to be no less a prestigious protagonist of scholarship than the ancient seats of learning. The most emblematic episode of this new rule of Rome, which eloquently illustrates the intermeshing of political-military and cultural factors, is the earlier mentioned question of the Aristotelian private library, the fate of which we can now examine in its essential traditional lines.⁴⁹⁶ Athenaeus of Naucratis⁴⁹⁷ draw up a long list of figures from Greek history who possessed rich private libraries (a list also including Polycrates of Samos, the Athenian tyrant Pisistratus, Euclid of Athens, Nicocrates of Cyprus, the kings of Pergamum, and the poet Euripides), at the end of which he also mentions “Aristotle the philosopher, <Theophrastus>, and Neleus, who kept watch over the books of both the latter”. Athenaeus adds that

our king Ptolemy [II], called Philadelphus, after purchasing all of them [*i.e.* those books: πάντα . . . πριάμενος] from him [*i.e.* Neleus], had them transported to the fine city of Alexandria together with the books purchased in Athens and Rhodes.

494 Testimonies and fragments concerning Philoxenus are edited by Theodoridis [1976]. The main extant testimony is *Suda* φ 394: Philox. test. 1 Theodoridis. On Philoxenus as a Homerist: Pagani [forthcoming]. On his linguistic theory and its reception: Lallot [1991b]. For *On the dialect of the Romans* see frs. 311–329 Theodoridis.

495 This opinion is attributed by the *Vita Homeri* VI, 251.18–23 Allen, to Aristodemus of Nysa, perhaps the 1st century grammarian and rhetor, who was a son of Aristarchus’ pupil Menecrates and among the teachers of Pompey the Great’s sons in Rome and of Strabo in Nysa (Str. 14.650). See Heat [1998]; Ascheri [2011].

496 Reference-study: Moraux [1973] 3–94.

497 Ath. 1.3a–b.

According to this narrative, therefore, the whole library of the philosopher—implicitly including all of the works composed by the philosopher himself—became part of the Alexandrian Library even before the mid-3rd century, possibly as part of the original fund of books of the rising Ptolemaic institution.⁴⁹⁸

An apparently divergent account of the event is attested to by Strabo.⁴⁹⁹ He testifies that Neleus, who had received the Aristotelian collection of books from Theophrastus, took the entire set of works to his home city, Scepsis in the Troad, and there he left it in turn to his own heirs, an uneducated lot who showed little concern for their care and conservation: on the contrary, his heirs hid them in a ditch when they found out that the Attalid kings, who ruled over the city, were trying to lay in a cache of books for the establishment of their new Library at Pergamum. A few generations later, the descendants of Neleus' heirs sold off the store of books—which were partly damaged by moisture and moths—at a favourable price to Apellicon of Teos (2nd/1st century), “a bibliophile more than a philosopher”.⁵⁰⁰ Apellicon worked on the mangled books that were severely disfigured by lacunae, and produced new copies, but with the text restored in a highly disputable manner; he then published them full of errors (ζητῶν ἐπανόρθωσιν τῶν διαβρωμάτων εἰς ἀντίγραφα καινὰ μετήνεγκε τὴν γραφὴν ἀναπληρῶν οὐκ εὖ, καὶ ἐξέδωκεν ἀμαρτάδων πλήρη τὰ βιβλία). It was for this reason, as underlined by Strabo, that the Peripatetics working later than the era of Theophrastus had access to only a few (Aristotelian) books, and furthermore only those of the “exoteric” (namely “external”, “popular”) type: consequently, scholars' philosophical speculation was of a rather mediocre level and concerned only minor issues. By contrast, Strabo continues, subsequent generations of scholars, who did have access to the books, were able to devote themselves to genuinely philosophical matters and become true followers of Aristotle, but without being able to rely with any great certainty on the doctrines of their teacher, due to the poor textual quality of the published works. “Rome was to a large extent the cause of this”, since, after capturing Athens (in 86), Sulla confiscated Apellicon's library, and had it transferred to Rome, where the philo-Aristotelian *grammatikos* Tyrannion (the pupil of Dionysius Thrax at Rhodes, thus in a sense an ‘Aristarchean’) gained access to the books, but so did

498 Cf. Blum [1977] 109–134; Canfora [1999]; Tanner [2000].

499 Str. 13.609.

500 The purchase of the library by Apellicon and the picture of the latter as an affluent but amateurish figure (furthermore marked out by a mercurial and fickle temperament, ποικιλώτατόν τινα καὶ ἀψίχορον ζήσαντα βίον) are also conveyed by Posidonius, *FGrHist* 87 fr. 36 = fr. 253 Edelstein-Kidd (*apud* Ath. 5.214d).

a number of booksellers, who were able to make a number of copies destined to the book market without paying much attention to textual accuracy.

Thus Strabo's narrative recounts the vicissitude of the Aristotelian library, with an 'Aristarchean' happy ending, which, however, appears to have been somewhat infelicitous inasmuch as the works of the philosopher finally became more widely known but without the due editorial correctness.⁵⁰¹ A supplementary stage in the story and a happier ending in this sense is mentioned by Plutarch in his *Life of Sulla*.⁵⁰² According to Plutarch, in Rome the books of the philosopher underwent a first revision by Tyrannion and finally were published by (the Peripatetic) Andronicus of Rhodes, who also drew up some catalogues (πίνακες) that were still in circulation in Plutarch's time. This 'Aristotelian' ending includes the undeniable advantage of crediting with genuine validity the philosophical work of the Peripatus during the late decades of the Hellenistic Age and thereafter.⁵⁰³

The contradiction inherent in the testimonies of Athenaeus on the one hand, and of Strabo and Plutarch on the other, lends itself to being interpreted as the outcome of different standpoints in the retrospective of how the events unfolded. Firstly, the official Alexandrian tradition could with some justification lay claim to possession of the original—but, as it seems, not integral—library of Aristotle, having purchased it from Neleus. Secondly, after the rediscovery of some important Aristotelian works purloined from the Ptolemaic and Attalid stash of books that had remained hidden from view for centuries, the 'new' Peripatetics of the end of the Hellenistic Age had no qualms about reshaping to suit their own purposes the traditional information concerning the destiny of the whole of Aristotle's library.⁵⁰⁴ The different narratives thus reflect the destinies of two different groups of books, namely, on the one hand those that once belonged to Aristotle and, on the other, some (or all) of Aristotle's own "esoteric" works: the former group was sold by Neleus to Ptolemy II, while the latter collection—or at least a large part of it—remained concealed and inaccessible to those beyond the narrow circle of few specialists⁵⁰⁵ until Sulla brought the books to Rome. This would also explain why there is a lack, in our documentation, of an Alexandrian philological and editorial activity on the writings of none other than the acknowledged ideal inspirer of the foundation

501 Nagy [1998] 202.

502 Plut., *Sull.* 26.1–2.

503 Nagy [1998], 202–203. Andronicus is listed in Mygind [1999] 258 (No. 16).

504 Nagy [1998] 205.

505 As, for instance, Eudemus' Peripatetic school in 3rd century Rhodes: Dorandi [2002a]; Gottschalk [2002] 33 and 36; cf. Matelli [2012b] 21.

of the Ptolemaic institutions.⁵⁰⁶ This received or built composite picture of the adventurous vicissitude experienced by Aristotle's library emblematically concatenates the best capitals of Classical and Hellenistic culture—Athens, Alexandria, Pergamum, and finally Rome—linking them together in a shared path of ideal empathy and common fate.⁵⁰⁷

3.3 *Alexandrian Scholars in an Augustan World*

We have thus reached the eve of the Augustan era, a period during which a number of important personalities linked to Alexandrian philology, distinguished mainly by the collection and compilation of the fruits of previous research, were still alive and active. Their impressive and wide-ranging work demonstrates that the fire risk which threatened the Library in the days of the Alexandrian War (48/47) did not jeopardize the outstanding heritage of research and learning accumulated during three centuries of Ptolemaic kingship: if anything, the danger acted as an incentive to secure it. In accounting for this last offshoot of Hellenistic scholarship, attention will focus here on four personalities who were particularly noted for their achievements in preserving and harnessing the fruits of previous Alexandrian seasons of philological inquiry: Aristonicus, Didymus, Theon, and Tryphon.

Aristonicus lived and taught in Rome in the time of Augustus.⁵⁰⁸ Although the opposite opinion is also maintained, it cannot be ruled out that he was a little older than his contemporary Didymus or that at least he exerted some of his own philology prior to the latter.⁵⁰⁹ Aristonicus' relevance to the Alexandrian school of philology—to which he also devoted an unfortunately lost monograph *On the Museum at Alexandria* (*Περὶ τοῦ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ*

506 Irigoin [1994] 50–53. However, significant exceptions indicate that some of Aristotle's esoteric works were known to the Alexandrians: for instance, as has been seen, erudite Aristotelian writings acted as the source for some of Eratosthenes' inquiries and for Aristophanes of Byzantium's *hypotheses* of the dramatic plays. Furthermore, Aristophanes composed an epitome of Peripatetic sources on zoological problems (*On animals*); nor should one omit to mention the concepts of poetics, rhetoric and Aristotelian literary criticism of which concrete traces remain in the fragments of the Hellenistic exegesis to classical authors (cf. above, n. 74). See Moraux [1973] 12–15 with n. 36.

507 Some symbolic implications are stressed by Nicholls [2011] 131, particularly with reference to the transfer and storing of Greek books from Alexandria and Athens to Roman libraries during the first imperial age.

508 Str. 1.38; *Suda* π 3036 (a biographical entry on Aristonicus' father Ptolemy, he himself a grammarian who lived in Rome). See Jolivet [2010].

509 Firstly Lehrs [1882³] 28; Ludwich [1884–1885] 1.51; Schmidt [1854] 277; West [2001a] 49–50; cf. Pontani [2005b] 62; Razzetti [2010] 60–61.

Μουσεῖω), of an apparently antiquarian nature, later epitomized by Sopater of Apamea⁵¹⁰—and specifically to the Aristarchean line of research is revealed first and foremost through the work *On the sēmeia of the Iiad and Odyssey* (*Περὶ σημείων Ἰλιάδος καὶ Ὀδυσσεύσεως*). This was a detailed interpretation of the critical *sēmeia* inserted by Aristarchus into the text of the poems, of which the compilers of the Homeric scholia (mainly those handed down by the manuscript *Venetus A* of the *Iliad*, but without exclusion of the so-called ‘exegetical scholia’ on the same poem),⁵¹¹ as well as of Byzantine lexica and etymologica, made very extensive use. For this reason, via Aristonicus we are able to reconstruct a great deal of Aristarchean explanations on Homeric *realia*, mythography, poetics, grammatical features, and critical interventions on the text of the poems, particularly with reference to *athēteseis*.⁵¹² An analogous work concerning Aristarchean scholarship on Hesiod’s *Theogony* is attested to.⁵¹³ Aristonicus followed in the steps of Aristarchus by also writing, or so it would seem, commentaries of his own on the Homeric poems⁵¹⁴ and a treatise especially devoted to *Menelaus’ wanderings* (*Περὶ Μενελάου πλάνης*), perhaps a section of his exegesis of the *Odyssey*;⁵¹⁵ he also commented on numerous other poetic works of archaic and classical authors. Scholiastic *corpora* and papyri (where the monogram APN̄ is found in connection with exegetical annotations traceable to Aristonicus)⁵¹⁶ provide a hint of exegetic activity on Pindar’s *Epinicia*⁵¹⁷ and *Paeans*,⁵¹⁸ Alcman’s *Parthenia*⁵¹⁹ and possibly Stesichorus’ *Ilioupersis*.⁵²⁰

510 Phot., *Bibl.* 161, 104b 40 Henry.

511 On this family of scholia: Schmidt [1976], [2002] 170–176 and [2011].

512 Editions of the fragments: Friedlaender [1853] (*Iliad*) and Carnuth [1869] (*Odyssey*), to be used alongside the editions of the Homeric scholia by Erbse [1969–1988], Dindorf [1855] and Pontani [2007–2010] (this latter in progress).

513 *Suda* α 3924: *Περὶ τῶν σημείων τῶν ἐν τῇ Θεογονίᾳ Ἡσιόδου*. Aristonicus is quoted by name in *schol. Hes., Theog.* 178; a reference ἐν τοῖς Σημείοις Ἡσιόδου of (wrongly, as it seems) Aristarchus can be read in *Etymologicum Orionis* 96.28–29 Sturz (s.v. *λακίδες*, on *Hes., Theog.* 694). Cf. Montanari [2009a] 339.

514 *Etymologicum Gudianum* 348.20 Sturz; Ammon., *Diff.* 352 Nickau, containing Callim. fr. 470b Pfeiffer as quoted by Aristonicus in a *hypomnēma* (on Homer?): Pfeiffer [1949–1953] 1.356; Benedetto [1993] 72–76; Massimilla [1996] 160 (his fr. 120) and 451–452; Montanari [2002c] 68–70.

515 Str. 1.38.

516 McNamee [2007] 39.

517 *Schol. Pind., Ol.* 1.35c, 3.31a, 7.154a; *Nem.* 1 *inscr.* b, 1.37. See Razzetti [2000].

518 P.Oxy. 5.841. See Rutherford [2001] 149; McNamee [2007] 315–343.

519 P.Oxy. 24.2387: Alcman. fr. 3 Page = fr. 3 Davies. See McNamee [2007] 165–166.

520 P.Oxy. 37.2803: Stesich. fr. S133–147 Page = fr. S133–147 Davies. See McNamee [2007] 373–375.

Traces of intervention can be read in the Oxyrhynchus papyrus of Sophocles' *Ichneutae*.⁵²¹ Of his treatise *On the dance* (*Περὶ ὀρχήσεως*), a fragment survives concerning contemporary pantomimic adaptations of ancient comic (*kordax*), tragic (*emmeleia*) and satyric (*sikinnis*) dances.⁵²² Discussions on grammatical subjects pertaining to nominal and verbal flection and language use can readily be found in the exegetical fragments; furthermore, the issue of regularity in language, which had already become a well-defined focus of investigation in Aristophanes of Byzantium and Aristarchus, formed the object of an entire work by Aristonicus in six books concerning nominal irregularities (*Ἀσυντάκτων ὀνομάτων βιβλία ἕξ*).⁵²³ It is above all in the field of Homeric exegesis, where there is the greatest number of conserved fragments and which thus allows a comparison with Aristarchus, that evidence can be found to suggest that Aristonicus had a philological personality endowed with some independence, and was capable of putting forward critical observations of his own—more often than he has been credited with by the moderns, in whose estimation he has been overshadowed by the giant figure of Aristarchus.⁵²⁴

Didymus of Alexandria, who lived and worked in the ancient prestigious Ptolemaic capital in the time of Cicero and under Augustus, generated a colossal learned production, which should be considered as the culmination of the long-standing Alexandrian line of textual, exegetical and erudite studies. His indefatigable activity in a multiplicity of fields of philology earned him the nickname of *khalkenteros* (*χαλκέντερος*, “brazen-guts”),⁵²⁵ whereas the label *bibliolāthas* (*βιβλιολάθας*, “book-forgetter”), which he was also known by, refers to the enormous mass of his writings, which took up a number of papyrus rolls varying between 3,500 and 4,000 in the different sources.⁵²⁶ His zeal in collecting, selecting and compiling of the previous works of Alexandrian philology resulted in a wide range of products that were exegetical in essence—commentaries and other writings of criticism and explanation of ancient authors, lexical and grammatical works, *syngrammata* on various topics—in which his overall approach revealed the fundamental imprint of Aristarchean scholar-

521 P.Oxy. 9.1174: Soph. fr. 314 Radt. See McNamee [2007] 366–370.

522 *FGrHist* 633 fr. 1; Bagordo [1998] 64–65 and 87–88 (No. 14).

523 *Suda* α 3924.

524 Razzetti [2010].

525 *Suda* δ 872, ι 399, χ 29.

526 Demetrius of Troezen (*ap. Ath.* 4.139c) and *Suda* δ 872 for the first figure; Sen., *Ep.* 88.37, for the second. See Braswell [2013] 36–39.

ship.⁵²⁷ It is therefore hardly surprising that, although for chronological reasons he could not have known Aristarchus, according to the *Suda* Didymus was called *Aristarkheios*.⁵²⁸

Knowledge of Alexandrian Homeric scholarship is greatly indebted to his *syngramma On the Aristarchean diorthōsis* (*Περὶ τῆς Ἀρισταρχείου διορθώσεως*), in which extracts from the text of the poems established by Aristarchus and the relevant explanations were collected and interpreted.⁵²⁹ Didymus' treatise represented one of the pillars of later Homeric interpretation, and it was incorporated in the scholiastic tradition together with Aristonicus' explanation of the Aristarchean *sēmeia* and other similar writings composed during the Imperial Age by Nicanor and Herodian, as openly attested to by subscriptions in the Medieval manuscript *Venetus A* of the *Iliad*. However, it should not be thought that the revival of Aristarchean scholarship favored by the work of Aristonicus and Didymus met with exclusively positive responses: for their younger contemporary Seleucus, called ὁ Ὀμηρικός, a prolific Alexandrian grammarian who moved to Rome in the time of Tiberius, composed a work in at least three books *Against Aristarchus' sēmeia* (*Κατὰ τῶν Ἀριστάρχου σημείων*).⁵³⁰

These same scholia as well as the lexicographic tradition (Stephanus of Byzantium's *Ethnica* and the *Etymologica*) preserve fragments drawn from Didymus' own commentaries on individual books of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, including word explanation and etymology, and content-related questions regarding, among other aspects, mythology and geography. He also devoted *hypomnēmata* to a great quantity of works of post-Homeric poets, such as Hesiod's *Theogony*⁵³¹ and, in the field of lyric poetry, to Pindar's *Epinicia*⁵³² (in

527 The rather old edition of Didymus' fragments by Schmidt [1854], although in need of thorough revision and up-dating, has not yet been supplanted as a whole. A reassessment and a critical catalogue collecting 69 titles of attributed works are provided by Braswell [2013] 40–103.

528 *Suda* δ 872.

529 Apart from Schmidt [1854], these fragments have been collected by Ludwich [1884–1885] 1.175–631.

530 Mentioned in the so-called “Ammonius' commentary” on the *Iliad* P.Oxy. 2.221 (2nd century AD), col. 15, ll. 16–17, on *Il.* 21.290: Σέλευκος ἐν τῷ γ' Κατὰ τῶν Ἀριστάρχου σημείων. On Seleucus, whose works include a *Περὶ Ἑλληνισμοῦ* and a *Περὶ γλωσσῶν*, see Mueller [1891]; Reitzenstein [1897] 157–166; *FGrHist* 341; Matthaios, this volume. The fragments have been edited by Duke [1969]; cf. West [2001a] 47–48.

531 Cf. *schol.* Hes., *Theog.* 126.

532 *Schol.* Pind., *Ol.* 5 *inscr. a*; Lactant., *Div. inst.* 1.22.19.

the scholia to which he is quoted roughly eighty times), *Paeans*,⁵³³ and probably *Hymns*, and Bacchylides' *Epinicia*.⁵³⁴ As far as drama is concerned, his work on Sophocles is well attested,⁵³⁵ traces of which also remain in the Medieval scholia; his name appears in the scholia to Euripides' tragedies and a subscription to the *Medea* in a manuscript points to a commentary by Didymus on this author;⁵³⁶ he also concerned himself with Ion and perhaps Achaëus. The composition of commentaries on Aristophanes' comedies is extensively testified to by Medieval scholia, which preserve more than sixty open mentions of Didymus; it is likewise possible that Didymean *hypomnēmata* were the source from which derived, through reworkings and interventions of a compendary nature, two 2nd century fragmentary papyrus commentaries on unidentified Aristophanean comedies.⁵³⁷ Furthermore he composed *hypomnēmata* on Cratinus,⁵³⁸ Menander,⁵³⁹ and possibly Eupolis.⁵⁴⁰

Among the prose writers, Didymus probably dedicated attention to Thucydides, if one is to give credence to the citations of this scholar in Marcellinus' *Life of Thucydides* (4th? century AD).⁵⁴¹ It would not be altogether surprising if one were to find that Didymus, following in the footsteps of Aristarchus, took an interest in Herodotus, as is conceivably suggested by an admittedly faint trace of evidence detectable in an anonymous commentary attested to by a papyrus scroll.⁵⁴² There can be no doubt, on the other hand, that he concerned himself with the Attic orators, above all Demosthenes, Aeschines, Hyperides, Isaeus. Our main indirect source in this respect is the rhetoric lexicon of Harpocration (2nd century AD), but we are lucky enough to have an exten-

533 Ammon., *Diff.* 231 Nickau. New edition of the fragments of Didymean exegesis to Pindar: Braswell [2013]; cf. Braswell [2011].

534 Ammon., *Diff.* 333 Nickau; cf. Eust., *Od.* 1954-5.

535 Ath. 2.70c.

536 Ms. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, gr. 2713.

537 P.Oxy. 35.2737 (commentary on *Anagyros*?) and P.Flor. 2.112, reedited by Montana [2012a]. On Didymus in P.Flor. 2.112 see Montana [2009d] 44–54.

538 *Schol. Ar., Vesp.* 151.

539 *Etymologicum Gudianum* 338.25 Sturz.

540 Schmidt [1854] 308–310; Storey [2003] 35.

541 Mazzarino [1966] 2/2 466 (hesitatingly scrutinized by Piccirilli [1985] 67–68 and 89–90) argued that the Didymus quoted in §§ 3, 16 and 32 of Marcellinus' *Life* could well be Didymus Claudius, the Greek grammarian presumably active in Rome in the 1st century AD and author of a writing *On the mistakes of Thucydides relating to analogy*, rather than the Chalcenterus. This assumption has been rejected by Arrighetti [1968] 97 n. 94 and [1987] 226–227 n. 202; cf. Porciani [2001] 45 n. 106.

542 P.Oxy. 65.4455 (3rd century AD). See Montana [2009a] 253–254; Braswell [2013] 40 n. 48.

sive papyrus fragment (P.Berol. 9780 of the 2nd century AD) of a work bearing in the colophon the title *Didymus' On Demosthenes* (Διδύμου περὶ Δημοσθένους), which lists a series of lemmata drawn from the *Philippicae* (Speeches 9–11 and 13) accompanied by explanatory notes.⁵⁴³ The peculiar arrangement of the material and its manner of selectively discussing the literary text, with marked emphasis on historical sources and antiquarian erudition (*Sachphilologie*), has raised questions concerning the integrity and the nature of the text that has come down to us: it is unclear, firstly, whether it is the original or an epitome and, secondly, whether we are dealing with a *hypomnēma* or a *syngramma*.⁵⁴⁴ However, these doubts can be dispelled if gaps and presumed omissions in the exegesis are explained with the assumption that Didymus used an Alexandrian edition of Demosthenes' speeches where—in contrast to the collection that has come down to us through the Medieval manuscripts—the *Philippicae* occupied a very advanced position. If this is the case, then it would hardly be surprising that, as he proceeded with the commentary, he avoided reiterating explanations, some of which lengthy and complex, already provided in earlier parts of his own *hypomnēma*.⁵⁴⁵ That is to say, we would be dealing with a Didymean *hypomnēma* in its original *facies*. The unusual circumstance of being able to examine a textual exhibit belonging to the direct tradition explains why it has been used extensively in (even highly divergent) assessments of the quality of Didymus' philology.⁵⁴⁶

Throughout the prolonged period of Alexandrian scholarship, literary exegesis was accompanied by the study of vocabulary, or lexicography. Didymus was no exception in this regard, as he was the author of a comic and a tragic lexicon (λέξις κωμική and λέξις τραγική), both quoted by the lexicographer Hesychius (5th/6th century AD) in the epistle to Eulogius prefatory to his own *Lexicon*. We may gain an idea of the extensive circulation and literary fortune

543 Edited by Pearson-Stephens [1983]; cf. Gibson [2002]; Harding [2006], with commentary. Cf. Braswell [2013] 80 (No. 38).

544 The view that it is (a collection of *excerpta* from) a *hypomnēma* has been expressed by the *editores principes* Diels-Schubart [1904] and, more recently, by West [1970]; Arrighetti [1987] 203–204; Gibson [2002] 13–25 and 51–69. In contrast, the opinion that it is a *syngramma* was put forward by Leo [1904], and it is also supported by Harding [2006] 13–20.

545 Thus Luzzatto [2011], who takes to its extreme consequences a neglected suggestion put forward by Blass [1906] 284–292 (No. 231) and who regards this *hypomnēma* as a tool designed for erudite consultation.

546 The papyrus text, in the opinion of West [1970], is very likely to be the original Didymean *hypomnēma* and thus testifies to the sloppiness of its author. By the same premise, corrected as said above, the work, on the contrary, illustrates the qualified scholarship of Didymus in the view of Luzzatto [2011]; cf. Montana [2009c] 163–166.

of these Didymean tools during Graeco-Roman antiquity from the fact that Galen (2nd century AD) made use of the fifty books of Didymus' comic *lexis* and drew up an epitome of it "in six thousand lines", maintaining that

a work of this kind will be helpful to rhetoricians and grammarians and to anyone who for other reasons wishes to utilize words belonging to Attic dialect that are important for practical utility

as happens in the field of pharmacological terminology.⁵⁴⁷ According to other sources, Didymus also composed special collections entitled *Doubtful language* (*Ἀπορομένη λέξις*), *Figurative language* (*Τροπική λέξις*), *Corrupted language* (*Διεφθορούια* or *Παρεφθορούια λέξις*), *On the different meaning of words* (*Περὶ διαφορᾶς λέξεων*).⁵⁴⁸ He may also have addressed Hippocratic vocabulary.⁵⁴⁹

In the field of grammar some studies are linked to the name of Didymus, such as *Grammatical changes* (*Περὶ παθῶν*), concerning "word pathology", *i.e.* the observation of verbal changes and phenomena which explain deviation from the analogy⁵⁵⁰ (a branch whose beginning is traceable at least to Philoxenus⁵⁵¹ and which could have encouraged the collection and study of dialectal peculiarities).⁵⁵² Additional works, sometimes conjecturally assigned to Didymus of Alexandria rather than to his namesakes, include *On orthography* (*Περὶ ὀρθογραφίας*) and *On the analogy by the Romans* (*Περὶ τῆς παρὰ Ῥωμαίους ἀναλογίας*).⁵⁵³

547 Gal., *De indolentia* 23–27 Boudon-Millot – Jouanna.

548 Attested to respectively by Harp. δ 23 Keaney; an Atticistic glosse of the 6th lexicon of Bekker (334.1); Ath. 9.368b; and *scholl. Ar., Av.* 768 and *Plut.* 388b (see Braswell [2013] 41–42).

549 Schmidt [1854] 24–27.

550 The fragments preserved in the Homeric scholia are drawn from a commentary on Didymus' work by the 2nd century grammarian Herodian: Schmidt [1854] 343–345.

551 Reitzenstein [1897] 187; Blank [1982] 41–50.

552 Cassio [1993b] 85–86.

553 Of these works, the *Suda* assigns the first to a younger Didymus active in Rome (δ 873: on modern discussion see Braswell [2013] 88–89, No. 48) and the second to Didymus Claudius, presumably living in the 1st century AD Rome (δ 874: an authorship safeguarded by Cohn [1903c]; Mazarino [1950] 81; Christes [1979] 66 n. 466; Dubuisson [1984] 61 and [1987] 20 n. 27; Rochette [1997] 61 n. 55; and basically by Braswell [2013] 90–92, No. 50). Both works are included among the genuine production of the Alexandrian scholar by Schmidt [1854] 335–349. Overall, on ancient Greek orthographic treatises: Schneider [1999].

A final group of writings by Didymus consists of monographs of various content, ranging from a study *On the lyric poets* (*Περὶ λυρικών ποιητῶν*), which probably contemplated a classification of lyric poetry by genres with relevant definitions,⁵⁵⁴ to a miscellaneous work (*Σύμμικτα* or *Συμποσιακά*) treating erudite topics in the fictitious frame of a symposial talk; also belonging to this group are specialized collections of paradoxographic materials (*Ξένη ἱστορία*) and proverbs (*Περὶ παροιμιῶν*), the latter being an expansion of the work of the same type composed by Aristophanes of Byzantium that was destined to become the primary source of the whole of the later Greek paroemiographic tradition. We owe to Plutarch⁵⁵⁵ a descriptive account of an antiquarian *Pamphlet against Asclepiades on Solon's axones* (*Περὶ τῶν ἀξόνων τῶν τοῦ Σόλωνος ἀντιγραφῆ πρὸς Ἀσκληπιάδην*), which dealt with a question—the axones or slabs on which the text of Solon's laws was fixed and put on public display—that lay at the origin of a rich ancient discussion starting, it seems, from Aristotle (*Περὶ τῶν Σόλωνος ἀξόνων ε'*) and continuing during the course of the Hellenistic Age: the issue was addressed, among others, by Eratosthenes, Polemo of Ilium, Aristophanes of Byzantium, Apollodorus, Asclepiades the author of *Τῶν ἀξόνων ἐξηγητικά* against whom Didymus polemicized (perhaps to be identified with the scholar of Myrlea), and then ultimately, in the next generation, by Seleucus Homericus (mentioned above for his work against Aristarchus' *sēmeia*).⁵⁵⁶ Finally, a polemical work on Cicero's *De re publica*, attributed to Didymus by Ammianus Marcellinus and which sparked a defense of Cicero by Suetonius, seems quite inconsistent with the methods and objectives of Alexandrian learning and probably should, instead, be assigned to Didymus Claudius.⁵⁵⁷

Didymus' cultural contribution is impossible to quantify with precision due to the fact that much of the erudite material in later lexis and scholia, almost certainly drawn or derived to a large extent from his studies, has come down to us in anonymous form. However, it can be stated that his overwhelming contribution resides in having guaranteed the survival, albeit selectively filtered and re-worked, of the body of critical work of the previous generations of Alexandrian philologists and in having perpetuated their forms, objectives and method. He thereby represents a fundamental *trait d'union* in the transition between Greek philology of the Hellenistic era and Graeco-Roman erudition of the Imperial Age, which then found its way into Medieval lexis, etymologica and scholiastic *corpora*. Seen in this light, the view that the overall feature

554 Grandolini [1999].

555 Plut., *Sol.* 1.1.

556 For a survey see Montana [1996] 207–211.

557 Amm. Marc. 22.16.16; *Suda* τ 895.

characterising Didymus' work is its lack of originality, or rather its philological negligence—according to a by no means isolated unfavorable judgment—ultimately implies a misunderstanding of the meaning of this chapter in the history of ancient culture.⁵⁵⁸

The figure of Theon, son of Artemidorus of Tarsus, stands out in the panorama of ancient philology for having taken a particular interest in the works of the Hellenistic poets, and perhaps indeed for being the first philologist to do so in a systematic manner. Certainly, not unlike his predecessors he by no means shrank from undertaking institutional tasks of text criticism and writing out comments. The Oxyrhynchus papyrus of Sophocles' *Ichneutae* testifies to a number of variant readings marked by the statement οὕτως ἦν ἐν τῷ Θέωνος, "thus it was in Theon's (copy/edition)";⁵⁵⁹ and he definitely worked on Homer (the *Odyssey*)⁵⁶⁰ and on some poets of the Archaic and Classical Age (Alcman,⁵⁶¹ Stesichorus,⁵⁶² Pindar,⁵⁶³ and, it would seem, Epicharm⁵⁶⁴ and hypothetically Aristophanes, given his familiarity with the comedies of the latter).⁵⁶⁵ Equally in line with the traditional approach of Alexandrian philology was his collection of *Lexeis*,⁵⁶⁶ including, it would seem, a special section concerning comic vocabulary.⁵⁶⁷ Yet there can be little doubt that Theon reserved special attention

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- 558 West [1970]; Harris [1989]. Well-balanced assessment of Didymus' philology can be read in Montanari [1997f]; Braswell [2011] 196–197; cf. Braswell [2013] 11. Surveys on divergent appraisals: Gibson [2002] 51–69; Harding [2006] 31–39; cf. Montana [2009c] 163–166.
- 559 P.Oxy. 9.1174: Soph. fr. 314 Radt = Theon fr. 19–35 Guhl. See McNamee [2007] 366–370.
- 560 *Etymologicum Magnum* 696.7–12: Theon fr. 14 Guhl; *Etymologicum Gudianum* 376.19–20 De Stefani: Theon fr. 15 Guhl. See Guhl [1969] 11–13; Pontani [2005b] 63.
- 561 P.Oxy. 24.2390, a *hypomnēma* on Alcman where a Tyrannion (the grammarian of Amysus? fr. 6i Haas) is also quoted: cf. Alcman fr. 5 Page = fr. 5 Davies.
- 562 P.Oxy. 37.2803: Stesich. fr. S133–147 Page = fr. S133–147 Davies. Cf. McNamee [2007] 373–375.
- 563 Exegetical work at least on *Paeans*, *Olympians* and *Pythians* is attested to by references respectively in P.Oxy. 5.841 (McNamee [2007] 315–343), *schol.* Pind., *Ol.* 5.42a, and P.Oxy. 31.2536 (fragments of a *hypomnēma* with subscription: Theon fr. 38 Guhl). Some aspects of congruence between papyrus annotations and corresponding medieval scholia to Pindar could indicate that Theon's commentary should be dated earlier than that of Didymus, from which the scholia are generally believed to have derived: McNamee [1977] 64–65; Benelli [2013] 619. The reverse opinion is maintained by Deas [1931] 34.
- 564 Marginal notes in P.Oxy. 25.2427, containing fragments of Epicharm's *Pyrrha and Promatheus* (Πύρρα καὶ Προμαθεύς), fr. 113 Kassel-Austin; cf. McNamee [2007] 245–247.
- 565 Bongelli [2000] 281.
- 566 Attested to in the epistle to Eulogius prefatory to Hesychius' *Lexicon*.
- 567 Phryn., *Att.* 355, on *σάπραν*; Hsch. σ 1031, s.v. *σάπραλοι*. Theon is, in addition to his father Artemidorus and Didymus, among the candidates for authorship of some items included in the 2nd/3rd century AD papyrus lexicon P.Oxy. 15.1801, containing mainly comic

for the poets of the early Hellenistic era, which perhaps even became his predominant focus of interest. This interest was not an innovation, if it is true that Aristophanes of Byzantium perceived issues of philological relevance in the plays of Menander and as early as the 2nd century some scholars occasionally drew on their familiarity with the texts of Hellenistic poetry, at least as a reservoir of useful parallels, in commenting on more ancient authors and, finally, Asclepiades of Myrlea devoted some of his work to Theocritus and hypothetically to Aratus and Apollonius of Rhodes. However, Theon's assiduous exegetical production is not only better attested, but it also seems to be distinguished by its broader scope and by the greater—indeed epoch-making—influence it exerted on the later textual and interpretive tradition. There is some positive evidence concerning Theon's work on Theocritus, including plausibly an edition, subsequent to the bucolic *corpus* drawn up by his father Artemidorus,⁵⁶⁸ and definitely a commentary;⁵⁶⁹ it is plausible to assume that significant remains of the latter are preserved in several marginal annotations in Theocritean papyri of Imperial Age and Late Antiquity.⁵⁷⁰ A few fragments survive of Theon's commentary to Callimachus' *Aitia*⁵⁷¹ and there is reason to believe that he also composed a comment on *Hecale*⁵⁷² and *Hymns*.⁵⁷³ The well known subscription at the end of the *Argonautics* of Apollonius of Rhodes in the manuscript Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 32.9 (10th century) attests that the scholia copied there are “drawn from (the

lemmata: Naoumides [1969] (No. 4); Esposito [2009] 291; re-edition of Aristophanean entries: Esposito [2012].

568 *AP*. 9.205 (Theoc., *Epigr.* 26).

569 Orion by *Etymologicum Gudianum* 323.18–21 De Stefani: Theon fr. 1 Guhl.

570 In particular P.Oxy. 2064 (published by Hunt-Johnson [1930]) + 50.3548 (MacNamee [2007] 427–442; see also Meliàdò [2004b]) and P.Antinoe s.n., the so-called ‘Antinoe Theocritus’ (MacNamee [2007] 109–112, and 376–427 for the text; cf. Montana [2011b]; Meliàdò [forthcoming]). See Belcher [2005] 194 and 200 (texts); Pagani [2007c] 288–290 and 298–299 (texts).

571 *Etymologicum Genuinum* AB α 1198 Lasserre-Livadaras: cf. Callim. fr. 383 Pfeiffer = fr. 143 Massimilla, and *Hecale* fr. 45 Hollis = Theon fr. 2 Guhl; *Etymologicum Genuinum* AB β 207 Lasserre-Livadaras: cf. Callim. fr. 42 Pfeiffer = fr. 49 Massimilla = Theon fr. 5 Guhl; *Etymologicum Genuinum* AB α 1316 Lasserre-Livadaras: cf. Callim. fr. 261 Pfeiffer = Theon fr. 6 Guhl.

572 Callim. fr. 261 Pfeiffer, quoted by Theon in his commentary on the second book of the *Aitia* (see previous n.), actually belongs not to the *Aitia*, but to the *Hecale* (fr. 71 Hollis); and Callim. fr. 383 Pfeiffer = fr. 143 Massimilla (also quoted in the previous n.) is cited in a couple with *Hecale* fr. 45 Hollis, possibly by the same Theon. This would denote Theon's familiarity with the Callimachean *epyllion*: Bongelli [2000] 284.

573 Bongelli [2000] 284–290.

commentaries by) Lucillus Tarrhaeus, Sophoclius, and Theon.⁵⁷⁴ And finally, in the lexicon of Stephanus of Byzantium (6th century) and in the scholia to Nicander's *Theriaca*, commentaries by Theon on the latter⁵⁷⁵ and on Lycophron's *Alexandra* are explicitly mentioned.⁵⁷⁶

The importance of Theon's scholarship is comparable to that of Didymus, inasmuch as the body of research built up by both figures at the final turning point of the Hellenistic era proved invaluable for compilatory production of new erudite tools during the Imperial Age and Late Antiquity, whose extreme ramifications are ultimately available to us through the Byzantine lexicographic and scholiographic tradition.

The scholar to whom the last page of this overview is dedicated, Tryphon of Alexandria, stands as another key figure in the transition between the Hellenistic and Imperial Age, this time in the field of the *tekhnē grammatikē* that was to undergo considerable development precisely in the immediately following era. The son of a certain Ammonius, Tryphon was active in Alexandria during the Principate of Augustus,⁵⁷⁷ and there he may possibly have been in contact with Didymus.⁵⁷⁸ He may also have been active abroad: one of his pupils, the grammarian Habron, appears to have received his training in Rhodes before moving to Rome,⁵⁷⁹ and some subjects with which Tryphon was concerned were an object of discussion beyond the Alexandrian environment (for example by the grammarian Philoxenus, active in Rome).

An unresolved question involves the actual relation of Tryphon with some grammatical treatises preserved by the manuscript tradition and associated with his name, although it is likely that they were the fruit of stratifications the final outcome of which has little to do with his original production. Apart

574 Fol. 263v: παράκειται τὰ σχόλια ἐκ τῶν Λουκίλλου Ταρραίου καὶ Σοφοκλείου καὶ Θέωνος: Theon fr. 11 Guhl.

575 St. Byz. 375.8–376.4 Meineke and *schol. Nic., Ther.* 237a: Theon fr. 3 and 4 Guhl. Nicander's poem was also the object of a commentary by the grammarian Demetrius Chlorus, possibly in the 1st century: Di Benedetto [1966] 322–323; Montanari [1997d]; Blank [1998] 144 with n. 112; Ascheri [2005] 436.

576 St. Byz. α 132 and α 404 Billerbeck, and 399.7–9 Meineke: Theon fr. 10, 8 and 9 Guhl. A great number of exegetical *fragmenta dubia* (fr. 41–182 in the inclusive edition by Guhl [1969]) can be attributed to Theon only on speculative grounds.

577 *Suda* τ 115.

578 Tryphon's teacher, according to an unverified assumption put forward by Schmidt [1854] 6 and Lehrs [1882³] 326 n.

579 Habron's fragments are edited by Berndt [1915]. On Habron see Pagani [2010a]; Matthaïos, this volume.

from a number of quite problematic works,⁵⁸⁰ some weight must be given to the fragmentary *Grammar* (*Τέχνη γραμματική*) on papyrus bearing the name of Tryphon in the subscription, perhaps a late-antique reworking of the original, if not the work of a later namesake;⁵⁸¹ consideration should also be given to the work *On tropes* (*Περὶ τρόπων*), i.e. rhetorical figures used in poetry, which enjoyed wide circulation and underwent several adaptations in the Byzantine era.⁵⁸² A late redaction of this work, wrongly attributed in modern times to the 12th century Byzantine erudite Gregory of Corinth, is also preserved in the Medieval tradition.⁵⁸³

Among the works that have not come down to us, of which only the title is known, mainly thanks to the *Suda*, or of which we have only indirect knowledge and a few fragments, some dealt with particular applications of the analogist theory (e.g. *On analogy in monosyllabic words*; *On analogy in the flexions*), while others more specifically addressed matters of orthography (*Orthography and its problems*, which later served as a model for the grammarian Herodian) and prosody (*Attic prosody*; *The ancient reading*, which became the model for Herodian's *The prosody of the Iliad* subsequently used in the compilatory production of the Homeric scholia).⁵⁸⁴ These works availed themselves of a wealth of literary examples from authors above all of the Classical Age, and also made use of comparison among the dialects employed in the different genres.

Dialectology was a sphere explored by Tryphon in a number of special works, apparently aiming at bringing order into this long-standing but rather multifarious branch of lexicography.⁵⁸⁵ A first group of writings was devoted to spoken dialects, including the general Greek language or *koinē* (*Περὶ τῆς Ἑλλήνων διαλέκτου*, apparently taken as an *Urgriechisch*, from which the other

580 *On breathings* (*Περὶ πνευμάτων*): Valckenaer [1822²] 188–215; *On linguistic changes* (*Περὶ παθῶν τῆς λέξεως*): Schneider [1895]; *On metres* (*Περὶ μέτρων*): see Wendel [1939d] 731; *On the particle "hos"* (*Περὶ τοῦ ὅς*): Hermann [1801] 463–466. On all of these works see Gräfenhan [1852]; Wendel [1939d].

581 P.Lond. 126 (3rd century AD), first edited by Kenyon [1891] 109–116 and then by Wouters [1979] 61–92.

582 Walz [1832–1836] 8.726–760; Spengel [1856] 189–206.

583 After Walz [1832–1836] 8.761–778 and Spengel [1856] 215–226, re-edited by West [1965].

584 Standard edition: von Velsen [1853], to be integrated with Pasquali [1910]. On orthography: Schneider [1999].

585 Apart from authors and titles quoted above, in this context it is worth recalling at least the 2nd century AD fragmentary papyrus roll containing an anonymous lexicon, compiled in the late Hellenistic or early Roman period, of non-Greek ("Persian", "Babylonian", and "Chaldaean") words drawn from a variety of Greek authors, firstly published as P.Oxy. 15.1802+71.4812 and re-edited with commentary by Schironi [2009a].

dialects were believed to be derived),⁵⁸⁶ then the main ethnic dialects (certainly Doric and, possibly, Asian Aeolic), and finally local languages subsumable under the latter (Laconian, Argolic, Himerian, Rheginum, Syracusan, and so forth). A second treatise, or series of treatises collectively recorded under the title *The dialects in Homer, Simonides, Pindar, Alcman and the other lyric poets*, plausibly focused on a blend of local language varieties (this appearing to be the meaning of the plural *dialects*) in works of archaic epic and choral poetry.⁵⁸⁷ In all likelihood these writings also touched on questions of style.

Tryphon devoted other special treatises, later used and frequently cited by the 2nd century AD grammarian Apollonius Dyscolus, to formal description of the individual parts of speech and to a number of relevant flecional aspects: noun, verb, participle (considered as an independent part, intermediate between noun and verb), article (a definition including relative and indefinite pronouns), preposition (in its own right and also as a nominal and verbal preverb), adverb (including some interjections and particles), conjunction. The *Περὶ σχημάτων* explored noun formation and the *Περὶ ὀνομάτων συγκριτικῶν* dealt with comparatives. Tryphon's lexicographic research found expression in a collection of explained names (*Περὶ ὀνομασιῶν*), some fragments of which, referring to musical instruments, are preserved by Athenaeus; other titles of which we have knowledge, (*Names*) of plants (*Φυτικά*) and *On animals* (*Περὶ ζώων*), could refer to different sections of the latter.⁵⁸⁸

What can be reconstructed of Tryphon's doctrine from this great mass of indirect and fragmentary information is that by developing his approach in the framework of a firm belief in analogy, he on the one hand played a role in redefining the overall body of knowledge concerning the fields of prosody and orthography,⁵⁸⁹ while on the other he was the first to conduct an organic and systematic study of dialectology and the parts of speech, thus earning repute among the beginners of ancient normative grammar and making a contribution which would prove to be useful, in the early Imperial Age, for the advance of syntaxis as an autonomous branch.⁵⁹⁰ His influence on these fields

586 Schwyzer-Debrunner [1939–1971] 1.118 n. 1; cf. Cassio [1993b] 86–88.

587 All of these titles are attested to by *Suda* τ 1115, apart from *On the dialect of the Laconians* (*Περὶ τῆς Λακωνῶν διαλέκτου*: P.Oxy. 24.2396, a *sillybos*, i.e. a papyrus title-tag, edited by E. Lobel) and *On the Aeolic dialect* (*Περὶ Αἰολίδος*: fragments edited as P.Bouriant 8, hypothetically attributed to Tryphon by Wouters [1979] 274–297). Cf. Cassio [1993b] 78–79 (Tryphon's dialectology), 77–78 and 79–81 (literary languages taken by ancient grammarians as moulded on local spoken dialects).

588 A new edition of Tryphon's works is being prepared by Stephanos Matthaios.

589 Di Benedetto [1958–1959] 199.

590 Matthaios [2003] and [2004]; Swiggers-Wouters [2003b]; Lambert [2011].

in the subsequent generations is emblematically illustrated by the fact that Apollonius Dyscolus, one of the main Greek grammarians during the Imperial Age and one of our most important sources of Tryphon's work, is said to have been a 'disciple' of the latter—obviously in a figurative sense, given the chronological gap.⁵⁹¹

In short, Aristonicus, Didymus and Theon provided the final achievements which crowned the exegetic strand of Alexandrian scholarship that had been built up and brought to maturity by Aristarchus in an earlier era. Didymus in particular, in addition to his work in the field of textual exegesis (on verse as well as prose writers), never failed to seize every opportunity to familiarize himself with any learned sector defined and explored during three centuries of philology at Alexandria, from lexicography to dialectology, grammar, paroemiography, *Sachphilologie* and antiquarianism. It was by virtue especially of Theon's work that even the Hellenistic poets were also finally granted full and definitive citizenship among the *πραττόμενοι* authors. Furthermore, all of these scholars, including and above all Tryphon, breathed new life and vitality into linguistic and dialectological research, highlighting the systematic dimension of technical grammar. At the watershed represented by the rise of Rome's political domination over Greek culture, these figures of erudites assembled an exceptional recapitulative storehouse of knowledge and placed it at the disposal of rising retrospective intellectual trends such as Classicism and Atticism. Thus, the extreme points of both the last section and the whole of this overview on Hellenistic scholarship ineluctably lead back to the time-honored category embodied by the complementary combination of old and new, or *continuity and change*—so often acting in the historical flow of cultural phenomena, and equally valid at present as the most natural foreword, and an announcement, for the reader of the next chapter of this book.⁵⁹²

591 *Anecd. Gr. Ox.* 3.269.28 Cramer; *schol.* Dion. Thrax, in *GG* 1/3.356.22. See Matthaios, this volume.

592 The present outline has benefited from the contents of the digital project *Lessico dei Grammatici Greci Antichi*, directed by Franco Montanari and co-directed by Lara Pagani and myself (<http://www.aristarchus.unige.it/lgga/>). I wish to express my thanks to all of the colleagues and friends who are contributing to the implementation of this resource in progress.

Greek Scholarship in the Imperial Era and Late Antiquity*

Stephanos Matthaios

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* Gerald MacDonald produced a basic translation of my German manuscript commissioned by Brill. The translation has been thoroughly reworked by me and refined by Rachel Barritt. I am also grateful to my friends and colleagues in Thessaloniki and Leiden, Despoina Papadopoulou, Anthi Revithiadou and Christoph Pieper, for their corrections.

1 State of Research, Presuppositions and Focal Points of a Historical Survey

When faced with the task of writing the history of Greek philology and grammar¹ in the Imperial era and Late Antiquity, a period stretching over almost six centuries,² a number of difficulties must be addressed even in a summary outline such as this. The greatest problem, which also arises throughout the entire field of ancient philology and grammar, is the preserved source material and the state of its transmission. With very few exceptions, the original writings of the ancient philologists and grammarians have been lost. In their stead, we have to be content with occasional or, in the best cases, a small number of fragments and testimonies from later secondary sources. Therefore, our picture of the contents and developments of ancient scholarship is incomplete and based upon the accidental transmission of evidence. Moreover, many of the philologists and grammarians in this period remain shadowy figures, whose place of activity or the contents and purpose of their writings are largely unknown.

In addition to the insufficient and scant transmission of the source material, the state of current research on the historical and theoretical aspects cannot be described as satisfactory. Study of the philology and grammar of the Imperial era and Late Antiquity has profited relatively little from the expansion and intensity of investigations which, over recent decades, have focused on the Hellenistic—above all the Alexandrian—period, largely motivated by the interest of scholarship in the ‘learned’ character and the philological background of Hellenistic poetry.³ With regard to the Imperial era and Late

1 When here and below I speak of “philology and grammar”, I am in no way referring to two different sciences, but to the two essential areas of one and the same discipline called *γραμματική τέχνη*; on the notion *γραμματική*, see below in § 2.3 and Swiggers-Wouters (section 11.2) in this volume. To avoid misunderstandings and to distinguish the expression from the present-day meaning of the term grammar, the ancient form will be rendered in this article as “philology and grammar”. But occasionally, the equivalent expression ‘grammar’, enclosed in single quotation marks, is also used. The same applies to the representatives of the ancient discipline, the *γραμματικοί*, who are referred to herein mainly as “philologists and grammarians”, but if at times I often speak simply of grammarians, this characterization is to be understood as encompassing both areas, namely philological interpretation and linguistic analysis.

2 The period to which the present paper refers is specified and explained below in § 2.1.

3 On the philological background of Hellenistic poetry, which finds its expression clearly in the double identity of its representatives, the so-called ‘poets and philologists’ (*ποιητῆς ἄμα*

Antiquity, on the other hand, the existing collections of fragments and text editions, insofar as complete works have been transmitted, involve a very limited number of philologists and grammarians from this period, with most of the studies dating back to the 19th and early 20th century. At that time, such works were seen as accompaniments to research that was essentially stimulated by other achievements in the field, especially by the monumental edition *Grammatici Graeci* [1867–1901] and the (first) editions of ancient commentaries and scholia to the classical authors.⁴

Interest in the history of Imperial and Late Antique philology and grammar in its own right began to increase as from the mid 20th century, basically due to the work of H. Erbse on the edition of the *scholia* on the *Iliad* and W. W. Koster's project of a new edition of the Aristophanes *scholia*.⁵ These projects breathed new life into the whole field of ancient scholarship and thrust it into the foreground of vivid and intensive research activity. Yet with the exception of a small number of dissertations and studies on specific Imperial grammarians, mainly inspired by H. Erbse,⁶ the period in question has benefited only sporadically. This outcome can be inferred from the program that formed the basis for the series *Sammlung griechischer und lateinischer Grammatiker* (*SGLG*): founded expressly for the publication of editions of ancient philological and grammatical writings, a large proportion of the editions published in this series so far have consisted of lexicographic works from the Imperial

καὶ κριτικός'), see Matthaios [2008] 549–569 and [2011a] 81–85. On this question, see also the contribution of Montana in this volume, especially §§ 1.1, 2.4.

- 4 On the editions and studies in the field of scholia up to the beginning of the 20th century, see the survey by Gudeman [1921]. The lexicographic works that were published in this period, such as the edition of Suidas' *Lexicon* by Adler [1928–1938] and of Pollux' *Onomasticon* by Bethe [1900–1937], are of central importance. These editions basically resulted from Reitzenstein's investigations into Late Antique lexicography, especially Byzantine *Etymologica* [1897].
- 5 See Erbse [1969–1988] and also his special study on the transmission of the *Iliad* scholia [1960]. In 2007, the final volume published by D. Holwerda completed the project of a new edition of the Aristophanes *scholia* initiated by W. W. Koster in the year 1969.
- 6 I mention here as an example Guhl's collection and commentary on Theon's fragments [1969]—on Theon, see below in § 3.3, and Montana in this volume—, Nickau's studies on the so-called Ammonius lexicon [1960] and the edition of this lexicon that followed [1966]—on this lexicon, see below in § 6.2—as well as the study of Alpers [1964] on Theognostus' orthographical work. Under H. Erbse's supervision, Fischer [1974] edited Phrynichus' *Ecloga* and Neitzel [1977] collected the fragments of Apion's work *Γλῶσσαι Ὀμηρικαί* ("Homeric glosses"). H. Erbse also stimulated Blank's edition [1988] of Lesbos' treatise *Περὶ σχημάτων* ("On figures") and Dyck's edition of the Homeric epimerisms [1983–1995].

period and Late Antiquity,⁷ whereas other philologists and grammarians from the same time span are poorly represented. This is in sharp contrast to the editions and collections of fragments concerning the Alexandrian predecessors.⁸

Unlike the philologists, the language theoreticians—the grammarians in the modern sense—from the Imperial era and Late Antiquity have received intense scholarly scrutiny since the mid 20th century. This phenomenon has mostly been prompted by studies in the area of the philosophy of language and the historiography of modern linguistics. A similar interest, however, can effectively also be seen within classical philology, especially in the context of the very intensive debate that began around the mid 20th century on the authorship and authenticity of the grammatical manual *Τέχνη γραμματική* attributed to Dionysius Thrax.⁹ Discussion of the development of ancient linguistic theory has, as expected, also involved the Imperial and Late Antique periods of ancient grammar, whose main representatives, Apollonius Dyscolus and Herodian, are the two figures that have profited most significantly from this renewed interest. Apollonius Dyscolus has even been honored with new editions and modern commentaries as well as with a number of special investigations into his doctrine.¹⁰ At the same time, our knowledge on the development of ancient linguistic theory has grown considerably, thanks to the evidence from a series of grammatical papyri, dating mostly from the Imperial era and Late Antiquity. Thus one of the achievements of recent research has involved examination of papyrus sources in order to investigate their theoretical relationship with authored works; accordingly, the contents of these grammatical papyri can now be placed in the context of the development of grammatical doctrine.¹¹

7 In general, the field of Atticist lexicography has met with special interest in recent research through the studies on rhetoric during the Imperial era and the Second Sophistic; cf. below in § 6.4.

8 See for instance the edition of pseudo-Herodian's "On figures" by Hajdú [1998]. Apart from this work published in the series *SGLG*, a new edition of the fragments of the grammarian Epaphroditus was published by Braswell-Billerbeck [2008].

9 For an overview of the discussion concerning the authenticity of the *Techne* ascribed to Dionysius Thrax, see Pagani [2011] 30–40 with reference to older bibliography on this subject; cf. also Matthaios [2009a] and Pagani [2010b].

10 Editions, commentaries and translations of Apollonius' works are listed below in § 5 n. 376; cf. also the bibliography in the section on Apollonius Dyscolus (§ 5).

11 Wouters [1979] and [1988] edited and commented a great amount of the grammatical manuals transmitted in papyri.

The field of philology, i.e. the interpretation of literary texts through commentaries and the investigation of their language through lexicographic collections, has likewise profited from the increase in new papyri fragments and the insights to be gained from them.¹² Yet despite these encouraging advances, particularly in a field that is often considered as marginal against the backdrop of ‘mainstream’ classical philology, important aspects of advanced research still await urgent attention. These include background work, in particular the renewal and actualization of the textual basis underlying the production of the Imperial philologists and grammarians. Such advances can only be achieved through new editions and commentaries, capable of closing the many gaps that still exist.

In light of the above, it is evident why general or comprehensive overviews of the history of philology and grammar in the Imperial era and Late Antiquity are still awaited. Compared with the complete documentation and investigation of the Hellenistic epoch of ancient philology, the contrast with the works available for the subsequent periods is sobering. This is mainly due to the regrettable fact that there has been little effort to replicate the scope and quality with which Pfeiffer analyzed the Hellenistic period in his monumental *History of Classical Scholarship* [1968].¹³ Readers interested in Imperial and Late Antique scholarship as well as specialists are generally dependent on portrayals in older reference works, especially in histories of ancient Greek literature. Such overviews are primarily the relevant chapters in Schmid-Stählin’s *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*.¹⁴ While not intended to be comprehensive, they offer the most informative survey of the developments in the field during the whole period.

It would be remiss in this context to pass over Gräfenhan’s four-volume *Geschichte der klassischen Philologie im Alterthum* [1843–1850] without even a mention, as is unfortunately often the case in recent literature.¹⁵ Gräfenhan,

12 Related to the study of the new papyri material is the project *Commentaria et lexica Graeca in papyris reperta* (CLGP). Special studies on this body of texts, such as that by Trojahn [2002] on the papyri containing commentaries on ancient comedy, are especially welcome.

13 The first volume of the work deals with the 1st century, the period of the so-called ‘Epigoni’ in the history of the Alexandrian philology, whereas the second part [1976] treats the Renaissance and early modern period.

14 For Imperial and Late Antique philology and grammar the following sections are relevant: Schmid—Stählin [1920–1926] I 425–446 (from 146 BC to 100 AD), II 866–896 (100–300 AD) and II 1075–1094 (300–530 AD).

15 Philology and grammar during the Roman Empire are treated in the third volume of Gräfenhan’s *Geschichte*.

and later Sandys, are so far the only scholars to have provided a systematic analysis of the field. However, Gräfenhan's portrayal only extends to the 4th century. Furthermore, although it represents an admirable achievement for his time, it must also be admitted that he presents the rich material in a confusing manner, often providing a tangled web of details, so that the systematic aspect suffers, and at the same time the explanation of the historical and cultural context is neglected or poorly clarified. Sandys, on the other hand, treated the entire period in question in the first volume of his work *A History of Classical Scholarship* [1921³]. His presentation, however, is no "real history of scholarship itself", as Pfeiffer conceded,¹⁶ but rather an incomplete catalogue of figures, whose philological and grammatical achievements are vaguely assessed.¹⁷

Beyond these comprehensive overviews, we are by and large dependent upon shorter surveys either in specialized works, such as Gudeman's *Grundriss der Geschichte der Klassischen Philologie* [1909], or in recently published histories of literature¹⁸ and introductory works on the study of classical philology.¹⁹ N. G. Wilson's *Scholars of Byzantium* [1996] and the second volume of H. Hunger's history of Byzantine literature [1978], which addresses the philological and grammatical activities of the Byzantines in a separate chapter, are also relevant in this context. The interested reader can draw cursory information from these works concerning the 5th and 6th centuries of ancient scholarship. On the ancient education system and the role it assigned to philology and grammar, the studies of R. Cribiore [1996] and [2001] as well as T. Morgan [1998] are particularly important,²⁰ even if they cover only parts of the period in question here. In his *Guardians of Language. The Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity* [1988], R. A. Kaster analyzes the profile of the grammarian from a socio-cultural perspective, while at the same time providing a brilliant contribution to the prosopographic analysis of the philological and grammatical field. His presentation, however, goes no further than the 4th and 5th centuries of philological-grammatical activity. For the reconstruction and analysis of the writings and the scholarly profile of the philologists

16 See Pfeiffer [1968] viii.

17 In contrast to Gräfenhan's presentation, which documents even the smallest detail, Sandys's presentation omits not only biographical information, but also exact references to the specific work of each philologist and grammarian he treats.

18 See Dihle [1989] 261–266, 438–441 and 446–456.

19 See for example N. Wilson in Nesselrath [1997] 97–103 and M. Weißenberger in Riemer-Weißenberger-Zimmermann [2000] 20–23. A brief sketch of the history of philology and grammar is also provided by Dickey [2007] 3–17.

20 This aspect will be discussed below in § 2.4.

and grammarians active throughout the entire period under consideration, the relevant articles in *Pauly's Realencyclopädie* are still indispensable.²¹

While the above discussion presents the current situation of research in detail and highlights the lack of editions and commentaries, especially the lack of a comprehensive survey of the philological and grammatical studies during the Imperial period and Late Antiquity, the emphasis on its failings is not intended to act as the defining characteristic of the task involved in this contribution. Rather, its aim is to underline the challenging limits of this undertaking and to demarcate the boundaries of the present attempt. Thus the paper does not intend to provide an overview encompassing all aspects of a temporally protracted, and geographically, culturally and politically varied period in the history of ancient philology and grammar. Instead, in line with its nature as a presentation designed for a *Companion*, it is historically oriented and built around the main points of the ancient *γραμματική*, aiming above all at providing basic knowledge concerning the development of the discipline in the Imperial era and Late Antiquity by focusing on its contents and contexts.

In order to clarify the demarcation boundaries of this undertaking, I will begin by mentioning the main concessions and compromises made for the treatment of the subject, with regard to which I count on the reader's forbearance. The most important of these restrictions concerns the scope and perspective of the intended presentation. In a study that makes "ancient philology and grammar" its subject, the attribute "ancient" indicates the character of the analysis and constitutes its methodological starting position. If a scholar takes to heart Pfeiffer's definition of philology as "the art of understanding, explaining and restoring the literary tradition" ([1968] 3), and also embraces the ancient philologists' and grammarians' understanding of their area of responsibility,²² then the contents of the present study can be expressed more precisely: the focus falls on the interpretation of *ancient* literature and refers to those persons who have accomplished this specific task. This results in the total exclusion of Christian literature, which arose during Late Antiquity, but also of its exegesis, which, according to the modern understanding, is considered to belong to philology. However, given the nature and objectives of ancient scholarship, the exclusion of interpretive activity on Christian authors

21 Actualized bibliographical references for each philologist and grammarian are supplied in the relevant entries in *Der Neue Pauly* and *Brill's New Pauly*. An essential contribution to prosopographical investigation of ancient philologists and grammarians is provided by the online databank *Lessico dei Grammatici Greci Antichi (LGGA)*, established and directed by F. Montanari (University of Genoa).

22 The contents of the ancient *γραμματική* and the tasks of philologists and grammarians during the Roman Empire and Late Antiquity are discussed below in § 2.3.

and texts—effectively a subject of a separate study—is reasonable. For no one who was characterized as γραμματικός in Antiquity felt himself responsible for the study of Christian literature, and no one who was educated in ‘grammatical’—in the ancient sense of the term—matters was instructed in this period on the basis of Christian and theological texts.²³

But distinctions and limitations should be made also within the term “ancient literature”, which serves as a designation of the subject matter of philology and grammar. These limitations are primarily due to the establishment of certain scientific areas as separate and clearly defined disciplines since as early as the Hellenistic period. Like any other field of science, the ancient γραμματική participated in this process and strove to define and demarcate their own areas of specialization in opposition to other competing disciplines. It is significant that Chairis, a grammarian from the school of Aristarchus, drew up his own definition of ‘grammar’ which excluded from the subject of the γραμματική those contents and their specific language form for which other disciplines were responsible.²⁴ The consequence of this view, however, is that the entire range of technical literature and scientific writings did not belong to the realm of philological-grammatical activity. This involved in particular medical, astronomical, mathematical, geometrical and geographic studies, which were read and commented on quite intensively in the Imperial era and during Late Antiquity. As is to be expected, the interpretation of scientific literature was carried out by the representatives of each specific discipline.²⁵ In this sense, even the rich commenting activity on ancient philosophical texts, especially of the Aristotelian works undertaken by the Middle- and Neoplatonic school, features many aspects that are of major interest from the point of view of language, but it would be beyond the scope of this paper to go into this aspect

23 This subject area is described by N. Wilson in Nesselrath [1997] 99–101. Wilson, however, did not take it into account in his study of Byzantine philology [1996]; see Wilson [1996] in his “Note to the revised edition, 1996”: “The coverage is admittedly not complete, and possibly “Classical Philology in Byzantium” would have been a more precise title; I recognise the possibility that someone may show that the Byzantines reached a high level in theological scholarship”. On this point, see the criticism put forward by Alpers [1988] in his review of Wilson’s study. Hunger [1978] likewise restricts his presentation of Byzantine philology to the interpretation of ancient literature.

24 See Sext. Emp. *Math.* 1.76; on the wording of Chairis’ definition, cf. *Sch. Dion. T.* 118.10–12. Sextus cites this definition mistakenly under the name of the grammarian Chares; see Blank [1998] 137 with n. 105. For an interpretation of Chairis’ definition, see Blank [1998] 137–140 and Matthaios [2011a] 72–73; cf. also the contribution of Swiggers-Wouters (section 11.2) in this volume.

25 For an overview of the technical and scientific literature in the Roman Empire and Late Antiquity, see Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 446–455, II 896–925 and 1094–1100.

here, and it cannot be taken into account in this presentation.²⁶ In effect, these texts were rarely studied by grammarians; moreover, they were not perceived by the latter as forming part of the *literary* tradition.

The Imperial era and Late Antiquity also saw the growth of strong contacts between philology and rhetoric. But the difference lies primarily in the research perspective and objectives of each discipline. Rhetoric defined the program for contemporary literary production and was interested in ancient prose texts and oratory, insofar as they served the purpose of educating the speaker and provided the benchmark for assessing the new texts being composed. This explains the rhetorician's engagement with ancient prose authors, especially with the Attic orators, whose activity was becoming strongly linked with the domain of rhetoric at that time. Literary criticism—a subject which by definition belonged to the tasks of ancient philology²⁷—was almost exclusively cultivated by rhetoricians during this period. Consequently, poetry was regarded as the sole area of philological-grammatical activity.²⁸ With the exception of the Sophists and rhetoricians who were active in a traditionally philological area, that of lexicography, Imperial rhetoric and literary criticism will only be considered here to a limited extent.²⁹

Finally, a history of philology and grammar in the Imperial era and during Late Antiquity should also take into account the relationship between Greek and Latin speakers in the Roman Empire. In the overall context under consideration here, the teaching of Latin and the Latin grammarians active in the eastern provinces would comprise special aspects of such an analysis. Such a study, however, is beyond the scope of this survey.³⁰

The present contribution is divided into two main sections, an introduction and a prosopographical section. The introductory part discusses the character and contents of Imperial and Late antique philology and grammar by placing them within their historical, cultural and scientific background as well as in the context of the ancient educational system. The prosopographical section takes into account both historical and systematic aspects. The grammarians of each period are classified according to the major focal points of their

26 On the interpretation of philosophical texts during this period, see N. Wilson in Nesselrath [1997] 101–102; on the commentating tradition of the Platonic and Aristotelian philosophy, see Dickey [2007] 46–51; cf. also the contribution of Lapini in this volume.

27 See below in § 2.3.

28 Concerning the points of contact between rhetoric and philology and the ancient view on them, see Wolf [1952] 36–39.

29 This area is presented in the contribution by de Jonge in this volume.

30 This and other aspects are dealt with in the study by Rochette [1997]. On bilingual language instruction, the introductory remarks in Dickey's edition [2012] of Ps.-Dositheus' *Colloquia* are significant.

philological and grammatical activity, though they are presented in such a manner that chronological connections are not ignored and continuities or discontinuities are awarded due consideration. The article deals primarily with figures that are known through their specific writings.³¹ Biographical data are given in some detail, and this serves the purpose of determining more precisely not only the activity of the philologists and grammarians involved, but also their social and scholarly profile.³²

2 Philology and Grammar in the Imperial Era and Late Antiquity in Context

2.1 *Criteria for the Periodization of the History of Philology and Grammar*

The historical setting of this contribution covers a very broad period, which begins at the end of the 1st century BC and extends up to the beginning of the 6th century AD. From a historical point of view and also in terms of literary history, this period includes two great epochs commonly characterized by the designations “Imperial era” and “Late Antiquity”.³³ The history of philology and grammar during this period conventionally takes its starting point in 31 BC, when Octavian defeated Antony in Actium, thus eliminating Egypt, the last kingdom of the former Alexandrian empire, and leading to Octavian’s exclusive rule over the *Imperium Romanum*. Therefore, the Greek cultural scene in its Hellenistic extension came under the hegemonic control of Rome. The final point is marked by Justinian’s entry into the empire in 527, and above all by the closing of Plato’s Academy in Athens in 529, which followed Justinian’s decree. For Greek philology and the history of Greek culture, this event marked a general break with antiquity, which—although not final—assumed great

31 Several grammarians from the 4th and 5th century AD who were mainly active as teachers of grammar, but left no writings are discussed by Kaster [1988]. On the other hand, grammatical manuals and other material on papyri have been transmitted anonymously. The grammatical treatises are edited by Wouters [1979]; several ‘school exercises’ deriving from the school and education activity in Greco-Roman Egypt are listed by Criboire [1996] 173–284.

32 Immediately following the initial mentioning of the person to be treated, reference bibliography, but also editions and collections of fragments of their works are cited in a footnote.

33 For a definition and specification of the term “Late Antiquity”, see Inglebert [2012]; cf. E. Pack in Nesselrath [1997] 435–436 as well as R. Klein in Christes-Klein-Lüth [2006] 23–27.

symbolic significance, in the sense that the prolonged struggle between pagan and Christian culture was decided to the advantage of the latter.

Approximately half way through the period lying between these two milestones, a second event took place, which had a lasting effect on the course of the Greek cultural history. This was the overthrow of Rome, which was ousted from its position as the imperial capital, a process that had begun with Diocletian and was sealed by Constantine in 330 AD with the establishment of Constantinople as the new capital of the Roman Empire. Overall, the reigns of Diocletian (284–305) and Constantine (306–337) shaped an important historical turning point, which became evident above all in the history of literature with the advent and constant growth of Christian literature. In response to the crisis-ridden experiences of the 3rd century, which were due partly to the barbarian invasions and partly also to the continuing riots and unrest within the empire, Diocletian drew up an extensive plan to reform both state and society in order to strengthen the internal and external unity of the empire. Diocletian's project was then further developed and ultimately brought to completion by Constantine. Under the reign of Constantine the transition from Principate to Dominate was brought about, eventually resulting in the transformation of the Roman Empire into an absolute monarchy. Constantine began with a policy of tolerance toward Christians, with a number of moves that led to a decisive favoring of Christianity: in so doing, he prepared the conditions that gave rise to Justinian's Caesaropapism. In effect, the historical break between the two periods dealt with here, and thus the beginning of so-called Late Antiquity, can essentially be dated to the reigns of Diocletian and Constantine. The first centuries of Late Antiquity, however, are claimed by both Classicists and Byzantinists as their own domain. Depending on the respective perspective from which these early centuries are viewed, they are regarded by Classicists as the end of the ancient world or, by Byzantine scholars, as the beginning of the Byzantine era and consequently as belonging to the 'early Byzantine' period as far as its (literary) history is concerned.³⁴

Turning now more specifically to the history of literature,³⁵ classicism and, in a strengthened and clearer form, the atticistic movement, were predominant in the first sub-period, *i.e.* during the Imperial era. Classicism in its role as a

34 On the question of the beginning of Byzantine literature, see Shepard [2008] 21–26; cf. Haldon [2000] 15–32, who regards the 4th and 5th centuries as the period of transformation of the Roman world and assigns it to the Byzantine millennium. See also James [2010] 1–8.

35 The main characteristics of the Roman Empire and Late Antiquity from a literary and historical perspective are sketched by Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 663–671 and 943–956; see also the introductory chapter of Dihle [1989] 13–74. The Imperial era and Late Antiquity are systematically presented by Cambiano-Canfora-Lanza [1994].

term defining an epoch, represented at the beginning of this period by Caecilius of Cale Acte³⁶ and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, propagated conscious literary dependency on a defining canon of classical and above all Attic authors, who were now considered as exemplary models to be imitated.³⁷ Supporters of this movement were the rhetoricians who implemented the classicistic ideals of language and literary form both in theory and rhetorical practice. From the late 1st century, Greek cultural life was characterized by the flourishing of a movement Philostratus (*Vit. Soph.* 1.2.26–27) called “Second Sophistic”.³⁸ This movement spread from Asia Minor and became extended almost throughout the entire empire. Its main representatives, the Sophists, were in actual fact rhetoricians who gave private lessons and were also appointed to state teaching positions in Rome and Athens. As public speakers, the Sophists made scholastic rhetoric into a medium of entertainment for the educated ruling class. Their writing activity took its cue from the language of the classical Attic models, also imitating the old literary forms and subjects. The philologists and grammarians from this period were at the service of the rhetoricians. Before taking up the study of rhetoric, a rhetorician was required to have already completed his general education with a grammarian, who would provide him with the traditional subjects and would ensure proper acquisition of the literary models.

In the second sub-period, however, a distinct separation between pagan and Christian literature began to emerge. Overall, it can be said that the pagan literature of the first centuries of Late Antiquity clear signs of a transformation of traditional literary genres and materials, while also strengthening historicist tendencies that forge a link with classicism and result from it. In addition prose became the dominant mode of literary production at this time, though traits of renewal can also be perceived in poetry, in terms both of form and content. The revitalization of poetry may well have been due to the need for self-determination and re-definition felt by 4th and 5th century philologists and grammarians, who saw themselves as curators and mediators of the old literary tradition and thus were active also as poets.³⁹ In this process, they associated themselves, consciously or unconsciously, with the Hellenistic

36 On Caecilius' Atticistic studies, see below in § 6.1.

37 The term ‘classicism’ is aptly described by Gelzer [1979]. This period is treated in the collected volume edited by Flashar [1979]; see also Schmitz-Wiater [2011]. The classicist program of Dionysius of Halicarnassus is treated by Hidber [1996] and Wiater [2011].

38 For a presentation of the Second Sophistic, see Bowersock [1969], Anderson [1993] and Whitmarsh [2005].

39 On the model of ‘poet and scholar’ during Late Antiquity and the early Byzantine period, see below in § 3.3.

‘poets and scholars’, without significantly sharing the contribution of the latter in injecting fresh energy into contemporary poetry.

Now, if one inquires into the position of philology and grammar in the historical and literary context that has been briefly sketched here, searching at the same time for criteria that could lead to the periodization of scholarship during the Imperial era and Late Antiquity, it becomes clear that philology and grammar were strikingly coherent in their disciplinary character throughout the entire period. That is to say, one cannot speak of a specific self-awareness of an epoch, on the basis of which Imperial and Late Antique philology and grammar could, from a theoretical point of view, be separated from the preceding and following periods. On the contrary, philology and grammar during this period display a marked continuity that links the field seamlessly with the earlier Hellenistic period and leads it just as seamlessly to the Byzantine epoch. Change affected only the external conditions, resulting in an expansion and reorganization of philology and grammar in the new centers of scholarship and culture, simultaneously also strengthening the position of the discipline in educational and intellectual life. The main criterion that forged strong bonds in the philological and grammatical discipline throughout the extended period of the Roman Empire and Late Antiquity and determined their history was exclusively their institutional status and integration into the ancient educational system, which also guaranteed the position of the field within political and socio-cultural life.

Accordingly, study of the history of philology and grammar in the Imperial era and Late Antiquity must take as its basis the terms “school” and “institution” which refer to this discipline. Any differentiations and specifications within the history of the subject during this extensive period arise only from the criterion “institution” and are due to the development of the philological and grammatical subjects. This aspect will be considered in further detail below.

2.2 *The Institutional Character of Philology and Grammar*

The institutional character of philology and grammar in the Roman Empire and during Late Antiquity can be analyzed from a twofold perspective. On the one hand, it can be considered in terms of the subject itself and its contents, and this constitutes the internal aspect involving the scientific character of the field, and on the other, in terms of its position in educational and social life and its effect on the cultural environment, with focus on the external criteria.

2.3 *The Ancient γραμματική: Disciplinary Contents*

Philology and grammar were already established as an independent discipline in the 3rd century BC in Alexandria and were developed and investigated

systematically during the last three centuries BC, especially in the scholarly center of the above city.⁴⁰ The final period of the history of Hellenistic philology and grammar is marked by the accomplishments of two figures: Didymus and Tryphon. Both scholars were active at about the same time in Alexandria and by virtue of their extensive works they are justifiably associated with the perfection of the field. Didymus' significance lies primarily in his wide range of philological studies. Tryphon, on the other hand, is important for his extensive studies in the area of grammar in the strict sense, *i.e.* the study of language, its structure and the conditions of its correct application.⁴¹ But what is of particular interest here is to inquire into the origin of this division of areas of work within ancient philological and grammatical doctrine, and its significance for the further development of the discipline during the Imperial era and Late Antiquity.

Philology and grammar in Antiquity did not constitute two different academic fields, but two areas of responsibility in one and the same discipline, which claimed for itself the designation *γραμματικὴ τέχνη* ('grammar'). However, whereas grammar in the narrow sense, *i.e.* linguistic theory, initially stood at the service of philology, textual criticism and the interpretation of literature, it later gained its autonomy, insofar as language began to be studied and systematically described independently of the interpretation of the literary text at hand. Given this shift in focus, a distinction is usually drawn between two periods in the history of Hellenistic, especially Alexandrian philology. The first period refers to philologists such as Zenodotus, Aristophanes of Byzantium and Aristarchus, while the second includes language theoreticians such as Tyrannion and Tryphon in the 1st century BC and, in the AD era, figures such as Apollonius Dyscolus and Herodian from the 2nd century. The temporal boundary between these two main periods of ancient scholarship and grammar is approximately the turn of the 2nd to the 1st century BC. This is mainly due to the situation mentioned above: whereas grammar during the first period supplied the instrument for philological activity and was tied to the explanation of literary texts, in the second stage a demand for theoretical

40 The history of Hellenistic philology and grammar, especially that of Alexandria and Pergamum, are treated in the monumental work of Pfeiffer [1968] 87–279. The same period is discussed in the contribution of Montana in this volume; see also Matthaios [2008].

41 On Didymus' accomplishments, see Pfeiffer [1968] 274–279. Both scholars—Didymus and Trypho—are presented by Montana in this volume.

elaboration and systematization of the linguistic theory was felt, and this soon found expression in special monographs and textbooks.⁴²

The contents and tasks of the ancient γραμματική began to be systematized very early.⁴³ The available evidence suggests that the systematization process was initiated by Dionysius Thrax, whose ‘grammatical’ manual entitled Παραγγέλματα (“Instructions”),⁴⁴ defined the γραμματική and determined its μέρη (“parts”).⁴⁵ According to his definition, ‘grammatical’ science aimed to analyze “what has been said by poets and prose writers”, *i.e.* to explore the literary contents and the manner of their expression.⁴⁶ As emerges from the list of specific tasks, the philological interpretation includes some categories aiming at a linguistic approach, such as finding etymologies (ἐτυμολογίας εὔρεσις), and calculating analogies for the purpose of assigning the words to their correct inflectional paradigm (ἀναλογίας ἐκλογισμός). The linguistic approach—grammar in the modern sense—was intended to be merely an instrument aiding philological comprehension and the interpretation of literary contents.

The language description fulfils this same function in Asclepiades of Myrlea, a contemporary of Dionysius, and later in Tyrannion, even when these two scholars tried to present the parts of philology and grammar in a rather more systematic form than that of Dionysius. According to the testimony of Sextus Empiricus (*Math.* 1.91–96; cf. *Math.* 1.252), Asclepiades divided philology into three parts (μέρη); a) a “technical part” (μέρος τεχνικόν)—the systematic description of language—, b) a “peculiar part” (μέρος ιδιαίτερον)—philological and textual criticism—and finally c) a “historical part” (μέρος ιστορικόν)—the

42 For this model of periodization of the ancient philological-grammatical discipline, basically related to the position of language description within philology, see Matthaios [2012] and [2013b].

43 On the ancient term ‘grammar’, see Glück [1967] 17–23, Ax [2000] 96–98 and 128–129, Lallot [1998²] 27–30 and Matthaios [2013b]. On the systematization of the contents and areas of responsibility of the philological discipline according to the testimony of the transmitted definition of ‘grammar’, see Blank [2000]; cf. the contribution of Swiggers-Wouters (section 11.2) in this volume.

44 On the contents of ‘grammatical’ manual of Dionysius Thrax, see Pagani [2010b] with further references to this subject.

45 See Dion. T. § 1, *GG* I/1, 5.2–6.3; cf. Sext. Emp. *Math.* 1.57 and 1.250; on Dionysius’ ‘grammar’ definition, see Lallot [1998²] 69–82.

46 The much-debated issue of whether ‘grammar’ is an empirical science or a system based upon rules and has a ‘technical’ character is a problem that emerges from the comparison of Dionysius’ definition with that of Asclepiades of Myrlea. This question was vehemently debated in antiquity, but is irrelevant for our context. On the details and the significance of this controversy, see Matthaios [2011a] 76–77 and [2012] 257–261—with references to further literature on this topic—and Swiggers-Wouters (section 11.2) in this volume.

interpretation of realia.⁴⁷ In the so-called Tyrannion system, ‘grammar’ consists of four specific parts (μέρη)—textual criticism (διορθωτικόν), reading (ἀναγνωστικόν), interpretation (ἐξηγητικόν) and the aesthetic evaluation of literature (κριτικόν)—, which are in turn supported by four auxiliary instruments (ὄργανα), namely the explanation of glosses and of poetic vocabulary (γλωσσηματικόν), the study of realia (ἱστορικόν), metrics (μετρικόν) and grammar (τεχνικόν).⁴⁸ Nevertheless, it is important to mention that in Asclepiades’ and Tyrannion’s system the description of language also serves philological purposes, even though this part now deals with a well-defined subject. Grammar in the modern sense, the μέρος or the ὄργανον τεχνικόν, has two main fields of study: (a) the presentation of the constituent structure of language from the sounds up to the sentence, with an emphasis on the theory of the parts of speech (μέρη τοῦ λόγου) and (b) the theory of the correct use of the Greek language (ἐλληνισμός), which aims to investigate the proper usage of individual words and sentences.⁴⁹

The unity of philology and grammar in the system of the Hellenistic γραμματικὴ τέχνη did not remain unchallenged nor was it long-lived. According to the testimony of Sextus Empiricus, Demetrius Chlorus, a grammarian who probably lived during the 1st century BC,⁵⁰ defined ‘grammar’ as follows (*Math.* 1.84): γραμματικὴ ἐστὶ τέχνη τῶν παρὰ ποιηταῖς τε (καὶ συγγραφεύσι λεγομένω post τε add. Di Benedetto) καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν κοινὴν συνήθειαν λέξεων εἰδησις (“Philology is the study of that which is said by the poets, but also the knowledge of language according to common usage”).⁵¹ Thus for the first time in the history of ancient scholarship a significant development can be identified, whereby the subject area of the philological and grammatical discipline came to be positioned, as it were, in a diptychon structure. The responsibility of γραμματικὴ was no longer merely the interpretation of literary texts, as had been the case for Dionysius Thrax and Asclepiades of Myrlea, but it now also

47 On Asclepiades’ classification of ‘grammar’, see Glück [1967] 17–23, Blank [1998] 146–149 and [2000] 407–413.

48 This so-called four-part system is mentioned in the *Sch. Dion. T.*, *GG* 1/3, 10.8–10, 123.13–15, 164.9–11 and 170.18–20; the four “parts” are all listed in *Sch. Dion. T.*, *GG* 1/3, 12.3–8 and 115.8–9; see Blank [2000] 408. The fact that the four “parts” (*lectio, enarratio, emendatio, iudicium*) were known to Varro speaks for the age of this system; see Var. fr. 236 Funaioli and Glück [1967] 19 and 21 with n. 3. On the position of this system within grammatical education, see below in § 2.4.

49 The concrete contents of the grammatical theory are listed by Sext. Emp. *Math.* 1. 92; on Sextus’ testimony, see Ax [2000] 97–98 and 128–129. See also the contributions of Swiggers-Wouters (section 11.2) and Pagani in this volume.

50 On Demetrius’ identity and lifetime, see Blank [1998] 144 with n. 112.

51 For a discussion of Demetrius’ definition, see Blank [1998] 144–146.

included knowledge of language in its everyday form, *i.e.* in its usage outside of the literary contexts.

This new approach was considered to be of no lesser value than the original task: indeed, it fairly rapidly became the mainstream perspective, and Demetrius' view was soon shared by other philologists, as Sextus attests (*Math.* 1.84: Δημήτριος δὲ ὁ ἐπικαλούμενος Χλωρός καὶ ἄλλοι τινές). However, modern scholarship has awarded little attention to the fact that Quintilian did not define the *grammatica* in his *Institutio oratoria* in a substantially different manner than Demetrius (*Inst.* 1.4.2): *haec igitur professio, cum brevissime in duas partes divitatur, recte loquendi scientiam et poetarum enarrationem, plus habet in recessu quam fronte promittit.*⁵² Even Quintilian postulated the twofold subject matter of 'grammar', which encompassed the doctrine of the proper use of language and the interpretation of poetry. Quintilian's view is presumably of Greek origin. In *Inst.* 1.9.1 he designates the two parts of 'grammar'—here they are called *ratio loquendi* and *enarratio auctorum*—by using the Greek terms *methodice* and *historice*. As is to be expected from a rhetorician, Quintilian still viewed literature as the means to an end, in the sense that literary language was the model and benchmark by which language use in general was to be judged.

Nonetheless, the twofold structure of *grammatica*, especially the equal status of the grammatical doctrine and the interpretation of literature, became the essential characteristic of the philological discipline in the 1st century AD. But the history of γραμματική then passed through a further stage, which led to a clear narrowing of the scope of the term. In the transition from Antiquity to the Middle Ages, the term 'grammar', initially designating the philological discipline, became restricted to grammar in the modern sense. This can be seen in the example of Isidor of Seville's definition of *grammatica*, when he defines the field as follows (*Orig.* 1.2.1): *grammatica est loquendi peritia* and (*Orig.* 1.5.1): *grammatica est scientia recte loquendi.*⁵³

The above observations prompt the question of whether the development of the term and scope of γραμματική that emerged in the period from Quintilian to the beginning of the Latin Middle Ages also led to a change of perspective among philologists and grammarians from the Greek Imperial era and Late Antiquity. According to our sources, philologists and grammarians active during that period worked intensively on defining and describing their scientific

52 On Quintilian's definition of 'grammar', see Ax [2011] 95–96 and 405 with further references on this subject; cf. Glück [1967] 21–22, who traces this development back to Quintilian's grammar teacher Remmius Palaemon.

53 See Glück [1967] 22–23 and Ax [2011] 96.

subject. Such assertions are corroborated by a number of treatises “On grammar” composed during the entire period in question here. These works belong to the type of monographs known as τέχνη γραμματική/*ars grammatica*, which, in addition to the part devoted to the description of the constituent structure of language, included the definition of ‘grammar’ and the responsibilities of the discipline.⁵⁴

Some fragmentary papyrus treatises of this type of monograph, dating from the period under investigation, have come down to us. Most such treatises were used in the classroom and served the purpose of general instruction on grammatical theory.⁵⁵ These papyri specimens of τέχνη γραμματική have mostly come down to us anonymously, but during the Imperial era and Late Antiquity several grammatical manuals are attested with the name of their authors. In the 1st century treatises of this kind are attested for Apollonius Anteros, Pamphilus, Lucillus of Tarrha and Astyages, in the 2nd century for Telephus of Pergamum, in the 3rd for Lupercus of Berytus, in the 4th for Eudaemon of Pelusium and finally in the 5th century for Hyperechius.⁵⁶ Almost all of these works are now known only by their titles, but there is some evidence that their authors engaged in theoretical discussion on definitions of the philological and grammatical discipline. Telephus, for instance, was the author of a manual addressing the hotly debated question of the responsibilities of a γραμματικός.⁵⁷

However, the development that genuinely led to the gradual narrowing of the term γραμματική and limited the tasks of this discipline to grammatical doctrine is indirectly recognizable in the changing priorities that philologists and grammarians of the Imperial era and Late Antiquity began to establish in their writing activity. As can be observed from the extant works, philologists of the 1st and 2nd centuries AD were active both in philology and grammar, often perhaps with a preference for philological studies. In the following centuries, however, philological interests gave way decisively to works focusing on grammar. This development had already begun to come to the fore in the 2nd century through Apollonius Dyscolus and Herodian whose writings comprised exclusively linguistic matters. It was also the main characteristic for the grammatical activity of scholars during Late Antiquity, *i.e.* from the 4th

54 On this type of monograph, see the contribution of Valente (section II.4) in this volume.

55 The preserved papyrus-τέχνη are edited by Wouters [1979] 33–210.

56 On the individual figures and their works, see the relevant section in the prosopographical part of this article, §§ 3.3, 3.4.

57 See below in § 3.3. A further theoretical statement found in the context of grammatical treatises of the period in question is that of Lucillus of Tarrha, who deals with the question of the status of the γραμματική within the ancient system of sciences; see below in § 4.2.

century onward.⁵⁸ It was a process that culminated in a terminological innovation: the designation *γραμματικός* was now accompanied by the special characterization *τεχνικός*, which had its origin in the *μέρος* or *ὄργανον τεχνικόν* of the philological and grammatical discipline. This descriptive term specifically identified experts in questions of linguistic theory⁵⁹ and was used to characterize Apollonius Dyscolus, Herodian, Dionysius Thrax—as the author to whom the *Τέχνη γραμματική* was attributed—and several Byzantine grammarians such as Choeroboscus.⁶⁰ The fact that it partially replaced or at least endowed the common professional designation of *γραμματικός* with a more specific meaning suggests that it expressed an essential distinctive feature for the profile of grammarians during the Imperial era and Late Antiquity.

The survey presented here on the development of the term *γραμματική* and the contents of the specific discipline in the Imperial era and Late Antiquity helps to pinpoint a key criterion for periodization of the philological-grammatical discipline during this period. Thus in the Imperial period, the diptychon structure of the ancient *γραμματική* can be followed in relation to its subject area: philological *and* grammatical studies were either represented in the work of one and the same person or were distributed in equal proportion throughout the entire period. In contrast, from the end of the 2nd century, but increasingly from the 3rd and 4th centuries, the two areas became independent. The philological emphasis steadily receded, giving way to a wide-ranging linguistic theory that increasingly came to the forefront of writing activity.

2.4 *The Position of γραμματική in Imperial and Late Antique Education*

When Sextus Empiricus initiated his attack against the ‘grammarians’ in the treatise *Πρὸς γραμματικούς* with the statement that “we are handed over to ‘grammar’ almost as children and scarcely out of our diapers” (*Math.* 1.41: ἀπὸ νηπιότητος σχεδὸν καὶ ἐκ πρώτων σπαργάνων γραμματικὴ παραδιδόμεθα), he was—in spite of his irony and exaggeration—effectively expressing the ubiquity of ‘grammar’ within ancient education. Sextus is also one of our best witnesses in matters of terminology and the structure of ‘grammar’ as a specific educational subject and scientific field.

58 The different emphases can be clearly seen in the prosopographical section of the article; see also the introductory remarks (§ 1).

59 Interestingly, the expression *Τεχνικά* appears as the title of the grammatical treatise of Lucillus of Tarrha; see below in § 4.2. On the work ascribed to Draco with the title *Τεχνικά* see below in § 4.1.

60 For a discussion of the terms *γραμματικός* and *τεχνικός* see Lallot [1997] I 14–18. On the meaning of the term *γραμματικός* during Late Antiquity, see Wolf [1952] 31–41.

In a subsequent section of the same treatise, in which the notion ‘grammar’ and the scope of the discipline are clarified, Sextus speaks (*Math.* 1.44–48) of the twofold use of the term *γραμματική*,⁶¹ explaining that it can be used in a common manner (*κοινῶς*) as well as with a special meaning (*ιδίως*). The *κοινῶς* usage is normally designated as *γραμματιστική*; in this case, the term means the knowledge of *γράμματα* in the sense of “letters”. On the other hand, the term *γραμματική* in the second—and more proper—use (*ιδιαιτερον*) indicates the “perfect grammar” (*ἡ ἐντελής γραμματική*). This particular use of the term *γραμματική* invokes the concept of the philological-grammatical discipline, whose foundation, according to Sextus, is to be credited to Aristarchus and Crates. The term *γραμματική* in the meaning of “philology” is also based on the expression *γράμματα*. In this usage, however, the expression to be understood in the sense of “*συγγράμματα*”, which covers texts, especially literary products, in both poetry and prose.

Sextus’ dichotomy of ‘grammar’, confirmed also through other testimonies,⁶² points, as far the first part of the division is concerned, to the primary stage of the ancient educational system, *i.e.* elementary school, in which children are taught reading and writing under the supervision of a *γραμματιστής*. As regards the second part, Sextus refers to the position of ‘grammar’ as a specific discipline both within the common, *i.e.* universal education (*ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία*), and higher education. At both levels, the mission of the *γραμματικός* was to acquaint students with ancient literature and its language; his lessons also included a general study of language, which comprised theories on the constituent structure of language as well as on *hellenismos*, the correct use of Greek.

Particularly at the higher education level, ‘grammar’ developed into an autonomous, institutionalized scientific area as early as the Hellenistic era and was studied systematically in an exemplary manner both in the Alexandrian and Pergamenian philological school. That both institutions were not only

61 On the history and development of the terms *γραμματική* and *γραμματικός* in the meaning ‘philology’ and ‘philologist’, see H. Usener in Susemihl [1891–1892] II 663–665, Pfeiffer [1968] 157–158, Blank [1998] 110–111 and 113–115 as well as Matthaios [2008] 560–562; cf. also Matthaios [2011a] 66 with n. 43, where references to further literature on this subject are cited, and Montana in this volume.

62 A differentiation of ‘grammar’ into a “perfect” (*τέλειος*, *τελειότερα* or *ἐντελής*) and a “inferior” (*ἀτελεστέρα*) is attested, apart from Sextus, also in Phil. *De congr. quaer. erudit. gr.* § 148, III 103.24–103.3 and *De somn.* 1.205, III 249.14–16. According to the *Sch.* Dion. T., GG I/3, 114.23–34 and 164.23–29, ‘grammar’ is divided into a *μεγάλη* (“great”) or *νεωτέρα* (“younger”) and a *μικρά* (“small”) or *παλαιά* (“old”); on this differentiation, see Matthaios [2011a] 60–67 with further bibliography on this topic.

engaged in scholarly research but also constituted centers where ‘grammar’ was taught as a specific academic field⁶³ is evident from the observation that each of the institutions was structured as a “school” (σχολή), which presupposed a close relationship between teachers and students. Through the principle of school affiliation and also of the succession (διαδοχή) from one generation to the next, continuity in matters of theory and of methodological principles was guaranteed.⁶⁴

The type of primary education in reading and writing, but especially theoretical instruction in language and literature, provided during the Hellenistic and Imperial periods has been carefully investigated on the basis of rich papyri discoveries, which have transmitted a number of writing exercises, textbooks and manuals from Egypt dating from the 3rd century BC onward.⁶⁵ For instance we have information on a ‘grammar’ lesson at the level of general education from several grammatical manuals, dating both from Greek and Roman antiquity. The tasks of a ‘grammarian’ and the areas of responsibility of ‘grammar,’ enumerated by Dionysius Thrax at the beginning of his manual, reflect the teaching process as well as the methods and educational objectives.⁶⁶ The initial task, namely training in flawless reading of literary texts, was of paramount importance, and presupposed knowledge of accentuation, the segmentation

63 See Seidensticker [1999].

64 The school of Aristarchus emerges as a characteristic example of a solid and durable school in the history of ancient scholarship and grammar. According to Suidas’ testimony (α 3892), Aristarchus had no less than forty students. These are certainly not to be understood as direct students of him, but, as can be seen by the chronological relationship of each person to their supposed master, they belonged to and continued the school tradition founded by him (see Montana in this volume). When, for example, Pamphilus (on Pamphilus, see below in § 3.3) is designated still in the 1st century AD as an Ἀριστάρχειος (Suid. π 142), this term should be interpreted only as an indication of the scholarly tradition to which he belongs. On Aristarchus’ philological school, see Blau [1883]. On the continuation of the Alexandrian school of ‘grammar,’ especially of the ‘grammatical’ chair in Imperial Alexandria see below in this paragraph.

65 After the fundamental study of Marrou [1965⁶] 218–291 and 356–411 on the teaching of ‘grammar’ in the ancient, especially the Hellenistic and Roman educational system, the field is comprehensively presented by Morgan [1998] 90–189 and Criboire [2001] 127–219. See also the overview of the ‘grammar’ instruction at the elementary level and in higher education given by Christes-Klein-Lüth [2006] 89–123 and 125–155. Cf. also Nilsson [1955] on the Hellenistic educational system and Wolf [1952] on education during Late Antiquity.

66 See Dion. T. § 1, *GG* I/1, 5.4–6.3; and *Sch.* Dion. T, *GG* I/3, 12.3–13.6. On Dionysius’ division of the tasks of the γραμματική, see above § 2.4. Cf. also Swiggers-Wouters (section 11.2) in this volume.

of words into syllables, familiarity with metrical principles for the determination of quantities, and punctuation as well. The second task consisted in explanation of the linguistic and stylistic peculiarities of literary texts. This was accompanied by explanation of challenging words and interpretation of mythical and historical material, and also by two specific linguistic tasks: the explanation of etymologies and the calculation of analogies for the purpose of determining the grammatical peculiarities of the vocabulary of the literary text under consideration. Finally, overall aesthetic and critical evaluation of the text completed the task.

Quintilian describes the structure of a 'grammatical' lesson in a similar fashion,⁶⁷ and it is correctly assumed that his account represents the teaching tradition originating from the Alexandrian school. In the so-called Tyrannion system, also known from its Latin counterpart, which is attested by Varro (fr. 236 Funaioli),⁶⁸ the various steps are compressed into the four parts (μέρη) of 'grammar': first the μέρος ἀναγνωστικόν (*lectio*), second the μέρος ἐξηγητικόν (*enarratio*), which consists in the interpretation of a text by focusing on its mythological and historical peculiarities as well as in providing the correct explanation of words and the determination of stylistic and other means, third the μέρος διορθωτικόν (*emendatio*, the task concerning textual criticism, and fourth the μέρος κριτικόν (*iudicium*), the expression of an opinion concerning the aesthetic values, but also addressing the issue of the authenticity of the literary text.⁶⁹

Courses at the level of general education aimed primarily to enhance learning, and secondarily to encourage development of interpretive skills, which were reserved for professional studies. Collections of maxims (γνώμαι), didactic anecdotes (χρεΐαι) and proverbs (ἀποφθέγματα) served to provide an overview of ancient literature and values, and were especially popular in the Roman Empire and during Late Antiquity. Since Roman education was, after all, bilingual, the *grammaticus Graecus* was taught alongside the *grammaticus Latinus*.⁷⁰ The teaching staff responsible for the Greek 'grammar' courses

67 See Quint. *Inst.* 1.8.1–12 (*lectio*) and 13–21 (*enarratio poetarum*). For a commentary on these passages, see Ax [2011] 350–404.

68 See above n. 48.

69 On the description of the contents of 'grammar' instruction, see Glück [1967] 17–24 and Ax [2011] 94–97; cf. also R. Baumgarten in Christes-Klein-Lüth [2006] 95–96, D. Bornmann in Christes-Klein-Lüth [2006] 104–110 and Chr. Krumeich in Christes-Klein-Lüth [2006] 115–123; see also Montana and Swiggers-Wouters (section 11.2) in this volume.

70 Cf. Quint. *Inst.* 1.4.1; see also the commentary of Ax [2011] 95 on this passage. On the bilingual education in Rome, see Marrou [1965⁶] 374–388 and the references quoted above in n. 30.

were recruited from the Greek-speaking world and often consisted of slaves and freedmen.⁷¹

In addition to its permanent position in general education, ‘grammar’ as an autonomous scientific field experienced an astonishing geographic expansion and growth at the level of higher education during the entire period of the Roman Empire and Late Antiquity. As a result, the discipline acquired a more cosmopolitan dimension in comparison to its previous almost exclusive presence in Alexandria and Pergamum during the Hellenistic period.⁷² At the beginning of the Imperial era, Alexandria still maintained its leading position as a center of research and cultivation of science and, as such, also of scholarship and grammar. The extant biographical sources concerning philologists and grammarians from Alexandria during the predominance of the Roman Empire testify that these scholars maintained the chair for grammatical studies established by the librarians and the members of the Alexandrian *Museum*; moreover, they preserved the tradition that linked them to their Hellenistic fore-runners. As far as we can reconstruct the διαδοχή, Theon, Apion, Chaeremon, Dionysius of Alexandria, Pamphilus and Vestinus succeeded one another as the head of the Alexandrian chair of ‘grammar’.⁷³ In general, Alexandria continued to be the most influential center of philological and grammatical education and research right up to the 6th century.⁷⁴ Although other important scientific centers developed in this period, Alexandrian scholarship retained its importance precisely due to the strong attachment to its rich tradition. At the beginning of the Imperial era and throughout the entire 1st century AD, most of the Greek philologists and grammarians who were active in Rome had originally been trained in Alexandria. However, Rome achieved an independent position in the discipline of Greek scholarship during Hadrian’s time, in concomitance with Hadrian’s founding, in 135 AD, of the *Athenaeum* as a landmark of Greek erudition in Rome, following the model of the Alexandrian *Museum*.⁷⁵ Thus in the 1st century AD philology and grammar oscillated between Alexandria

71 Slaves and freedmen, who were active as grammarians in Rome from the period of the waning Republic until the Principate, are presented by Christes [1979].

72 On Alexandrian and Pergamenian scholarship, see Montana in this volume.

73 On the individual figures, see the relevant section in the prosopographical section below in § 3.3, 3.4.

74 Schemmel [1909] studied the Alexandrian university and other educational institutions of the 4th and 5th centuries; see also Wilson [1996] 42–49 and Bowersock [1996]. The library of Dioscorus of Aphrodito provides a significant picture of the rich intellectual and cultural life in Egypt in the 6th century; the preserved material has been edited and commented on by Fournet [1999]. Philologists and grammarians of the 4th and 5th century active in Alexandria and Egypt, are listed by Kaster [1988] 469–473.

75 See Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 664 and 866.

and Rome, but the discipline of scholarship became integrated from the 2nd century onwards throughout the Roman Empire, by virtue of the fixed salaried positions provided for the universal and higher education system of the Imperial period. Hadrian's regulations stated that public grammarians were to have the same freedoms as other scholars and scientists such as philosophers, rhetoricians and physicians. In addition to public teaching posts for grammar, teaching chairs at the Alexandrian *Museum* and at the *Athenaeum* in Rome were also available. During the Imperial era, Athens also received a significant stimulus, as professorships were established there and endowed by the Roman Emperor. Athens, however, was the recognized center for philosophical and rhetorical studies during the Roman Empire and throughout Late Antiquity, whereas grammatical studies played a relatively minor role in Athens. For instance, during Late Antiquity the Emperor financed one chair in rhetoric and the city itself funded two chairs, but only one Greek chair was provided for philology and grammar.⁷⁶

An important turning point in the history of philological and grammatical studies was the founding of Constantinople and the nomination of the city as the new capital of the Roman Empire, which gave a new impulse to Greek culture in the direction of the east. The old educational institutions in Alexandria, Rome and Athens were now supplemented by a number of new or formerly less well-known centers in other cities. Most apparent is the wealth of educational centers in the 4th century in Asia Minor and Syria. Foremost among these were Nicomedia, Ancyra, Tarsus, Nicaea, Cyzicus, Smyrna, Sardis, Pergamum, Caesarea, Seleucia; in Syria and Palestine especially Antioch, Sidon, Tyre, Berytus, Apameia, Emesa, Gaza; finally, in Egypt, Pelusium and Hermupolis in addition to Alexandria.⁷⁷ Philological and grammatical studies strongly benefited from this extraordinary geographic and cultural expansion. Several of these places achieved recognition as the birthplace of Late Antiquity scholars. Antioch achieved a special status in the 4th century as a result of Libanius' school of rhetoric,⁷⁸ and several grammarians are known from Libanius' correspondence.⁷⁹ Gaza was also home to an important school of rhetoric, which, thanks to Procopius, gained an exceptional reputation in the early 6th century.

76 On the position of Athens in philological and grammatical studies, see Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 664 and 947–948. See also Schemmel [1908]; Wilson [1996] 36–42; Lapini, and Pontani in this volume.

77 See Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 948–949.

78 On Libanius' school of rhetoric in Antioch, see Criore [2007]; cf. Wilson [1996] 28–30.

79 On these figures, see the prosopographical study of Seeck [1906]. Grammarians known from the letters of Libanius are listed in Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 1075 n. 4.

Various grammarians from this city are known as well.⁸⁰ Furthermore, philological and grammatical studies achieved considerable status and were stimulated during Late Antiquity in Constantinople itself, and this development was essentially related to the re-organization of the University by Theodosius II.⁸¹ According to Theodosius' decree in 425 (cod. Theodos. 14.9.3), there were to be five chairs of Greek rhetoric, three chairs of Latin rhetoric, one chair for philosophy, two chairs for law and ten chairs (!) each for Greek and Latin grammar. In the 4th and 5th centuries, the major figures of the intellectual world were active in Constantinople.⁸² The outstanding position Constantinople had already reached by this time as an educational, scientific and cultural center was crucial for the nature and the further development of the history of Byzantine philology and grammar.⁸³

One may wonder whether and to what extent it would be reasonable and appropriate to arrange and present the history of philology and grammar in the Imperial era and Late Antiquity according to the different scholarly centers and places of activity of the 'grammarians' who were active in each such location. This would certainly be possible, although the distribution of philological and grammatical scholarship in the various research and educational centers provides a merely external criterion for presentation of the subject: since there are no fixed boundaries between the individual schools, and it is also characteristic that scholars who were active in one place later moved to a different institution. On the other hand, the unity and cohesiveness of the disciplinary contents, quite independently of the place of activity of each 'grammarian', clearly speaks against imposing the geographic criterion as the principle for periodization of the history of scholarship in the Imperial era

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- 80 On the significance of Gaza as an educational and cultural center, see Wilson [1996] 30–33. On the so-called 'school of Gaza', see Seitz [1892]. The 'grammarians' who came from the eastern centers of the Empire and were active there are listed in Kaster [1988] 475–478; on each personality, see Kaster's prosopographical entry.
- 81 The intellectual, cultural and educational history of Constantinople during Late Antiquity and the early Byzantine period from the 4th to the 6th century is described by Lemerle [1971] 43–73; on the University in Constantinople, see *ibid.*, pp. 63–64; cf. also the works of Schemmel [1908] and [1912] on this topic as well as Wilson [1996] 49–60. On the question whether the University of Constantinople was to be thought of as a 'high school' providing higher education or as 'secondary school', as Speck [1974b] 387 and, following him, also Wilson [1996] 50 maintained, see the objections of Alpers [1981] 95 n. 43; on this topic see also Pontani in this volume. On the educational system in Constantinople, see Schlange-Schöningen [1995] and [1999].
- 82 The philologists and grammarians from the 4th and 5th centuries, who were active in Constantinople, are listed in Kaster [1988] 464–467.
- 83 On the history of scholarship in Byzantium see the contribution of Pontani in this volume.

and during Late Antiquity. A distinction—such as that commonly made in the Hellenistic period—between the Alexandrian and Pergamenian schools and between the traditions derived from them cannot be drawn between the philological and grammatical centers of the Imperial era and those of Late Antiquity.

This specific differentiation of Hellenistic scholarship is based on the different theoretical and methodological positions of the Alexandrian and Pergamenian schools in questions of textual interpretation and linguistic theories. The prosopographic presentation in the second part of this paper will, however, be built not only on centers of philological and grammatical activity, but also on the two main chronological divisions, “Imperial era” versus “Late Antiquity. This will allow a clearer arrangement of the material, seeking at the same time to illustrate the migration, dissemination and expansion of scholarship throughout the period. The mode of presentation does not, on the other hand, represent theoretical and methodological differences and disputes between the various schools, as they were not relevant to this particular context.

Finally, a word on some specific characteristics that constitute the profile of the philologist-grammarian, as can be inferred from the biographical sources.⁸⁴ Such characteristics predominate among those who were active as researchers and occupied contemporary academic chairs: Philologist-grammarians received stipends and salaries from public sources and also enjoyed privileges granted them by the Imperial court. Not infrequently, they exercised political influence, thereby achieving high government positions, a favorable reputation and great esteem: for instance, philologist-grammarians were often served as tutors of princes. Similar privileges and positions were already enjoyed in the Hellenistic period by scholars active in the Hellenistic Diadochi kingdoms, especially in Alexandria and Pergamum. Philologists and grammarians often extended their research activity into other intellectual areas, such as history, doxography and philosophy, regarding their mission as intrinsically linked to the transmission of erudition and culture. The poetic works some scholars produced in addition to their philological activity formed a link with the Hellenistic tradition, which should not be overlooked. This specific feature is particularly evident among early Byzantine scholars,⁸⁵ and is closely related to the upheaval on both the political and cultural level that brought about the

84 The social status of ‘grammarians’ in Late Antiquity is examined in the first part of Kaster’s study [1988] 9–230. The professional and social status of slaves and freedmen active in Rome as ‘grammarians’, is examined by Christes [1979].

85 See Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 1075. On the ‘poets and philologists’ of this period, see the study of Cameron [1965].

relocation of the capital of the Roman Empire to Constantinople. This tone of renewal was mediated through the poetical work of the figures acting as ‘grammarians,’ whose compositions often took the form of a song of praise for the emperor.

3 Persons, Works and Achievements

3.1 *Judgments and Prejudices*

The foregoing remarks have underscored that the contents of philological-grammatical doctrine and the position of this discipline in contemporary educational and intellectual life form an appropriate criterion for presentation and periodization of *γραμματική* in the Imperial era and during Late Antiquity. In this perspective, it is undisputable that achievements in this field during the period in question have not been correctly estimated or even properly appreciated by previous and to some extent also by current research. This neglectful attitude is due primarily to the so-called ‘Alexandrianism’ that is predominant in the history of ancient scholarship, and it can essentially be ascribed to high admiration—or indeed overestimation—of the Hellenistic and particularly the Alexandrian period. As a consequence, the history of Imperial and Late Antique, but also of Byzantine philology stands in the shadows of Alexandrian models. This trend is also reflected to some extent in Pfeiffer’s history of Hellenistic scholarship, which labeled the representatives of the 1st century BC as ‘epigones.’⁸⁶

The importance of Imperial and Late Antique philology and grammar has therefore been viewed as limited to the transmission of older commentaries originated primarily from the Alexandrian period. Accordingly, it has been perceived only in this function with the acknowledgement that precisely this transmission through the Imperial and Late Antique philological and grammatical writings has made it possible to reconstruct the great Alexandrian works, in some cases even to establish their original wording. Judgment on the achievements of the Imperial period and of Late Antiquity in the field is thus predefined: the Alexandrian era is thought to be the outstanding epoch of ancient scholarship whereas the field of philology and grammar during the following centuries is said to be characterized basically by decline, as revealed by the lack of originality of works stemming from this period. According to the view of contemporary scholars, philologists and grammarians of the Imperial period and of Late Antiquity confined themselves to the

86 The last chapter of Pfeiffer’s *History*, in which he treats the generation of grammarians after Aristarchus ([1968] 252–279), is accordingly titled “The Epigoni”.

dull excerption and compilation of older works, and any creations of their own were little more than abridgments of older works, often contaminated with younger materials—in a word, a distortion and corruption of the Alexandrian philological commentaries.⁸⁷

Given this perspective and such pejorative judgments, neither the background nor the circumstances of the philological and grammatical achievements of this period are correctly recognized, nor are the potential and autonomy of this epoch cast in the light they deserve. Apart from the fact that the older works from the Hellenistic period of Alexandrian philology were already not easily available at this time, excerpting and compiling were in no way senseless or academically unnecessary procedures. For the first time, the Imperial and Late Antique philologists had at their disposal the rich research, source and material basis of the earlier scholars, which not only needed to be collected and studied thoroughly in order to be transmitted but also represented the basis for critical analysis and, moreover, for completion, extension, renewal and actualization of the philological past. These were essentially new features, constituting the unique characteristics of the history of philology and grammar in the Imperial era and Late Antiquity.

Instead of the narrow and one-dimensional perspective adopted by current research, which places the Alexandrian period at the center of the history of ancient philology, and grounds the importance of the entire discipline solely

87 The introductory comments by Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] 11 866–867 in their historical account of Imperial philology are characteristic of the judgment of current research: “die Wurzel der Philologie vertrocknet” or “[Kommentare], die aber ähnlich wie schon die des Didymos wesentlich Kompilation älterer Arbeiten . . . gewesen zu sein scheinen”. The history of late antique philology and grammar is characterized by Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] 11 1075 in the following way: “Auf allen Gebieten der Wissenschaft hört vom 4. Jh. an jede Spur von Selbständigkeit und eigener Forschung auf. Es wird lediglich ausgezogen und zusammengestellt. . . . In diesem freilich recht beschränkten Sinn haben wir Anlaß für den Fleiß auch der letzten Epigonen dankbar zu sein, desto mehr, je mehr sie sich eigener Zutaten und geschwätziger Umschreibungen enthalten”. Similar judgments are repeated in several places by Dickey in her Introduction; see e.g. Dickey [2007] 6: “The Alexandrians had established good texts of the important works of classical literature and produced excellent commentaries on them, so there was *little original work* to be done on these areas. [. . .]. Other [scholars] sacrificed their originality and continued to work on classical authors, producing syntheses or reworking of earlier commentaries. These scholars’ *lack of originality*, [. . .], at the same time incurs gratitude insofar as we owe to it virtually all our knowledge of the Alexandrians’ work.”; [2007] 10: “late antique scholars had *little opportunity for constructive originality*”; [2007] 14: “*the scholia suffered many kinds of corruption*. They were frequently abbreviated, displaced, miscopied, or inappropriately run together.” [my emphases]. On this research position using Dickey’s statements and judgments as an example, see Matthaïos [2009b] 151–152.

on the value and achievement of this single era, an attempt should be made to understand the history of philology and grammar in the Imperial Period and Late Antiquity on its own terms and to judge its own potential and momentum. Seen in this manner, while the Alexandrian period of ancient scholarship and grammar can correctly be credited with the *foundation* of the discipline, the following epochs constitute the period which led to the *systematization*, *expansion* and *renewal* of philological and grammatical contents and theories. It will be shown here that the process in question not infrequently involved opposition and a critical attitude towards the Hellenistic predecessors.⁸⁸

As already indicated in the first section of this study, the prosopographic section is structured according to the main focal points of ancient philological and grammatical doctrine. First, the philological, interpretative and editorial activity during the Imperial Period and Late Antiquity will be set in relation to the ἐξηγητικὸν and διορθωτικὸν μέρος, but also to the μέρος ἱστορικὸν of the ancient γραμματική. This will be followed by a presentation of the figures and works pertaining to the field of linguistic theory, the so-called μέρος τεχνικόν, *i.e.* grammar in the modern sense. Studies concerning ancient theories on metrics will also be dealt with in this context. Finally, in a third part the lexicographic activity of the entire period will be presented. Subsections of each chapter will be based either on the place of activity of the scholars and grammarians under discussion or, as in the lexicography section, on the special emphases of each area.

3.2 *Philological Achievements in the Imperial Era and Late Antiquity*

The processes of enlargement and expansion of the contents of philological activity, which have been highlighted here as the peculiar characteristic of the history of philology and grammar in the Roman Empire and Late Antiquity, went hand in hand with the editorial and interpretive work carried out in this period. One of the great merits of the Imperial and Late Antique scholars, in contrast to their Hellenistic forerunners, was that of broadening the spectrum of their research activity, including among their interpretive and editorial interests not only the authors and works of the renowned classical literature, but also poets from the period immediately preceding their own. At the same time, commentaries from the Hellenistic period on classical authors were updated in new works penned by philologists of the Imperial and Late

88 On this model of the development of ancient scholarship and grammar, see Matthaïos [2009b] 152. From this perspective, in contrast to both of the first periods, the Byzantine period is seen as connected with the process of the *adaptation* and *transformation* of traditional knowledge and studying material.

Antique period. In so doing, philologists who were active in this period did not merely collect and compile older works into new ones, but also engaged in critical appraisal of older research positions. By the end of these periods, above all by the end of the Imperial era, the ancient literary tradition had been explored and made available in its entirety both in terms of literary genres and of the various historical stages. Its comprehension had been made available and furthered through editions, commentaries and specialized monographs, which dealt with the interpretive aspects and explored the source material. This paved the way for the emergence of Byzantine commentaries and collections of scholia.

As mentioned earlier, philologists and grammarians of the 1st and 2nd centuries represented both areas of *γραμματική*, namely philological interpretation and as well as linguistic theory. The emphasis of their writing activity, however, focused above all on textual interpretation and philological issues. It was not until the 2nd century that philological interests increasingly gave way to linguistic matters.

3.3 *Between Alexandria, Rome and the Educational Centers of the East*

Already in the waning years of the Ptolemaic dynasty and during the reign of Augustus, two prominent scholars were active in Alexandria, Theon and Seleucus. In spite of the fact that chronologically speaking, they belonged to the Hellenistic era, their accomplishments reveal that they both represented the link between tradition and innovation within Alexandrian scholarship while, at the same time, signaling the turning point from the Hellenistic to the Imperial period.

Theon⁸⁹ was the son of the grammarian Artemidorus of Tarsus,⁹⁰ who belonged to the school of Aristophanes of Byzantium, and seems likely to have been the father of Apollonius, the commentator of Homer mentioned

89 Literature on Theon: Gräfenhan [1843–1850] III 250–252, Susemihl [1891–1892] II 215–217, Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] I 435, Sandys [1921³] 144, Wendel [1934a], Damschen [2002], LGGA s.v. Theon (1) (Cl. Meliadò), and Montana in this volume. Theon's fragments were collected and discussed first by Giese [1867] and later by Guhl [1969]. Unlike Giese, Guhl substantially extended the textual base by taking into account new material obtained mainly from new papyri findings as well as a series of fragments which, although not explicitly attributed to Theon, contained a mention of his name (fr. *41–*182 Guhl); on these fragments cf. Guhl [1969] 16–18.

90 See *Etym. Gen.* α 1198 Lasserre-Livadaras (= test. 2; fr. 2, 7 Guhl) s.v. ἀρμόϊ (cf. *Etym. Magn.* 144.47–58 s.v. ἀρμόϖ = Hdn. *Orth.*, GG III/2, 502.10–14). On the grammarian Artemidorus (1st c. BC) see Susemihl [1891–1892] II 185–186, Wentzel [1895c], Montanari [1997b], LGGA s.v. Artemidorus (1), and Montana in this volume.

in *Sch. Hom. (A) 20.234c*.⁹¹ According to the information provided by Suidas, Theon was a contemporary of Dionysius of Halicarnassus and also the predecessor of Apion as leader of the philological school in Alexandria.⁹² If Apion followed Theon in this function during Tiberius' reign (14–37 AD), Theon's lifetime coincides with the reign of Augustus. Theon was thus a contemporary of Didymus, but unlikely to have been older than the latter, in contrast to Guhl's assumption.⁹³

In any case, it is not so much the temporal aspect that appears to be decisive for the proximity or distance of Theon to Didymus as, rather, internal criteria arising from the works of both grammarians. In accordance with the Alexandrian tradition, Theon dealt with the interpretation of classical literature. A commentary by Theon on the *Odyssey* (Ἑπόμνημα εἰς τὴν Ὀδύσσειαν) is attested by name in the *Etymologica*.⁹⁴ Theon's commentating activity extended to Pindar as well,⁹⁵ while the surviving evidence also points to

91 Gräfenhan [1843–1850] III 61–62 equated the Apollonius who is called Theon's son in this scholion with Apollonius Anteros; on Apollonius Anteros see below in this paragraph. On Gräfenhan's supposition, see Susemihl [1891–1892] II 217 note 400.

92 See Suid. α 3215 (= test. 1 Guhl): Ἀπίων . . . Διδύμου δὲ τοῦ μεγάλου θρεπτός. ἐπαίδευσε δὲ ἐπὶ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος καὶ Κλαυδίου ἐν Ῥώμῃ. ἦν δὲ διάδοχος Θεώνος τοῦ γραμματικοῦ καὶ σύγχρονος Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἀλικαρνασέως. For the interpretation of Suidas' statement in the sense that Theon and not Apion was a contemporary of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, see Susemihl [1891–1892] II 217 note 40 and Guhl [1969] 2. The grammarian Apion is discussed below in this paragraph.

93 See Guhl [1969] 2. Guhl based his view concerning the chronological relationship between Didymus and Theon and the priority of the latter over the former on the assumption that Didymus—“der Endpunkt der antiken Grammatikererklärung” (so Guhl [1969] 15)—integrated Theon's hypomnema on Pindar in his own Pindaric commentary. The same view concerning the relationship of the two works to each other has recently been followed by McNamee [2007] 95. Both works, however, can and should be regarded independently of each other. Theon's commentary, of which at least the part related to the *Pythian odes* was already available in the 2nd c. AD in P.Oxy. XXXI 2536 (= fr. 38 Guhl) in a reworked or abbreviated form, builds the basis for the second branch of sources of the Pindaric scholia, which Irigoien [1952] describes as a “Schulkommentar”; cf. Maehler [1994] 114–119. On the history of the transmission of the Pindaric scholia, see Dickey [2007] 38–40.

94 See fr. 14–18 Guhl; on the character of Theon's hypomnema, see Guhl [1969] 13. The existence of a commentary on the *Iliad* was accepted by Wendel [1934c] 2055 and also by Gräfenhan [1843–1850] III 251 with n. 19; the opposite opinion is expressed by Guhl [1969] 12–13.

95 See fr. 36–38 Guhl; cf. n. 93. Knowledge of Theon's commentary on Pindar has been substantially increased by the papyri findings. In addition to the only scholion previously known (*Sch. Pind. Ol.* 5.42a [= fr. 36 Guhl]), a marginal note from Theon's commentary on *Pind. Pae.* 2.37–8 in P.Oxy. V 841, iv 37 (fr. 37 Guhl) and also an extensive fragment

work on Sophocles, at least in the form of an edition.⁹⁶ Additionally, Theon's philological activity found expression in the field of lexicography. Following Didymus' example, he wrote lexicographic works on the language of comedy and very likely also on that of tragedy.⁹⁷

Theon's achievement, however, is associated with a clear shift in the focal points of traditional Alexandrian scholarship. His main contribution and innovation consisted in focusing his research more intensely on the Hellenistic poets. The preserved fragments refer directly, *i.e.* by mentioning the relevant title, but also indirectly to his commentaries (ὑπομνήματα) on Callimachus, Apollonius Rhodius, Theocritus, Lycophron and Nicander.⁹⁸ We even know from the subscription of the scholia on Apollonius Rhodius that Theon's commentary was taken into consideration and incorporated into the surviving corpus.⁹⁹ Thus Theon took the lead in the interpretation of Hellenistic poetry within Alexandrian scholarship.¹⁰⁰ By integrating contemporary literature

from his commentary on Pindar's *Pythians* in P.Oxy. xxxi 2536 (cf. fr. 38 Guhl) have been added; in the subscription preserved in the latter papyrus, Theon's commentary on Pindar is mentioned *expressis verbis*.

- 96 As the expression οὕτως ἦν ἐν τῇ Θέωνος indicates, P.Oxy. IX 1174 preserves remnants of Theon's critical edition of Sophocles' satyr play *Ichneutai* (fr. 19–35 Guhl). It is correctly assumed that Theon's ἔκδοσις was not just limited to this satyr play, but encompassed all the works of Sophocles. It remains unclear, however, whether Theon also wrote a commentary on Sophocles; see Wendel [1934c] 2055 and Guhl [1969] 13.
- 97 Hesychius testifies Theon's lexicographic activity in the dedication letter of his own lexicon; see Hsch. *Epist. ad Eulogium* 1.3: ... οἱ δὲ τὰς κωμικὰς ἰδίᾳ καὶ τὰς τραγικὰς ὡς Θέων καὶ Δίδυμος καὶ ἔτεροι τοιοῦτοι. The question of whether Theon's lexicon covered the vocabulary of both tragedy and comedy or was restricted to only one field has been answered merely on the basis of the transmitted material. Because both of the surviving fragments (fr. 39–40 Guhl; cf. Bagordo [1998] 166–167) deal with the language of comedy, it has been concluded that the lexicon was dedicated exclusively to the λέξεις κωμικαί; see Susemihl [1891–1892] I 216 with n. 394, Wendel [1934c] 2057, Guhl [1969] 15–16 and, recently, Bagordo [1998] 63–64. The lexicon by Epitherses, however, on the language of both comedy and tragedy (on Epitherses see below in this paragraph) indicates that works encompassing both areas did in fact exist.
- 98 For Theon's commentary on Theocritus, see fr. 1–2, for that on Nicander fr. 3–4a, on Callimachus fr. 5–7, on Lycophron fr. 8–10 and on Apollonius Rhodius fr. 11–13 in the edition of Guhl [1969]. On the contents and scope of Theon's commentaries, see Wendel [1934c] 2055–2057 and Guhl [1969] 3–11.
- 99 See *Sch.* A.R. 329.8: Παράκειται τὰ σχόλια ἐκ τῶν Λουκίλλου Ταρραίου καὶ Σοφοκλείου καὶ Θέωνος. Cf. Wendel [1932a] 105–115 and Dickey [2007] 62–63.
- 100 The philological activity on Hellenistic poetry actually started with Theon's father Artemidorus (see Montana in this volume). We know of a commentary of Artemidorus on Callimachus' *Aetia*. Artemidorus probably produced also an edition of Theocritus; see Susemihl [1891–1892] I 185–186 and Wentzel [1895c] 1332.

into the spectrum of philological interpretation he broke new ground in the Alexandrian scholarly tradition. Theon's works on the Hellenistic poets provided a rich basis and shaped the subsequent commenting activity in this field during the following centuries.¹⁰¹

Seleucus,¹⁰² usually known by the nickname 'Ομηρικός, often also called γραμματικός, came from Alexandria and was a younger contemporary of Didymus and of other great Alexandrian philologists such as Tryphon, Philoxenus and Aristonicus.¹⁰³ After a decisive period of education and philological activity in the Ptolemaic capital, Seleucus moved to Rome, where he worked at the court of Tiberius.¹⁰⁴ The work of Seleucus marked a change in the history of philology insofar as he was not only active as a philologist, as a γραμματικός in the traditional meaning of the term, but also embodied the profile of a scholar in the wider sense. Such figures appear frequently at the beginning of the Imperial era; they mainly saw their role and function as of fostering interaction between the Greek cultural heritage and the environment of Rome.

In Seleucus, this role is evident from the diversity and multifacetedness of his research interests and writings. His oeuvre spans philology and grammar in their entire breadth, but also draws on other areas such as theology, the history of philosophy and biography. Seleucus' biographical work Περί βίων ("Lives"), attested with its title by Harpocration (ο 19 s.v. 'Ομηρίδαι = *FHG* III 500 = fr. 76 Müller), apparently had antiquarian character with special

101 On the evaluation of Theon's philological activity and its after-effect, see Guhl [1969] 18–24; cf. Wendel [1934c] 2058–2059; see also Montana in this volume.

102 Literature on Seleucus: Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] I 269, Müller [1921b], Sandys [1921³] 296–297, Baumbach [2001b] and Razzetti [2002b]; cf. also Schmidt [1848] and Jacoby in his commentary on *FGrHist* 341, pp. 92–93. Seleucus' fragments from his antiquarian works are collected in *FHG* III 500 and *FGrHist* 341; the philological—in the furthest sense—fragments were firstly collected by Schmidt [1848] 445–452 and then by Müller [1891]. New fragments deriving mainly from Seleucus' grammatical studies have been presented by Reitzenstein [1897] 157–211. An edition of the fragments comprising the entire oeuvre of Seleucus is still pending.

103 See Suid. σ 200 (= *FGrHist* 341 T 1): Σέλευκος, Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, γραμματικός, ὃς ἐπεκλήθη 'Ομηρικός· ἐσοφίστευσε δὲ ἐν Ῥώμῃ. On the nickname γραμματικός, see D.L. 3.109 and 9.12.

104 Seleucus' move to Rome is, in addition to Suidas (cf. n. 103), also attested by Suetonius (*Tib.* 56 = *FGrHist* 341 T 2), who testifies Seleucus' position as court philologist in the circle of Tiberius. On the identification of Seleucus named by Sueton with the "Homeric" Seleucus, see Müller [1891] 1–3 and Müller [1921b] 1252–1253 with reference to older literature on the matter.

reference to literary personalities.¹⁰⁵ The treatise *Περὶ φιλοσοφίας* (“On philosophy”; fr. 74–75 Müller), ascribed to the grammarian Seleucus by Diogenes Laertius is characterized as a work dealing with the history of philosophy.¹⁰⁶ Suidas confirms the existence of a work by Seleucus called *Περὶ τῶν ψευδῶς πεπιστευμένων* (“On things which have wrongly been believed”), which may have contained a critical examination of paradoxographic writers and fabulists.¹⁰⁷ The treatise bearing the title *Περὶ θεῶν* (“On gods”), also attested by Suidas, probably did not address exclusively theological matters. On the basis of the material collected by Reitzenstein from the *Etymologica*, explanations of mythological names also formed part of this work.¹⁰⁸

Seleucus’ antiquarian research also included the work *Σύμμικτα* (“Miscellanea”; *FGrHist* 341 F 3–*5), likewise testified by Suidas. This work, as the title suggests, had an assortment of diverse materials; the preserved fragments deal mostly with mythographical issues.¹⁰⁹ Finally, the compilation of Alexandrian proverbs entitled *Περὶ τῶν παρ’ Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι παροιμιῶν* (“On Alexandrian proverbs”), which is again mentioned by Suidas, lies on the borderline with philology. Seleucus’ work is regarded as the source for the collection of proverbs with the same title that is ascribed to Plutarch.¹¹⁰

On the philological level, according to Suidas’ testimony, Seleucus dealt with the interpretation of almost every poet: ἔγραψεν ἐξηγητικά εἰς πάντα ὡς εἰπεῖν ποιητῆν. The majority of the surviving fragments from Seleucus’ commentaries relate to Homer and Hesiod (fr. 1–33 Müller).¹¹¹ Scholars have

105 On the contents of this treatise, see Müller [1921b] 1255–1256; cf. Müller [1891] 23. Doubts on the attribution of this writing to the “Homeric” Seleucus were expressed by Jacoby in his commentary on *FGrHist* 341, pp. 92–93.

106 See Müller [1921b] 1255; Jacoby in his commentary on *FGrHist* 342, p. 93, is skeptical about the attribution of this work to the grammarian Seleucus.

107 Cf. Müller [1921b] 1254.

108 On the possible contents of this writing, see Müller [1921b] 1254. Reitzenstein [1897] 188 recognized Apollodorus as Seleucus’ main source. In his commentary on *FGrHist* 341, p. 93, however, Jacoby denies that the work *Περὶ θεῶν* stems from the grammarian Seleucus.

109 See Müller [1921b] 1255.

110 Plutarch’s collection of proverbs is often regarded by older scholarship as an excerpt from Seleucus’ work; see Müller [1921b] 1252 and Jacoby in a commentary on *FGrHist* 341, p. 92, with references to older literature.

111 According to the testimony of P.Oxy. II 221 (= P.Lond.Lit. 178 = Pap. XI Erbse), xv 24–25, Seleucus’ commentary was titled *Διορθωτικά*. Based on fr. 34, Müller assumed the existence of a commentary of Seleucus on the tragedians. His view, however, has been met with criticism; see Reitzenstein [1897] 165–166 and Müller [1921b] 1254.

long agreed that the *Εἰς τοὺς λυρικοὺς ὑπόμνημα* (“Commentary on the lyric poets”),¹¹² which Suidas attributes to Seleucus of Emesa, should more properly be ascribed to Seleucus “Homericus”.¹¹³ A work on Simonides of at least four books, which is mentioned in the fragments from the *Etymologica* collected by Reitzenstein, was most probably a commentary on this poet.¹¹⁴ Seleucus also dealt with the interpretation of Solon’s laws in his *Ὑπόμνημα τῶν Σόλωνος ἀξόνων* (“Commentary on Solon’s laws”; *FGrHist* 341 F 1–*2).¹¹⁵ Two further works of Seleucus, the *Προσατικὸς πρὸς Πολύβιον* (fr. 71 Müller) and the *Προσατικὸς πρὸς Ζήνωνα* (fr. 72 Müller),¹¹⁶ belong to the subject area of the so-called *λυτικοί*, i.e. of philologists who provide the ‘solutions’ to problems concerning Homeric poetry and literature in general. The commentary on *Il.* 21.1–516 (?), which was compiled by a certain “Ammonius, son of Ammonius”, transmitted in P.Oxy. II 221 (P.Lond.Lit. 178 = Pap. XII Erbse; 2nd century AD), is especially revealing for the extent, character and method of Seleucus’ philological studies. In particular, the papyrus commentary testifies to a further, hitherto unknown, philological treatise of Seleucus, originally consisting of at least three books with the title *Κατὰ τῶν Ἀριστάρχου σημείων* (“Against the critical signs of Aristarchus”): *πρὸς ταῦτα λέγει Σέλευκος ἐν τῷ(ι) γ’ Κατὰ τῶν Ἀριστάρχου σημείων ὅτι κτλ.* (col. xv, l. 16 [comm. on *Il.* 21.290]).

This testimony is important for several reasons: it reveals that Seleucus occupied a special position within scholarship, especial Homeric scholarship during the Imperial era, as the papyrus commentary treats the most recent range of sources concerning the interpretation of the Homeric poetry. In addition to Seleucus, mention is also made of Didymus, Aristonicus, Ptolemaeus Ascalonita and Ptolemaeus Pindarion. Seleucus is quoted as among the renewers of traditional Homeric scholarship, especially of the strands deriving from the Alexandrian school and, on a par with them, he seems to have contributed to approaching the subject through the filter of more contemporary research. For although he was a member of the Alexandrian school and worked closely with the major descendants of the Aristarchean tradition, he did not hesitate to examine or even oppose the opinions of Aristarchus, proceeding in a more independent manner than other Aristarchean scholars. This is made clear not

112 See Suid. σ 201 s.v. Σέλευκος Ἐμισσηνός. On the Emesian Seleucus, see below in § 3.4.

113 See Schmidt [1848] 444 and Müller [1921b] 1255; cf. also Porro [1994] 16–17.

114 See Reitzenstein [1897] 161, Nr. 61: Σελεύκου· Ἰλεύς· . . . ταῦτα παρατίθεται ἐν δ’ Σιμωνίδου. Cf. Müller [1921b] 1255.

115 Cf. Müller [1921b] 1255.

116 On these works, see Müller [1921b] 1255. Seleucus’ fr. 73 Müller stems, as it can be seen from the testimony mentioned by Reitzenstein [1897] 165.15 and his commentary in the textcritical apparatus, not from Seleucus’ work *Προσατικὸς πρὸς Ζήνωνα*.

only by the character of his treatise, which was in effect a polemical disparagement of Aristarchus' critical signs and their explanations,¹¹⁷ but even more so by the arguments he put forward to counter the Aristarchean interpretation of Homer.¹¹⁸

Seleucus thus proves not to be a mere compiler of old exegetical material, but an independently working scholar who critically addressed the philological tradition of his own school. The same picture can be reconstructed for Seleucus' grammatical works in the strict sense. In the field of etymology, Seleucus is regarded, along with Philoxenus, as the founder of a scientific etymology, which ran counter to the philosophical explanation, especially the stoic etymological explanation based upon arbitrary methods.¹¹⁹ Seleucus' etymologies are attested in the material provided by Reitzenstein from the Byzantine *Etymologica*.¹²⁰ In place of an etymological explanation that assumes the composition of a word from segments of other words, both Philoxenus and Seleucus developed a theoretical framework that was mainly based upon derivation. In their conception, a word is to be traced back to its stem by taking into consideration and explaining phonological and morphological changes that have affected the word structure. Seleucus believed that etymology serves to determine the correct use of language, and according to the testimony of Athenaeus (9.367a) he devoted a special study to this topic, entitled *Περὶ ἑλληνισμοῦ*.¹²¹ The etymologies attributed to Seleucus presumably derive from this work. Finally, Seleucus' lexicographic activity includes the collection *Γλώσσαι* ("Glosses"; fr. 36–68 Müller) and also a work bearing the title "On different meanings of synonymous words" (*Περὶ τῆς ἐν συνωνύμοις διαφορᾶς*), which is testified only by Suidas.

The grammarian Ptolemaeus also belongs to the Alexandrian tradition.¹²² The period of his life can be set at the first half of the 1st century AD, if it can be assumed that Ptolemaeus, in agreement with the testimony of Athenaeus and

117 On Aristarchus' critical signs and also on Aristonicus' writing which served to explain them, see Montana in this volume.

118 On the philological principle *κατὰ τὸ σιωπώμενον*, which Seleucus assumes for the interpretation of *Il.* 21.290, see Nünlist [2009a] 157–164, especially 169–170. According to Nünlist, Seleucus modified and expanded the traditional exegetical principle, which was widely utilized in early Alexandrian interpretation of Homer.

119 On Seleucus' etymological approach, see Reitzenstein [1897] 184–188.

120 Cf. n. 102.

121 On this special type of grammatical treatises, see Siebenborn [1976] 32–35; Valente (section II.4), and Pagani in this volume.

122 Literature on Ptolemaeus: Susemihl [1891–1892] II 215, Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] I 438, Dihle [1962], Matthaïos [2001b] and LGGA s.v. Ptolemaeus (3) Aristonici (A. Boatti).

Herodian, was the son and not the father of Aristonicus.¹²³ The later dating is supported by the fact that Ptolemaeus, according to the testimony of Suidas, was active as a grammarian in Rome, like his father Aristonicus. The most probable date for Ptolemaeus' stay in Rome was during the reign of Augustus.¹²⁴ Suidas also provides a list of his writings. The few fragments of Ptolemaeus' works that have survived until today derive from his "Commentary on Homer" (Εἰς Ὀμηρον), which consisted of 50 books.¹²⁵ Ptolemaeus' work titled Τὰ ὁμοίως εἰρημένα τοῖς τραγικοῖς dealt, as the title suggests, with the recurrent themes in tragedies.¹²⁶ Two further works of Ptolemaeus, known only by their title—the treatises Τὰ παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ ξένως ἱστορημένα ("Strange stories in Homer") and Τὰ περὶ Μουσῶν καὶ Νηρηΐδων ("On the Muses and Nereids")—were presumably concerned presumably with mythographical and antiquarian issues.

The grammarian Apollonides of Nicaea lived during the reign of Tiberius.¹²⁷ As testified by Diogenes Laertius, Apollonides dedicated his commentary on Timon's *Silloi* (Ἵπομνήματα εἰς τοὺς Σίλλους) to the Emperor.¹²⁸ Diogenes Laertius quotes from the first book of Apollonides' commentary, providing biographical information on Timon as well as a synopsis of the *Silloi*.¹²⁹ In addition to his work on Timon's *Silloi*—a somewhat strange choice for his philological activity—Apollonides wrote a commentary on Demosthenes' speech "On the false embassy" (Ἵπόμνημα τοῦ Περὶ τῆς παραπρεσβείας Δημοσθένους).¹³⁰ He also composed a work consisting of at least 8 books with the title Περὶ

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- 123 See Ath. 11.481d and *Sch. Hom. Il. (A) 4.423 a¹*: Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τοῦ Ἀριστονίκου. Due to a misunderstanding, Suidas regards him as the father of Aristonicus; see Suid. π 3036: Πτολεμαῖος, Ἀριστονίκου τοῦ γραμματικοῦ πατήρ, καὶ αὐτὸς γραμματικός. ἄμφω δὲ ἐπεδείκνυντο ἐν Ῥώμῃ. On Aristonicus, see Montana in this volume.
- 124 See Susemihl [1891–1892] II 215 n. 386 and Wendel [1920] 77–78; cf. Matthaios [2001b]. Dihle [1962] does not believe it is possible to come to a more certain conclusion regarding the relationship between both grammarians, due to the fact that both grandfather and grandson often shared the same name.
- 125 Wendel [1920] 78 also assigned the *Sch. Theoc. 1.110a–c* to the Homeric commentary of Ptolemaeus.
- 126 See Bagordo [1998] 65 and 162.
- 127 Literature on Apollonides: Gräfenhan [1843–1850] III 250, Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] I 435, Wentzel [1895a], Di Marco [1989] 54–55, Montanari [1996e] and LGGA s.v. Apollonides (A. Ippolito). Testimonies and fragments from Apollonides' works are listed in *FHG* IV 310 and in LGGA.
- 128 See D.L. 9.109: Ἀπολλωνίδης ὁ Νικαεὺς, ὁ παρ' ἡμῶν, ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν εἰς τοὺς Σίλλους ὑπομνήματι, ἃ προσφωνεῖ Τιβερίῳ Καίσαρι.
- 129 See D.L. 9.109–111 = Timo Phlasius test. 1, fr. 1 Di Marco.
- 130 The work is attested in Ammon. *Diff.* 366 s.vv. ὄφλειν καὶ ὀφείλειν.

κατεψευσμένων ἱστοριῶν (“About fictitious stories”),¹³¹ which, judging from the little that has survived, had a literary-historical character and included criticism of false assumptions made by or about various authors.¹³² Apollonides’ philological writings also encompass a treatise bearing the title Περὶ παροιμιῶν (“On proverbs”), which is attested by Stephanus of Byzantium (617.5–7 s.v. Τέρινα).

Similarly to the aforementioned grammarians, Apion¹³³ also lived in the period between the end of the 1st century BC and the middle of the 1st century AD and belongs to those figures who mark the transition to a new epoch in the history of Imperial scholarship. Apion was Egyptian by birth, the son of a certain Posidonius and a contemporary of Dionysius of Halicarnassus.¹³⁴ According to Suidas, he was educated in Alexandria in the house of Didymus, where he had the opportunity to hear Euphranor, who was at the time over 100 years old. Apion was also a disciple of Apollonius Archibiu and Theon’s successor as leader of the Alexandrian grammarians’ school.¹³⁵ His philological activity is summed up in the title γραμματικός.¹³⁶ He taught in Rome during the reign of Tiberius and Claudius, and had Pliny the Elder among his listeners.¹³⁷ During Caligula’s reign, Apion traveled through Greece, gave lectures on Homer and was honored by the Greek cities with the title Ὅμηρικὸς (“Homeric”).¹³⁸ Apion was a citizen of Alexandria and was sent at the age of 40 to Caligula in Rome as the head of a delegation, in order to present an argument against a certain Philo, a Jew, on the subject of the accusations lodged

131 In Ammon. *Diff.* 253 s.vv. κατοίσις καὶ κατοίησις the third book of this work is cited; the eighth book is cited in the *Vita Arat.* I 10.16–19 Martin; Müller *FHG* IV 310 also attributes the quotation of Harp. I 27 s.v. Ἴων to this work.

132 The work Περὶ κατεψευσμένης ἱστορίας ascribed by Suidas (α 3422) to Apollonius Dyscolus is unjustly regarded by Müller in *FHG* IV 310 as a work either of Apollonides or of the historian Apollonius; see R. Schneider in *GG* II/3, 140. It is also unclear whether the Apollonides-fragment transmitted by Priscian in *GL* III 406.22–407.4 is to be ascribed to this work; Apollonides is quoted here together with Lucillus Tarrhaeus for the view they shared on the use of letters as numerals.

133 Literature on Apion: Gräfenhan [1843–1850] III 58–59, Cohn [1894b], Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] I 437–438, Sandys [1921³] 295–296, Montanari [1996d] as well as Neitzel [1977] 189–190. The fragments from the historical writings of Apion are collected in *FHG* III 506–516 and *FGrHist* 616. On Apion’s glossographical work, see below in this paragraph.

134 See Suid. α 3215 (= *FGrHist* 616 T 1); cf. the testimonies mentioned in *FGrHist* 616.

135 On Theon, see above in this paragraph. On Apollonius Archibiu, see below in this paragraph.

136 Cf. Suid. α 3215 (= *FGrHist* 616 T 1) and the testimonies listed under *FGrHist* 616 T 5.

137 See Suid. α 3215 (= *FGrHist* 616 T 1); cf. Plin. *N.H.* 30.18.

138 See Sen. *Ep.* 88.40 (= *FGrHist* 616 T 7).

in 38 AD by Jews from Alexandria, who claimed they had been abused.¹³⁹ In the conflict between Greeks and Jews in Alexandria, he had decisively taken a position against the Jews. We are informed of Apion's views and intentions by the polemic work of Flavius Josephus bearing the significant title "Against Apion" (Πρὸς Ἀπίωνα), which defends the Jews. The impression Apion made on his contemporaries was twofold and contradictory. On the one hand, his erudition and eloquence were praised, on the other his insufferable smugness was ridiculed.¹⁴⁰ He was named a *cymbalum mundi* by Tiberius, whereas Pliny called him a *propriae fama tymbanum*.¹⁴¹ He was also nicknamed Πλειστονίκης, the "frequent winner",¹⁴² and also Μόχθος, a designation which probably referred to his diligence.¹⁴³

Apion's oeuvre includes the work Αἰγυπτιακά, consisting of five books, which provides a presentation of Egyptian history and literature.¹⁴⁴ It is in this work that Apion launched his attacks against the Jews, which prompted Flavius Josephus to draw up a refutation. The works Περὶ μάγου¹⁴⁵ and Περὶ τῆς Ἀπικίου τρυφῆς,¹⁴⁶ which are known either only by title or through a few fragments, belong to his historical writings. Pliny (*N.H. ind. Auct. Lib. xxxv*) mentions one further work with the Latin title *De metallica disciplina*. Apion's philological writings are primarily related to the field of glossography. His lexicographic activity included the collection Γλῶσσαί Ὀμηρικαί, which was used by Apollonius Sophista for the compilation of his own Homeric dictionary;¹⁴⁷ Hesychius likewise mentions Apion's Γλῶσσαί and enumerates this work among the sources of his lexicon.¹⁴⁸ The lexicographic works of Apion also

139 See Joseph. *AJ* 18.257 (= *FGrHist* 616 T 6).

140 See Gel. 5.14.1, 7.8.1 (= *FGrHist* 616 T 10a, b).

141 See Gel. 5.14.1 (= *FGrHist* 616 T 10a) and Plin. *N.H. praef.* 25 (= *FGrHist* 616 T 13).

142 See Suid. α 3215 (= *FGrHist* 616 T 1) and the testimonies listed under *FGrHist* 616 T 2.

143 Cf. Suid. α 2634 s.v. Ἀντέρως (= *FGrHist* 616 T 8): ... ἀκουστής δὲ ἦν Ἀπίωνος τοῦ μόχθου; on Apollonius Anteros, see below in this paragraph. Apion's nickname Μόχθος is also attested in Apol. *Dysc. Synt.* 1.154, *GG* 11/2, 124.9 and in *Sch. Ar. Pax* 77.

144 The fragments preserved from this writing are collected in *FGrHist* 616.

145 See *FGrHist* 616 F 23.

146 See *FGrHist* 616 F 24.

147 On Apollonius' lexicon and its sources, see below in § 6.1.

148 See Hsch. *Epist. ad Eulogium* 1.2–3 and 1.31–2.1 Latte. Hesychius' lexicon is discussed below in § 6.3, and in the contribution by Pontani in this volume. The surviving fragments from Apion's glossographical collection have been edited and commented by Neitzel [1977]. A meager collection of Homeric glosses has been transmitted in several manuscripts under the title Ἀπίωνος γλῶσσαί Ὀμηρικαί; this glossary is edited by Ludwig [1917] and [1918]. In spite of substantial revisions, this glossary seems to have been mainly based upon Apion's original work; on this question, see Neitzel [1977] 301–326.

include the treatises *Περὶ ἐπωνύμων* (*FGrHist* 616 F 26) and *Περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς διαλέκτου* (Ath. 15.680d).

As can be seen from his works, Apion shared the same characteristic of the scholars of his day, namely a critical attitude toward the interpretation of their predecessors in the Alexandrian school. It is also worth noting that even though lexicography, especially Homeric glossography, made up the lion's share of his philological activity, as the nickname Ὀμηρικὸς suggests, Apion appears to have dealt with other ancient authors as well. P.Oxy. XXI 2295 (= CLGP I 1.1., Alcaeus 7) fr. 28 (*ad Alc.* 167) shows that Apion worked on Alcaeus,¹⁴⁹ as also confirmed by a quotation of Alcaeus in the *Syntax* of Apollonius Dyscolus, in which Apollonius makes a reference to an explanation deriving from Apion.¹⁵⁰ Finally, the field of technical grammar was covered by Apion's treatise *Περὶ στοιχείων* ("On Sounds").¹⁵¹

According to Suidas (α 2634), the grammarian Apollonius Anteros (Ἀντέρως),¹⁵² Apion's pupil, taught in Rome together with Heraclides Ponticus the Younger during the reign of Claudius. On the basis of the same testimony, Apollonius wrote a treatise "On grammar" (*Περὶ γραμματικῆς*) consisting of two books, of which no fragments have survived. However, Suidas' article on Heraclides mentions a grammarian named Aper, who belonged to the school of Aristarchus. Aper is described as being an enemy of Didymus, against whom he is said to have written several polemical works. Heraclides Ponticus the Younger, a pupil of Didymus, wrote a work directed against the grammarian Aper with the title *Λέσχαι* ("Academic conversations").¹⁵³ Unfortunately, due to textual transmission problems Suidas' wording at this point is difficult to follow. Westermann changed the transmitted name Ἄπερος—which Adler corrected into Ἄπερως—into the form Ἀντέρωτος, and thus claimed the identification of the putative Aper with Apollonius Anteros.¹⁵⁴

149 The papyrus commentary transmits two remarks by Apion: a metrical observation (l. 3) and a *varia lectio* (l. 18); see Porro [2004] 77 and 134.

150 See Apol. Dysc. *Synt.* 1.154, *GG* 11/2, 124.9–125.3.

151 See *Sch.* Dion. T., *GG* I/3, 183.25–31 (= *FGrHist* 616 F 27); the fragment refers to the question of whether the Greeks used the Ionic alphabet.

152 Literature on Apollonius Anteros: Gräfenhan [1843–1850] III 61–62, Cohn [1895c], Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] I 438, Montanari [1996f] and *LGGA s.v.* Apollonius (7) Anteros.

153 See Suid. η 463: Ἡρακλείδης, Ἡρακλείδου, Ποντικός, ἀπὸ Ἡρακλείας τῆς Πόντου, γραμματικῶς ὅστις Διδύμῳ τῷ πάνυ κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐφοίτησεν. οὗτος ἐπειδὴ ἤκουσεν Ἄπερως, τοῦ Ἀριστάρχου μαθητοῦ, εὐδοκίμουτος κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην, πολλὰ τε τοὺς Δίδυμον διασύροντας, ἔγραψε κτλ.

154 See Westermann [1845] 369 (apparatus on l. 52); cf. Schmidt [1854] 9–10. Bergk [1845] 125, on the other hand, corrects the transmitted form into Ἄσπερος and interprets it as the genitive of the name of a Roman grammarian named *Asper*. Gräfenhan [1843–1850]

If the identification is correct, Anteros' career can be more precisely reconstructed. It must have included more philological studies than merely the manual "On Grammar". Anteros' offense of Didymus cannot be further investigated. It also cannot be ruled out that it took place in the oral form of lectures and courses. At the same time, he can be recognized as having a tendency towards a critical engagement with the past, which was actually not devoid of altercations and disputes. It was, however, through such disputes with the older philological tradition that younger scholars tried to establish their position in the history of scholarship.

Heraclides Ponticus the Younger,¹⁵⁵ a grammarian from Heraclea Pontica, was a student of Didymus in Alexandria before the period of his teaching activity in Rome under Claudius and Nero.¹⁵⁶ Suidas (δ 875) testifies that Heraclides' son named Didymus was also a grammarian (Δίδυμος ὁ τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου), likewise active in Rome at Nero's court.¹⁵⁷ As mentioned above, Suidas states that Heraclides wrote a work consisting of three books with the title *Λέσχαί* ("Academic Conversations"), which was composed in Sapphic and Phalaecian hendecasyllable.¹⁵⁸ In this work, Heraclides defended his teacher Didymus on the subject of his interpretation of mythological and historical material, against the attacks of Apollonius Anteros (or Aper). The work had a symptical character; it was perhaps written in dialogue form and was intended to represent a learned discussion at a banquet. Artemidorus placed it beside Lycophron's *Alexandra* and Parthenius' elegies because of its thematic affinity with these works: it contained *ἰστορίαί ξέναι καὶ ἄτριπτοι* ("strange and unused

III 62–63 believes that this Asper (Ἄσπερ) is the Latinized Anteros, and that the name is primarily a description of a characteristic, such as Δύσκολος, Μόχθος or Χαλκέντερος. Furthermore, Gräfenhan [1843–1850] III 63 is of the opinion that Asper did not turn against Didymus Chalkenteros, but against Didymus the Younger or Didymus Claudius, who was actually the son of Heraclides Ponticus. That is merely an assumption, which cannot be proven. The same is also the case for the changed form Ἀπίωνος in Suidas' testimony and the identification of the grammarian referred to there with the already discussed Apion (see above in this paragraph), as Hertz [1862] suggested. In the view of Hertz, Apion's possible "Ausfall gegen seinen 'Erzieher' Didymos" is understandable. But this is also pure speculation, though this suggestion was endorsed by Cohn [1894b].

155 Literature on Heraclides: Gräfenhan [1843–1850] III 64–65, Schmidt-Stählin [1920–1926] I 322 and 330, Daebritz-Funaioli [1912], Fornaro [1998g] and LGGA s.v. Heraclides (6).

156 See Suid. η 463 and α 2634; the text of the first passage named is quoted in the previous n. 153.

157 On this Didymus, see Daebritz-Funaioli [1912] 487.

158 The few surviving fragments of this work are collected and discussed by Meineke [1843] 377–381; some hints of other possible fragments are given by Daebritz-Funaioli [1912] 487. See also Heitsch [1963–1964] II 41 (S 1).

stories”).¹⁵⁹ It is perhaps on account of the dark brooding nature of the poem¹⁶⁰ that it later became the object of a commentary.¹⁶¹

According to Suidas, Heraclides “also composed many epic poems” (ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ ποιήματα ἐπικά πολλά), of which, however, none have survived. A treatise of Heraclides on the meaning and use of δεῖ and χρῆ belongs to the area of grammar.¹⁶² The Heraclides used by Orion as a source for his *Etymologicon*, contrary to the opinion above all of older research, is probably to be construed as the Younger and not the Elder.¹⁶³ Consequently, the work Περὶ ἐτυμολογιῶν, which Orion attributed to Heraclides by name, and also a series of etymologies ascribed to him by Orion and, additionally, in later *Etymologica*—though without mentioning the title of the work,¹⁶⁴—go back to Heraclides the Younger.

The grammarian, historian, Stoic philosopher and priest (ἱερογραμματεὺς) Chaeremon¹⁶⁵ was a contemporary of Heraclides. He was the head of the chair of grammar in Alexandria after Apion and before Dionysius of Alexandria.¹⁶⁶ Some time prior to the middle of the 1st century AD, Chaeremon was appointed, together with the philosopher Alexander of Aegae, as tutor of Nero at the Imperial court in Rome.¹⁶⁷ A fragment from Chaeremon’s grammatical activity has been preserved in Apollonius Dyscolus’ work *On Conjunctions*. According

159 See Artem. 4.63: ... εἰσι γὰρ καὶ παρὰ Λυκόφρονι ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρᾳ καὶ παρὰ Ἡρακλείδῃ τῷ Ποντικῷ ἐν ταῖς Λέσχαις καὶ παρὰ Παρθενίῳ ἐν ταῖς Ἐλεγεῖαις καὶ παρ’ ἄλλοις πολλοῖς ἱστορίαι ξένα καὶ ἄτριπτοι.

160 See Suid. η 463: ... δυσερμήνευτα καὶ πολλὴν τὴν ἀπορίαν ἔχοντα προβαλλομένων ζητημάτων.

161 This can be concluded from a remark in *Etym. Gud.* 297.49 s.v. Κῶναβος, which leads one to suppose the existence of a commentary on Heraclides’ Λέσχαι.

162 This work is attributed in *Etym. Magn.* 248.49–56 s.v. δοῦλος to a certain Ἡρακλῆς; according to Sylburg, the transmitted form is to be changed to the name Ἡρακλείδης.

163 See Wehrli [1969²e] 117–119 with a discussion of the older views of scholars on this topic; cf. Kleist [1865] 22–24.

164 See Orion s.v. ἀχλύς: ... οὕτως Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικός ἐν (τῷ) Περὶ ἐτυμολογιῶν (= *Exc. e cod. reg.* 2610 [G.H.K. Koës] in Sturz [1973] 186.9). The fragments of Heraclides deriving from this work are listed by Wehrli [1969²e] 117.

165 Literature on Chaeremon: Schwartz [1899], Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] I, 369 and 439, Inwood [1997] and Razzetti [2003b]. Chaeremon’s fragments, especially those which derive from his historical works “History of Egypt” (Αἰγυπτιακὴ ἱστορία) and “Hieroglyphs” (Ἱερογλυφικά), are edited in *FGrHist* 618.

166 See Suid. δ 1173 s.v. Διονύσιος, Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, ὁ Γλαύκου υἱός, γραμματικός· ὅστις ἀπὸ Νέρωνος (ἦν καὶ) (add. Rohde) συνῆν καὶ τοῖς μέχρι Τραϊανοῦ (sc. ἐν Ῥώμῃ παιδεύσασιν) καὶ τῶν βιβλιοθηκῶν προὔστη καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν καὶ πρεσβειῶν ἐγένετο καὶ ἀποκριμάτων. ἦν δὲ καὶ διδάσκαλος Παρθενίου τοῦ γραμματικοῦ, μαθητῆς δὲ Χαιρήμονος τοῦ φιλοσόφου (= *FGrHist* 618 T 3), ὃν καὶ διεδέξατο ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ. On Apion, see above in this paragraph.

167 See Suid. α 1128 s.v. Ἀλέξανδρος Αἰγαῖος· φιλόσοφος Περιπατητικός, διδάσκαλος Νέρωνος τοῦ βασιλέως, ἅμα Χαιρήμονι τῷ φιλοσόφῳ (= *FGrHist* 618 T 2).

to Apollonius Dyscolus, Chaeremon discusses the question of whether the expletive conjunctions can be regarded as conjunctions at all and, moreover, whether they belong to the word class “conjunction”.¹⁶⁸ Unfortunately, it can no longer be determined from what context or which work Chaeremon’s view originally stems. It is certainly conceivable that it came from a work dealing with conjunctions, *i.e.* a special treatise *Περὶ συνδέσμων* (“On Conjunctions”), like the ones written by Tryphon and later by Apollonius Dyscolus.

The next in succession after Chaeremon in the Alexandrian chair for grammar was the grammarian Dionysius of Alexandria.¹⁶⁹ We know of Dionysius’ life and work only from Suidas’ biographical article,¹⁷⁰ which states that Dionysius was the son of Glaucus, a pupil of the grammarian Chaeremon, whom he succeeded as occupant of the chair for grammar, and also the teacher of the grammarian Parthenius.¹⁷¹ Dionysius lived in the period between Nero and Trajan, *i.e.* in the second half of the 1st century AD; he was head of the Alexandrian libraries and held the offices *ab epistulis et legationibus et responsis*. It is uncertain whether these positions suggest a stay in Rome, as Cohn maintains.¹⁷² There is no testimony referring to Dionysius’ writings.

The grammarian Soteridas of Epidauros,¹⁷³ probably the father, and not the husband of the scholar Pamphile,¹⁷⁴ was active before the reign of Nero and perhaps already during Caligula’s reign. Apart from the question of what role

168 See Apol. Dysc. *Conj.*, GG II/1.1, 247.30–248.13. Concerning the significance of expletive conjunctions in the ancient word class system, see Matthaios [1999] 582–584.

169 Literature on Dionysius of Alexandria: Gräfenhan [1843–1850] III 54 and 67 and Cohn [1903g].

170 See Suid. δ 1173 s.v. Διονύσιος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς—the text of this testimony is quoted in the previous n. 166.

171 On Parthenius, see below in § 6.1.

172 See Cohn [1903g] 985.

173 Literature on Soteridas: Gräfenhan [1843–1850] III 91, 106, 227–228, 258–259, Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] I, 437 and 440, Gudeman [1927e] and LGGA s.v. Soteridas (A. Ippolito). On Soteridas’ lifetime, see Gudeman [1927e] 1233.

174 Pamphile is mostly known from her *ἱστορικὰ ὑπομνήματα*, which consists of 33 books and is a collection of literary and historical material of the most varied nature, as well as from an epitome of Ctesias’ historical works. She probably lived during Nero’s reign; cf. Gräfenhan [1843–1850] III 397 and 402, Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] I 437, Sandys [1921³] 295 and Regenbogen [1949]. There is contradictory information about Soteridas and his relationship to Pamphile. In Suid. σ 875 Soteridas is mentioned as the husband of Pamphile, in σ 876, however, as her father. The complex question surrounding the genealogical relationship of Pamphile with Soteridas and with Socratidas, who also appears as her betrothed, is treated by Gudeman [1927e] 1232–1233; cf. Regenbogen [1949] 309–312. Gudeman, *loc. cit.*, finds it more probable that Soteridas was Pamphile’s father.

Soteridas may have played in connection with the composition of Pamphile's *Ἱστορικά ὑπομνήματα* ("Historical commentaries"),¹⁷⁵ Suidas attributes to him several works on philology and grammar.¹⁷⁶ These include a work on "Homeric problems" (*ζήτησεις Ὀμηρικαί*),¹⁷⁷ a commentary on Menander and Euripides, as well as a treatise on comedy (*Περὶ κωμωδίας*).¹⁷⁸ Two further works of Soteridas attested by Suidas deal with grammatical matters; the first is an orthographical treatise (*Ὀρθογραφία*), the second is a treatise on metrics (*Περὶ μέτρων*).

Pamphilus¹⁷⁹ was another grammarian who also came from Alexandria. Suidas (π 142) refers to him as *Ἀριστάρχειος* ("Aristarchean"), not because he was a direct pupil of Aristarchus, but because he was associated with the Aristarchean tradition, partly also on account of the Alexandrian grammatical chair, which Pamphilus presumably held. His lifetime can be delimited by the fact that Apion¹⁸⁰ is the youngest author mentioned by Pamphilus in his lexicographic work¹⁸¹ and, with respect to the *terminus ante quem*, by the date of Hadrian's reign, during which Pamphilus' lexicon was epitomized at first by Vestinus and then by Diogenianus. Thus Pamphilus' period of activity must have been during the second half of the 1st century AD.¹⁸² His achievements in the area of philology are associated with his extensive lexicographic collection, which formed the basis for later lexica, above all for Hesychius. Pamphilus' lexicon will be treated separately below, in the section dealing with Imperial and Late Antique lexicography.¹⁸³

175 Both of Suidas' articles on Soteridas (σ 875 and σ 876) as well as the article on Pamphile herself (Suid. π 139) attribute to him the authorship of Pamphile's work; the information in σ 876 derives from Dionysius of Halicarnassus the Musician (on whom, see below in this paragraph). On the authorship question of the *Ἱστορικά ὑπομνήματα*, see Gudeman [1927e] 1232–1233.

176 See Suid. σ 875.

177 It is improbable that *Sch. Hom. Il. 4.412b¹* stems from this work. A grammarian named Soteris is indeed cited here, but Dindorf probably incorrectly changed the name to Soteridas; on this question, see Erbse in the testimonies apparatus to *Sch. Hom. Il. 4.412b¹*.

178 See Bagordo [1998] 65 and 165–166.

179 Literature on Pamphilus: Gräfenhan [1843–1850] III 56–57 and passim, Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] I 435–436, Wendel [1949b], Tosi [2000c] and LGGA s.v. Pamphilus (1). There is now a thorough study on Pamphilus with an edition and commentary on his fragments by Hatzimichali [2006].

180 On Apion, see above in this paragraph.

181 See Ath. 14.642e = fr. 4 H.; cf. also Hatzimichali [2006] 57–59.

182 The biographical information about Pamphilus has been presented and extensively discussed by Hatzimichali [2006] 11–14.

183 See below in § 6.1.

The list of Pamphilus' writings provided by Suidas names another work in addition to his lexicon, with the title *Λειμών* ("Meadow"). If the heading is not merely a secondary title for Pamphilus' lexicon, the work is more likely to be a Florilegium containing myths, anecdotes and exempla accompanied by a careful citation of the relevant source materials.¹⁸⁴ A work "On Plants" (*Περὶ βοτανῶν*), consisting of 6 books, was particularly influential. It was probably a botanical Onomastikon similar to that of Tryphon.¹⁸⁵ Pamphilus' philological works included a commentary with the title *Εἰς τὰ Νικάνδρου ἀνεξήγητα* ("Inexplicable in Nicander"),¹⁸⁶ as well as a treatise with the curious title *Ὅπικα*, whose content remains unknown.¹⁸⁷ Whether these writings constituted parts of the *Λειμών*, or whether they were independent works, is a matter of debate.

Suidas also testifies to the existence of a *Τέχνη κριτική* written by Pamphilus, though it should not be assumed that Pamphilus calls the philological discipline *κριτική*, following the Pergamenian grammarians, who also called themselves *κριτικοί*.¹⁸⁸ The work seems to be identical to the *Τέχνη γραμματική* ("Manual on grammar") which Suidas attributes in the immediately preceding article π 141 to a scholar of the same name, who is difficult to identify.¹⁸⁹ Suidas' article on the above mentioned Pamphilus concludes with the statement *καὶ ἄλλα πλείστα γραμματικά*, which in turn implies that he wrote several works on philological and grammatical matters. Specialized studies by Pamphilus on Homeric prosody can be inferred from specific quotations that have been transmitted in the corpus of the Homeric scholia. In contrast to previous research, which has assigned the relevant Pamphilus fragments to his lexicographic work, it seems plausible that Pamphilus discussed Homeric prosody in a separate work with the title *Ὀμηρικὴ προσωδία*, as did many grammarians of his time.¹⁹⁰ Since all of these fragments are scholia which go back to Herodian, it is reasonable to assume that Pamphilus' prosodic studies belonged to Herodian's sources.¹⁹¹

184 For a discussion of the possible contents of this work, see Hatzimichali [2006] 15–16.

185 A description of the work with edition and commentary of the fragments belonging to it is to be found in Hatzimichali [2006] 150–194.

186 See Hatzimichali [2006] 16–17.

187 See Hatzimichali [2006] 17–18.

188 On the terms *κριτική* and *κριτικός*, see Pfeiffer [1968] 157–158.

189 On this question, see Hatzimichali [2006] 18–20.

190 On prosodic studies during the Roman Empire, see below in § 4.

191 The fragments from Pamphilus' studies on Homeric prosody have been edited and discussed by Hatzimichali [2006] 107–149. On Herodian, see below in § 4.1.

The grammarian Heracleon,¹⁹² the son of Glaucus, is stated by Suidas and by *Sch. Hom. Il.* (bT) 21.577 to have originally come from Tylotis near Heracleopolis in Egypt and to have taught in Rome.¹⁹³ It is usually assumed that he lived during the reign of Augustus, but there is no certainty, nor any compelling reason for this dating.¹⁹⁴ Under closer investigation of the transmitted material, Heracleon would be placed definitively after Didymus and before Epaphroditus, *i.e.* in the first half of the 1st century AD.¹⁹⁵ His attitude towards the Alexandrian, especially the Aristarchean interpretation of Homer (see below) speaks for a later dating. Suidas also provides us with a list of Heracleon's writings, stating that he wrote a "Commentary on every book of the Homeric poems" (Ἰπόμνημα εἰς Ὀμηρον κατὰ ῥάψωδιαν) as well as a "Commentary on the lyric poets" (Ἰπόμνημα εἰς τοὺς λυρικοὺς). The majority of the surviving fragments refer to Heracleon's Homeric exegesis; they have been mainly transmitted in the Homeric scholia, but also in lexicographic works as in Harpocration, Hesychius and Stephanus of Byzantium. As can be seen from the preserved fragments, Heracleon attempted a comprehensive interpretation of the Homeric poems, including an investigation of language, grammar, etymology as well as of the historical material and topography. He consistently tried to make an independent judgment, often including criticism against Aristarchus.¹⁹⁶ Heracleon's grammatical studies included a treatise mentioned also by Suidas with the title: Περὶ τῶν παρ' Ὀμήρῳ προστακτικῶν ῥημάτων ("About the imperative verbs in Homer").

- 192 Literature on Heracleon: Susemihl [1891–1892] II 20–22, Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] I 204 and 438, Gudeman [1912c], Sandys [1921³] 160, Fornaro [1998j] 387 and *LGGA s.v.* Heracleon (1) (A. Ippolito). Heracleon's fragments have been collected by Berndt [1914].
- 193 On Heracleon's origin and teaching activity in Rome, see Suid. η 455 *s.v.* Ἡρακλέων, Αἰγύπτιος, ἀπὸ κώμης Τιλώτεως οὐσης ὑπὸ τῇ Ἡρακλέους πόλει, γραμματικός, ἐπαίδευσε δὲ ἐν Ῥώμῃ and *Sch. Hom. Il.* (bT) 21.577: ... φησὶν Ἡρακλέων (fr. 15 Berndt) ἐν Ῥώμῃ τοῦτο τεθεῖσθαι. On the name of his father see Steph. Byz. α 50 *s.v.* Ἀγυιά: Ἡρακλέων δὲ ὁ Γλαύκωνος, α 410 *s.v.* Ἀρέθουσα and 386.7 *s.v.* Κροκύλειον: Ἡρακλέων δὲ ὁ Γλαύκου.
- 194 On the question of Heracleon's datation see Gudeman [1912d] 512–513. Heracleon is also placed in the Augustan period by A. Ippolito in *LGGA s.v.*
- 195 See above all Steph. Byz. α 410 *s.v.* Ἀρέθουσα (fr. 18 Berndt), in which Heracleon turns against an explanation by Didymus; interestingly, Heracleon's explanation is borrowed according to *Sch. Theoc.* 1.117b (fr. 2a Br.–Bi.) by Epaphroditus. Heracleon is connected with Epaphroditus by Steph. Byz. β 89 *s.v.* Βῆσσα, πόλις Λοκρῶν. Ἡρωδιανός (Καθ. προσ., *GG* II/1, Ὀρθ., *GG* II/2, 481.25–28) δι' ἐνὸς σ γράφει, Ἀπολλόδωρος (*FGrHist* 244 F 188) δὲ καὶ Ἐπαφρόδιτος (fr. 21 Br.–Bi.) καὶ Ἡρακλέων (fr. 17 Berndt) διὰ δύο. On the relationship between Heracleon and Epaphroditus, see Braswell-Billerbeck [2008] 52.
- 196 It remains unclear whether Heracleon tended towards an allegorical exegesis; on this question, see Gudeman [1912c] 514.

The grammarian Epaphroditus of Chaeronea¹⁹⁷ was raised and educated as a slave in the house of the grammarian Archias in Alexandria.¹⁹⁸ He was then acquired by the prefect of Egypt, M. Mettius Modestus, who appointed him as tutor for his son Petelinus. Epaphroditus thus came to Rome and lived there under Nero until the reign of Nerva. He was probably freed when the son of Modestus had outgrown his care. His Latin name was M. Mettius Epaphroditus. He seems to have gained full autonomy from the house of his patron, and even gained substantial wealth; he was able to obtain a library of 30,000 scrolls and even purchase two homes. For us today, Epaphroditus is an exceptionally tangible figure, as there is a marble statue in Rome, in the Villa Altieri, which depicts him. The statue bears the inscription (*CIL* VI 9454 = *ILS* 7769 = test. 3 Br.–Bi.): *M. Mettius Epaphroditus grammaticus Graecus | M. Mettius Germanus l(ibertus) fec(it)*.¹⁹⁹ The description of his occupation as a *grammaticus Graecus* and the information from Suidas' article that he had lived in Rome at the same time as Ptolemaeus, the son of Hephaestion,²⁰⁰ seems to indicate that Epaphroditus opened a school after having been freed. His grammatical school would have been the source of his prosperity.

Suidas speaks of a substantial number of writings (συγγράμματα δὲ κατέλιπεν ἱκανά) by Epaphroditus, without mentioning their titles or topics. They included, as can be inferred from other sources,²⁰¹ commentaries on each book of both the *Iliad* (Ἐπόμνημα τῆς Ἰλιάδος; fr. 16–43 Br.–Bi.) and the *Odyssey* (Ἐπόμνημα τῆς Ὀδυσσεΐας; fr. 44–47 Br.–Bi.),²⁰² a commentary on the pseudo-Hesiodic *Shield* (Ἐπόμνημα Ἀσπίδος Ἡσιόδου; fr. 54–55 Br.–Bi.)²⁰³ and

197 Literature on Epaphroditus: Gräfenhan [1843–1850] 111 65, Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] I 439, Cohn [1905c], Sandys [1921³] 297, Christes [1979] 102–103, Fornaro [1997b], Braswell-Billerbeck [2008] 25–59 and *LGGA s.v.* Epaphroditus. Braswell-Billerbeck [2008] produced after Luenzner [1866] a complete edition of Epaphroditus' fragments with translation and extensive commentary.

198 On Epaphroditus' life, see Suid. ε 2004 (= test. 1 Br.–Bi.). This extensive article goes back to the biographical work of Hermippus of Berytus on slaves, who stood out in the educational system; see Cohn [1905c] 2711, Christes [1979] 102 n. 93, Braswell-Billerbeck [2008] 68 and 72 and also below in this paragraph. On the grammarian Archias (1st c. AD), see Cohn [1895], Montanari [1996i] and *LGGA s.v.* Archias. Little evidence of Archias' work is transmitted in Apollonius Sophistes' and in the lexicographic works of other writers; the fragments testify to Archias' interest in etymological and grammatical questions.

199 For a commentary on the inscription, see Braswell-Billerbeck [2008] 27 and 75–77.

200 On Hephaestion, see below in § 4.1.

201 On the sources for Epaphroditus' fragments, see Braswell-Billerbeck [2008] 41–48.

202 Braswell-Billerbeck [2008] regard fr. 48–53 as “Homeric” of uncertain origin and context within Epaphroditus' writings. For a description of Epaphroditus' works on the Homeric poems, see Braswell-Billerbeck [2008] 34–39.

203 See Braswell-Billerbeck [2008] 40.

also on the *Aetia* of Callimachus (‘Υπόμνημα Καλλιμάχου Αιτίων; fr. 56–57 Br.–Bi.).²⁰⁴ Epaphroditus’ Homeric exegesis is his best known work. He dealt with both questions of content and of language and grammar, while also devoting close attention to Homeric place names and their etymologies, which is why he is so extensively quoted by Stephanus of Byzantium. In addition, through his commentary on Callimachus’ *Aetia*, Epaphroditus made a substantial contribution to the interpretation of Alexandrian poetry. Due to his onomasiological interest and research, he also extended Theon’s methods and focal points in this area.

Epaphroditus’ oeuvre also included an alphabetical lexicographic work entitled Λέξεις κατὰ στοιχείον συγγεγυμνασμέναι—better known by the abbreviated name Λέξεις (fr. 14–15 Br.–Bi.). This work did not merely serve to explain the language of comedy, as was previously erroneously thought to be the case.²⁰⁵ Finally, Epaphroditus’ work Περὶ στοιχείων did not refer to the theory of sounds or letters: rather, the expression στοιχείον is to be understood in this case as having the meaning of “word element”. The work bore the title “On the elements of words” and dealt with etymological matters. From the preserved fragments (fr. 1–13 Br.–Bi.) it is evident that Epaphroditus implemented Seleucus’ attempts to determine the etymologies of words based upon strictly grammatical criteria;²⁰⁶ this was also to a certain extent attempted by Heraclides Ponticus the Younger.²⁰⁷ Such criteria were primarily the phonological and morphological alterations (πάθη)²⁰⁸ a word stem had undergone.

Lucillus,²⁰⁹ a grammarian who lived in the middle of the 1st century AD, was born in Tarrha in Crete. Nothing is known about the place of his scholarly

204 See Braswell-Billerbeck [2008] 40.

205 Luenzner [1866] sought to establish a connection between Epaphroditus’ lexicographic collection and the lexicons of Didymus and Theon on the language of comedy. Luenzner’s view has already been criticized by Cohn [1905c] 2714; see also Braswell-Billerbeck [2008] 28–34.

206 Luenzner [1866] assumed the unity of the two last-mentioned works of Epaphroditus and supposed that the title of this specific work was Λέξεις κατὰ στοιχείον. This view has now been rejected by Braswell-Billerbeck [2008] 28–34 with convincing arguments based upon newly discovered material.

207 On the achievements of the two grammarians in the area of etymology, see above in this paragraph. On Epaphroditus’ etymological method, see Braswell-Billerbeck [2008] 56–57.

208 On the grammatical πάθη-theory, see below n. 414, and Pagani in this volume.

209 Literature on Lucillus: Gräfenhan [1843–1850] II 173 and III 252–253, Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] I 439, Gudeman [1927a], Baumbach [1999a] and LGGA s.v. Lucillus. The fragments of Lucillus’ work Περὶ Θεσσαλονίκης are included in *FHG* IV 440–441. His philological-grammatical fragments are collected and commented by Linnenkugel [1926]

activity; he probably lived in Alexandria²¹⁰ or also in Rome, as his name indicates. We know of his writings through Stephanus of Byzantium,²¹¹ but also on the basis of the subscription in the scholia to the fourth book of Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica* (*Sch.* A.R. subscr. 329.8–9 Wendel): παράκειται τὰ σχόλια ἐκ τῶν Λουκίλλου Ταρραίου καὶ Σοφοκλείου καὶ Θέωνος. Lucillus followed Theon in the commentary tradition of Apollonius Rhodius, and his work was taken into consideration for the compilation of the corpus of scholia, as can be inferred from the quoted subscription.²¹² The very few surviving fragments of Lucillus' exegesis show that the grammarian from Tarrha turned his attention to the primary sources of the poet, focusing on Apollonius' innovations and deviations from the mythological vulgata.²¹³ Lucillus' commentary, however, was short and limited to that which was considered essential and necessary, avoiding the superfluous erudition evident in Theon's commentary.

According to information provided by Stephanus of Byzantium, another long-standing achievement of Lucillus was his *Περὶ παροιμιῶν* ("On proverbs"), which consisted of three books and, together with the collection of Didymus, formed part of the main sources of Zenobius' collection.²¹⁴ Lucillus' work *Περὶ Θεσσαλονίκης* ("On Thessalonica") was probably historical in nature.²¹⁵ Two further works of Lucillus are of special significance for the history of ancient scholarship. We have evidence of a grammatical treatise with the title *Τεχνικά*, a fragment of which is transmitted in *Sch.* Dion. T., *GG* I/3, 110.32–33 (= fr. XIII Linnenkugel) which deals with the character and position of 'grammar' in the ancient system of sciences. In this fragment, Lucillus carried out a classification of the scientific fields into various types, according to the methods upon which each one was based, their contents and the benefits each one as designed to achieve. Lucillus' classification envisioned four εἶδη ("types") of

69–114; on this work, see however the review of Martin [1929]. The identification of Lucillus with the epigram poet Lucillus is groundless.

210 The fact that according to the subscription of the scholia on Apollonius Rhodius (see in the main text) Lucillus belongs to the same scholarly tradition as Sophocleus and Theon speaks for locating his activity in Alexandria.

211 See Steph. Byz. 604.5 s.v. Τάρρα. . . . Λούκιλλος δ' ἦν ἀπὸ Τάρρας τῆς Κρητικῆς πόλεως. φέρεται δὲ τούτου τὰ περὶ παροιμιῶν τρία βιβλία ἄριστα καὶ περὶ γραμμῶν καὶ τεχνικά γλαφυρώτατα. See also Steph. Byz. 311.6 s.v. Θεσσαλονίκη. . . . Λούκιλλος δὲ ὁ Ταρραῖος περὶ Θεσσαλονίκης βιβλίον ἔγραψε κτλ. (= *FHG* IV 440 fr. 1).

212 See Wendel [1932a] 108–110 and Gudeman [1927a] 1787–1788.

213 See fr. VIII–XII Linnenkugel ([1926] 88–96) as well as the literature in the previous note 209.

214 See fr. I–IV Linnenkugel ([1926] 74–83). On Lucillus' collection of proverbs, see Gudeman [1927a] 1788–1790.

215 See fr. V–VII Linnenkugel ([1926] 83–88).

τέχνη, an ἀποτελεσματικόν, a πρακτικόν, an ὀργανικόν and a θεωρητικόν. A special section of his Τεχνικά was the treatise Περὶ γραμμάτων, which dealt with the letters and history of the Greek alphabet (fr. XIV–XVI Linnenkugel).

In the field of ancient scholarship, the grammarian Astyages²¹⁶ was particularly important because of his commentary on Callimachus' poetry (Εἰς Καλλίμαχον τὸν ποιητὴν ὑπόμνημα).²¹⁷ We know have no knowledge of precisely when or where Astyages lived. However, since he was concerned with the interpretation of Hellenistic literature, it can probably be assumed that he shared the new characteristic of contemporary scholarship and belonged to the generation of the 1st century AD. The list of works cited by Suidas suggests that Astyages wrote several grammatical works in addition to his Callimachus commentary. Among his grammatical writings we know of a Τέχνη γραμματική ("Manual on grammar"), a work entitled Περὶ διαλέκτων ("On dialects"), a treatise Περὶ μέτρων ("On Versification") as well as a work named Κανόνες ὀνομαστικοί ("Rules of nominal inflection"). A treatise on the number of cases, in which Astyages argued that there are six nominal cases, is mentioned in the part of the scholia on Dionysius Thrax in Cod. Lond. Add. 5118 that derives from Choeroboscus. The work dealing with the rules for declensions seems to indicate that Astyages lived after Herodian. The quantity of Astyages' grammatical works, as compared with his philological activity, also speaks in favour of a later datation, most probably at the beginning of the 2nd century AD. But nothing can be assumed with certainty in this question.

The end of the 1st century AD was marked by a geographic expansion of the philological discipline beyond the borders of Alexandria and Rome. Several cultural centers in the eastern part of the Roman Empire were thus integrated into the field of scholarship. A number of significant philologists, whose work is described below, philologists stand out in this period:

Herennius Philo from Byblos in Phoenicia²¹⁸ was a learned antiquarian, doxographer and grammarian of the second half of the 1st century AD. He also

216 Literature on Astyages: Gräfenhan [1843–1850] III 83, Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] I 439, Cohn [1896] and LGGA s.v. Astyages (G. Uzziardello).

217 See Suid. α 4259 s.v. Ἀστυάγης, γραμματικός. Τέχνην γραμματικὴν, Περὶ διαλέκτων, Περὶ μέτρων, Κανόνες ὀνομαστικούς, καὶ εἰς Καλλίμαχον τὸν ποιητὴν ὑπόμνημα.

218 Literature on Herennius Philo: Gräfenhan [1843–1850] III 44–45 and passim, Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 867–868, Gudeman [1912e], Christes [1979] 105–106 and 137–138, Fornaro [1998k], where further references on Philo are given, and LGGA s.v. Herennius Philo (2). Philo's fragments, especially those from his antiquarian and cultural-historical writings, are edited in *FGrHist* 790.

survived the reign of Hadrian, about whom he wrote his *Περὶ τῆς βασιλείας Ἀδριανοῦ*, a treatise, which is now completely lost.²¹⁹ Philo was probably not a former slave and freedman, but a client of the consul Herennius Severus, who according to Pliny the Younger (*Ep.* 4.28.1) took great interest in educational matters. Philo bore the praenomen “Herennius”, in recognition of the consul’s support in granting him citizenship.²²⁰ Thus Philo may have been present for a lengthy period of his life in his hometown, and it was probably in Byblos that he taught his countryman and pupil Hermippus of Berytus.²²¹

Herennius Philo wrote several works, not all of which are enumerated in Suidas’ article (φ 447 = *FGrHist* 790 T 1). His “Phoenician history” (Φοινικικὴ ἱστορία or Φοινικικά; *FGrHist* 790 F 1–6) belongs to his cultural-historical and doxographical works. It consisted of nine books, and is allegedly a revision of a writing by Sanchuniathon, who is thought to have composed a history of Phoenicia during the reign of Semiramis in pre-Trojan times. The works “On the Judeans” (Περὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων; *FGrHist* 790 F 9–*11) and “On Phoenician letters” or “On Phoenician elements” (Περὶ τῶν Φοινίκων στοιχείων), which presumably constituted a part of the “Phoenician history”, were also related to Phoenicia.²²² We owe to Philo’s antiquarian interest the biographical and historical work “On cities and on the famous men, who were brought forth in each of them” (Περὶ πόλεων καὶ οὐδὲς ἐκάστη αὐτῶν ἐνδόξους ἦνεργεν; *FGrHist* 790 F 15–51) in 30 books. This collection later made up the basis for the biographical and ethnographical studies by Hesychius Milesius, Orus and Stephanus of Byzantium.²²³

Philo also composed a bibliographical guide of twelve books with the title “On owning and selecting books” (Περὶ κτήσεως καὶ ἐκλογῆς βιβλίων), which was organized according to the scientific subject of the works discussed in this collection. Additionally, he compiled “material worth knowing” in his work *Περὶ χρηστομαθείας* (*FGrHist* 790 F 14), and thus became the forerunner of the later chrestomathies. Philo’s significance for the history of scholarship is, however, primarily due to his dictionary of synonymous words *Περὶ τῶν διαφόρων σημαينوμένων*. It was the first synonymicon and formed the basis for the

219 On Philo’s life, see Suid. φ 447 (= *FGrHist* 790 T 1); see also Suidas’ testimonies quoted under *FGrHist* 790 T 2, which refer to Philo’s contemporaries. On the biographical information regarding Philo, see Gudeman [1912e] 650–651 and Christes [1979] 106.

220 See Christes [1979] 105–196 and 137–138.

221 On Hermippus of Berytus, see below in the next paragraph.

222 On the contents of Philo’s historical studies, see Gudeman [1912e] 659–661.

223 See Gudeman [1912e] 654–659. On Orus and Stephanus of Byzantium, see below in § 6.2.

collections compiled by ‘Ammonius’, ‘Ptolemaeus’, and, in the Byzantine period, by Symeon.²²⁴

Hermippus of Berytus²²⁵ was, as already mentioned, a student of Herennius Philo and lived during Hadrian’s reign. Originally a slave, he was educated by his teacher Philo and, thanks to his exceptional mental aptitude, was granted his freedom. Once Hermippus’ education was completed, Philo brought him to Rome in order to recommend him to his patron Herennius Severus. Hermippus is not mentioned as a ‘grammarian’ in the biographical testimonies but, presumably due to his extensive knowledge, he is characterized as a “scholar” (λόγιος). He was, in fact, a “Buntschriftsteller”. Tertullian (*De anim.* 46.10–11 = *FGrHist* 1061 T 5) mentions a five-volume work of Hermippus titled ‘Ονειροκριτικά (“Interpretations of dreams”) and Clemens of Alexandria (*Strom.* 6.16.145 = *FGrHist* 1061 F 6) attests to the work Περὶ τῆς ἐβδομάδος (“About the days of the week”). The most popular work of Hermippus, which has been frequently cited, was his Περὶ τῶν ἐν παιδείᾳ διαπρεψάντων δούλων (“About slaves who have excelled in education”), in two books. The goal of Hermippus was not, however, to write a purely biographical work, but to demonstrate that a slave is in no way inferior to a freeborn in his mental capacities: thus Hermippus’ ultimate aim was to celebrate education as power.²²⁶

The grammarian Nicanor of Alexandria was, according to Suidas,²²⁷ a contemporary of Hermippus. Nicanor was the son of an otherwise unknown Hermeias.²²⁸ His achievements in the area of grammar are associated with his

224 On the synonymica, see below in § 6.2. The works “Deverbatives” (Τὰ ῥηματικά) and “On the Language of the Romans” (Περὶ Ῥωμαίων διαλέκτου), which are cited in *Etym. Magn.* under Philo’s name, should be attributed to the grammarian Philoxenus, as is evident from the relevant entries in *Etym. Gen.*

225 Literature on Hermippus: Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 868, Heibges [1912], Christes [1979] 137–140, Sartori [1981], Montanari [1998b] and *LGG A s.v.* Hermippus (2) (A. Ippolito). The fragments from his work are collected in *FHG* III 51–52 and *FGrHist* 1061; see also Müller in *FHG* III 35–36. The main biographical testimony concerning Hermippus’ life is Suid. ε 3045 s.v. “Ἑρμιππος, Βηρύτιος, ἀπὸ κώμης μεσογαίου, μαθητῆς Φίλωνος τοῦ Βυβλίου· ὑφ’ οὗ ὤκειώθη Ἑρηνίῳ Σευήρῳ ἐπὶ Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἔκδουλος ὦν γένος, λόγιος σφόδρα· καὶ ἔγραψε πολλά. ἔγραψε καὶ περὶ ὄνειρων; cf. Suid. ν 375 s.v. Νικάνωρ, ὁ Ἑρμείου, Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, γραμματικὸς, γεγωνὸς ἐπὶ Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὅτε καὶ Ἑρμιππος ὁ Βηρύτιος.

226 See Christes [1979] 139–140.

227 See Suid. ν 375 s.v. Νικάνωρ—the text is printed in the previous n. 225.

228 Literature on Nicanor: Gräfenhan [1843–1850] III 67–68, 94–95 and 189, Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 868–869, Sandys [1921³] 322, Wendel [1936], Bagordo [1998] 68–69, Matthaios [2000b] and *LGG A s.v.* Nicanor (3) (F. Montana). The fragments from his writings Περὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας and Πρὸς Ἀδριανόν are edited in *FGrHist* 628; on the collections of Nicanor’s fragments pertaining to his punctuation theory, see below n. 373.

theory of punctuation, which will be presented separately below.²²⁹ Nicanor, however, also dealt with several philological and grammatical subjects beyond the punctuation issue. These works, which are listed in Suidas, are mainly known only by their titles. He is attested as the author of a work with the title *Περὶ τοῦ ναυστάθμου* (“On the ship’s hold [in the *Iliad*]”), which was written following the model of Aristarchus.²³⁰ Nicanor also wrote a treatise on the form *ᾠνάξ* (*Περὶ τοῦ ᾠνάξ*),²³¹ and a work on the material dealt with in comedies, bearing the titled *Κωμωδούμενα* (“Contents of comedy”).²³² Nicanor’s writings *Περὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας* (“On Alexandria”) and *Πρὸς Ἀδριανόν* (“To the Emperor Hadrian”) are attested by Stephanus of Byzantium. Jacoby suggests that they constituted one and the same work having the title *Περὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας πρὸς Ἀδριανόν*. Whatever the case may be, it can be assumed on the basis of the preserved fragments that these treatises dealt with grammatical matters²³³—unless the fragments in question merely happened to address the excerpter’s favorite subjects.

An important figure in the history of Imperial philology was Telephus of Pergamum.²³⁴ Telephus was probably born in the last decades of the 1st century, which means that he may have come to Rome around 140 and was perhaps appointed along with Hephaestion by Antonius Pius as teacher of the second adopted prince, the future Emperor L. Verus.²³⁵ During this period, Telephus appears to have gained a high reputation. In the ancient testimonies, Telephus is ususally characterized as *γραμματικός*;²³⁶ Aelian, however, called him *κριτικός*.²³⁷ Whether the title *κριτικός* is due to Telephus’ Pergamian origin or corresponds to his philological-grammatical theories, on the basis

229 See below in § 4.1.

230 On this writing of Aristarchus, see Montana in this volume.

231 Wendel [1936] 275 assumes that the work “vielleicht nicht nur die Gesetze der Krasis, sondern die von den Grammatikern gerne behandelte Erscheinung der Synaloiphe in allen ihren Arten darstellte”.

232 See Bagordo [1998] 68–69 and 153.

233 See Wendel [1936] 275–276.

234 Literature on Telephus: Gräfenhan [1843–1850] III 39–40, 149–150, Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 869, Schrader [1902], Wendel [1934a], Bagordo [1998] 69, Baumbach [2002a] and LGGA s.v. Telephus (L. Pagani). The fragments of his historical work are collected in *FHG* III 634–635; the fragments of his works on Pergamum, above all the writing “On the Kings of Pergamum” (*Περὶ τῶν Περγάμου βασιλέων*), are edited in *FGrHist* 505; see also *FGrHist* 1071.

235 See *Hist. Aug. Verus* 2.5. On Hephaestion, see below in § 5.

236 See Gal. *De san. tuenda* v 4.15, vi 333–334 Kühn, 12.28, vi 379–380 Kühn, Suid. η 495 s.v. Τήλεφος, Περγαμηγός, γραμματικός and *Hist. Aug. Verus* 2.5.

237 See Ael. *NA* 10.42: λέγει ταῦτα Τήλεφος ὁ κριτικός ὁ ἐκ τοῦ Μυσίου Περγάμου.

of which Aelian wished to present Telephus as a representative of the Stoic-Pergamenian tradition and to distinguish him from the Alexandrian school, is not easy to determine.

Telephus' activity encompasses all areas of the ancient γραμματική, *i.e.* both grammar and philology, though without neglecting rhetoric or historiography.²³⁸ Fundamental questions on the nature of scholarship were examined in what amounted to an introduction to the philological discipline. Suidas provides no special title, but a summary of the work's contents: ἐν οἷς παρατίθεται πόσα χρῆ εἰδέναι τὸν γραμματικόν.²³⁹ The work is an attempt to clarify the areas and topics for which 'grammar' was responsible, whereas the work Ποικίλη φιλομάθεια, consisting of two books, was a selection of material considered to be of interest and worth knowing, taken from the field of scholarship and literary history. Telephus' Βιβλιακὴ ἐμπειρία, composed of three books, was a critical bibliographical guide, somewhat akin to the work of Herennius Philo, since it also seeks to prove τὰ κτήσεως ἄξια βιβλία.²⁴⁰ His work Βίοι τραγικῶν καὶ κωμικῶν ("Lives of tragedians and comedians") belongs to the history of literature, but only its title is known.²⁴¹ It is, however, interesting that Telephus, like Epitherses before him and probably also Theon,²⁴² dealt with both tragedy and comedy in the same work.

Homer played a prominent role in Telephus' philological studies, with attention to numerous aspects of the Homeric poems. In the works Περί τῆς καθ' Ὀμηρον ῥητορικῆς and Περί τῶν παρ' Ὀμήρῳ σχημάτων ῥητορικῶν Telephus sought to show that Homer was the father of rhetoric, and these works exerted a strong influence on the ancient interpretation of Homer.²⁴³ In the work Περί τῆς Ὀμήρου καὶ Πλάτωνος πλάνης he attempted, basing his arguments on an allegorical interpretation, to eliminate Plato's offenses against Homer. His work Περί τῆς Ὀδυσσεύς πλάνης probably dealt with an old Stoic problem

238 A list of Telephus' writings is attested in Suid. η 495.

239 A passage from the eighth book of this work is quoted in *Sch. Hom. Il. (A)* 10.545–6a¹. Wendel [1934a] 369 also attributed *Sch. Hom. Il. (A)* 10.53a¹ to this work (in this scholion Telephus criticizes Didymus) as well as (T) 15.668b.

240 See Wendel [1934a] 370; on the bibliographical work of Herennius Philo, see above in this paragraph.

241 See Bagordo [1998] 69 and 166.

242 See below in § 6.1, and above n. 97.

243 See Wendel [1934a] 370–371. On the position of Schrader [1902], according to whom it is not only the Homeric scholia (see Lehnert [1896]) that derive from Telephus' work, but also the rhetorical treatments of the Homeric speeches in the *Zetemata* of Porphyrius, in the so-called *Vita Homeri* of Plutarch, in Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Hermogenes, see Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II/2, 869 n. 9 and Wendel [1934a] 370–371. A different opinion is expressed by Wehrli [1928] 6–9.

concerning Homeric geography.²⁴⁴ The work “Ὅτι μόνος Ὀμηρος τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐλληνίζει” treats the question of how one can best learn the correct use of the Greek language by studying Homer.²⁴⁵ This work thus marks an entry into the realm of grammar, especially the field of *hellenismos*.

In this context, mention should also be made of Telephus’ work *Περὶ συντάξεως λόγου Ἀττικοῦ* in five books, a syntactical treatise, which very likely was at the service of Atticism. In the field of lexicography, Telephus wrote an *Onomasticon* consisting of ten books, which bore the title Ὠκυτόκιον (“Means of giving birth easily”). According to Suidas, the work was a collection of epithets for rhetorical and poetic use (ἔστι δὲ συναγωγὴ ἐπιθέτων εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ πρᾶγμα ἀρμοζόντων πρὸς ἔτοιμον εὐπορίαν φράσεως).²⁴⁶ Another lexicographic work by Telephus was an alphabetically arranged *Onomasticon* on garments and other articles of daily use (*Περὶ χρήσεως ἡτοι ὀνομάτων ἐσθήτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἷς χρώμεθα*).²⁴⁷ The works *Περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησι δικαστηρίων* and *Περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησι νόμων καὶ ἐθῶν* had historical-antiquarian character and dealt with Athenian law and the judiciary. Finally, Telephus dedicated three works to the history of his native city of Pergamum, namely the *Περιήγησις Περγάμου* in two books, the *Περὶ τοῦ ἐν Περγάμῳ Σεβαστείου* and the *Περὶ τῶν Περγάμου βασιλέων*.

Alexander of Cotiaeion in Phrygia was one of the most famous grammarians of this period.²⁴⁸ Alexander was the teacher of Aelius Aristides, and his life is described in great detail by the latter in his twelfth speech (Alex. Cot. test. 1 Dyck)—a consolation speech to the residents of Cotiaeion on the occasion of Alexander’s death, giving a vivid portrait of the grammarian. With the help of this source, Alexander’s biographical data can be reconstructed as follows:²⁴⁹ He was probably born around 70–80 AD and, since he reached quite a venerable age, he would have lived until the middle of the 2nd century. Alexander was active in Rome as a grammarian and came to enjoy such high regard that he was appointed as tutor of Marcus Aurelius.²⁵⁰ Even at a later date, he appears to have retained his position at the imperial court (Aristid. *Or.* 12, I 138. 139. 144).

244 See Wendel [1934a] 371.

245 Wendel [1934a] 370 links this work with the Atticistic doctrine of Telephus and believes that the Pergamian grammarian regarded Homer as a representative of the Attic idiom. On the ancient *Hellenismos* theory, see the contribution of Pagani in this volume.

246 On this work by Telephus and on the onomastic dictionaries, see below in § 6.2.

247 On Telephus’ lexicographic works, see Cohn [1913] 692 and Tolkiehn [1925] 2458.

248 Literature on Alexander of Cotiaeion: Lehrs [1837] 8–16, Gräfenhan [1843–1850] III 41–42, 163 and 264–265, Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 869–870, Sandys [1921³] 312, Wentzel [1894a], Montanari [1996a] and LGGA s.v. Alexander (6) Cotiaeus (F. Montana). The extant fragments from Alexander’s writings have been collected and discussed by Dyck [1991].

249 See Dyck [1991] 307–308.

250 Cf. M. Ant. 1.10 (= test. 2 Dyck) and *Hist. Aug. Ant.* 2 (= test. 3 Dyck).

Alexander was a true representative of the Second Sophistic. As a σοφιστής, he had been paid for his teaching and had therefore come into a substantial fortune, which he invested in his native city by financing various institutions. His erudition is highlighted by both Aelius Aristides and Stephanus of Byzantium.²⁵¹ According to Aelius Aristides (*Or.* 12, I 136. 137. 142. 143. 146), his philological-grammatical activity, mainly represented by means of lectures rather than in specific writings, included all Greek poets and prose writers. Aristides quotes a single work by Alexander, a Ὀμηρικὴ συγγραφή, which is probably the same work, consisting of at least two books, that Porphyry cites under the title Ἐξηγητικά (test. 6 = fr. 2 Dyck). Judging by the fragments that can be assigned to this treatise with certainty (fr. 1–3 Dyck), in this work Alexander was primarily concerned with the interpretation of various passages from the Homeric poems.²⁵²

Another work of Alexander known by its title was a particularly extensive lexicographic collection Περὶ παντοδαπῆς ὕλης or Παντοδαπά in 24 books (fr. 4–5 Dyck).²⁵³ We have information on these two works from a series of fragments (fr. 6–15 Dyck), though Dyck has left the question open on how they should be assigned to one or the other of the two works. The fragments consist mostly in explanations of Homeric words, but also refer to other subjects. Alexander seems to have been highly regarded not only by his contemporaries but also by subsequent grammarians, who cite from his writings. His interpretation of Homer, however, does not stand out for its originality nor does it display a tendency toward a critical discussion of the philological past. In his function as a teacher, Alexander was primarily a mediator of knowledge; as a philologist, however, he was a “routinier”, as Dyck ([1991] 335) correctly characterized him.²⁵⁴

Pius²⁵⁵—a “wandernder Grammatiker” according to Schmidt [1854] 273—was active in Memphis and Sparta;²⁵⁶ the dates of his lifetime, however, are uncertain. With all due caution, we can assume that he probably lived toward

251 See Steph. Byz. 379.3 s.v. Κοτιάειον... ἔνθα ἦν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἀσκληπιάδου γραμματικὸς (= test. 5 Dyck) πολυμαθέστατος χρηματίζων.

252 On the contents and character of Alexander's Ἐξηγητικά, see Erbse [1960] 53–56.

253 The first variation for the title is attested by Stephanus of Byzantium (Steph. Byz. 379.3 s.v. Κοτιάειον = test. 5 Dyck), who also mentions the number of books; the second one appears in the *Etymologicum Genuinum* (fr. 4 Dyck) and in the Homeric *scholia* (fr. 5 Dyck).

254 For an appraisal of Alexander's philological accomplishments, see Dyck [1991] 333–335.

255 Literature on Pius: Gräfenhan [1843–1850] II 50, Hiller [1869], Schmid–Stählin [1920–24] II 870, Strout–French [1950], Simons [2000] and LGGA s.v. Pius (A. Ippolito). The surviving fragments were collected and commented upon by Hiller [1869].

256 See *Sch. Hom. Od.* 4.356 (= fr. 9 Hiller)—*pace* Pontani's conjecture Ἀπίων (*ad loc.*) instead of the assumed Πίος—and 8.372 (= fr. 12 Hiller). According to these testimonies, Pius owed his explanations to his own autopsia at these places.

the end of the 2nd century, perhaps after the reign of Marcus Aurelius.²⁵⁷ Pius' work is mentioned by its title in *Etym. Gen.* (= *Etym. Magn.* 821.55) s.v. ὠμῆρησεν. Since a ὑπόμνημα to the 16th book of the *Odyssey* is quoted there, it can be assumed that Pius wrote a commentary on the Homeric poems, probably on each book of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The fragments that have survived from this work (fr. 1–15 Hiller), show that Pius' commentary treated matters of the Homeric language as well as questions of content and style. According to *Sch. Hom. Il.* (bT) 12.175–81b (= fr. 5 Hiller), Pius turned against Aristarchus' athetesis of the *Iliad* lines in question. This led Hiller to believe that the main concern of Pius' commentary was to oppose Aristarchus' athetesis. It seems plausible to assume that Pius stood in critical opposition to the old Alexandrian exegesis, especially against that of Aristarchus. What is somewhat implausible is Hiller's conclusion that all the Homeric scholia directed against Aristarchus, including those where Pius is not mentioned by name, are traceable back to the latter.²⁵⁸ It has also been postulated on the basis of *Sch. Soph. Aj.* 408 (= fr. 16 H.) that Pius wrote a commentary on Sophocles; the exact context of this scholium, however, remains uncertain.²⁵⁹

A grammarian named Irenaeus²⁶⁰—probably not identical with the Atticist Irenaeus, and also known by the Latin name Minucius Pacatus²⁶¹—lived around the middle of the 2nd century. Irenaeus' activity in the field of philology included commentaries on the individual books of Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica*. His contribution becomes tangible through the fact that the grammarian Sophocleus inveighed vehemently against his views.²⁶² According to a testimony in *Lex. Rhet. Cant.* 22.23–23.18 (s.vv. ὀροσάγγης / σαγγάνδης / παρασάγγης / ἄγγαρος [= fr. 16 Haupt]), Irenaeus also wrote a commentary on Herodotus and, on the basis of the *Sch. Eur. Med.* 218 (fr. 17 Haupt), presumably on Euripides' *Medea* as well.

257 The counterposition says that Pius was a contemporary or immediate predecessor of Didymus, a thesis that is not very convincing. On Pius' life, see Strout-French [1950] 1891 with further references.

258 See Lühns [1992] 269 note 376.

259 See Hiller [1869] 90–91 and Strout-French [1950] 1892.

260 Literature on Irenaeus: Gräfenhan [1843–1850] III 249, Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 870, Cohn [1905b] 2121, Wendel [1932a] 106–107, 111 and 115 and Fornaro [1997a] 919. Irenaeus' fragments have been collected by Haupt [1871–1876].

261 On the Atticist Irenaeus, alias Minucius Pacatus, see below in section 6. Schmidt-Stählin [1920–1926] II/2, 870 and Wendel [1932a] 106–107 speak against the identification of the two figures; Cohn [1905b] 2121, however, is in favor of this view.

262 Irenaeus is quoted four times in the scholia on Apollonius Rhodius; see *Sch. A.R.* 1.1299 (= fr. 18 H.), 2.123–129e (fr. 19 H.), 2.992 (fr. 20 H.) and 2.1015 (fr. 21 H.). On the relationship between Irenaeus and Sophocleus, see Wendel [1932a] 106.

The grammarian Palamedes²⁶³ also belongs to the (late) 2nd century AD. Both Athenaeus (9.397a) and Suidas (π 43) label him by his origin, Ἑλεατικός.²⁶⁴ The circumstances of his life and the place of his activity remain unknown. Athenaeus lists him as a participant at Larensius' banquet, and this is the only available information on his life. A "Commentary on Pindar" mentioned by Suidas (ὑπόμνημα εἰς Πίνδαρον τὸν ποιητὴν) attests to Palamedes' philological activity, but no fragments from this work have survived. This reasonably leads to the conclusion that Palamedes' commentary had no effect on the development of the corpus of the Pindaric scholia.²⁶⁵ The major part of Palamedes' philological activity consisted in lexicographic works, which included a Λέξις κωμική ("The language of comedy") and a Λέξις τραγική ("The language of tragedy")²⁶⁶ as well as an Ὀνοματολόγος, which was apparently a dictionary arranged on the basis of synonymous expressions concerning specific semantic fields such as Pollux' *Onomasticon*.²⁶⁷

Salustius,²⁶⁸ a grammarian who is probably identical with the scholar of the same name cited by Stephanus of Byzantium (α 75 s.v. Ἀζίλις), lived according to Wilamowitz in the 4th or even 5th century,²⁶⁹ though it is not inconceivable that he lived somewhat earlier. Salustius is the author of a commentary on Callimachus' *Hecale*, which was still in use during Suidas' time.²⁷⁰ It is very

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- 263 Literature on Palamedes: Gräfenhan [1843–1850] III 178 and 261, Förster [1875], Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 870, Wendel [1942b], Bagordo [1998] 69, Matthaios [2000c] and LGGA s.v. Palamedes.
- 264 The attempts to set Palamedes in relation with the Eleatic Zeno are discussed by Förster [1875]; see also Wendel [1942b] 2512.
- 265 Wilamowitz [1889] 185 n. 126 presumed that Palamedes was actually the redactor responsible for the compilation of the Pindaric scholia. Such a work, however, could hardly have been designated as a ὑπόμνημα; cf. Wendel [1942b] 2513. Irigoín [1952] 75, esp. 93–94 is also skeptical of Wilamowitz's view.
- 266 Only seven fragments are extant from these works; they are listed in Bagordo [1998] 153–155.
- 267 Schmidt-Stählin [1920–1926] II 1039 n. 6 suspect that this work was a collection of proper names and biographies in the sense of the Ὀνοματολόγος of Hesychius Milesius; Wendel [1942b] 2513 argues convincingly against this assumption; he also mentions passages that could be assigned to this work. According to Gräfenhan [1843–1850] III 178, the Ὀνοματολόγος cannot have been a separate work by Palamedes; Suidas must have misunderstood a passage of Athenaeus (9.397a), in which Palamedes himself is called an ὀνοματολόγος.
- 268 Literature on Salustius: Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 870, Pfeiffer [1949–1953] II XXVIII–XXX, Baumbach [2001a] and LGGA s.v. Sal(l)ustius (2) (G. Ucciardello).
- 269 See Wilamowitz [1893–1941] 31.
- 270 See *Etym. Gen.* (AB) α 1279 Lass-Liv. s.v. ἀσκάντης... οὕτω Σαλούστιος εἰς τὴν Ἑκάλην Καλλιμάχου (ad fr. 240 Pf.); (AB) α 1224 Lass-Liv. s.v. ἀρπίδες... οὕτω Σαλούστιος (ad *Callim.*

likely that Salustius made a complete edition of Callimachus' *Hymns*.²⁷¹ In addition to his Callimachean studies, Salustius' philological works also dealt with Sophocles. The surviving hypotheseis on Sophocles' *Antigone* and *Oedipus at Colonus* are attributed to him.²⁷²

Symmachus,²⁷³ a scholar cited by Herodian (*Μονήρ. λέξ.*, GG III/2.2, 945.5–6), who provides the *terminus ante quem* for him, must at the very latest have lived during the first half of the 2nd century. Symmachus is the author of a commentary on Aristophanes' comedies, which, according to the subscriptions in the *scholia* on Aristophanes' *Birds*, *Clouds* and *Peace*,²⁷⁴ was one of the basic sources for the redaction of the later corpus of Aristophanes' *scholia*.²⁷⁵ A total of 41 quotations in which Symmachus is cited by name have been transmitted in the Aristophanes *scholia*. For his own commentary, Symmachus took into account several older works, including without doubt Didymus' Ὑπομνήματα Ἀριστοφάνους (Schmidt [1854] 246–261). Symmachus is also remarkable for his critical approach to his source material,²⁷⁶ which shows his independence and confirms at the same time the tendency of this period to renew and actualize the earlier philological interpretation.

Together with Symmachus, the grammarian Phaeinos²⁷⁷ is likewise mentioned in the subscriptions of the *scholia* on Aristophanes' *Clouds* and

Hec. Fr. 235 Pf.); (AB) α 1230 Lass.-Liv. s.v. ἀρρηφόροι καὶ ἀρρηφορία . . . οὕτω Σαλούστιος (*ad. fr. inc. auct.* 741 Pf.); and also Hollis [1990] 37. On the use of Salustius' commentary on *Hecale* by Suidas, see Reitzenstein [1890–1891] 13–18.

- 271 This is assumed by Bulloch [1985] 78, who sets the evidence from Steph. Byz. α 75 s.v. Ἄζιλις in relation with Callim. *Hymn. Ap.* 89.
- 272 The text of the hypotheseis is printed by Dindorf [1852b], 17.18–18.12 and 19.11–20.13.
- 273 Literature on Symmachus: Gräfenhan [1843–1850] III 266, Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 870, Gudeman [1931] and [1921] 674–679, Simons [2001], Trojahn [2002] 141–142 and LGGA s.v. Symmachus (1) (F. Montana). The fragments from Symmachus' commentary on Aristophanes are collected by Schauenburg [1881], who discussed them regarding their relationship to Didymus' interpretation.
- 274 See *Sch. Ar. Av.* subscr. 241.8–9: παραγράφεται ἐκ τῶν Συμμάχου καὶ ἄλλων σχολίων; *Nub.* subscr. α 250.2–3: κεκάλισται ἐκ τῶν Ἡλιοδώρου, παραγράφεται δὲ ἐκ τῶν Φαείνου καὶ Συμμάχου καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν; *Pax* subscr. 182.14–15: κεκάλισται πρὸς τὰ Ἡλιοδώρου, παραγράφεται ἐκ Φαείνου καὶ Συμμάχου.
- 275 On the importance of Symmachus' commentary for the development of the corpus of Aristophanes' *scholia*, see Wilamowitz [1889] 179–184; cf. Gudeman [1921] 674–687, Dunbar [1995] 41–42 and Dickey [2007] 29.
- 276 See Schauenburg [1881] and Gudeman [1931] 1139–1140.
- 277 Literature on Phaeinos: Gräfenhan [1843–1850] III 266–267, Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 870, Gudeman [1921] 674–677, Strout-French [1938], Trojahn [2002] 142 and LGGA s.v. Phaeinus (F. Montana).

Peace.²⁷⁸ He is also mentioned separately five times, but only in the scholia on Aristophanes' *Knights*.²⁷⁹ Contrary to an earlier research position, it is more realistic to assume that Phaeinos did not live much later than Symmachus.²⁸⁰ Phaeinos produced a form of 'Schulkommentar' on at least the eleven surviving comedies of Aristophanes, which was most likely a revision of Symmachus' work, partially enriched with additional material.²⁸¹ However, there is little ground for believing Phaeinos to be the redactor of the corpus of *scholia* on Aristophanes, in contrast to the suggestion put forward by Wilamowitz, among other scholars.²⁸²

After Theon, philological studies dealing with Hellenistic poetry continued to flourish. As well as Astyages and Salustius,²⁸³ the grammarian Archibius,²⁸⁴ the father—or more likely the son—of Apollonius Sophista²⁸⁵ was one of the commentators of Callimachus. Suidas (α 4105) mentions Archibius as the author of a commentary on Callimachus' epigrammatic poetry (Ἐξήγησις τῶν Καλλιμάχου ἐπιγραμμάτων).²⁸⁶ Another grammarian by the name of Sophocleus,²⁸⁷ who lived in the late 2nd century AD, is known for his

278 See the passages quoted in the previous n. 274. Gudeman [1921] 675 presumes that Phaeinos' name was also present in the subscription to *Sch. Ar. Av.* Together with Symmachus, Phaeinos is quoted once again in *Etyim. Gen.* (AB) β 146 Lass.-Liv. s.v. βλιμάζειν (*Etyim. Magn.* 200.37–49); the explanation transmitted in this testimony refers to *Ar. Av.* 530 (cf. *Sch. Ar. Av.* ad loc.).

279 The extant fragments from Phaeinos' commentary are discussed in detail by Gudeman [1921] 676.

280 Wilamowitz [1889] 181 places Phaeinos in a period after the 4th century; this view is also shared by Trojahn [2002] 142. Gudeman [1921] 676 argues for placing Phaeinos closer in time to Symmachus.

281 See Gudeman [1921] 675–677; cf. also Dunbar [1995] 41.

282 See Wilamowitz [1889] 181; Gräfenhan [1843–1850] III 266–267 already argued against this view.

283 See above in this paragraph.

284 Literature on Archibius: Gräfenhan [1843–1850] III 58, Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] I 138 note 5, II 870, Cohn [1895h] and LGGA s.v. Archibius (1) (A. Ippolito).

285 On Apollonius Sophistes, see below in § 6.1.

286 This Archibius is not to be confused with the grammarian of the same name originally from Leucas or Alexandria; the later Archibius was the son of a Ptolemaeus, who taught during the reign of Trajan in Rome; see Suid. α 4105 with Gräfenhan [1843–1850] III 58, Cohn [1895i] and LGGA s.v. Archibius (2) (A. Ippolito).

287 Literature on Sophocleus: Gräfenhan [1843–1850] III 253, Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] I 146 and II 870, Gudeman [1927d], Wendel [1932a] 105–107 and 110–116, Matthaïos [2001e] and LGGA s.v. Sophocleus (L. Pagani). On the form of the name (Sophocles or rather Sophocleus), see Wendel [1932a] 90 n. 1.

commentary on Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica*. As can be seen from the subscription in the *scholia* on Apollonius,²⁸⁸ Sophocleus's commentary, which had a primarily mythographical and geographic character, is to be dated later than Theon and Lucillus from Tarrha, and was probably composed in opposition to the work of Irenaeus.²⁸⁹ Sophocleus is mentioned by name only twice in the corpus of the Apollonius *scholia*. However, the etymologies of place names, which are preserved by Stephanus of Byzantium, can be safely attributed to him.²⁹⁰

It is also worth mentioning the testimony of several *scholia* on Aratus by Sporus of Nicaea,²⁹¹ a grammarian of around 200 AD, who wrote a commentary on Aratus's *Phaenomena*, and possibly a text edition as well. Another grammarian, Amarantus of Alexandria,²⁹² from the 2nd century AD,²⁹³ dealt with Theocritus: his commentary on Theocritus was used frequently in Late Antiquity and during the Byzantine times, and is also cited in the *Etymologicum Genuinum*.²⁹⁴ As well as his work on Theocritus, Amarantus wrote a Περὶ σκηνῆς ("On Stages"), comprising several books. Several fragments of this work—mostly biographical anecdotes about actors—are preserved by Athenaeus.²⁹⁵

Munatius of Tralleis,²⁹⁶ according to Philostratus' testimony (*Vit. Soph.* 2.1.14, 1.25.7), was the teacher of Herodes Atticus; Munatius' period of activity thus falls in the first third of the 2nd century AD. He also wrote a commentary on Theocritus, cited in the *scholia* eight times; it mainly contained paraphrases

288 The text of the subscription is quoted above in this paragraph.

289 On these commentators of Apollonius, see above in this paragraph. On the role of Sophocleus' commentary for the constitution of the corpus of the *scholia* on Apollonius, see Wendel [1932a] 105–107 and 110–113; cf. also Dickey [2007] 62. On the influence and after-effect of Sophocleus' commentary, see Maehler [1994] 107–109.

290 See Wendel [1932a] 87–99.

291 Literature on Sporus: Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] I 167 and II 870, Gudeman [1929], Folkerts [2001] and LGGA s.v. Sporus.

292 Literature on Amarantus: Gräfenhan [1843–1850] III 256 and 377, Schmidt-Stählin [1920–1926] I 196 and II 870, Wentzel [1894c], Bagordo [1998] 67, Montanari [1996c] and LGGA s.v. Amarantus (F. Montana).

293 Amarantus' lifetime can be inferred from the mention of his name in Ath. 8.343f and in Gal. *De comp. medic. sec. loc.*, XIII 84.10–85.4 Kühn and Gal. *Ant.*, XIV 208.14–209.8 Kühn. A reference to Amarantus' origin and also the place of his activity is found in Ath. 10.414e.

294 See *Etym. Gen.* (AB) α 1288 Lass.-Liv. s.v. ἀσπάλθοος and in *Etym. Magn.* 273.38–42 s.v. διεκρανώσατε. With regard to Amarantus' commentary on Theocritus, see Wendel [1920] 83–84.

295 The preserved fragments are collected by Bagordo [1998] 73–74; on the contents of this work, see Bagordo [1998] 67.

296 Literature on Munatius: Gräfenhan [1843–1850] III 351–352, Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] I 196 and II 870, Wüst [1956], Matthaios [2000a] and LGGA s.v. Munatius.

and summaries, but dealt additionally with prosodic issues as well as word explanations and questions of content. A further interpreter of Theocritus, the grammarian Theaetetus, whose identity cannot be closely determined, rejected the views of Munatius.²⁹⁷ Finally, Dionysius Leptos (ὁ Λεπτός)²⁹⁸ is mentioned by Fronto as a grammarian and rhetorician and also as his own teacher.²⁹⁹ Accordingly, Dionysius must have lived during the 2nd century AD. He was probably identical with the so-called Dionysius ὁ Ἀσκάλαφος, who, according to a testimony in *Etym. Magn.* 278.1–5, was so called either because he was constantly quoting *Il.* 9.82, or because he was so tall, thin and pale that he looked like an ἀσκάλαφος. His philological writings are now known only from a single quotation in Athenaeus (11.475f), which refers to a passage from Dionysius' commentary on the Hellenistic poet Theodoridas.

According to Porphyry's testimony (*Plot.* 7.11.12–16 H.–Schw.), Zoticus,³⁰⁰ a friend of Plotinus, wrote a work of textual criticism on Antimachus (Ἀντιμάχου διορθωτικά). In the same testimony, Zoticus is described as a κριτικός τε καὶ ποιητικός (“both a critic and a poet”). Whether Zoticus claimed this characterization for himself is unknown, but it is in any case reminiscent of the profile of Antimachus and the Hellenistic “poets and scholars”.³⁰¹ Nothing has survived from his poetic work bearing the title Ἀτλαντικός, which was a versification of Plato's *Critias*, and no fragments from his philological activity are extant.

When dealing with prose authors, the boundaries between philology, rhetoric and scientific literature are especially fluid. This is in marked contrast to the interpretation of poets, which was always regarded as the domain of philology. Attic oratory thus constituted the primary subject of rhetoricians; lexicographers of the Imperial era who dealt with the language of the classical orators were basically rhetoricians.³⁰² Ancient philosophy, first and foremost Plato and Aristotle as well as the *corpus Hippocraticum*, were mainly interpreted by philosophers and physicians.³⁰³ Ancient historiography presented a

297 Regarding Munatius' commentary on Theocritus, see Wendel [1920] 74–78 (with additional information on Theaetetus) and 88–90.

298 Literature on Dionysius Leptos: Cohn [1903h] and LGGA s.v. Dionysius (13) Tenuior.

299 See Fronto *Ad M. Antonin. de eloq.* 5.152.2 van den Hout: *in eos quoque meus magister Dionysius Tenuis arte compositam fabulam protulit de disceptatione vitis et arboris ilicis* and *Ad Caes.* II 1.17.8 van den Hout: αἰ μοι συνέβη τι τῶν δεινῶν παθεῖν ἐρῶντι. ἤρων δὲ . . . τοτέ δὲ Διονυσίου τοῦ ῥήτορος.

300 Literature on Zoticus: Gräfenhan [1843–1850] III 333, Schmidt-Stählin [1920–1926] II 870, Ziegler [1972] and LGGA s.v. Zoticus; cf. also Matthews [1996] 75.

301 See above § 2.1. On Antimachus as a model of Alexandrian ‘poets and scholars’, see Matthaios [2008] 640–642, cf. also Novokhatko and Montana in this volume.

302 On the lexicographic analysis of classical Attic rhetoric, see below in § 6.2.

303 See also our discussion above, §§ 1 and 2.

special case, inasmuch as rhetoricians to a certain extent took over its interpretation. Antyllus³⁰⁴ is attested by Suidas (α 2770) as a rhetorician without any further information on his activity. According to the little that is known about him, Antyllus focused on the work of Thucydides, composing a biography of Thucydides³⁰⁵ as well as a commentary cited in just a few scholia.³⁰⁶ The rhetorician Sabinus,³⁰⁷ who is known only through Suidas, lived during the reign of Emperor Hadrian and wrote a commentary on Thucydides.³⁰⁸ Another rhetorician, Hero,³⁰⁹ who probably lived at approximately the same time, is stated by Suidas (η 552) to have composed not only biographical studies on the Attic orators but also an ἐξήγησις on Dinarchus and commentaries on Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon. His writings include a work consisting of three books with the title *Κεκριμένα ὀνόματα* (“Words that are attested in recognized authors”), which was probably an Atticistic glossary. Additionally, the above mentioned grammarians Irenaeus and Salustius also dealt with Herodotus.³¹⁰ The rhetorician Zeno of Citium,³¹¹ who probably lived in the 2nd century AD, wrote a series of technical treatises on rhetoric but likewise composed commentaries on Xenophon, Lysias and Demosthenes.³¹²

The 36 books *Μουσικὴ ἱστορία* (“History of music”), written by the grammarian Dionysius of Halicarnassus,³¹³ who lived in Hadrian’s time, also belong to the area of scholarship. To distinguish him from the rhetorician Dionysius of Halicarnassus as well as from the Atticistic lexicographer Aelius Dionysius, the grammarian was called ὁ μουσικὸς.³¹⁴ Several articles by Suidas point

304 Literature on Antyllus: Gräfenhan [1843–1850] III 287, Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 870, Brzoska [1894], Weißenberger [1996] and LGGA s.v. Antyllus (L. Pagani).

305 See Marcelin. *Vit. Thuc.* 22, 36 and 55; in the last quotation Antyllus’ credibility is highlighted.

306 See *Sch. Thuc.* 3.95, 4.19 and 4.28; Antyllus’ fragments are discussed by Goslings [1874] 54–57.

307 Literature on Sabinus: Gräfenhan [1843–1850] III 261, Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 870, Gerth [1920], Weißenberger [2001] and LGGA s.v. Sabinus.

308 Biographical details about Sabinus and list of works are mentioned in Suid. σ 11.

309 Literature on Hero: Gräfenhan [1843–1850] III 222, Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 870, Kroll [1912] and LGGA s.v. Heron.

310 See above in this paragraph.

311 Literature on Zeno: Gräfenhan [1843–1850] III 140 and 269, Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 870, Gärtner [1972], Weißenberger [2002] and LGGA s.v. Zeno (5).

312 Biographical details on Zeno and a list of his writings are mentioned in Suid. ζ 81.

313 Literature on Dionysius: Gräfenhan [1843–1850] III 437, Westphal [1883] 248–250, Scherer [1886], Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 870–871, Cohn [1903j], Montanari [1997l] and LGGA s.v. Dionysius (11) Musicus (E. Rocconi).

314 See Suid. δ 1171.

to the character of his *Μουσική ἱστορία*: Dionysius understood the word *μουσική* in a broad sense and thus in his “History of music” he dealt not merely with musicians such as citharists and flute players, but also with poets of the most diverse genres. Dionysios’ writings also feature a work with the title *Ῥυθμικὰ ὑπομνήματα* (“Treatises on rhythm”) in 24 books and also his *Μουσική παιδεία ἢ διατριβαί* (“Musical education”) in 22 books.

3.4 *Philologists of Late Antiquity on the Way to Constantinople*

From the 4th up to the beginning of the 6th century, the number of scholars dealing exclusively with philological matters tapered off considerably. In their stead one finds a preponderance of figures who addressed linguistic and grammatical problems. If the extent of the present section is compared with that of the section concerning the theoreticians of language from the same period,³¹⁵ the difference in emphasis becomes clear. This development arose from the fact that scholarship was squeezed out from the interpretation of ancient prose texts by competing disciplines such as philosophy, rhetoric and literary criticism as well as by the specific scientific fields pertaining to the ancient texts that required explanation. In this period, philosophers—especially Neoplatonists—even interfered in the exegesis of poetry: through recourse to an allegorical interpretation, the old poets were now made to confirm the philosophical dogmas. On the other hand, the decline in specifically philological works was compensated by the emergence of new scholarly genres, such as chrestomathies, anthologies and florilegia. Though Late Antiquity philology was still characterized by the activity of a number of scholars, as detailed in the following paragraphs:

Demo³¹⁶ lived in the second half of the 5th century³¹⁷ and dealt with the interpretation of Homer. She was the author of an allegorical commentary on the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, which is cited in the Homeric scholia, by Eustathius and in the *scholia* on Lucian. Tzetzes, in the proem of his allegorized *Odyssey* (*Alleg. Od. proem.* 31–37), cites Demo together with Heraclitus, the author of the *Ἀλληγορίαι Ὀμηρικαί*, Cornutus and Palaephatus and Psellos, and presents her as one of the main representatives of the allegorical tradition. The surviving fragments show that she interpreted the Homeric gods and myths in

³¹⁵ See the relevant section below in § 4.2.

³¹⁶ Literature on Demo: Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 1076, Cohn [1903b], Kroll [1918b], Hunger [1978] II 61, Montanari [1997e] and *LGGA s.v.* Demo (L. Pagani). The fragments have been collected and discussed by Ludwig [1895] and [1912–1913 and 1914].

³¹⁷ This conclusion is based on the evidence provided by Ludwig [1895] 315–318 that Demo used the work *Ἐλληνικῶν παθημάτων θεραπευτικὴ* of the church historian Theodoretus.

a rationalist manner and even used specific astronomical knowledge for an in-depth understanding of the field.³¹⁸

Seleucus of Emesa,³¹⁹ described by Suidas (σ 201) as “grammarian” (γραμματικός), cannot be dated with certainty. According to Suidas, Seleucus composed a didactic poem having the title Ἀσπαλιευτικά (“Angling”) in four books as well as a historical epic poem (or a historical prose work?)³²⁰ Παρθικά (“History of the Parthians”) in two books. In addition, Suidas mentions among Seleucus’ works a commentary on the lyric poets (Ἰπομνήμα εἰς τοὺς λυρικούς), which justifies Seleucus’ characterization as “grammarian”. It is uncertain whether Seeck is correct in postulating the identification of this Seleucus with Seleucus from Cilicia, who was the brother of the grammarian Calliopius³²¹ and a correspondent of Libanius.³²²

The lifetime of the grammarian Dionysius³²³ is uncertain. In the subscriptions to the scholia on Euripides’ *Medea* and *Orestes*, Dionysius is attested as the author of a commentary on Euripides,³²⁴ which appears to have been used as a source for the corpus of the Euripidean scholia, and this constitutes the main justification for a late dating of Dionysius’ lifetime. Dionysius is also mentioned in the treatises Περὶ κωμῶδίας (“On comedy”). Tzetzes attributed to Dionysius, and also to the grammarians Crates and Euclid,³²⁵ views on the

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- 318 Ludwich [1895] and [1912–13 and 1914] ascribed the fragment of a commentary on *Il.* 1.1–560 transmitted in Cod. Vindob. Philol. Gr. 49, fol. 8r–12r to Demo; objections against the attribution to Demo were made by Kroll [1918b] 332–333.
- 319 Literature on Seleucus of Emesa: Gräfenhan [1843–1850] III 42 and 218, Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 1076, Müller [1921a], Seeck [1906] 272–273, Seeck [1921], Kaster [1988] 428–429 (Nr. 253), Matthaios [2001d] and LGGA s.v. Seleucus (2) (G. Ucciardello).
- 320 This work is presented as a historical prose treatise in *FGrHist* 780 T 1; cf. Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II/2, 1077. On Seleucus’ poetical work, see Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II/2, 959.
- 321 On Seleucus from Cilicia, see Kaster [1988] 250–252 (Nr. 25).
- 322 See Seeck [1906] 272–273 and [1921]. Seeck’s identification has been accepted by Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II/2, 1075 n. 2; Müller [1921a] 1251 and Kaster [1988] 428–429, however, expressed objections against Seeck’s view.
- 323 Literature on Dionysius: Susemihl [1891–1892] II II n. 54, Schmidt-Stählin [1920–1926] II 1076, Cohn [1903i], Montanari [1997k], Bagordo [1998] 62 and LGGA s.v. Dionysius (8) (L. Pagani). Wilamowitz [1889] 134 n. 21 presumed that Dionysius was identical to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the author of the *Μουσική ἱστορία*; on Dionysius, see above § 3.3. Cohn [1903i] 986 opposed the identification.
- 324 See *Sch. Eur. Med.* subscr.: πρὸς διάφορα ἀντίγραφα Διονυσίου ὀλοσχερές καὶ τινα τοῦ Διδύμου and *Sch. Eur. Or.* subscr.: πρὸς διάφορα ἀντίγραφα παραγέγραπται ἐκ τοῦ Διονυσίου ὑπομνήματος ὀλοσχερῶς καὶ τῶν μικτῶν.
- 325 On these figures and the various attempts to identify them, see Bagordo [1998] 61–62 with further references on this question.

parts of tragedy and comedy as well as of the satyr drama.³²⁶ Cohn ([1903i] 986) argues for the possibility that the fragments of Dionysius stem from the prolegomena to his commentary on Euripides, though it cannot be ruled out that they may derive from a separate work dealing with drama.

The grammarian Horapollo,³²⁷ who came from the village Phenebythis in the Egyptian Panopolites,³²⁸ first taught in Alexandria as grammarian and then in Constantinople under Theodosius II. (408–450). He is also known as a teacher of Timotheus of Gaza.³²⁹ Suidas indicates that Horapollo wrote a grammatical work with the title *Τεμενικά* (“Temple Names”), in which he discussed the morphology of temple names.³³⁰ His philological activity includes commentaries on Sophocles (Ἰπόμνημα Σοφοκλέους) and on Alcaeus (Ἰπόμνημα Ἀλκαίου) as well as a monograph (or commentary) on Homer (Εἰς Ὅμηρον). If Horapollo is identical with the grammarian mentioned by Photius in his *Bibliotheca* (cod. 279, 536a15–17), then he was also active as a poet. Photius credits him with the composition of dramatic poetry (δράματα) as well as an antiquarian work about Alexandria, which was probably written in verse (Περὶ τῶν πατρίων Ἀλεξανδρείας).³³¹ As already mentioned, poetic activity fits well with the scholarly profile during the first period of Byzantine philology.

Diogenes of Cyzicus,³³² described by Suidas (δ 1146) as “grammarian”, is known for his antiquarian and topographical works, which would, however, more appropriately characterize him as a historian. One such work, according to Suidas, is the *Πάτρια Κυζίκου* (“On the homeland Cyzicus”), which Stephanus

326 Dionysius’ fragments are collected by Bagordo [1998] 124.

327 Literature on Horapollo: Gräfenhan [1843–1850] III 270–271 and 435, Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 1076–1077, Roeder [1913], Kaster [1988] 294–295 (Nr. 77) and Felber [1998]. This Horapollo is to be distinguished from the scholar and philosopher from Neilopolis by the same name, who authored two books on hieroglyphics (Ἱερογλυφικά); on this Horapollo, see Kaster [1988] 295–297 (Nr. 78) with further literature.

328 The basic biographical source on Horapollo is Suid. ω 159.

329 See Seitz [1892] 30 with n. 3; cf. also Reitzenstein [1897] 312.

330 See Reitzenstein [1897] 313 with n. 1. A collection from the excerpts of Timotheus attested in the Cyrillus-scholia leads Reitzenstein [1897] 313–316 to trace a route directly or indirectly through Timotheus back to this work of Horapollo. Gräfenhan [1843–1850] III 435 believed that Horapollo’s *Τεμενικά* had as its subject temple architecture and the works of art that adorned temples; likewise, Jacoby in *FGrHist* 630 attributes cultural-historical character to this work.

331 Testimonies and fragments from this work are collected in *FGrHist* 630. Reitzenstein [1897] 312 and Kaster [1988] 294 ascribe the poetical works to the Horapollo under discussion here.

332 Literature on Diogenes: Schwartz [1903], Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 1077 and Kaster [1988] 398–399 (Nr. 207). The fragments of his work *Πάτρια Κυζίκου* are edited in *FGrHist* 474.

of Byzantium cites on several occasions (*FGrHist* 474 F 1–3). Stephanus also provides the *terminus ante quem* for Diogenes' lifespan. On the basis of the *communis opinio*, he is likely to have lived after the 4th and at the latest at the beginning of the 6th century. Of Diogenes' writings enumerated by Suidas, three treatises are related to the philological-grammatical discipline: the treatise Περὶ ποιητικῆς ("On the art of poetry"), a Περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς βιβλίοις σημείων, which presumably dealt with the theory of punctuation, and, finally, the work Περὶ στοιχείων ("On sounds").³³³

4 Linguistic Studies in the Imperial Era and Late Antiquity

Towards the end of the Imperial era and throughout entire Late Antiquity, philologists and grammarians dealt almost exclusively with the μέρος τεχνικόν of the ancient γραμματική, *i.e.* with the study of language. Earlier in this paper, this was tracked back to a theoretical development within the discipline of philology and grammar, which as from the 2nd century AD led to a clear split between the two subject areas of ancient scholarship, namely the interpretation of literature and the study of language independently of its realization in literary contexts. By the end of Late Antiquity and during the early Byzantine period, this split was intensified, and the concept embodied by the term γραμματική was almost exclusively restricted to linguistic theory.³³⁴ This can be seen clearly in the writings of philologist-grammarians of the 4th and especially of the 5th century, which now focused almost solely on linguistic studies.

As far as the history of grammatical studies in the narrow sense is concerned, two figures of the 2nd century stand out: Apollonius Dyscolus and his son Herodian. Their works were central in the linguistic theory of Late Antiquity and the entire Byzantine period, and their importance goes some way to explaining why many of their writings have survived, although mainly preserved indirectly, as is the case above all for Herodian. However, it would be a disservice to the diverse and profound studies in the area if this survey of the development of ancient linguistics were to be restricted solely to these two scholars. As the following overview will show, the field of linguistic theory

333 Since Suidas appears to confuse Diogenes with the grammarian and lexicographer Diogenianus (on Diogenianus, see below in § 6.3), these works are ascribed to Diogenianus; this view is followed by Jacoby in *FGrHist* 474 T 1. Cf. also Kaster [1988] 399. Diogenes' oeuvre, however, as it is transmitted by Suidas, fits well to the profile of a learned scholar and grammarian active during Late Antiquity.

334 See above § 2.3.

was extensively represented by a number of grammarians. In particular, since much of the most intensive research on a wide variety of subjects was conducted in the Greek language, this resulted in the systematization of studies on Greek at all levels, including word class theory, prosody, orthography, etymology and flexion. In general, the greatest achievement of this research is undoubtedly found in the theoretical foundation of the grammatical studies, which presupposed constant interaction with their philosophical background, especially the Stoic theory of language. Moreover, these intensive linguistic studies were stimulated by the fundamental question of correct language use, which was the focus not only of grammatical, but also of rhetorical education.

4.1 *Between Alexandria, Rome and the Educational Centers of the East: The Imperial Era*

The grammarian Habron³³⁵ stands at the beginning of the Imperial period and marks the transition from the Alexandrian era to the new epoch. The only available biographical source on Habron is Suidas' article (α 97), which is explicitly derived from Hermippus' biographical work.³³⁶ According to this testimony, Habron was a slave of Phrygian origin, who studied (or also taught) in Rhodes. Apparently, he became greatly esteemed there and was sent to Tryphon in Alexandria to further his studies. He presumably went to Rome as a freedman, where, as can be seen from his chronological relationship to Tryphon, he worked until the reign of Tiberius.³³⁷ Judging from the preserved fragments, Habron dealt exclusively with the so-called "technical part" (μέρος τεχνικόν) of the philological discipline and not with the interpretation of literature. Habron's work *Περὶ ἀντωνυμίας* ("On pronouns"; fr. 1–8 B.) is cited with its title by Apollonius Dyscolus, who transmits all of Habron's fragments belonging to this treatise. The work *Περὶ παρωνύμων* ("On denominatives"; fr. 11–18 B.) was known to Herodian and Stephanus of Byzantium. Finally, the study "On possessive names" (*Περὶ κτητικῶν*; fr. 9–10 B.) is attested in the *scholia* on Dionysius Thrax.

As far as his research interests are concerned, Habron essentially followed in the footsteps of his teacher Tryphon. His theory of the word class system shows him to have been closely linked with the Alexandrian tradition initiated by

335 Literature on Habron: Gräfenhan [1843–1850] III 57, III and 115, Susemihl [1891–1892] II 213–214, Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] I 435, Funaioli [1912], Christes [1979] 92–93, Fornaro [1998c] and LGGA s.v. Habron. Habron's fragments have been collected and discussed by Berndt [1915].

336 On Hermippus, see above § 3.3.

337 For the details of Habron's biography, see Christes [1979] 92–93.

Aristarchus,³³⁸ though he often criticized the Aristarchean doctrine. Evidence of Habron's critical attitude towards Aristarchus is the introduction of the term *κτητικός* as a designation of the possessive pronouns, with which he replaced the traditional, apparently Aristarchean, but still essentially mistaken term *σύναρθρος*. Apollonius Dyscolus followed Habron with respect to this issue.³³⁹ Habron also discussed Aristarchus' definition of pronouns, vehemently criticizing the view that pronouns are words which form morphological groups according to the feature of the grammatical person. On this topic Apollonius Dyscolus likewise followed Habron, at least in his *Syntax*.³⁴⁰ Given the spuriousness of the *Techne Grammatike* ascribed to Dionysius Thrax and considering the disputed development of grammatical studies in the late Hellenistic period and in the early centuries AD, Habron is, along with Tryphon, the figure from the pre-Apollonian period, who, through his critical investigations and independent research, formed the theoretical framework of the Alexandrian linguistic approach and contributed significantly to the development and expansion of the field.

During this period several grammarians were occupied with questions pertaining to the constituent structure of language and the word class system. Apion and Lucillus were involved with the theory of sounds and letters, whereas Chaeremon dealt with conjunctions.³⁴¹ In addition to these subjects, grammarians of this period also dealt with the theory of *hellenismos*, i.e. the correct use of language. Seleucus³⁴² and Ptolemaeus of Ascalon,³⁴³ following the pattern of Philoxenus and Tryphon, composed treatises "On *hellenismos*" (*Περὶ ἑλληνισμοῦ*) which discuss the linguistic correctness theory in its entirety. The grammarians of this period also examined the broad thematic spectrum of this theory—prosody, orthography, inflection, word formation and etymology, syntax and dialectology—in treatises devoted to specific individual topics. In the field of etymology, for instance, Seleucus, Heraclides Ponticus the Younger and Epaphroditus obtained significant achievements with their studies in this area.³⁴⁴

338 On the development of the Alexandrian theory on the word class system, see Matthaios [2002f].

339 See fr. 1 and the commentary of Berndt [1915] 1483–1485 on this fragment; cf. Matthaios [1999] 481–482 and Lallot [1998²] 209–210.

340 See fr. 2; on Habron's views, see Berndt [1915] 1485–1486 and Matthaios [1999] 447–457.

341 On Apion, Lucillus and Chaeremon, see the relevant sections above § 3.3.

342 On Seleucus, see above § 3.3.

343 On Ptolemaeus' grammatical activity, see below in this paragraph.

344 See above § 3.3.

In order to give a more extensive overview of the wide variety of subjects related to the field of the theory of *hellenismos*, we will now turn to a discussion of grammarians from the Imperial period:

Ptolemaeus of Ascalon³⁴⁵ was active in the 1st century AD, and was not, as Stephanus of Byzantium claims,³⁴⁶ a direct student of Aristarchus, but a descendant of the Aristarchean tradition and thus considerably younger than the Alexandrian scholar. The *terminus ante quem* for determining Ptolemaeus' lifespan is provided by Herodian, who cites several fragments of his writings. In addition to the list of Ptolemaeus' works, Suidas (π 3038) also testifies that Ptolemaeus taught in Rome. The work *Περὶ τῆς ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐᾳ Ἀριστάρχου διορθώσεως* belongs to his philological studies, in which Ptolemaeus probably discussed, as did Didymus earlier, Aristarchus' decisions on orthographic and prosodic questions concerning the text of the *Odyssey*.³⁴⁷ In *Sch. Hom. Il. (A) 3.155b* Nicanor attests to another philological treatise by Ptolemaeus, the *Περὶ τῆς Κρατητείου αἰρέσεως*, in which he spoke out offensively against the text-critical decisions of the Pergamene scholar Crates.³⁴⁸

The main subject of Ptolemaeus' studies, however, was the area of grammar, especially the complex question of *hellenismos*. As already mentioned, Ptolemaeus is said by Suidas to have authored a work consisting of 15 books called *Περὶ ἑλληνισμοῦ ἢ ὀρθοεπειᾶς* ("On *hellenismos* or on linguistic correctness").³⁴⁹ The work *Προσῳδία Ὀμηρικὴ* ("Homeric prosody") also belongs to the theory of *hellenismos*. This work was formed of two parts, in which the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are discussed separately in at least two books each.³⁵⁰ Thanks to Herodian, who used Ptolemaeus' work as one of the main

345 Literature on Ptolemaeus of Ascalon: Gräfenhan [1843–1850] III 37–38, Blau [1883] 25–37, Susemihl [1891–1892] II 156–158, Schmidt-Stählin [1920–1926] I 439 and 444, Dihle [1959], Matthaios [2001c] and Razzetti [2003d]. The preserved fragments from Ptolemaeus' writings have been collected by Baege [1882].

346 See Steph. Byz. α 476 s.v. Ἀσκάλων, πόλις Συρίας πρὸς τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ... γραμματικοὶ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος Ἀριστάρχου γνώριμος.

347 This is Lehrs' view [1882] 26 n. 8 on the content of this treatise, from which, however, no fragments have been preserved. See also Baege [1882] 14–15.

348 See Baege [1882] 21–22.

349 See Baege [1882] 11–12.

350 With regard to the structure and scope of Ptolemaeus' prosodic studies on Homer, see Ammon. *Diff.* 436: σταφυλὴν ὀξύτονητον ὡς ἀλυκὴν καὶ σταφυλὴν βαρυτόνων ὡς Μελίτην διαφέρειν φησὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Ἀσκαλωνίτης (p. 42 Baege) ἐν δευτέρᾳ Περὶ τῶν ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐᾳ προσῳδιῶν. . . ὁ αὐτὸς πάλιν ἐν δευτέρᾳ τῶν ἐν Ἰλιάδι προσῳδιῶν. See also Baege [1882] 9–11.

sources of his own prosodic studies and quoted abundantly from it,³⁵¹ this is the best-known composition by Ptolemaeus.³⁵² Herein, he proved to be a strict analogist and was especially concerned with creating prosodic rules in accordance with the principle of analogy. This often brought him into conflict with the accentuation of Homeric words proposed by Aristarchus, which was instead mainly grounded on philological arguments.³⁵³ Ptolemaeus' grammatical studies included a treatise *Περὶ μέτρων* ("On meters"),³⁵⁴ while a lexicon of synonyms with the title *Περὶ διαφορᾶς λέξεων* ("On expressions with different meanings") forms part of his lexicographic activity; however, the epitome transmitted under his name is spurious.³⁵⁵

The grammarian Heraclides of Miletus³⁵⁶ appears to have lived around 100 AD,³⁵⁷ and is presumed to have been active in Alexandria.³⁵⁸ Only two of his works are known by their title, *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* ("General prosodic rules"; fr. 1–15 C.) and *Περὶ δυσκλίτων ῥημάτων* ("On irregular verbs"; fr. 16–55 C.).³⁵⁹ With his work *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*, Heraclides apparently became the first grammarian to produce a coherent presentation of a prosodic theory for the Greek language as a whole. He thus is a forerunner of Herodian, who in fact used Heraclides in his own prosodic study, but often cited him without mentioning his name. However, even where Herodian did cite Heraclides by name, it was always with polemical intentions. Heraclides' work *Περὶ δυσκλίτων ῥημάτων* dealt with the field of inflection and was an investigation of verbs with irregular conjugations verbs. Since Heraclides also

351 See below in this paragraph. On accentuation theories during the Roman Empire and the studies accomplished during that time on this subject, see Hatzimichali [2006] 109–119.

352 The fragments from this work are collected by Baege [1882] 39–64.

353 A representative example for this is the explanation given by Aristarchus and Ptolemaeus on the accentuation of the pronoun *σέο* in *Il.* 1.396–397 transmitted in *Sch. Hom.* (A) *Il.* 1.396b¹; for an interpretation of this testimony, see Matthaios [2012] 265–272.

354 For a description of this work, see Baege [1882] 12–13; the extant fragments are edited *ibidem*, p. 64.

355 See below in § 6.2.

356 Literature on Heraclides Milesius: Schmidt-Stählin [1920–1926] I 439, Schultz [1912b], Fornaro [1998h] and Razzetti [2003c]. His fragments were collected first by Frye [1883] and then by Cohn [1884a].

357 Heraclides' lifetime can be determined by the fact that he used Aristonicus, but was himself quoted by Apollonius Dyscolus; see Frye [1883] 97 and Cohn [1884a] 6–11.

358 Heraclides is identical with the person often quoted by Eustathius with the nickname "Alexandrian"; see Frye [1883] 102 n. 1.

359 Fr. 56–60 C. are of unknown provenance; fr. 61–62 C., on the other hand, are regarded by Cohn as "dubia".

considered dialectal aspects in this research, his study was important for the field of dialectology as well. The work is often cited by Eustathius; several fragments can also be found in lexicographic and etymological works from the Byzantine period.³⁶⁰

An epitome on Didymus' Σύμμικτα ("Miscellanea")³⁶¹ was composed by Alexion,³⁶² a grammarian from the second half of the 1st century AD,³⁶³ who was also active above all in the field of orthography, prosody and etymology. The titles of his grammatical writings are unfortunately not known. The preserved fragments of his works, containing grammatical explanations that concerned primarily Homer and the Homeric language,³⁶⁴ are mainly transmitted by Herodian and in the Byzantine *Etymologica*. They contain passages in which Alexion often criticized the views put forward by his forerunners, such as Tyrannion, Didymus, Ptolemaeus of Ascalon and Heracleon, who favored the Aristarchean explanations of the problems under discussion.

The grammarian Draco from Stratoniceia in Caria,³⁶⁵ whose lifespan was a little earlier than that of Apollonius Dyscolus, probably lived during the 2nd century AD. His writings deal largely with the technical part of ancient scholarship:³⁶⁶ for instance, Draco's writing Περὶ ἀντωνυμιῶν ("On pronouns") is concerned with the word class theory. Apollonius Dyscolus (*Pron.*, GG II/1.1, 17.1–5) cites Draco's terminological suggestion from this work, according to which possessive pronouns should be designated as διπρόσωποι ("pronouns which imply two persons").³⁶⁷ Draco also dealt with issues pertaining to

360 Heraclides' theory and his accomplishments are presented in detail by Cohn [1884a] 20–36; cf. Schultz [1912b] 492–493.

361 See Ammon. *Diff.* 117: ... Ἀλεξίῳ [fr. 1 B.] δηλοῖ ἐν τῇ ἐπιτομῇ τῶν Διδύμου Συμμίκτων (p. 378 Schmidt); cf. Eust. 1788.52 and *Etym. Gud.* 124.2.

362 Literature on Alexion: Gräfenhan [1843–1850] II 98 and 404, Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 439, Wentzel [1894b], Montanari [1996b] and LGGA s.v. Alexion Cholos (L. Pagani). Alexion's fragments have been collected by Berndt [1906].

363 The testimony concerning Alexion's epitome of Didymus' Σύμμικτα (see n. 361) provides the *terminus ante quem* for Alexion's lifetime; see Wentzel [1894b] 1466.

364 For a discussion of the extant surviving fragments, see Wentzel [1894b].

365 Literature on Draco: Gräfenhan [1843–1850] I 444, 454, 468, 478 and 502, Susemihl [1891–1892] II 193, Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 893, Cohn [1905a], Montanari [1997n] and LGGA s.v. Draco (L. Pagani).

366 A list of Draco's writings is attested in Suid. δ 1496. The first work listed there under the title Τεχνικά is probably a description of the character of his writings, rather than a particular work concerning the technical part of philology, the so-called μέρος τεχνικόν; see Cohn [1905a] 1662.

367 Since in the *Technē Grammatike* attributed to Dionysius Thrax it is said that the possessive pronouns are also designated as διπρόσωποι ([Dion. T.] *Ars Gram.* § 17, GG I/1, 68.3–4), it

orthography in the work Ὀρθογραφία (“Orthography”), and with the nominal declension in the work Περὶ τῶν κατὰ συζυγίαν ὀνομάτων (“On the regularly declinable nouns”). It is presumably from these works that two further fragments stem: the first is transmitted by Herodian (*Μονήρ. λέξ.*, GG III/2.2, 939.25–26), while the second is reported in Photius’ lexicon (π 113 s.v. πάμπαν). The greater part of Draco’s writings, however, referred to metrical theory. Suidas lists the following relevant titles: Περὶ μέτρων, Περὶ τῶν Πινδάρου μελῶν, Περὶ τῶν Σαπφοῦς μέτρων and Περὶ τῶν Ἀλκαίου μελῶν.³⁶⁸ The content of the work Περὶ σατύρων remains unknown.

The grammatical studies undertaken by Nicanor,³⁶⁹ who lived during the reign of Hadrian, focused predominantly on the theory of punctuation, as attested by his nickname ὁ Στιγματίας (“The punctuator”).³⁷⁰ Nicanor devoted two special studies to this area of grammar, namely the treatise Περὶ στιγμῆς τῆς παρ’ Ὀμήρῳ καὶ τῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν διαφορᾶς ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ (“On Homeric punctuation and the different interpretations which result from it”) and the work Περὶ στιγμῆς τῆς παρὰ Καλλιμάχῳ (“On Callimachean punctuation”).³⁷¹ No fragments have been preserved from the study on Callimachus. The treatise on Homeric punctuation, however, is the best known and most thoroughly studied work by Nicanor, on account of the particular circumstance that Nicanor’s work belonged to the so-called ‘Viermännerkommentar’,³⁷² and was excerpted extensively for its compilation.³⁷³

has been assumed that Draco was indeed a contemporary or even older than Dionysius Thrax; see Susemihl [1891–1892] II 193 with n. 257 and Cohn [1905a] 1662. In view of the doubts regarding the authorship and authenticity of this grammatical manual, the early dating of Draco’s lifetime should be disregarded; see Matthaios [1999] 485 with n. 260.

368 The treatise Περὶ μέτρων ποιητικῶν (“On poetic meters”), ascribed to Draco in Cod. Paris. Gr. 2675 (the work is edited by Hermann [1812]), is a forgery of the 16th century; see Cohn [1905a] 1662–1663. The appeal to Draco’s name, however, speaks for his authority in questions of metrical theories that reached into the Early Modern Age.

369 Nicanor is discussed above, § 3.3, in connection with his philological works.

370 See Eust. 20.12; cf. Suid. v 375.

371 The titles of these works are attested in Suid. v 375.

372 The ‘Viermännerkommentar’ is the name of commentary on the *Iliad* that stems probably from the early Byzantine period. It is a compilation of works of Aristonicus, Didymus, Herodian and Nicanor. It is attested in the subscription to the individual books of the *Iliad* in Cod. Venetus A; see Matthaios [2002e]; Dickey [2007] 18–19; and Dickey in this volume.

373 The fragments from Nicanor’s studies on the Homeric punctuation have been collected, as far as the *Iliad* is concerned, by Friedländer [1850] and, in relation to the *Odyssey*, by Carnuth [1875]. Both collections should now be compared with the new editions of the Homeric scholia, that of Erbse [1969–1988] on the *Iliad* and that of Pontani [2007–2010] on the *Odyssey*. On the quotations in the corpus of the Homeric and especially the Iliadic scholia, which derive from Nicanor’s work, see Schmidt [1976] 35–39.

Nicanor presented a systematic description of his punctuation theory in the work *Περὶ στίγμης τῆς καθόλου* (“General punctuation theory”), which consisted of 6 books. There was also a one-volume epitome of the study.³⁷⁴ The basic features of Nicanor’s theory are outlined in the scholia to Dionysius Thrax (*GG* I/3, 26.4–28.8),³⁷⁵ in which it is clear that Nicanor developed a highly differentiated punctuation model based on a system consisting of just two marks, the *τελεία στίγμη* (“period”) and the *ὑποστίγμη* (“comma”). Overall, his system contained a total of eight different marks (*στιγμαί*), five of which—the *τελεία στίγμη* (“period”), the *ὑποτελεία στίγμη* (“sub-point”), the *πρώτη*, the *δευτέρα* and the *τρίτη ἄνω στίγμη* (“first, second and third super-point”)—were intended for various forms of paratactic clause linkages. Three other marks—the *ὑποστίγμη ἐνυπόκριτος* or *μεθ’ ὑποκρίσεως* (“comma connected with expressive speech”), the *ὑποστίγμη ἀνυπόκριτος* (“comma without expressive speech”) and the *ὑποδιαστολή* (also called *βραχεία διαστολή* or simply *διαστολή*, a mark similar to a comma)—were intended for periods with hypotaxis. Nicanor’s punctuation system served primarily to facilitate the understanding of literary texts. At the same time, it provided instructions for their pronunciation, since each mark was connected with a differing fixed length of a pause in speech. Because of its philological orientation, however, Nicanor’s system had little effect on subsequent grammarians.

Apollonius Dyscolus³⁷⁶ is undoubtedly by far the most outstanding, innovative and influential grammarian not only for the period discussed here, but also for the whole history of ancient philology and grammar. Our knowledge of Apollonius’ biographical data is based upon a short *Vita*,³⁷⁷ which was probably written by the grammarian Theodosius of Alexandria.³⁷⁸ The article in *Suidas* (α 3422) is limited to a listing of his works, which, however, are mentioned only summarily in the *Vita*. As detailed in these testimonies, Apollonius was the son of a certain Mnesitheus and Ariadne and was himself the father of the grammarian Herodian.³⁷⁹ He came from Alexandria, where, apart from a short stay in Rome, he spent his entire life. Since Apollonius’ stay in Rome, according to our sources, took place during the reign of Marcus Aurelius (161–180), and

374 Cf. *Suid.* v 375.

375 Nicanor’s theory on punctuation is presented by Steinthal [1890–1891] II 351–354 and Blank [1983]; cf. Matthaïos [2000b] and Lallot [1998²] 91–92.

376 Basic literature on Apollonius Dyscolus: Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 883–887, Cohn [1895e], Sandys [1921³] 319–321, Blank [1993], Montanari [1996g], Brandenburg [2005] 13–25, Dickey [2007] 73–75 and *LGGA s.v.* Apollonius (9) Dyscolus (L. Pagani).

377 The *Apollonius-Vita* is printed in *Apol. Dysc. Fragm.*, *GG* II/3, XI.6–XI.5.

378 See Lallot [1997] I 10; on Theodosius, see below in § 4.2.

379 On Herodian, see below in this paragraph.

since his son Herodian was a contemporary of Galen (129–199), Apollonius' lifetime is to be placed in the 2nd century.

Already during Antiquity, the question as to the origin of the epithet Δύσκολος (“difficult”, “sullen”) was raised. Three different justifications are given in the *Apollonius Vita*: (a) the epithet referred either to his character or (b) to his habit of asking difficult questions, or (c) perhaps to his difficult mode of expression.³⁸⁰ The reasoning behind the explanation referring to his penchant for asking difficult questions points to Apollonius' teaching activity in the context of the higher grammatical education.³⁸¹ Apollonius' work was particularly extensive, but was related only to linguistic theory, both in the field of the word class system as well as in that of *hellenismos*.

The titles of his works are known from quotations by Apollonius himself, some of which can be confirmed from Suidas' testimony, but other works likewise mentioned by Suidas are known only by their titles.³⁸² The three so-called *scripta minora*—the treatises “On the pronoun” (Περὶ ἀντωνυμίας),³⁸³ “On adverbs” (Περὶ ἐπιρρημάτων)³⁸⁴ and “On conjunctions” (Περὶ συνδέσμων)³⁸⁵—and also the four books “On Syntax” (Περὶ συντάξεως)³⁸⁶ have been entirely preserved.³⁸⁷ The remaining writings, which include orthographic, prosodic and dialectal studies, are known partly through quotations made by Apollonius himself, but also from later grammarians, especially Priscian, the scholiasts of Dionysius Thrax and Choeroboscus.³⁸⁸ These studies also refer at length to the theory of the constituent structure of language, with special

380 See Blank [1993] 709, Lallot [1997] II 12–13 and Brandenburg [2005] 14.

381 See Blank [1993] 709–710 with reference to several allusions to teaching contained in Apollonius' writings.

382 For an exhaustive list of Apollonius' writings on the basis of self-quotations of the grammarian and in other sources, see Schneider in *GG* II/3, VII–X.

383 Edited by Schneider in *GG* II/1.1, 1–116; the treatise “On the pronoun” has been translated into German by Brandenburg [2005].

384 Edited by Schneider in *GG* II/1.1, 117–210.

385 Edited by Schneider in *GG* II/1.1, 211–258; a French translation of the treatise with an exhaustive commentary has been provided by Dalimier [2001].

386 The standard edition of Apollonius' *Syntax* is that of Uhlig in *GG* II/2; a new edition with a French translation and extensive commentary is provided by Lallot [1997]. Apollonius' *Syntax* was translated into German by Buttman [1877], into English by Householder [1981] and into Spanish by Becares Botas [1987].

387 On the chronological order of the preserved writings, see Blank [1993] 710 with n. 13 and Brandenburg [2005] 16–17.

388 The extant fragments have been collected, arranged and commented by Schneider in *GG* II/3.

emphasis on the system of the word classes. Overall, the whole writing activity of Apollonius, not only his *Syntax*, but also his treatises “On nouns” (Περὶ ὀνομάτων ἤτοι ὀνοματικόν) and “On verbs” (Περὶ ῥημάτων ἤτοι ῥηματικόν) exerted particular influence on the later grammarians.³⁸⁹

The theoretical foundation of ancient grammatical doctrine is rightly associated with Apollonius Dyscolus, as is also the case with Herodian. Apollonius and Herodian were the two major figures whose activity resulted in the systematization and completion of the contents of the Alexandrian tradition.³⁹⁰ In the area of word class theory,³⁹¹ Apollonius picked up the thread of the old Alexandrian tradition that dated back to Aristarchus and which was represented by Tryphon at the end of the Hellenistic period. Essentially, Apollonius submitted the theories formulated in the earlier era to a new and thorough investigation. The available evidence shows that he shared the views of his Alexandrian predecessors on certain basic questions, though reliable knowledge of Stoic linguistic theory is more evident in Apollonius. Thus it is clear in many parts of his writings that he argued directly with the Stoic sources, but whereas in the case of his predecessors, especially Tryphon, the dispute with Stoic views resulted in polemical rejection, in the case of Apollonius, it was creatively integrated into his systematization of the word class theory. Apollonius can thus be regarded as the scholar through whose accomplishments the Alexandrian and Stoic linguistic theory were combined into a meaningful synthesis and. Furthermore, he stands as the authority under whom the process of formulating the canon of the word class system that stemmed from the Alexandrian philological-grammatical tradition was brought to completion.³⁹²

As well as his word class theory, Apollonius' essential contribution to ancient linguistics is, from a diachronic point of view, the foundation of the grammatical theory of syntax.³⁹³ In assessing ancient views on syntax,

389 A short overview of Apollonius' writings transmitted in fragments is given by Blank [1993] 712–713.

390 Among the special studies on Apollonius Dyscolus, which have meanwhile increased considerably, mention should be made of Blank [1982], Sluiter [1990] 39–140 and Lallot [2012a].

391 On Apollonius' accomplishments concerning the theoretical foundation of the ancient word class system, see Matthaios [2002f] 197–198.

392 See Lallot [1988]; cf. also the contribution of Swigger-Wouters (section III.2.1) on word class theory in this volume.

393 On Apollonius' theory of syntax see, in addition to the references given in n. 390, also Steinthal [1890–1891] II 339–347, Lallot [1997] I 29–73 as well as the short, but highly informative overview by Blank [1993] 714–727. See also the contribution of Lallot in this volume.

a distinction should be drawn between a logical, an aesthetic-persuasive and a grammatical perspective.³⁹⁴ So-called logical syntax was the product of a philosophical approach, which took as its starting point the sentence, attention then being directed to analysis of the constituents of the sentence, subject and predicate. Aesthetic syntax was developed by rhetoricians and focused on the combinatory effects of language elements, such as the position and combination of phonemes and syllables within a word, as well as on assessing the word order within a sentence or text that could most effectively build up the argument of a rhetorical speech or serve the required poetic purpose.³⁹⁵ Thus Apollonius Dyscolus is the most significant figure who should be credited with the development of a genuine syntactic theory in the context of the school of grammarians. Grammarians before him such as Tryphon, but also the Alexandrian scholars such as Aristarchus, already recognized the syntactic peculiarities of certain word classes, but they believed that such peculiarities served to regulate the congruence between words within a sentence, and not to describe and analyze sentence structure as a whole.³⁹⁶ In contrast, Apollonius sought to place individual words and word classes in a hierarchical system depending upon their syntactic position and relevance.³⁹⁷ Accordingly, in his view nouns and verbs were indispensable for the constitution of sentences, while the remaining six word classes could either substitute the former, as is the case with pronouns, which can take the place of nouns, or be combined with them, as is the case with adverbs, which modify a verb. Apollonius asserted that the highest principle governing syntax was the rationality of language. This he conceived as *καταλλήλότης*, *i.e.* the reason that makes something 'sayable' or 'not sayable.' He regarded the theory of syntax as concerned primarily with the level of meaning, that is to say, the *νοητά*, and as such it was to be distinguished from other levels: for instance, it should be treated separately from morphology.

394 See Ax [2006b] 235.

395 A borderline case between rhetorical and grammatical syntax theory is the treatise *Περὶ σχημάτων* ("On figures") of Lesbonax, an otherwise not well known grammarian who lived before the end of the 2nd century; on Lesbonax, see Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] I 440, Aulitzky [1925], Blank [1988], Montanari [1999] and LGGA s.v. Lesbonax (L. Pagani); the treatise is edited by Blank [1988]. The work is a compilation of unusual syntactic usages that differ from common usage; they are subdivided either by poet or by dialect, depending on their origin, for which literary sources, mostly Homeric are always provided.

396 On the development of syntax theory before Apollonius Dyscolus on the basis of Tryphon's views, see Matthaios [2003].

397 See Lallot [2012] 289–297.

Seen from a historical perspective, in the area of syntax Apollonius appears to have merged Stoic theory and grammatical ideas into a meaningful whole. As current research has shown, this process was originally set in motion by rhetoricians and literary critics, above all Dionysius of Halicarnassus,³⁹⁸ but the decisive step that led to the synthesis of Stoic and grammatical or even rhetorical theories was clearly taken by Apollonius Dyscolus. Apollonius' *Syntax* influenced Greek syntax theory throughout Late Antiquity and in the Byzantine period, either directly or through Priscian's *Institutiones*. Grammarians such as Michael Syncellus (9th century), Gregory of Corinth (12th century), Johannes Glykys and Maximus Planudes (both in the 14th century) wrote several syntactic treatises that followed Apollonius' model.³⁹⁹

Herodian,⁴⁰⁰ the son of Apollonius Dyscolus, shares the same distinguished position in the history of ancient philology and grammar as his father. The biographical information about him, linked in part to that of Apollonius,⁴⁰¹ indicates that he was born and raised in Alexandria, and then went to Rome during the reign of Emperor Marcus Aurelius. The emperor was interested in his grammatical activity and encouraged his prosodic studies; thus Herodian dedicated to the emperor his major work, the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* ("General prosody"), which encompassed no less than 20 books.⁴⁰² In Herodian's work *Περὶ μονήρους λέξεως* ("On lexical singularities") the name form Αἴλιος Ἡρωδιανός is attested, and this indicates that Herodian had obtained the Roman citizenship.

A list of Herodian's writings has not been preserved in the biographical testimonies, but his oeuvre was immense, as can be reconstructed mainly from indirect transmission, and included several areas of ancient grammatical doctrine, such as phonology, morphology, declination and conjugation, pathology, orthography and, above all, prosody and accentuation.⁴⁰³ His magnum opus,

398 On the relationship of Dionysius of Halicarnassus' syntax theory to that of Apollonius, see De Jonge [2011] 475–477.

399 On Apollonius' after-effect, see Blank [1993] 728–729; on syntax in Byzantine grammar, see Robins [1993] 149–233 and Pontani in this volume.

400 Basic literature on Herodian: Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 887–888, Schultz [1912c], Sandys [1921³] 321–322, Dyck [1993a], Montanari [1998c], Dickey [2007] 75–77 and LGGA s.v. Aelius (2) Herodianus (L. Pagani).

401 The testimonies on Herodian's life have been presented by Lentz in *GG* III/1, VI–VII, and include the *Apollonius Dyscolus-Vita* (see above in this paragraph) and the short article of Suidas (γ 546). For a discussion of Herodian's biographical testimonies, see Dyck [1993a] 772–774.

402 Herodian's entire oeuvre has been edited by Lentz in *GG* III/1–2.

403 The authentic writings by Herodian, which were edited by Lentz, are listed in the order of the edition by Schultz [1912c] 962–963; an excellent overview of Herodian's writings is provided by Dyck [1993a].

“General Prosody”,⁴⁰⁴ is concerned above all with the theory of accentuation. It was based, apparently following the example of Nicanor,⁴⁰⁵ on specific prosodic studies, especially Ἰλιακὴ προσωδία (“Prosody in Homer’s *Iliad*”) and Ὀδυσσειακὴ προσωδία (“Prosody in Homer’s *Odyssey*”). Since Herodian also belonged to the so-called ‘Viermänner’, together with Aristonicus, Didymus and Nicanor, of whose writings the Homeric ‘Viermännerkommentar’⁴⁰⁶ was composed, the two works on Homeric prosody were richly transmitted in the corpus of Homeric scholia.⁴⁰⁷

As the original works have been lost, knowledge of Herodian’s accentuation theory is only indirect. The “General prosody” is transmitted in an epitome falsely ascribed to Arcadius and in an epitome with the title Τονικά παραγγέλματα (“Accentuation rules”) by John of Alexandria. However, some fragments from Herodian’s “General prosody” have luckily been preserved in Palimpsest-Cod. Vindob. Hist. Gr. 10 (fol. 1–8, 24 and 25).⁴⁰⁸ An exception is the work Περὶ μονήρους λέξεως (“On lexical singularities”), which is Herodian’s only text that has been completely preserved in its original version.⁴⁰⁹ Predictably, Herodian’s authorship is also claimed for a number of spurious works.⁴¹⁰

Herodian is the authority to whom both the theory on the accentuation and prosody of the Greek language and our knowledge of this area can essentially be attributed.⁴¹¹ In his “General prosody”, Herodian treated the accentuation of over 60,000 words and systematized them on the basis of prosodic rules. He was the representative of a strict analogical method as pertains to the structure and standardization of language, regarding the principle of analogy as the essential criterion governing correct language usage; thus he applied it for controlling, exploring and recovering problematic word forms. Analogy and the analogical heuristic procedure essentially belong to the theoretical

404 For a description of the work and its transmission, see Dyck [1993a] 776–783; cf. Schultz [1912c] 963–965. The work has been edited by Lentz in *GG* 111/1, 1–547.

405 See above in this paragraph.

406 See above in this paragraph.

407 The collections of fragments provided by Lentz in *GG* 11/2.1, 22–128 (Περὶ Ἰλιακῆς προσωδίας) and 11/2.1, 129–165 (Περὶ Ὀδυσσειακῆς προσωδίας) are now supplemented by Erbse’s edition of the *Iliad* scholia [1969–1988] and of the *Odyssey* scholia by Pontani [2007–2010]. For a description of both writings, see Dyck [1993a] 783–786; cf. Schultz [1912c] 966–967.

408 The codex has been edited by Hunger [1967a]; see Dyck [1993a] 780–782.

409 Edited by Lentz in *GG* 11/2.2, 908–952; newly edited by Papazeti [2008]. For a description of the work, see Dyck [1993a] 790–791.

410 The works falsely ascribed to Herodian are listed by Schultz [1912c] 971–973.

411 On Herodian’s accentuation theory, see Laum [1928]; see also the contribution of Probert in this volume.

background of the Alexandrian school: at the time of its foundation the early Alexandrians, Aristophanes of Byzantium and Aristarchus, were involved in the famous analogy-anomaly controversy with the Pergamenian philological tradition and its exponent Crates of Mallus.⁴¹² The analogical method is based on the idea that a grammatical accident, be it inflectional or prosodic, will occur in similar word forms in the same fashion. Therefore, the words compared in the process of analogy should be subjected to a prior similarity test.

Conditions of similarity, which must be heeded in the implementation of analogical deductions, were already proposed by Aristophanes of Byzantium and Aristarchus. Herodian significantly expanded the preconditions for correct application of the analogical process, and created a canon of conditions that took into account the following criteria:⁴¹³ genus, species, type of composition, number, accent, case, same ending in the nominative singular, nature of the penultimate syllable, quantity of the vowel of the penultimate syllable, number of syllables and the nature of the consonants before the ending. After this rigorous application of the principle of analogy, Herodian formulated prosodic, but also morphological and orthographical rules.

The problem of exceptional cases in a language, and more importantly, how Herodian dealt with such exceptions, was treated separately in his work *Περὶ μονήρους λέξεως* (“On lexical singularities”). Here he examined words that have ‘anomalous’ character in the sense—according to Sluiter’s formulation ([2011] 292)—that they “look normal enough and are in frequent use, but do not conform to the rules that would most obviously seem to apply”. Yet even for these exceptional cases, Herodian devised a grammatical explanation. Deviation from a rule was to be explained on the basis of phonological and morphological changes in the basic word form, the so-called *πάθη*.⁴¹⁴ In this way the chasm between the two most distant criteria for assessment of linguistic correctness, analogy and common usage (*συνήθεια*, *usus*),⁴¹⁵ was bridged. From this

412 On the history of the so-called ‘analogy-anomaly-controversy’ and on the essential theses of this feud, see Matthaïos [2013b] with further references on this subject; see also Montana and Pagani in this volume.

413 This catalog is attested in Herodian’s *Περὶ κλίσεως ὀνομάτων* (“On the nominal declination”) in *GG* II/2.2, 634.6–24. On this, see Siebenborn [1976] 72–75. On the character and the transmission of this specific work of Herodian, see Dyck [1993a] 789 and Dickey [2007] 76–77.

414 This was evidently the subject of Herodian’s writing *Περὶ παθῶν* (*GG* III/2.1, 166–388), which was identical with the work *Ἐπιτομή τῶν περὶ παθῶν Διδύμου* (*GG* III/2.1, 389); see Dyck [1993a] 786–787. On the ancient *πάθη*-theory see Lallot [2012] 21–36; Nifadopoulos [2005]; and Pagani in this volume.

415 The criteria taken into consideration for evaluation of linguistic correctness are explored by Siebenborn [1976]; see also the contribution of Pagani in this volume.

perspective, exceptions and problematic cases that depart from a rule are brought into the system and can thus be regulated; hence common usage is legitimized as a criterion for the normation of linguistic correctness.⁴¹⁶

Lupercus and Cassius Longinus emerged in the area of grammar in the middle of the 3rd century. According to Suidas (λ 691), Lupercus,⁴¹⁷ a native of Berytus, was active during the reign of emperor Claudius Gothicus (268–270). He probably stood in a close relationship with the emperor.⁴¹⁸ Suidas ascribes to Lupercus a historical work with the title Κτίσις τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Ἀρσινοῆτου (l. Ἀρσινοῖτου) νομοῦ (“The foundation of Arsinoites in Egypt”) as well as the treatise Περὶ τοῦ παρὰ Πλάτωνι ἀλεκτρυόνος (“On the rooster in Plato”), which was probably an interpretation of Socrates’ final words in Plato’s *Phaedo* (118a). The largest portion of his oeuvre, however, was made up of works on the so-called “technical” part of the philological discipline. This included a Τέχνη γραμματική, as well as a work consisting of 13 books on the grammatical genera (Περὶ γενῶν ἀρρενικῶν καὶ θηλυκῶν καὶ οὐδετέρων).⁴¹⁹ This work surprisingly earned Suidas’ praise; Lupercus is said to have exceeded even Herodian with this text.⁴²⁰ If Suidas refers to the 6th book of this work (ἐκ τῶν ζ’ τῶν Λουπέρκου), which is still quoted in a marginal note by the hand of Maximus Planudes in Plut. *Mor.* (*De inim. util.* 10) 91e in Cod. Ambr. C. 126 inf., fol. 27v,⁴²¹ Lupercus’ writing probably survived or was known until the 13th century.

Lupercus also dealt with other grammatical questions, explaining the use of the particle ἄν in his writing Περὶ τοῦ ἄν, which consisted of three books, also addressing the very controversial accentuation of τὰς (or τὰς) in the treatise Περὶ τοῦ τὰς, as well as the quantity of the iota in the word καρὶς in his work Περὶ τῆς καρίδος.⁴²² Additionally, Lupercus was active in the field of lexicography: his collection Ἀττικαὶ λέξεις (“Attic vocabulary”) is mentioned by

416 A thorough and insightful study of Herodian’s analogistic position, as it is stated in the writing Περὶ μονήρους λέξεως, is provided by Sluiter [2011].

417 Literature on Lupercus: Gräfenhan [1843–1850] III 42–43, 83, 121 and 200, Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 889, Gudeman [1927b], Kaster [1988] 305 (nr. 91), Baumbach [1999b] and LGGA s.v. Lupercus (G. Ucciardello).

418 See Gudeman [1927b] 1839–1840.

419 The few extant fragments from Lupercus’ work are attributed to this writing; see Gudeman [1927b] 1840–1841. Gudeman’s assumption (ibid.) that this work was part of Lupercus’ *Techne grammatike* is not compelling.

420 See Suid. λ 691: . . . ἐν οἷς πολλὰ κατευδοκίμει Ἡρωδιανοῦ; cf. Gudeman [1927b] 1841.

421 See Paton [1912].

422 The two last mentioned works are incorrectly regarded by Gudeman [1927b] 1840 as not being independent writings, but as questions Lupercus had dealt with in his lexicon Ἀττικαὶ λέξεις.

Suidas in the biographical article on Lupercus and is also counted among the material enumerated in the *Preface* to Suidas (*praeef.* 1.8) as forming part of the Suidas sources.⁴²³

With a profile encompassing philosophy, rhetoric and philology, Cassius Longinus⁴²⁴ emerged as an outstanding representative of the classicistic movement during the 3rd century. He achieved great fame and veneration for his comprehensive erudition. The names βιβλιοθήκη ἔμψυχος (“living library”) and μουσεῖον περιπατοῦν (“wandering museum”) attributed to him denote admiration for his great knowledge.⁴²⁵ Longinus lived in the period from about 210 to 272/273, and according to Suidas (λ 645), he was active during the reign of Emperor Aurelian. His mother was a sister of the sophist Fronto of Emesa, whose fortune Longinus inherited. He owed his philosophical education essentially to Ammonius Saccas and Origen. After completing his studies, he settled in Athens as a teacher of philosophy, where Porphyry became his student. Around 267 Longinus left Athens for the court of Queen Zenobia, the widow of Odenathos in Palmyra. After suppression of their rebellion against the Romans, Longinus and other advisors of the queen were executed at the end of 272 or the beginning of 273.

It is to his philological activity that Longinus owes the nickname κριτικός,⁴²⁶ which separates him, to a certain extent and probably intentionally, from the γραμματικοί, inasmuch as his works emphasize the field of literary aesthetics and criticism. Of Longinus’ extensive and diverse philological-grammatical oeuvre, more titles than fragments have been preserved.⁴²⁷ His works include several writings related to Homer such as “Homeric questions” (Ἀπορήματα Ὀμηρικά), “Is Homer a philosopher?” (Εἰ φιλόσοφος Ὀμηρος) etc. A large proportion of his work falls within the area of lexicography, including two editions of “Attic Words” (Ἀττικῶν λέξεων ἐκδόσεις δύο), special lexicons on Antimachus⁴²⁸ and Heracleon, but also on Homer with the title Περὶ τῶν παρ’ Ὀμήρῳ πολλὰ σημαίνουσῶν λέξεων (“On ambiguous words in Homer”). Longinus

423 On Suidas’ Preface and its authenticity, see Matthaios [2006] 4 with n. 15 and Kaster [1988] 282.

424 Literature on Longinus: Gräfenhan [1843–1850] III 352–356, Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 889–891, Sandys [1921³] 338–339, Aulitzky [1927], Brisson-Patillon [1994] and [1998], Baltes [1999] and LGGA s.v. Cassius Longinus (C. Castelli).

425 See Eunap. *Vit. Soph.* 4.11–5.

426 Thus according to Suid. λ 645; Porphyrius in *Plot.* 20 even refers to him as κριτικώτατος.

427 Longinus’ philological writings are presented in a detailed manner by Brisson-Patillon [1998]. The relevant fragments have been collected, translated and commented by Patillon-Brisson [2002].

428 On Longinus’ lexicon Λέξεις Ἀντιμάχου, see Matthews [1996] 75.

also dealt with questions of metrics. Furthermore, part of his commentary on Hephaisstion has survived.⁴²⁹

4.2 *From the Mediterranean Cities to Constantinople: Late Antiquity*

During the 4th and 5th centuries, Constantinople became the center of grammatical activity. The city itself and its university exercised a strong attraction over scholars, who moved the site of their activity to the new Imperial capital. In this period, the entire field of ancient linguistics, both the theories regarding the constituent structure of language and the theories on *hellenismos*, were examined anew. This was certainly contingent upon the new cultural and (educational-)political circumstances, especially as it involved study of the language spoken in the eastern part of the empire and in the territory of the new capital. Furthermore, from a historical point of view the new research had to take into consideration the development of the Greek language and be accordingly adapted and updated. The history of Late Antique grammar is represented by the grammarians cited below.

Eudaemon⁴³⁰ from the Egyptian Pelusium, a correspondent of Libanius and his 'brotherly friend' for several years,⁴³¹ lived in the 4th century.⁴³² He studied rhetoric in Elusa, then returned to Egypt, but was forced by a lawsuit to go to Antioch, where he became acquainted with Libanius. In 357, he lived as an attorney in Elusa, where he became a public teacher somewhat later and as such received a salary subsidized by the emperor. Soon thereafter, he moved to Constantinople, but returned to Egypt in 361. Eudaemon is characterized as *γραμματικός* by Suidas,⁴³³ but he was also active as a poet. Among his philological-grammatical activities,⁴³⁴ we are aware of a *Τέχνη γραμματική* ("Manual on grammar") and an *Ὄνοματική ὀρθογραφία* ("Nominal

429 On Hephaisstion, see below in § 5.

430 Literature on Eudaemon: Gräfenhan [1843–1850] III 76, 83–84, 93 and 163, Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 1075, Seeck [1906] 131 (Eudaimo I.), Cohn [1907c], Hunger [1978] II 13 and 18, Kaster [1988] 279–282 (Nr. 55), Fornaro [1998a], Criore [2007] 76 and LGGA s.v. Eudaemon (Cl. Meliadò).

431 See Suid. ε 3407. Libanius wrote several letters to Eudaemon, from which his biographical details can be reconstructed; see the references in Seeck [1906] 131 and Kaster [1988] 279–281.

432 Eudaemon was born before 337 (Kaster [1988] 279 places his birth between 314 and 324) and died before 392 AD; see Kaster [1988] 279.

433 This Eudaemon is not to be confused with the teacher of rhetoric by the same name, who also belonged to the circle of Libanius; on this Eudaemon, see Seeck [1906] 131–132 (Eudaimo II.), Kaster [1988] 400–403 (Nr. 210) and Criore [2007] 33–34. On the meaning of the term *γραμματικός* in this period, see Wolf [1952] 31–41.

434 See the list of Eudaemon's writings transmitted in Suid. ε 3407.

orthography”), which was used by Stephanus of Byzantium and the *Etymologica*, as shown by some quotations preserved therein.⁴³⁵

According to the title of his work given in the manuscript tradition, Theodosius⁴³⁶ came from Alexandria and was active as γραμματικός.⁴³⁷ If Synesius is referring to this Theodosius in a letter he wrote to his brother, calling him θαυμάσιος γραμματικός,⁴³⁸ then his lifetime is to be set at the end of the 4th or beginning of the 5th century. Theodosius’ main work, *Κανόνες εισαγωγικοί περί κλίσεως ὀνομάτων καὶ ῥημάτων* (“Elementary rules on nominal and verbal inflection”),⁴³⁹ consists of rules and exhaustive declination and conjugation paradigms. It was intended to supplement the word class theory, which has been handed down in great detail in the *Techne Grammatike* attributed to Dionysius Thrax, with all inflectional patterns. The conjunction paradigms for the verb τύπτω (*GG* I/1, 125–132) stem from Theodosius’ work and are appended to the *Techne* as a fourth supplement in the edition of Uhlig. Theodosius’ *Κανόνες* was of fundamental importance for school education, as can also be inferred from the fact that it was the object of extensive commentaries by Johannes Charax and Georgios Choeroboscus.⁴⁴⁰ Two short treatises on the theory of inflection also stem from Theodosius, *Περὶ κλίσεως τῶν εἰς ὦν βαρυτόνων* (“On the declination of the barytone nouns ending in -ων”) and *Περὶ κλίσεως τῶν εἰς ὦν ὀξύτόνων* (“On the declination of the oxytone nouns ending in -ων”).⁴⁴¹ It has been suggested that he is also the author of the treatise *Περὶ προσωδιῶν* (“On prosodies”), which was appended to the text of the *Techne* of Dionysius Thrax (*GG* I/1, 105–114).⁴⁴² However, whether Theodosius also wrote an epitome of Herodian’s *Καθολικὴ προσωδία* is highly doubtful.⁴⁴³

435 The extant fragments are quoted and discussed by Cohn [1907c].

436 Literature on Theodosius: Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 1078–1079, Gudeman [1934b], Hunger [1978] II 11–12, Kaster [1988] 366–367 (Nr. 152), Wilson [1996] 42–43 and 69–71, Matthaios [2002a], Dickey [2007] 83–84 and *LGGA s.v.* Theodosius (L. Pagani).

437 See the inscriptio to Theodosius’ *Κανόνες*: Θεοδοσίου γραμματικοῦ Ἀλεξανδρέως εισαγωγικοὶ κανόνες περὶ κλίσεως ὀνομάτων (*GG* IV/1, 3.1–2)

438 See Syn. *Ep.* 4.310–316; for the identification of this Theodosius with the grammarian of the same name from Alexandria, see Oguse [1957] 85–86; cf. Kaster [1988] 152 and *ibid.* (Nr. 151).

439 The work is edited by Hilgard in *GG* IV/1, 3–99.

440 Choeroboscus’ commentary is edited by Hilgard in *GG* IV/1, 103–417 and *GG* IV/2, 1–371. The commentary of Charax has survived in the excerpted version of Sophronius; it is edited by Hilgard in *GG* IV/2, 375–434.

441 They are edited by Hilgard [1887] 16–22 and 22–24.

442 See Laum [1928] 27–28; cf. Kaster [1988] 367.

443 In three manuscripts of the epitome of Herodian’s work—in the Codd. Matrit. 38, Barocc. 179 and Haun. 1965—Theodosius is named as the author; see Kaster [1988] 367.

The grammarian Helladius⁴⁴⁴ was a native of Alexandria and initially a priest of Zeus in his hometown, but fled to Constantinople together with the grammarian Ammonius⁴⁴⁵ after the bloody fighting between pagans and Christians in 391.⁴⁴⁶ We learn from Suidas (ε 732) that Helladius was active as a grammar teacher under Theodosius II. (408–450). He appears to have come into favor with the emperor and on March 15, 425 he was awarded the *comitiva primi ordinis*, which corresponds to the rank of privy councilor (*Cod. Theod.* 6.21.1). The “Eulogy to Theodosius” (“Ἐπαινος Θεοδοσίου τοῦ βασιλέως”) could refer to this event. Suidas lists the eulogy under his writings, along with the titles of epideictic speeches or perhaps poems. Helladius is mentioned in Suidas’ biographical article as the author of a general lexicon entitled *Λέξεως παντοίας χρήσις κατὰ στοιχείον*. It consisted of seven books, which are alphabetically arranged. Photius describes the lexicon in *Bibl. cod.* 145, 98b40–99a12,⁴⁴⁷ and Suidas counts it among its source material.⁴⁴⁸

Orus,⁴⁴⁹ a grammarian who lived in the 1st half of the 5th century, was a native of Alexandria, but he probably worked in Constantinople as a professor of the newly organized university⁴⁵⁰ there. In the list of works provided by Suidas, he is credited with having authored a number of works on grammatical subjects. His studies on the area of orthography included the works Ὄρθογραφία κατὰ στοιχείον (“Alphabetically arranged orthography”), Περὶ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου (“On the diphthong εἰ”) and Ὄρθογραφία περὶ τῆς αἰ διφθόγγου (“Orthographical matters concerning the diphthong αἰ”).⁴⁵¹ An excerpt from

444 Literature on Helladius: Gräfenhan [1843–1850] II 200–201, Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 1075 and 1080, Gudeman [1912b], Seeck [1912], Kaster [1988] 289 (Nr. 67), Fornaro [1998e] and LGGA s.v. Helladius (3) (Cl. Meliadò).

445 On this grammarian, see Kaster [1988] 241 (Nr. 10).

446 Helladius’ biographical details can be reconstructed on the basis of a testimony deriving from Socrates, one of his later students; see *Socr. Hist. eccl.* 5.16.1–14. Cf. also Phot. *Bibl. cod.* 28, 6a17–20.

447 See Wilson [1996] 110–111.

448 See Suid. *praeef.* 1.3 Adler.

449 Literature on Orus: Ritschl [1834–1866], Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 876, 1077 and 1081–1082, Wendel [1939c], Hunger [1978] II 13, 18, 39, 45 and 49–50, Alpers [1981] and [2000], Kaster [1988] 325–327 (Nr. 111), Wilson [1996] 51 and 221, Dickey [2007] 99–100 and LGGA s.v. Orus (A. Ippolito).

450 See Suid ω 201. In contrast to the confusion and erroneous presumptions of earlier research (see for example Gräfenhan [1843–1850] II 74–75: “[Oros] perhaps did not even exist”), the biographical information on Orus has now been thoroughly revised by Alpers [1981] 87–101.

451 For a description of the work, see Wendel [1939c] 1179–1180; the last two writings were probably sections of the larger orthographical work of Orus.

an alphabetically arranged orthographical treatise in Cod. S. Salv. 118 of the University Library in Messina, which has been transmitted anonymously, was shown by Reitzenstein ([1897] 289–296) to be a work of Orus. A number of fragments in the *Etymologicum Genuinum*, in which Orus is cited by name, belong to this work. There is also evidence of a “Commentary on Herodian’s orthography” (Ὑπόμνημα τῆς Ὀρθογραφίας Ἡρωδιανοῦ).⁴⁵² The majority of Orus’ production arose from his lexicographic studies, including a work Περὶ πολυσημάντων λέξεων (“On ambiguous words”), of which the manuscript tradition has preserved several excerpts.⁴⁵³ Orus’ work Ὅπως τὰ ἔθνικὰ λεκτέον (‘How to build ethnic names’) has been preserved only as fragments mainly in the *Etymologicum Genuinum* and also by Stephanus of Byzantium.⁴⁵⁴ Orus’ lexicon Ἀττικῶν λέξεων συναγωγὴ (“Collection of attic expressions”),⁴⁵⁵ which will be discussed further below in the section on lexicography,⁴⁵⁶ belongs to the context of Atticistic lexicography.

According to Suidas (v 273), the grammarian Hyperechius⁴⁵⁷ came from Alexandria, but worked in Constantinople during the reign of Emperor Marcian (450–457) and also during the reign of Leo I. (457–474).⁴⁵⁸ He must have enjoyed significant prestige, if one is to believe Tzetzes’ testimony (*H.* 10.58) that Hyperechius was entrusted with instructing Eudocia, Leo’s daughter, on the subject of grammar.⁴⁵⁹ His philological-grammatical activity can be determined only by the list of works attested in Suidas. It included several areas of grammatical theory: he is credited with having written a Τέχνη γραμματικὴ (“Manual on grammar”), as well as special studies on the theory of inflection—Περὶ ὀνομάτων (“On nouns”) and Περὶ ῥημάτων (“On verbs”)—and also an orthographic treatise Περὶ ὀρθογραφίας. Traces of his grammatical theory, most probably deriving from the work Περὶ ὀνομάτων, become tangible

452 The work is cited in *Etym. Gud.* 415.45–46 s.v. ξίρις.

453 See Reitzenstein [1897] 335–347; on the character of this writing, see Wendel [1939c] 1181–1182.

454 The excerpts from the *Etymologicum Genuinum* were collected by Reitzenstein [1897] 335–347; a collection of Orus’ fragments transmitted by Stephanus of Byzantium has recently been presented by Billerbeck [2011].

455 On this work, see Alpers [1981] 97–101. The extant fragments are edited by Alpers [1981] 149–260.

456 See below in § 6.4. On further works ascribed by Suidas to Orus, see Wendel [1939c] 1182–1183; cf. Alpers [2000].

457 Literature on Hyperechius: Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 1077, Funaioli [1914], Hunger [1978] II 13 and 18 and Kaster [1988] 297 (Nr. 79).

458 See Suid. λ 267.

459 On this information, however, see Kaster [1988] 297.

from a scholion of Choeroboscus on the canons of Theodosius (*GG IV/1*, 292.6–7) in the form in which the passage has been transmitted in Codex v.

Pamprepius of Panopolis⁴⁶⁰ in Egypt was born in the year 440 AD.⁴⁶¹ He studied in Alexandria, where he met Hermias and thus entered into the circle of Neoplatonic philosophers. At the age of about 30, he moved to Athens, where he studied with Proclus and became a respected γραμματικός. In 476, he transferred to Constantinople, where he was appointed to a university chair for grammar. Pamprepius is known mainly because of his poetic work.⁴⁶² Of his etymological work (*Ἐτυμολογιῶν ἀπόδοσις*), which Suidas (π 136) counts among his writings, nothing more is known than the title.

Another grammarian, Eugenius from Augustopolis in Phrygia,⁴⁶³ was highly respected in the reign of Anastasius I. (491–518). Eugenius was active at the Imperial university of Constantinople, where he was a predecessor of Stephanus of Byzantium in the chair of grammar.⁴⁶⁴ Suidas informs us on his extensive oeuvre, in which Eugenius emerges primarily as a theoretician in metrical matters; his major work, the *Κωλομετρία τῶν μελικῶν Αἰσχύλου, Σοφοκλέους καὶ Εὐριπίδου* (“Colometry of the lyrical passages in Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides”) concerns the 15 tragedies of the three tragedians, which were selected for educational use. Thus Eugenius provided a service not unlike that of Heliodorus⁴⁶⁵ to Aristophanes. Eugenius also dealt with metrical issues in his treatise *Περὶ τοῦ τί τὸ παιωνικὸν παλιμβάκχειον* (“In what respect the palimbaccheus is a paean”).⁴⁶⁶ The work *Περὶ τεμενικῶν ὅπως προφέρεται* (“On the question of how one pronounces the names of temples”)⁴⁶⁷ and *Περὶ*

460 Literature on Pamprepius: Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 1077, Keydell [1949], Hunger [1978] II 13, 109–110 and 112, Kaster [1988] 329–332 (Nr. 114), Wilson [1996] 51 and Fornaro [2000].

461 The various biographical testimonies on Pamprepius are presented in detail by Livrea [1979] 1–7; see also Kaster [1988] 329–331.

462 Edited by Livrea [1979].

463 Literature on Eugenius: Schmidt-Stählin [1920–1926] II/2, 1075, Cohn [1907d], Kaster [1988] 282 (Nr. 52), Wilson [1996] 51–53 and Fornaro [1998b].

464 On Eugenius’ career and his writings, see Suid. ε 3394. Stephanus of Byzantium states, in the only passage where he quotes Eugenius, that the latter was his predecessor; see Steph. Byz. α 305 s.v. Ἀνακτόριον, Ἀκαρνανίας πόλις, . . . καὶ Εὐγένιος δέ, ὁ πρὸ ἡμῶν τὰς ἐν τῇ βασιλίδι σχολὰς διακοσμήσας, ἐν συλλογῇ λέξεων διὰ διφθόγγου φησίν. On Stephanus, see below in § 6.1.

465 On Heliodorus, see below in § 5.

466 Cohn [1907d] 987 assumes that this treatise is part of the larger work on colometry.

467 Eugenius’s predecessor in this matter was Horapollo. On Horapollo’s *Τεμενικά*, see above § 3.4.

τῶν εἰς ἰα ληγόντων ὀνομάτων (“On the nouns ending in -ια”)⁴⁶⁸ were orthographic works. A lexicographical work is also known for Eugenius with the title Παμμυγῆς λέξις κατὰ στοιχείον (“Mixed vocabulary in alphabetical order”), which Stephanus of Byzantium cites under the title Συλλογὴ λέξεων (“Collection of expressions”).⁴⁶⁹ According to Suidas’ description, the work had a very mixed character: peculiarities in accentuation, aspiration and orthography were examined, but expressions and proverbs referring to mythological subjects were also incorporated. In Suidas’ *Praefatio* (1.4), Eugenius’ work is counted among the sources of this lexicon. Suidas’ list of works suggests Eugenius was also active as a poet; “some [writings] in iambic trimeters” (ἄλλα τινὰ τρίμετρα ἰαμβικά) are attributed to him.⁴⁷⁰

Timotheus of Gaza⁴⁷¹ is known as a grammarian, a poet and also a popular scientist who, in Suidas’ account (τ 621), lived around 500 AD during the reign of Emperor Anastasius I. (491–516).⁴⁷² In many *scholia* on the Cyrill glossary, Timotheus appears as a student of Horapollo.⁴⁷³ He was the author of an orthographical work with the title Κανόνες καθολικοὶ περὶ συντάξεως (“General spelling rules”; literally: “General rules for the assembly of sounds to syllables and of syllables to words”), which is based upon Herodian’s “Orthography”.⁴⁷⁴ His treatise entitled Περί ὀρθογραφίας (“On Orthography”) has not survived.⁴⁷⁵ From Timotheus, we also have a hexametric poem called Περί ζώων (“On animals”), which is a collection of zoological curiosities,⁴⁷⁶ and a lament addressed to Emperor Anastasius I. regarding trade taxes, which is known only by title.⁴⁷⁷

468 Both orthographical writings of Eugenius are regarded by Cohn [1907d] 988 as sections of his lexicographic work Παμμυγῆς λέξις κατὰ στοιχείον; but the fact that this lexicon is arranged alphabetically makes Cohn’s assumption questionable.

469 See Stephanus’ quotation cited in the previous n. 465.

470 On Eugenius’ poetical work, see Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 974.

471 Literature on Timotheus: Seitz [1892] 30–32, Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 974–975 and 1077, Wellmann [1927], Steier [1937], Hunger [1978] II 13, 18–19 and 265, Kaster [1988] 368–370 (Nr. 156), Wilson [1996] 31, 44 and 143 as well as Matthaios [2002c].

472 See also Tzetz. *H.* 4.166, which names Timotheus as being among the authors who, according to Aelian and Oppian, wrote about zoology.

473 See Reitzenstein [1897] 296 and the material cited on p. 296–297 and p. 312–316. On the question of which Horapollo is meant here, see Kaster [1988] 369–370.

474 The work was edited by Cramer in *Anecdota Graeca*, vol. 4, 239–244.

475 On this work, see Kaster [1988] 369; on Timotheus’ orthographical studies, see Egenolff [1888] 6–8 and Schneider [1999] 15–71.

476 The extant excerpts are collected by Haupt [1869]; an English translation is provided by Bodenheimer-Rabinowitz [1949].

477 On these works, see Kaster [1988] 368–369 with additional references.

The lifetime of Theodoretus⁴⁷⁸ cannot be determined precisely, but it is believed that he lived after the 4th and before the end of the 6th century.⁴⁷⁹ Theodoretus was the author of a treatise *Περὶ πνευμάτων* (“On the spirits”), which is based on the 20th book of Herodian’s *Καθολικὴ προσωδία*. The work was very successful and was still in use during the 13th century as a school manual.⁴⁸⁰

The theologian, neoplatonic philosopher and Aristotle commentator John Philoponus⁴⁸¹ also worked as a grammarian. He lived in Alexandria around 490–575 AD and was a student of Ammonius. His writings comprise a number of grammatical works, above all the *Τονικά παραγγέλματα* (“Accentuation rules”), which was an epitome of Herodian’s *Καθολικὴ προσωδία*.⁴⁸² The work *Περὶ διαλέκτων* (“On dialects”) provided the main basis for the research of Gregory of Corinth in this area.⁴⁸³ As the title indicates, his lexicographic work *Περὶ τῶν διαφόρως τονουμένων καὶ διάφορα σημαίνοντων* dealt with homonyms that were accented differently and therefore had different meanings.⁴⁸⁴

The grammarian Arcadius,⁴⁸⁵ a native of Antioch, also extended the boundaries of the Constantinopolitans. His lifetime cannot be determined with certainty: the *terminus post quem* is Herodian, while the *terminus ante quem* is provided by Stephanus of Byzantium. Some evidence, however, indicates that he may have lived towards the end of the 5th or at the beginning of the 6th century.⁴⁸⁶ Arcadius’ grammatical work includes the areas of orthography, syntax and morphology. Suidas (α 3948) attributes the following works to him: *Περὶ ὀρθογραφίας* (“On orthography”), *Περὶ συντάξεως τῶν τοῦ λόγου μερῶν* (“On the syntax of the parts of speech”) and *Ὀνοματικόν* (“The nominal inflection”). A

478 Literature on Theodoretus: Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 1080, Wendel [1934b], Hunger [1978] II 12–13, Kaster [1988] 434 (Nr. 265) and Baumbach [2002b].

479 See Kaster [1988] 434.

480 On the history of its transmission, see Egenolff [1887] 8–10 and Uhlig [1880] 791–798.

481 Literature on John Philoponus: Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 1067–1068, Cohn [1916] and Kroll [1916], Boehm [1967], Hunger [1978] II 13, 17, 19 and 30–31, Kaster [1988] 334–338 (Nr. 118), Wilson [1996] 44–45 and 187–188, Dickey [2007] 81–82, and Pontani in this volume.

482 Edited by Dindorf [1825]; a new edition is under preparation by G. Xenis (University of Cyprus) for the Bibliotheca Teubneriana. For a description of the work, see Cohn [1916] 1781–1782.

483 Edited by Hoffmann [1893] 204–222; description of the work by Cohn [1916] 17–82–1783.

484 Following Egenolff [1880] the work was edited by Daly [1983]; a description of the work is provided by Cohn [1916] and Koster [1932].

485 Literature on Arcadius: Schmidt-Stählin [1920–1926] II 1077–1078, Cohn [1895j], Hunger [1978] II 13, 15 and 19, Kaster [1988] 244 (Nr. 16), Montanari [1997a] and LGGA s.v. Arcadius.

486 On the question of Arcadius’ lifetime, see Kaster [1988] 241.

few fragments, transmitted under his name by Stephanus of Byzantium and Choeroboscus, probably stem from his Ὀνοματικόν.⁴⁸⁷ On the other hand, the epitome of Herodian's Καθολικὴ προσωδία that circulated in several manuscripts under his name has been wrongly attributed to him.⁴⁸⁸

5 Studies on Metrics in the Imperial Era and Late Antiquity

The theory of metrics, which, according to the systematization of γραμματικὴ in the so-called ‘Tyrannion-system’, constituted the ὄργανον μετρικόν of the discipline,⁴⁸⁹ represented a special field of philological-grammatical studies during the Imperial era and Late Antiquity.⁴⁹⁰ The grammarians Soteridas, Astyages and Ptolemaeus of Ascalon composed special works Περὶ μέτρων as early as the 1st century AD.⁴⁹¹ During this time, extensive studies in this area were also composed by Heliodorus,⁴⁹² who lived in the 1st century AD and was, according to Suidas (εἰ 190), the teacher of the Atticist Irenaeus, who also went by the name of Minucius Pacatus.⁴⁹³ Heliodorus is known for his studies on metrics that dealt with the comedies of Aristophanes.

Heliodorus’ work—actually a κωλομετρία Ἀριστοφάνειος—took the form of an edition of the comedies, in which the text was divided into the smallest rhythmic elements. Colometric signs drew attention to rhythmic and metrical phenomena and referred to a running commentary that dealt with the issues of interpretation in question.⁴⁹⁴ Heliodorus also wrote a “manual” (ἐγχειρίδιον) on metrics, which according to Choeroboscus’ commentary on Hephaestion (Choerob. *Scholia in Hephaestionem* 181.9–11 Consbruch) was intended for those who wanted to learn the most important chapters of metrical theory.

487 The relevant passages are quoted in Cohn [1895j] 1153–1154.

488 For a detailed discussion on the authorship of this epitome, see Cohn [1895j] 1154–1156.

489 See above § 2.3.

490 On metrical studies during the Hellenistic period, see Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] I 444–445. The Hellenistic and Imperial theory of metrics is presented in detail by Westphal [1867] 105–232; see also Pretagostini [1993].

491 See above § 3.3.

492 Literature on Heliodorus: Gräfenhan [1843–1850] I 454–455, Westphal [1867] 214–226, Hense [1870] and [1912a], Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] I 445–446, Fornaro [1998d] and LGGA s.v. Heliodorus (E. Rocconi).

493 On Irenaeus, see below in § 6.4.

494 The preserved fragments from this work in the corpus of the Aristophanes scholia were collected by Thiemann [1869] and later also by White [1912] 384–395. On Heliodorus’ commentary on meter in Aristophanes, see Holwerda [1964] and [1967].

For this purpose, Heliodorus started his presentation with a definition of the different meters.⁴⁹⁵ He was a follower of the so-called derivation theory on the origin of various meters.⁴⁹⁶ His theory was based on the distinction among the most important metrical feet, from which all meters were held to be created by omission or addition of one or more syllables at the beginning of the colon.

The foundation of metrical theory, the after-effect of which extended through the Byzantine period into the early modern time, is linked to the achievements of Hephaestion.⁴⁹⁷ Hephaestion came from Alexandria,⁴⁹⁸ but together with Telephus he was appointed in Rome as a Greek teacher of the second adoptive prince, the later Emperor L. Verus.⁴⁹⁹ Hephaestion's most important work was a particularly extensive treatise on metrics (Περὶ μέτρων) in 48 books, which was, however, abridged by the metrician himself first to 11 books, later to 3 books and finally to the Ἐγγχειρίδιον ("Manual") which survives today.⁵⁰⁰ At the end of the manual, fragmentary sections of a work called Περὶ ποιήματος are appended, consisting of an analysis of poetic works according to their metrical structure. A short treatise entitled Περὶ σημείων dealing with diacritical signs that exhibit metric peculiarities was also attached as an appendix.

With regard to the development of the various meters, Hephaestion—like Heliodorus—was essentially an adherent of the derivation theory, which argues that all meters are formed on the basis of certain elementary meters (μέτρα πρωτότυπα). After an introduction in which prosodic problems are discussed, each of the nine elementary meters identified by Hephaestion is treated individually. This is followed by discussion of the meters formed from the basic patterns, as well as those formed from the combination of various metrical feet, and finally, the so-called uncertain meters. In its abbreviated manual form, the work contains examples that were appropriate as school

495 See Longin. *Proleg. Heph.* 81.12–15 Consbruch. On Longinus' commentary on Heliodorus' metric manual, see above in this paragraph.

496 See Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] I 445.

497 Literature on Hephaestion: Gräfenhan [1843–1850] III 69, 106–107, 228, 327 and 340, Hense [1912b], Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 891–893, Sandys [1921³] 328, Fornaro [1998f], Dickey [2007] 104–105 and LGGA s.v. Hephaestion (A. Ippolito); see also Dickey in this volume.

498 See Suid. η 659.

499 See *Hist. Aug. Verus* 2.4. On Telephus, see above § 3.3.

500 For the history of the formation of Hephaestion's work, see the information provided by Choeroboscus, *Scholia in Hephaestionem* 181.11–13 Consbruch. The work is edited together with Choeroboscus' commentary and the scholia on it by Consbruch [1906]; an English translation with commentary is provided by van Ophuijsen [1987].

exercises; they were taken from lyric poets and comedians but not from tragedians, while choral lyric poetry was likewise disregarded.

Choeroboscus wrote a commentary on Hephaestion's manual, which was accompanied by a rich collection of scholia from the Byzantine period; a commentary on Hephaestion was also composed by Longinus. The commentaries and scholia are important because they are partially based on the original and extended version of the work. Several other philological-grammatical writings of Hephaestion are known through Suidas (η 659), but only by their titles. In one passage transmitted by Porphyry (*ad Il.* 12.127–132, 177.31–35 Schrader), remains of Hephaestion's interpretation of Homer have been preserved.⁵⁰¹

Draco of Stratoniceia was active at about the same time as Hephaestion. In the list of his works as recorded by Suidas several metrical treatises are attributed to Draco, though none have survived.⁵⁰² Eugenius of Augustopolis likewise dealt with metrics in the 5th century. It was mentioned earlier⁵⁰³ that Eugenius wrote a colometry on the lyrical passages of the tragedians, thereby continuing and expanding Hephaestion's work, which was restricted to Aristophanes. A special study on the palimbaccheus is also attributed to Eugenius.

6 Lexicography during the Imperial Era and Late Antiquity

Lexicographic exploration of the Greek language was one of the most productive areas of philological-grammatical activity in the Imperial era and Late Antiquity. Several authors rendered service in this field and their names have been connected with great achievements both in terms of quantity and effort.⁵⁰⁴ Looking back at the overall evolution of ancient lexicography, it should be noted that the area reached its widest development in this period not just in relation to the contents of the dictionaries produced and the lexicographic goal of each one, but also in terms of the typology of genres. All levels of language, including literary language, dialectal vocabulary as well as scientific language were analyzed. Regarding the principle of systematization, the

501 This fragment is ascribed by MacPhail [2011] 201 n. 136 to Hephaestion's work *Περὶ τῶν ἐν ποιήμασι παραχῶν* ("On confusions that occur in poems"), which is attested in Suidas.

502 On Draco, see above § 4.1.

503 See above in this paragraph.

504 For an overview of Greek lexicography from Antiquity and the Middle Ages, see Cohn [1913], Tolkiehn [1925], Serrano Aybar [1977], Degani [1995], Alpers [1990], [2001] and [2008], and Tosi in this volume. See also Matthaios [2010a], who, in addition to history, treats methodological aspects based upon the relations of each lexicographer to his sources.

individual entries were arranged either alphabetically or according to subject areas and semantic fields, in the form of onomastics. The lexical material that was treated was further explained in terms of meanings, synonyms or etymology.

Generally speaking, the lexicographic production of the Imperial era and Late Antiquity, like the philological-grammatical activity from this period on other subject areas,⁵⁰⁵ showed a strong trend towards expansion and systematization of the lexicographic works produced in the Hellenistic period.⁵⁰⁶ Whereas Hellenistic glossographers and lexicographers set themselves the goal of analyzing the language of one specific author or a special literary genre, or at times a dialect or an idiolect, Imperial lexicographers now expanded their task to broader linguistic contexts and encompassed various linguistic levels in a single work. This resulted in collections such as the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, which considered the Greek language in its entirety, without restriction to a specific area of its realization.

The aspiration to build up an exhaustive documentation also had consequences for the method used by the lexicographers of the Roman Empire and for the developmental process of each lexicographic work. In opposition to their Hellenistic predecessors, who gathered the relevant material from their own field of experience, as in the case of dialects or technical languages, but also from their own reading and interpretation of literary texts in direct examination of the respective author and his language, the collections from the Imperial era and Late Antiquity emerged, so to speak, in an indirect manner. Lexicographers now began to excerpt the lexical material that was to be explained from commentaries and lexica of earlier times. They made extracts from special glossaries and joined smaller works together, incorporating them into larger collections. The number and scope of the sources processed in this manner defined and guaranteed the implicit or explicit claim of completeness advanced by each lexicographer. This manner of proceeding should by no means be regarded as suggesting a lack of originality.⁵⁰⁷ Rather, Imperial and Late Antique lexica represent one of the most creative moments of lexicographic activity, which demanded of lexicographers an expertise in no way

505 See above § 4.

506 On the characteristics of Imperial and Late Antique lexicography, see Matthaios [2010a] 1–5.

507 See e.g. the dismissive judgment expressed by Cohn [1913] 688 concerning the lexicographic accomplishments of the Imperial era: “In der Kaiserzeit hörte im allgemeinen die selbständige Forschung auf, fast alle lexikographischen Werke aus dieser Zeit beruhen im wesentlichen auf den Vorarbeiten und Sammlungen der älteren Grammatiker”.

different from today's lexicography, namely the ability to synthesize and systematize, but also to accurately select the relevant data from the available material and to critically analyze the respective sources.

In effect, the linguistic, historical, ideological and cultural conditions of the era are reflected in an especially lively manner in the lexicography of the Imperial era and Late Antiquity. This is true in particular for that branch of lexicography characterized by the term "Atticistic lexicography", which became a crucial feature of the period of ancient scholarship discussed here:⁵⁰⁸ indeed, Atticistic lexicography marked a turning point in the entire field of lexicography. Lexica, especially the Atticistic collections, no longer merely served the purpose of explaining literary language, but were also intended for new text production. The productive function, however, involved a closely connection with the normative and prescriptive character of lexicography, as the lexicographer attempted with his work to instruct the user in the correct use of language, at the same time also exercising influence in questions of language development.

The following overview is divided according to the individual genres of lexica compiled in the Imperial era and Late Antiquity, and discusses the most important representatives and works in each area according to a historical order.

6.1 *Dictionaries on Individual Authors and Literary Genres*

Lexicographic analysis of the Homeric language still constituted a special part of lexicographic activity during the Imperial era. A systematic treatment of this area, which also took into account the abundant previous studies on Homeric diction, is found in the lexicon of Apollonius Sophista,⁵⁰⁹ bearing the title *Λεξικὸν κατὰ στοιχεῖον τῆς τε Ἰλιάδος καὶ Ὀδυσσεΐας* ("Alphabetically arranged lexicon on the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*"). Apollonius, the son of the grammarian Archibius,⁵¹⁰ lived in Alexandria in the second half of the 1st century AD. His lexicon, which is arranged alphabetically predominantly according to the first two letters, has been directly transmitted in Cod. Coislinianus 345, albeit in

⁵⁰⁸ On Atticistic lexicography, see below in § 6.4.

⁵⁰⁹ Literature on Apollonius Sophista: Gräfenhan [1843–1850] III 58 and 174, Cohn [1895d], Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] I 438 and 442, Sandys [1921³] 296, Montanari [1996h], Dickey [2007] 24–25 and LGAA s.v. Apollonius (13) Sophista.

⁵¹⁰ See Suid. α 3423 s.v. Ἀπολλώνιος and α 4106 s.v. Ἀρχίβιος. According to Suidas, the father of Apollonius lived up to the time of Trajan. Apollonius' son was also named Archibius (cf. Suid. α 4105) and had worked on the explanation of Callimachus' epigrammatic poetry; on this Archibius, see above § 3.3.

abbreviated form.⁵¹¹ This is in contrast to the rest of the surviving collections from the Hellenistic and early Imperial period, which are mostly preserved in fragments, such as Apion's Γλῶσσα Ὀμηρικαί ("Homeric Glosses").⁵¹² The epitomized text of Apollonius' lexicon can be supplemented with the help of quotations made by later users, above all Hesychius, who, in the preface of his lexicon (*Epist. ad Eulogium* 1.2–3 and 1.31–2.1 Latte) explicitly mentions Apollonius Sophista as one of his sources.

Apollonius' lexicon is considered one of the most important sources for Hellenistic Homeric scholarship, which he systematically incorporated into his work. In addition to Apion's glossographical studies on Homer, Apollonius' sources include not only an unidentified grammarian named Heliodorus,⁵¹³ also a precursor of the later collection of the so-called *D-scholía*, but also Aristarchus' Homeric exegesis, which was largely transmitted through Aristonicus' work, as well as a series of works and commentaries on specific philological Homeric issues composed by Aristarchus' pupils and grammarians.⁵¹⁴ The success of the dictionary, which survived into the Byzantine era, mainly lies in the claim of completeness Apollonius advanced for his analysis of Homeric vocabulary, based on the large number of sources taken into account.

The work Περὶ Ὀμηρικῆς λέξεως ("On the Homeric expression") by an unknown grammarian named Basileides and the epitome of this work made by a certain Cratinus, which is quoted several times in the *Etymologica*,⁵¹⁵ belong to studies on the Homeric language dating from the Imperial and Late Antique era. Similarly, Cassius Longinus' work on polysemantic expressions by Homer with the title Περὶ τῶν παρ' Ὀμήρω πολλὰ σημαίνουσῶν λέξεων ("On ambiguous words in Homer"; 4 books),⁵¹⁶ refer to Homeric language. Due to the scarcity of surviving fragments, it remains uncertain to what extent these lexicographic works also included entirely new aspects or whether they were simply based on earlier source material.

511 The lexicon was edited by Bekker [1833]; an edition of the first four letters is provided by Steinicke [1957]. Papyri containing fragments from Apollonius' lexicon have been studied by Haslam [1982], [1992] and [1994], who also evaluated them for the history of the transmission of the lexicon.

512 On Apion and his Homeric glossary, see above § 3.3.

513 On the Homeric scholar Heliodorus, who was probably not identical to the metrician of the same name (on this Heliodorus, cf. above § 5), see Dyck [1993b] 1–6, who has also collected and commented on his fragments.

514 A detailed report on the sources of Apollonius Sophistes is presented by Schenck [1974]; cf. Erbse [1960] 407–432.

515 On this work, see Cohn [1913] 691 and Tolkiehn [1925] 2445.

516 On this work of Longinus, see Tolkiehn [1925] 2460; on Longinus, see above § 4.1.

As well as the language of Homer, the vocabulary of comedy and tragedy also drew the attention of lexicographic research. Theon had already authored lexicographic works on the phraseology of comedy and quite probably also on the language of tragedies.⁵¹⁷ Epitherses of Nicaea,⁵¹⁸ a grammarian from the first half of the 1st century AD,⁵¹⁹ is attested by Stephanus of Byzantium as the author of a lexicographic work consisting of at least two books with the title *Περὶ λέξεων Ἀττικῶν καὶ κωμικῶν καὶ τραγικῶν* (“On Attic vocabulary in the area of comedy and tragedy”).⁵²⁰ In the late 2nd century AD, the grammarian Palamedes treated the language of comedy and tragedy in two separate lexicons, in his *Λέξις κωμική* (“Phraseology of comic poetry”) and in *Λέξις τραγική* (“Phraseology of tragic poetry”).⁵²¹

The language of historiography was also explored in lexicographic works. Parthenius of Nicaea,⁵²² who lived during Nero’s reign and was probably also the son of Dionysius Tryphonos, was a pupil of the grammarian Dionysius of Alexandria and dealt with the language of historians in general.⁵²³ His work *Περὶ τῶν παρὰ ἱστορικοῖς λέξεων ζητουμένων* (“On the questionable expressions of historians”) is an alphabetic lexicon in at least two books with explanations of rare expressions used by historians. It was quoted several times by Athenaeus and, thanks to Athenaeus, attracted the attention of Byzantine scholars. A certain Apollonius⁵²⁴ treated the language of Herodotus in his work *Ἐξήγησις*

517 On Theon’s lexicographic activity, see above § 3.3.

518 Literature on Epitherses: Gräfenhan [1843–1850] III 178, Cohn [1907a], Fornaro [1997c], Bagordo [1998] 65 and LGGA s.v. Epitherses (Cl. Meliadò); a collection of the surviving evidence from his lexicographic work is provided by Bagordo [1998] 127.

519 If the Epitherses mentioned by Plutarch (*De def. or.* 17.419b–e) is identical to the grammarian from Nicaea, then he lived in the first half of the 1st century AD and was also active in Rome.

520 See Steph. Byz. 474.17 s.v. Νίκαια, πόλις Βιθυνίας, Βοττιαίων ἄποικος... ἐξ αὐτῆς... καὶ Ἐπιθέρησης γραμματικὸς γράψας περὶ λέξεων ἀττικῶν καὶ κωμικῶν καὶ τραγικῶν. The number of books is derived from the only surviving fragment by Erotian. α 103 s.v. ἄμβηνη... Ἐπιθέρησης δ’ ἐν β’ τῶν Λέξεων (fr. *2 Bagordo) ἄμβωνά φησι χεῖλος εἶναι σκευούς καὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος τὸ πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ ἴττι; this fragment, however, should not be attributed automatically to Epitherses. The form of the name transmitted in the manuscripts is θέρησις, which Meineke changed to Ἐπιθέρησης upon the evidence by Stephanus of Byzantium. Nachmanson emends it into the form Θέρησης. On the character of Epitherses’ lexicon, see Bagordo [1998] 65: “dieses Lexikon [war] eine Art Konkordanz zwischen den Komikern und Tragikern”.

521 On Palamedes, see above § 3.3.

522 Literature on Parthenius: von Blumenthal [1949], Matthaios [2000d] and LGGA s.v. Parthenius (L. Pagani). On his lexicon, cf. Cohn [1913] 691 and Tolkiehn [1925] 2445–2446.

523 On Dionysius of Alexandria, see above § 3.3; on Dionysius Tryphonos, see below in § 6.2.

524 Literature on Apollonius: Cohn [1895f].

τῶν Ἡροδότου γλωσσῶν (“Explanation of Herodotian glosses”).⁵²⁵ Another glossary of Herodotus’ language, whose author is unknown, has been transmitted in two versions. The first is arranged alphabetically, whereas the second reproduces the glosses in the order of the running text. The exact date of its origin, however, cannot be precisely determined.⁵²⁶ As in the case of Herodotus, the language of Thucydides was also addressed by lexicographic scholarship from the Imperial era and Late Antiquity. The grammarian Claudius Didymus,⁵²⁷ who was active in Rome in the early 1st century AD during the reign of the Emperor Claudius, wrote a work of grammatical-lexical contents on the words of Thucydides that violated the analogous formation principle. The title of the work, according to Suidas (δ 874), was Περὶ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων παρὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν Θεουκιδίδη.⁵²⁸

Similarly to Harpocration from Argos, who is said to have authored a Platonic lexicon,⁵²⁹ Boethus,⁵³⁰ a grammarian from the period between Pamphilus and Diogenianus,⁵³¹ dealt with the explanation of Platonic vocabulary. Two works on this subject are attributed to Boethus, a Λέξεων Πλατωνικῶν συναγωγὴ (“Collection of Platonic expressions”), which was arranged alphabetically and was dedicated to a certain Melanthas, and the work Περὶ τῶν παρὰ Πλάτωνι ἀπορουμένων λέξεων (“On questionable expressions in Plato”), which was addressed to a certain Athenagoras. Both collections are recorded in Photios’

525 The work is quoted by Orion 134.34 and 170.29 as well as in *Etym. Magn.* 552.2 and 722.22. On Apollonius’ glossary, see Cohn [1913] 691 and Tolkiehn [1925] 2446.

526 See Tolkiehn [1925] 2446 with references to further literature and the editions of the glossary.

527 Literature on Claudius Didymus: Gräfenhan [1843–1850] III 64 and 148, Cohn [1903d], Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] I 434 and 438–439, Christes [1979] 104–105, Montanari [1997g] and LGGA s.v. Didymus (2) Claudius (F. Montana).

528 On this work, see Cohn [1913] 691 and Tolkiehn [1925] 2446.

529 The Platonic philosopher Harpocration of Argos lived in the 2nd century AD and was a pupil of the Platonist Atticus. According to Suidas’ statement (α 401), in addition to a commentary on Plato in 24 books, Harpocration authored a lexicon on the Platonic vocabulary consisting of two books with the title Λέξεις Πλάτωνος (“Platonic expressions”); see Cohn [1913] 691 and Tolkiehn [1925] 2446.

530 Literature on Boethus: Gräfenhan [1843–1850] III 181, Cohn [1903a] and [1913] 691, Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] I 442, Tolkiehn [1925] 2446, Montanari [1997c] and LGGA s.v. Boethus (2).

531 Boethus’ lifetime can be determined from an entry in the *Lexicon* of Hesychius (δ 1201), where it is evident that Diogenianus used Boethus and quoted him; see Cohn [1903a] 254.

Bibliotheca (cod. 154, 100a13–17 and cod. 155, 100a18–24)⁵³² and were used by the Patriarch himself as sources for the compilation of his own lexicon.⁵³³

We also have knowledge of another two, fully preserved Platonic lexica, by different authors. The first, stemming from Timaeus⁵³⁴ is a lexicon bearing the title “an alphabetical selection of Platonic expressions” (Ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Πλάτωνος λέξεων), which can probably be dated to the 3rd century.⁵³⁵ This lexicon was available to Photius (*Bibl.* cod. 154, 100a15–16), and was in his judgment far surpassed by that of Boethus. The second is entitled *Περὶ τῶν ἀπορουμένων παρὰ Πλάτωνι λέξεων* (“On Questionable Expressions in Plato”) and is falsely ascribed to Didymus Chalkenteros.⁵³⁶ Its date of origin is not easily determined: it was compiled sometime in the period between the 3rd and the beginning of the 10th century.⁵³⁷

Medical language, especially the language of the Hippocratic corpus, was already a special subject of lexicographic research, both from the point of view of philology and of medicine.⁵³⁸ In the middle or towards the end of the 1st century AD, the grammarian Erotian⁵³⁹ presented an extensive “Collection of expressions occurring in Hippocrates” (τῶν παρ’ Ἱπποκράτει λέξεων συναγωγὴ), utilizing a large amount of source material. He dedicated his work to Andromachus, a physician at the Imperial court in Rome. In his arrangement of the lexicographic entries, Erotian followed the text of the Hippocratic corpus according to the order of the individual writings and explained the glosses of each writing in such a manner that whenever a word appeared for the first time, he made reference to all other occurrences of the same term. However, Erotian’s lexicon has not been preserved in its original form, as the work began

532 On the character of Boethus’ lexica, see Cohn [1884b] 783–786, 794–813 and 836–852; cf. also Dyck [1985].

533 See Theodoridis [1982–1998] I, LXXIII–LXXIV with references to other literature.

534 Literature on Timaeus: Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 1081, von Fritz [1936], Alpers [2001] 200 and [2008] 1254–1255, Matthaios [2002b] and LGGA s.v. Timaeus.

535 The lexicon has been edited by Valente [2012]; on Bonelli’s edition [2007], see the review of Alpers [2009a]. On the datation of the compilation of the lexicon, see Valente [2012] 57.

536 On this Platonic glossary, see Cohn [1913] 691 and Tolkien [1925] 2447. The work has been newly edited by Valente [2012].

537 On the dating of the glossary, see Valente [2012] 250.

538 On lexicographic activity on the field of ancient medicine, see Tolkien [1925] 2450–2451 and Manetti in this volume. Information on this matter is provided by Erotian in the *Prefatio* to his *Hippocratic lexicon* (1–9 Nachmanson).

539 Literature on Erotian: Gräfenhan [1843–1850] III 178–179, Cohn [1907b] and [1913] 691–692, Tolkien [1925] 2451–2452, Nutton [1998a], Alpers [2001] 199–200 and [2008] 1255 and LGGA s.v. Erotianus.

very early to be epitomized and excerpted. Thus numerous fragments of the original work were used as scholia in the manuscripts of Hippocrates and have been preserved almost in their original wording. Erotian's glossary was set in an alphabetical order in the 11th century, and was also substantially abbreviated at the same time. A second epitome, written not much later, is the origin of the present form of the preserved manuscripts.⁵⁴⁰ Erotian's erudition, a typical feature of Imperial scholarship, becomes clear from the preserved fragments of the original lexicon in the scholia on Hippocrates, which show that he aimed to achieve the maximum benefit from the sources available to him and to corroborate his explanations with evidence stemming from non-medical language.

Prose literature was also one of the subjects examined in the lexicography of the Imperial era and Late Antiquity, for instance with studies on the Attic orators, in which their language was interpreted in a series of so-called 'Rednerlexika'. The extensive studies of Didymus Chalkenteros in this field present the foundation and basic source from which Imperial lexicography on classical rhetoric drew its information. Lexicographic activity in this area began with Caecilius of Cale Acte,⁵⁴¹ the literary historian and critic of the Augustan period, who was a friend of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. In addition to his extensive literary-historical and theoretical work in the field of ancient rhetoric, Caecilius also compiled lexicographic works on the language of the Attic orators, but neither the number nor the exact titles of Caecilius' lexicographic works can be determined from Suidas' information (x 1165 = fr. 1a Augello). In contrast to earlier views on the existence of two rhetorical dictionaries compiled by Caecilius,⁵⁴² Augello ([2006] 7) believes that there was only one rhetorical lexicon with the title Ἀπόδειξις τοῦ εἰρησθαί πᾶσαν λέξιν καλλιρρημοσύνης ("Exposition of the vocabulary used for the purpose of elegant expression"; fr. 37–40 A.).

The grammarian Julius Vestinus,⁵⁴³ who lived in the first half of the 2nd century AD, was the head of the Alexandrian Museum and the Roman libraries, and also the secretary of the Emperor Hadrian. Vestinus is known mostly

540 The origin and transmission of the work was investigated by Nachmanson [1917]; the standard edition of the lexicon (Nachmanson [1918]) is based upon this work.

541 Literature on Caecilius: Gräfenhan [1843–1850] III 136, 192 and 348–350, Brzoska [1897], Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 463–466, Weißenberger [1997] and LGGA s.v. Caecilius. After Ofenloch [1907], the fragments of Caecilius have been collected and commented on by Augello [2006]; see also Augello [2006] XIII–XX for an overview of Caecilius' life and work.

542 See e.g. Brzoska [1897] 1185; cf. Cohn [1913] 696 and Tolkiehn [1925] 2447.

543 Literature on Vestinus: Gräfenhan [1843–1850] III 52 and 187, Kroll [1918a], Ziegler [1958], Matthaios [2002d] and LGGA s.v. Iulius (4) Vestinus (A. Ippolito).

for his epitome of the lexicon of Pamphilus.⁵⁴⁴ According to Suidas (ο 835), he authored two 'Rednerlexika': a "Selection of expressions from Demosthenes' books" ('Εκλογή ὀνομάτων ἐκ τῶν Δημοσθένους βιβλίων), and a collection that took into account the vocabulary of Thucydides, Isaeus, Isocrates, the orator Thrasymachus and other orators ('Εκλογή ἐκ τῶν Θουκυδίδου, Ἰσαίου, Ἰσοκράτους καὶ Θρασυμάχου τοῦ ῥήτορος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ῥητόρων).

Three other 'Rednerlexika' stemming from approximately the same period were described by Photius in his *Bibliotheca* (cod. 150, 99a39–99b15);⁵⁴⁵ the oldest of them seems to be compiled by Philostratus of Tyre. This lexicographer is plausibly to be identified with the first Philostratus, among whose writings Suidas names a work (φ 422) with the title *Ζητούμενα παρὰ τοῖς ῥήτορσιν* ("Questionable expressions of the orators"). The first work named by Photius is the "Alphabetically arranged lexicon on the ten orators" (Λεξικὸν τῶν παρὰ τοῖς δέκα ῥήτορσιν λέξεων κατὰ στοιχείον) by a certain Julianus, described by Photius as the most comprehensive of the three. The lexicon by Valerius Diodorus is named in the third place. This Diodorus was the son of Valerius Pollio and, according to Suidas (π 2166), he authored a work with the title Ἐξηγησις τῶν ζητουμένων παρὰ τοῖς ἑνὶ ῥήτορσιν ("Explanation of the questionable expressions of the ten Attic orators"). Photius, struck by the great similarity of Diodorus' work with that of Julianus, surmised that one of the two copied the other. Since according to Photius' description, the lexicon of Julianus was richer in quotations and citations than that of Diodorus, it can be assumed that Diodorus was dependent upon Julianus. However, these two shadowy figures of rhetorical lexicography gain substance from P.Oxy. xv 1804 (3rd century AD), which contains a papyrus lexicon the editors B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt titled *Λέξεις ῥητορικαί* due to its substantial similarity with the so-called 5th *Bekker-Lexicon*.⁵⁴⁶ From this finding, Alpers ([1981] 120–123) was able to make a consummate reconstruction of the history of these rhetorical lexica and their influence on Late Antique and Byzantine lexicography. Since Valerius Diodorus had a country estate in Oxyrhynchus in 173 AD, as can be determined with the aid of several papyrus testimonies,⁵⁴⁷ it is probable that the lexicon transmitted in P.Oxy. 1804, which was actually written a few decades after Diodorus' lifetime in the place where the lexicographer had also been active, is indeed the lexicon of Diodorus himself. This is supported by the

544 See below in § 6.2.

545 On the 'Rednerlexika', also on those that are not separately discussed here, see Cohn [1913] 696 and Tolkiehn [1925] 2461–2462; cf. Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 873.

546 See Grenfell's and Hunt's introduction on the edition of the papyrus as well as their commentary on the individual entries of the papyrus lexicon.

547 For a discussion of the relevant testimonies, see Alpers [1981] 116 n. 73.

fact that the wording of the lexicon preserved on the papyrus agrees with the lexicon of Diodorus that was described by Photius.

Thanks to this finding, it is not only Diodorus' lexicon that becomes tangible, but also its prototype, the lexicon by Julianus. By following Alpers' reconstruction, we can identify the source upon which Diodorus, Harpocratio, the 5th *Bekker-lexicon*, the *Lexicon Cantabrigiense* and, last but not least, Pollux were based. This source was not, as Wentzel maintained,⁵⁴⁸ an "Attic Onomastikon", but the lexicon of Julianus, who had first alphabetized his primary onomastic sources—glosses on names of months, representations of the Athenian court system as well as Attic localities and authorities—and unified them with the work of Didymus Chalkenteros on the Attic orators.⁵⁴⁹

The only surviving 'Rednerlexikon' from the Imperial era is that of Valerius Harpocratio.⁵⁵⁰ Harpocratio is characterized by Suidas (α 4014) as ῥήτωρ. He came from Alexandria and, if he is to be identified with the Harpocratio named in *Hist. Aug. Verus* 2.5, he lived in the second half of the 2nd century AD⁵⁵¹ and was a teacher of Emperor L. Verus. His lexicographic activity is associated with the Λεξικὸν τῶν ἰ' ῥητόρων ("Lexicon of the ten orators"), which is not only of particular importance for the language of Attic orators, but also for the Attic juridical and political system as well as for the cultural history and topography of Athens. Following, again, Alpers' reconstruction (see above), Harpocratio relied significantly on Julianus, but it cannot be ruled out that he also used and incorporated other sources. The lexicon has been transmitted through two routes: one complete version, which has survived in younger manuscripts, stands against an epitome, which is verifiable⁵⁵² already in the 9th century, by virtue of quotations preserved in the lexica of that time, such as Photius and Suidas.⁵⁵³

6.2 *Onomastica, Synonymica, Etymologica*

The Hellenistic period saw the creation of a series of glosses and dialect collections that were very frequently arranged 'onomastically': names, even synonyms used for a certain object, were compiled according to the dialect

548 See Alpers [1981] 117 and the reference made in n. 77 to Wentzel's studies.

549 That is the conclusion reached by Alpers [1981] 123.

550 Literature on Harpocratio: Schultz [1912a], Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 876–877, Cohn [1913] 696, Tolkiehn [1925] 2462, Tosi [1998b], Alpers [2001] 197, Dickey [2007] 94 and LGGA s.v. Valerius (3) Harpocratio (F. Montana).

551 On Harpocratio's lifetime, see Alpers [1981] 116 n. 74 and the references discussed therein.

552 Harpocratio's lexicon was edited by Dindorf [1853] and Keaney [1991].

553 See Theodoridis [1982–1998] II, XLI–XLVI.

to which they belonged or according to their attestation in certain literary genres and contexts. Thus they were not organized and explained alphabetically, but according to subjects and semantic fields. The beginnings of the so-called Onomastica in the Hellenistic period are associated with the lexicographic works of Callimachus and Aristophanes of Byzantium,⁵⁵⁴ which formed the basis for the Onomastica and also for the dictionaries of synonyms of the Imperial era and Late Antiquity.⁵⁵⁵ Furthermore, the grammarian Dionysius Tryphonus (ὁ Τρύφωνος),⁵⁵⁶ who was probably the son or pupil of the Alexandrian grammarian Tryphon and therefore lived no later than the early Imperial era, is frequently cited by Harpocration, Athenaeus and Stephanus of Byzantium as the author of a work consisting of at least 10 books called Περὶ ὀνομάτων (“On Designations”).⁵⁵⁷ This work was structured in lexicographic form and probably organized according to semantic fields. As far as can be seen from the preserved passages, Dionysius treated not only appellatives, but also personal and geographic names.

The grammarian Seleucus,⁵⁵⁸ who was active first in Alexandria and later in Rome at the court of Tiberius, provided an essential impetus for the development of Onomastica and dictionaries of synonyms in the Roman Empire. Suidas (σ 200) attributes to him a work with the title Περὶ τῆς ἐν συνωνύμοις διαφορᾶς (“On semantic differences in synonyms”); his work Γλῶσσαι (“Glosses”) explained rare, dialectal and unknown technical terms.⁵⁵⁹ The lifetime of another grammarian, Simaristos, cannot be dated with certainty, but

554 On the lexicographic works of Callimachus and Aristophanes of Byzantium, see the contribution by Montana in this volume. On Callimachus, cf. Matthaios [2008] 600–601 with references to further literature.

555 An excellent overview of the ancient Onomastica is provided by Tosi [2000a]; cf. also Tosi in this volume.

556 Literature on Dionysius Tryphonus: Gräfenhan [1843–1850] I 538, Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] I 435, Cohn [1903f], Montanari [1997m] and LGGA s.v. Dionysius (15) Tryphonius (V. Novembri).

557 The relevant passages are listed by Cohn [1903f]. From a passage in Athenaeus (14.641a), where an explanation of the word ἐπιφορήματα is cited under Dionysius’ name, which, however, repeats the same explanation given by Tryphon (Ath. 14.640e = Tryph. fr. dubiae sedis 136 von Velsen); it appears somewhat premature to conclude that Dionysius’ work was only a reworking or an epitome of Tryphon’s work Περὶ ὀνομασιῶν (Tryph. fr. 109–115 von Velsen), as Cohn [1903f] maintains, following Rohde [1870] 66; cf. also von Velsen [1853] 101.

558 On Seleucus’ work, see above § 3.3.

559 To what extent these works are identical, as Müller [1891] 21 assumed (cf. Razzetti [2002b]), remains uncertain. On the lexicographic work of Seleucus, see Cohn [1913] 688 and Tolkiehn [1925] 2453.

he certainly lived before Athenaeus, who quotes him. Simaristos wrote a work *Περὶ συνωνύμων* (“On synonyms”) in at least 4 books.⁵⁶⁰ Ptolemaeus of Ascalon compiled a lexicographic work titled *Περὶ διαφορᾶς λέξεων* (“On expressions with different meanings”).⁵⁶¹ Pamphilus’ work “On Plants” (*Περὶ βοτανῶν*) was also arranged onomastically,⁵⁶² as were the lexicographic works of Telephus, in which expressions for objects of everyday use were collected and explained.⁵⁶³

The only completely preserved representative of the onomastic genre is a work which Pollux himself entitled *Ὀνομαστικόν* in 10 books. Since this work can be assigned to Atticist lexicography due to its time of origin and particularly its ideological and linguistic-historical background, it will be discussed in the relevant section.⁵⁶⁴ The collection “On Ethnics” by the grammarian Orus still falls within the area of *Onomastica*: it is a geographic-etymological lexicon, dealing with the adjectival form of place names.⁵⁶⁵ It was also one of the main sources for the lexicon *Ἐθνικά* by Stephanus of Byzantium, which consists of more than 50 books.⁵⁶⁶ Stephanus, active as a grammarian at the Imperial university of Constantinople, dedicated this work to emperor Justinian. The work, probably composed around 530, contains detailed linguistic, geographic, historical and mythological explanations of a large number of place names and the ethnica belonging to them. It has survived in a drastically epitomized version along with some excerpts from the complete work in the excerpts by Constantine Porphyrogenetos.⁵⁶⁷

Herennius Philo from the Phoenician city of Byblos is known for a work *Περὶ τῶν διαφόρως σημαينوμένων* that examined a number of synonymous expressions and also devoted considerable attention to *Onomastica*.⁵⁶⁸ Several long

560 On Simaristos, see Cohn [1913] 688 and Tolkiehn [1925] 2453.

561 On Ptolemaeus of Ascalon, see above § 4.1.

562 On Pamphilus, see above § 3.3.

563 On Telephus and his lexicographic work, see above § 3.3.

564 See below in § 6.4.

565 On Oros and his lexicographic work, see above § 4.2.

566 Literature on Stephanus of Byzantium: Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 1084–1085, Sandys [1921³] 379, Honigmann [1929], Hunger [1978] II 36–37, Kaster [1988] 362–363 (Nr. 144), Gärtner [2001], Dickey [2007] 101, *LGGA s.v.* Stephanus Byzantius, and Pontani in this volume.

567 On Stephanus’ lexicon, see also Cohn [1913] 702, Tolkiehn [1925] 2469–2470, Alpers [2001] 201 as well as the informative Prolegomena in the edition of Billerbeck [2006]. The work was edited by Meineke [1849]; a new edition is in preparation by M. Billerbeck. So far three volumes have been published: Billerbeck [2006], Billerbeck-Zubler [2011] and Billerbeck [2014].

568 On Herennius Philo and his *Synonymicon*, see above § 3.3.

passages or different versions from this collection have survived, which forms the basis of the ancient synonymica.⁵⁶⁹ One branch of the transmission is the lexicon ascribed to a certain Ammonius.⁵⁷⁰ Others are known under the name of a certain ‘Ptolemaeus’, probably because of the lexicographic work of Ptolemaeus of Ascalon, still others under the name of (H)Eren(n)ius Philo and Eranius Philo.⁵⁷¹ The Byzantine dictionaries of synonyms were built on these collections, especially the so-called *Etymologicum Symeonis* from the 12th century, entitled *Συναγωγὴ πρὸς διαφόρους σημαινομένων σημασίας*. In the first half of the 5th century the grammarian Orus compiled a lexicon bearing the title *Περὶ πολυσημάντων* (“On Ambiguous Expressions”), from which very few fragments have survived.⁵⁷²

The special etymological studies from the philological-grammatical tradition of the Hellenistic and Imperial era were likewise reworked in lexicographic form. A comprehensive presentation of the etymological theory was provided in the form of a lexicon by the grammarian Orio from Thebes in Egypt in the 5th century.⁵⁷³ Orio first taught in Alexandria, later went to Constantinople and finally to Caesarea. Orio is known for his *Etymologicon*, which in the manuscript tradition is titled *Ἐτυμολογία, Περὶ ἔτυμολογίας* or *Περὶ ἔτυμολογιῶν*. The dictionary has survived in three different versions, each having been epitomized to a varying degree.⁵⁷⁴ The entries are arranged alphabetically in such a way that the sources used recur in a specific order within each entry. The structure of the individual lemmas shows the following sequence of sources:⁵⁷⁵ commentaries on Homer and other poets, Soranus’ work *Περὶ ἔτυμολογιῶν τοῦ σώματος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, Herodian’s *Περὶ παθῶν* and his orthographic writings,

569 On this branch of ancient lexicography, see Cohn [1913] 702–703, Tolkiehn [1925] 2453, Nickau [1966] LXIII–LXVI and Alpers [2001] 200–201.

570 The work was edited by Nickau [1966]. Nickau, *ibid.*, LXVI–LXVII, discusses the question regarding the authorship of the collection of synonyms; cf. also Nickau [1990].

571 On the various epitomes, see Nickau [1966] XXVII–XLIV; cf. Erbse [1960] 295–310, Nickau [2000] and Dickey [2007] 94–96. The ‘Ptolemaeus’-Epitome was edited after Heylbut [1887] by Palmieri [1981–1982], that of Eranius Philo by Palmieri [1981] and that of (H) Erennius Philo by Palmieri [1988].

572 On Orus and his lexicographic work, see above § 4.2.

573 Literature on Orio: Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 1081, Sandys [1921³] 377–378, Wendel [1939b], Hunger [1978] II 45, Kaster [1988] 322–325 (Nr. 110), Tosi [2000b], Dickey [2007] 99–100 and LGGA s.v. Orion (A. Ippolito).

574 Edited by Sturz [1820]. On Orio’s *Etymologicon*, see Cohn [1913] 697–698, Tolkiehn [1925] 2464–2465 and Alpers [2001] 201.

575 See Kleist [1865] 15–38 and Theodoridis [1976] 16–41.

Heraclides Ponticus' *Περὶ ἐτυμολογιῶν*,⁵⁷⁶ Philoxenus' etymological studies (most notably the work *Περὶ μονοσυλλάβων ῥημάτων*) and Herodian's *Συμπόσιον* and pseudo-Herodian's *Ἐπιμερισμοί*.⁵⁷⁷

6.3 *Alphabetical Lexica: From Pamphilus to Hesychius and Cyril's Glossary*

So far, it has been shown that Imperial and Late Antique lexicography was characterized by an enlarged range of lexicographic contents and an increasingly in-depth approach as compared to the history of the genre in the Hellenistic period. Although the first stirrings of this development had already begun quite early, it was now characterized by the fact of incorporating the entire lexical material of the Greek language in lexicographic form, independently of its realization in specific literary and dialectal contexts. This development strengthened the function of knowledge transfer and led ancient lexicography far beyond the borders of philology. At the same time, it transformed the genre into a popular means for understanding ancient language and culture.

The first steps towards this form of lexicographic works were taken by two scholars from the 1st century AD, Zopyrio and Pamphilus.⁵⁷⁸ Their achievement is an extended lexicographic collection with the title *Περὶ γλωσσῶν καὶ ὀνομάτων* ("On glosses and names"),⁵⁷⁹ which according to Suidas (π 142 s.v. Πάμφιλος) consisted of 95 books, of which Zopyrio edited the letters α-δ and Pamphilus the remaining part from ε-ω. Since Zopyrio is a shadowy figure in the history of ancient scholarship, the lexicon is generally associated with the name of Pamphilus.⁵⁸⁰ Apparently, the lexicon did not have an onomastical structure, as is often assumed, but was arranged alphabetically.⁵⁸¹ Pamphilus intended his lexicon to encompass and explain in a single work the

576 See above § 3.3.

577 On Herodian's *Συμπόσιον* and the *Ἐπιμερισμοί*, which has been transmitted under his name, see Dyck [1993a] 790 and 792–794.

578 On Pamphilus, see above § 3.3.

579 On the title of the lexicon and on its variations, see Hatzimichali [2006] 22–24.

580 On Pamphilus' lexicon, its title, structure and character as well as the sources he used, see Hatzimichali [2006] 22–51; cf. Cohn [1913] 689–690, Tolkiehn [1925] 2448–2449, Wendel [1949b] 337–342, Serrano Aybar [1977] 87–88, Alpers [1990] 25 and [2001] 200. The question of whether Athenaeus used Pamphilus' lexicon is treated in detail and in a convincing manner by Hatzimichali [2006] 33–40. The fragments from Pamphilus' lexicon that could be traced back to him without express mention of his name, mainly transmitted by Athenaeus, were collected by Schmidt [1862] LXI–LXIX. A new collection of fragments with commentary is provided by Hatzimichali [2006] 51–106 (fr. 1–37).

581 The various views of current scholarship on this question have been discussed by Hatzimichali [2006] 28–32.

vocabulary from all areas of nature and human life as well as from various linguistic, dialectal and literary levels. In order to achieve this lexicographic goal, which was substantially broader than that of his predecessors, Pamphilus took the various sources of Hellenistic and early Imperial philological exegesis and lexicography into account and integrated them into his work.

The work in its original form, however, was short-lived, presumably due to its immense size. L. Julius Vestinus⁵⁸² made an epitome from Pamphilus' lexicon in the first half of the 2nd century, to which he gave the title Ἑλληνικά ὀνόματα ("Greek designations"). Shortly thereafter, the grammarian Diogenianus abridged the work of Pamphilus (or the Epitome of Vestinus) to five books, giving the new work the title Παντοδαπή λέξις ("Expressions of any kind"). As Hesychius testifies (*Epist. ad Eulogium* 1.5–23 Latte), Diogenianus then extended the Παντοδαπή λέξις and called this new collection Περιεργοπένητες ("Manual for those without means").⁵⁸³ In this form, Diogenianus's Περιεργοπένητες was the basic source of a lexicon written around 500 AD and attributed to Hesychius, a grammarian from Alexandria.⁵⁸⁴ According to his own statement (*Epist. ad Eulogium* 1.23–2.37), Hesychius expanded his prototype by including proverbs, Herodian's prosodic rules and other material. The transmission of the lexicon continued throughout the entire Byzantine millennium, and during this period the original material experienced changes, cuts, but above all additions, which have come down to us in the only available manuscript, the Cod. Marcianus Graecus 622, written around 1430. Of these alterations, the main change involved the interpolation of the so-called Cyrillexicon. Indeed, the

582 On Vestinus, see above § 6.1.

583 On the various stages in the history of Pamphilus' lexicon, which to some extent coincide with the conditions of the origin of the Hesychiuslexicon, see Hatzimichali [2006] 40–51; cf. Cohn [1913] 689–690, Tolkiehn [1925] 2448–2449, Alpers [1990] 25, [2001] 200 and [2008] 1257–1258. On Diogenianus' work and its relationship to the Hesychiuslexicon, see Latte [1953–1966] I, X–XI and XLII–XLIV; cf. Cohn [1913] 690, Tolkiehn [1925] 2448–2449, Degani [1995] 515–516 and Alpers [2001] 200. On the controversial question concerning the relationship of Diogenianus' Παντοδαπή λέξις to the Περιεργοπένητες, see Hatzimichali [2006] 45–51; cf. Cohn [1903e] 778–782, Schultz [1913] 1320–1321 and Wendel [1949b] 341–342.

584 Literature on Hesychius: Schultz [1913], Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II/2, 1083, Hunger [1978] II 35–36, Kaster [1988] 292 (Nr. 73), Tosi [1998c], LGGA s.v. Hesychius (St. Valente), and Pontani in this volume. The lexicon is edited by Latte [1953–1966], Hansen [2005] and Hansen-Cunningham [2009]. Concerning the origin, chronology, sources and transmission of the Hesychiuslexicon, see Latte [1953–1966] I, VII–LI; cf. the *Corrigenda* and *Addenda* to Latte's *Prolegomena* by Alpers [2005] xv–xxiii. For a short characterization of the lexicon see Schultz [1913], Hunger [1978] II 35–36, Degani [1995] 523–524, Alpers [1990] 25, [2001] 200 and [2008] 1257–1258 as well as Dickey [2007] 88–90.

degree of interpolation of entries from Cyrill is so high that one can speak of an amalgamation of the two lexica. According to new estimates, the interpolations from Cyrill comprise one third of the total material. The Cyrill lexicon⁵⁸⁵ is a glossary transmitted under the name of the Patriarch Cyrill of Alexandria. It stems from approximately the same time as the Hesychius lexicon and represents the foundation of all the great Byzantine lexica, as can be seen from its wide-ranging manuscript tradition. The sources of the lexicon consist of elementary glossaries on Homer and Euripides, glosses on Josephus, Plato, Demosthenes, on physicians, on the Bible, on Hellenistic poets and on Christian authors, as well as glosses of Diogenianus and Atticistic lexicographers.

6.4 *The Atticistic Lexica*

Far beyond its interpretive function, the lexicographic discipline in the Imperial era and Late Antiquity acquired a strong normative and prescriptive character, by virtue of the Atticistic lexica.⁵⁸⁶ The ideological and cultural background for this development was the Atticistic movement, which since the 2nd century had propagated the imitation of classical Attic authors no longer merely on the stylistic level, but also on the linguistic and lexical level, thereby becoming one of the decisive factors in the development of the Greek language.⁵⁸⁷ Atticism elevated the Attic language to an identity-forming instrument and regarded it as the educational benchmark by which every scholar was to be measured.⁵⁸⁸

585 On the Cyrill-lexicon, see Drachmann [1936], Latte [1953–1966] I, XII–XIII and XLIV–LI and Cunningham [2003] 43–49; a brief presentation of the lexicon is given by Cohn [1913] 698–699, Tolkiehn [1925] 2465–2467, Serrano Aybar [1977] 101, Hunger [1978] II 37–39, Alpers [1990] 24–25, [2001] 201–202 and [2008] 1263–1266 and Dickey [2007] 100–101; see also Pontani in this volume.

586 For an overview of Atticistic lexicography, see Cohn [1913] 693–695, Tolkiehn [1925] 2454–2463, Serrano Aybar [1977] 93–96, Degani [1995] 519–522 as well as Alpers [1990] 20–24, [2001] 196–199 and [2008] 1255–1256.

587 The history of Atticism is the subject of the foundational study by Schmid [1887–1896]; see also Früchtel [1950] as well as Dihle [1977] and [1992]. On the effect of Atticism on the development of the Greek language, see Triantafyllidis [1938–1981], Browning [1969] 49–55 and Horrocks [1997] 79–86.

588 The demands placed upon a speaker of Greek at that time are correctly described by Dihle [1977] 162: “Jeder, der überhaupt zur Feder griff—und sei es nur, um die Einladung zu einem Abendessen zu formulieren—, stand nunmehr unter der Forderung, sich für den schriftlichen Gebrauch einer längst obsolet gewordenen, mühsam zu erlernenden Sprachform zu bedienen”. On the significance of the Atticist movement from a socio-political and ideological perspective, see Anderson [1993] 86–100, Swain [1996] 17–64, Schmitz [1997] 67–96 and 110–127 as well as Whitmarsh [2005] 41–56.

Quite early on, lexicography was placed at the service of the Atticistic movement. Thus when, during the Second Sophistic—especially during the reign of Hadrian—Atticism reached its peak, rhetoricians compiled lexica for the purpose of collecting the entire range of expressions found in the canon of classical authors, in such a manner as to distinguish the accepted vocabulary from the ἔκφυλον ῥήμα, *i.e.* from expressions regarded as corrupted because they did not belong to the Attic idiom.⁵⁸⁹ A characteristic of the approach adopted by the Atticistic lexicographers was the use of derogatory terms to refer to the Koine forms, which were to be avoided in favor of Attic vocabulary: thus descriptions such as εὐτελής, φορτικόν, μιαιρόν or βάρβαρον, ἔκφυλον, ἀμαθές, ἀδόκιμον and κοινόν explicitly discouraged the Koine use. The corrupted expressions were furthermore attributed to a community of speakers labeled with attributes such as πολλοί, ἰδιῶται and ἀμαθείς, or, in direct contrast to the Ἀττικοί, as Ἑλληγες.⁵⁹⁰ Current research has shown that such expressions served for the designation of *corrupta Graecitas*.⁵⁹¹ The Ἑλληγες were no longer speakers of classical Greek, but spoke a later form of language, which represented the mean and low level. After the Second Sophistic, the Atticistic dictionaries served as source material for the later lexicographic tradition and formed the ground for ideological battles concerning the development of the Greek language.

The earliest of the Atticistic dictionaries derives from the grammarian Irenaeus, the pupil of Heliodorus,⁵⁹² who taught in Rome under the Latin name Minucius Pacatus.⁵⁹³ Among other studies, Irenaeus compiled a work consisting of 3 books with the title Ἀττικά ὀνόματα (“Attic expressions”), an alphabetically arranged lexicon Περί Ἀττικῆς συνηθείας τῆς ἐν λέξει καὶ προσῳδίᾳ κατὰ στοιχεῖον (“On the Attic language use concerning vocabulary and prosody”), and also a treatise Περί Ἀττικισμοῦ (“On Atticism”). Irenaeus is subsumed under the field of Atticistic lexicography, not only because he is often

589 On the expression ἔκφυλον ῥήμα, see Lucian. *Sol.* 11 and *Lex.* 24, as well as Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* 2.8.1. On the meaning of the expression in this context, see Alpers [1981] 4–5 and [1990] 22.

590 On these expressions by which Koine-Greek and its speakers were degraded as ‘uneducated’, see Matthaios [2010a] 187; cf. also Matthaios [2013a] with a study of the use of such expressions in Pollux’ *Onomasticon*.

591 See Maidhof [1912] 43–64.

592 On Heliodorus, see above § 5.

593 Literature on Irenaeus / Minucius Pacatus: Gräfenhan [1843–1850] III 58, 192 and passim, Cohn [1905b], Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 873, Christes [1979] 104–105, Fornaro [1997a] and Regali [2007b]. On his life and writings, see Suid. εἰ 190 and π 29. Irenaeus’ fragments were collected by Haupt [1876].

associated with the Atticistic movement with the nickname Ἀττικιστής, as in *Etym. Gud.* 317.16 de Stefani, but also because, entirely in the manner of the later Atticists, he denounced a non-Attic word unattested in the old authors (παλαιοί), challenging it as βάρβαρον.⁵⁹⁴ From the same period stems the work of Valerius Pollio, which according to Suidas (π 2166) bore the title Συναγωγή Ἀττικῶν λέξεων κατὰ στοιχεῖον (“Alphabetical collection of Attic expressions”). Photius (*Bibl. cod.* 149, 99a34–38) considered the work to be no less rich than Diogenianus’s lexicon.

An anonymous lexicon from the 2nd century has been transmitted in Cod. Coslinianus 345, which D. Ruhnken titled “Antiatticista” because, in opposition to the strict Atticists, it seeks to defend words and expressions as being Attic through evidence from a large number of classical authors.⁵⁹⁵ As Alpers ([2001] 198) has shown, the view that the work was directed against Phrynichus is based on the false identification of the “Antiatticista” as the Atticistic lexicon of Orus.⁵⁹⁶ It is also incorrect to claim that the “Antiatticista” was directed against the first book of Phrynichus’ *Ecloga*.⁵⁹⁷ According to Fischer’s analysis ([1974] 39–41), the “Antiatticista” was not compiled after the completion of the first book of the *Ecloga*, as supposed by previous research. It is rather plausible that the entire glossary was available to Phrynichus, who took it under consideration for his own purposes.

Two other Atticistic collections can partially be reconstructed from quotations in the Homeric commentaries of Eustathius and from Byzantine lexica. They were compiled by Aelius Dionysius of Halicarnassus⁵⁹⁸ and Pausanias,⁵⁹⁹ both grammarians from Hadrian’s time. Photius described both lexica in the *Bibliotheca* (cod. 152,99b20–40 and cod. 153, 99b41–100a12); according to his testimony, there were two editions of Aelius Dionysius’ Ἀττικά ὀνόματα (“Attic expressions”) in 5 books, the second of which contained many entries and quotations from the excerpted authors, which were overlooked in the first.

594 See fr. 13 Haupt; cf. Alpers [2001] 197.

595 The work is edited by I. Bekker in *Anecdota Graeca* I (1814) 77–116; a new edition is in preparation by St. Valente.

596 On the Atticistic lexica of Phrynichus and Orus, see below in this paragraph.

597 This is the view expressed by Latte [1915–1968].

598 Literature on Aelius Dionysius: Cohn [1903j], Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 873–874, Montanari [1997j], Dickey [2007] 99 and LGGA s.v. Aelius (1) Dionysius (F. Montana). The lexicon of Aelius Dionysius was edited by Erbse [1950] 95–151.

599 Literature on Pausanias: Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 873–874, Wendel [1949c], Matthaios [2000e], Alpers [2001] 198, Dickey [2007] 99 and LGGA s.v. Pausanias (2). Pausanias’ *Lexicon* was edited by Erbse [1950] 152–221.

The vocabulary and the material considered in Pausanias' Ἀττικῶν ὀνομάτων συναγωγή ("Collection of Attic expressions") was richer than the lexicon of Aelius Dionysius; in particular, proverbs were described in detail by Pausanias.

In opposition to these two works, the Atticistic lexica of Phrynichus and Pollux are available through direct transmission. A native of Bithynia, Phrynichus⁶⁰⁰ was the author of an alphabetically arranged lexicographic collection comprising 37 books with the title Σοφιστικὴ προπαρασκευὴ ("Sophistic propaedeutic"), which as a complete work was dedicated to Emperor Commodus. Only a small excerpt has survived from this work, along with fragments in Byzantine lexica.⁶⁰¹ As can be inferred from Photius' description of the work (*Bibl. cod.* 158, 100a32–101b31), but above all from the preserved epitome and the fragments that have been transmitted, Phrynichus proceeded in a primarily descriptive and interpretive manner. He collected "elegant and especially characteristic word combinations and phrases" from the language of literature, for which he primarily sought to reproduce the exact meaning. He also divided the collected expressions according to their stylistic value and appropriacy for a range of contexts: thus we learn from Photius that Phrynichus distinguished between the appropriate vocabulary for orators and prose writers, for conversation and for jokes or mockery as well as for matters of love.

In his discussion of the *Praeparatio sophistica*, Photius also lists the authors whom Phrynichus selected as "εἰλικρινοὺς καὶ καθαροὺ καὶ ἀττικοῦ λόγου κανόνες καὶ στάθμαι" (*Bibl. cod.* 158, 101b4–15), namely Plato, Demosthenes and the other nine Attic orators, Thucydides, Xenophon, Aeschines the Socratic, Critias, Antisthenes, Aristophanes, the authors of ancient comedy and finally the three tragedians. The second work of Phrynichus is the shorter Ἐκλογὴ Ἀττικῶν ῥημάτων καὶ ὀνομάτων ("Selection of Attic verbs and names"), which was dedicated to the Imperial secretary Cornelianus.⁶⁰² An analysis of the purpose and form of the *Ecloga* shows that the lexicon was intended as a manual for practical purposes and was therefore conceived in a strict prescriptive manner. At the request of Cornelianus, Phrynichus compiled the expressions considered inadmissible for use.⁶⁰³

600 Literature on Phrynichus: Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 874–876, Strout-French [1941], Matthaios [2006f], Alpers [2001] 198, Dickey [2007] 96–97 and Regali [2008].

601 Phrynichus' *Praeparatio sophistica* was edited by de Borries [1911].

602 On the chronological relationship and the datation of Phrynichus' lexica, see Matthaios [2013a] 71–72 with n. 28. Phrynichus' *Ecloga* has been edited by Fischer [1974].

603 See Fischer [1974] 74–77.

The sophist Julius Polydeuces⁶⁰⁴—generally known by the Latin form of his name Julius Pollux or simply Pollux—was born in Naucratis, in Egypt, and was educated in Athens by the rhetorician Hadrian. Around 180 AD he was appointed professor of rhetoric in Athens by the emperor Marcus Aurelius.⁶⁰⁵ His works include an *Onomasticon* consisting of 10 books, which he dedicated to the later Emperor Commodus.⁶⁰⁶ As mentioned in the dedication letter of the first book (I 1.4–7), Pollux’s lexicon was designed to instruct Commodus in eloquence, by providing him with assistance in the correct use of language and selection of the appropriate vocabulary. According to the modern communis opinio, Pollux’ *Onomasticon* belongs to the most important lexicographic achievements of the Imperial period.⁶⁰⁷ It is distinguished from other lexica of the era by its onomastic structure, which is not arranged alphabetically but divided into groups by subject and semantic field. Pollux’ method can be illustrated as follows: the first book includes the expressions that belong to the area of the divine and religion, subdivided into related categories such as cultic sites, images, altars, temples, priests, seers, the pious, the wicked, etc. The second and third book pertain to the human realm and contain the vocabulary for ages, birth, limbs and organs, sexual relationships, marriage, children, friends, men, slaves, etc.⁶⁰⁸

On the basis of its time of origin, but even more its linguistic and stylistic background and its ideological and cultural references, Pollux’ *Onomasticon* is assigned to the context of Atticistic lexicography. According to the unanimous

604 Literature on Julius Polydeukes: Gräfenhan [1843–1850] III 166–169, Bethe [1918], Schmid-Stählin [1920–1926] II 877–878, Tosi [1999], Dickey [2007] 96 and LGGA s.v. Iulius (2) Pollux (L. Pagani). The *Onomasticon* has been edited by Bethe [1900–1937]. Two collected volumes have recently been published on Pollux and his activity: Bearzot-Landucci-Zecchini [2007] and Mauduit [2013].

605 On Pollux’ life and activity, see the *Vita* in Philostratus (*Vit. Soph.* 2.12) as well as the biographical article in Suidas (π 1951); cf. Bethe [1918] 773–774, Rothe [1989] 153–154 and Tosi [1999] 51.

606 On the time of origin of the *Onomasticon*, see Matthaios [2013a] 70–73 with references to other literature on this question.

607 See Alpers [2001] 198: “es stellt immer noch eine der wichtigsten lexikographischen Arbeiten des Altertums dar”; cf. Alpers [1990] 24. On the significance of the *Onomasticon*, see also Bethe [1918] 779: “Das Onomastikon gibt uns neben Athenaios wohl die beste Vorstellung von der umfassenden, geduldigen lexikographischen Arbeit der antiken Philologen”. On the position the *Onomasticon* holds in the history of ancient lexicography, see Cohn [1913] 692–693, Tolkiehn [1925] 2457–2458, Serrano Aybar [1977] 92, Degani [1995] 521–522, Tosi [1999] 52–53 and Alpers [2008] 1256.

608 For a brief overview of the subjects of the *Onomasticon* and their division into the individual books, see Bethe [1918] 776–777.

judgment of research, within the history of Atticistic lexicography Pollux is regarded as representing a moderate and non-rigorous attitude towards the linguistic norm imposed by the Atticistic postulates.⁶⁰⁹ This view is based on the assumption of a rivalry between Pollux and Phrynichus for the Athenian chair for rhetoric. Naechster [1908] made this the fundamental thesis of his study *De Pollucis et Phrynichi controversiis*, and echoes of his position have persisted over the decades. In recent times, Naechster's view has encountered scepticism, though this has not been duly noted in the history of ancient lexicography. However, a thorough analysis of Naechster's thesis shows that the supposed controversy between Phrynichus and Pollux lacks any historical basis. In addition, it stands in contradiction to the available information about the time of origin of Phrynichus' *Ecloga* and Pollux' *Onomasticon*.⁶¹⁰

If Pollux' attitude toward the Atticist regulations is assessed from the perspective of the fundamental question of approved and inadmissible expressions, he proves to be a convinced Atticist to the same extent as his contemporaries, with no differentiation between a more moderate or stricter attitude. For Pollux as for other scholars, the criterion for determining illicit and therefore unacceptable use of language depends on the essential question of whether the specific expression is attested in the ancient literature.⁶¹¹ It is inappropriate to turn Phrynichus' *Ecloga* into a guideline for evaluation of the postulates that Pollux proposes in his *Onomasticon* for the correct use of language. Had Pollux also trimmed down his *Onomasticon* to a glossary laid out in such a manner that the regulations and perspectives were directed toward the contemporary use of language, but not toward the classical models, then it would not have been fundamentally different in its form from Phrynichus' *Ecloga*. In contrast, Phrynichus' main work, the *Praeparatio sophistica*, shows a greater affinity with the *Onomasticon* than the *Ecloga*, as far as one can ascertain from the material which has been preserved. However, this is likewise the case for the Atticist lexica of Aelius Dionysius or of Pausanias, as for the "Antiatticista", in view of their closeness to the contents of the *Onomasticon*.⁶¹²

609 See Matthaios [2013a] 70 with the references cited there in n. 18.

610 See Matthaios [2013a] 71–78.

611 This is shown in an analysis of Pollux' attitude toward the use of language by the ἰδιῶται, and somewhat by the πολλοί and to a certain extent by the οἱ νῦν-speakers attested in the *Onomasticon*; see Matthaios [2013a] 81–114. Although the boundaries between the way of expression of these particular groups of speakers was fluid and often conditional upon the variously accented arguments of Pollux, Pollux shares the same basic view of the other Atticistic lexicographers of what is actually considered linguistically admissible.

612 See Matthaios [2013a] 127–128.

If Pollux' linguistic and ideological 'program' can be summed up in a single word, then he was a classicist who tried to purify the language and to streamline its usage by turning back to classical models. However, Pollux was also an Atticist inasmuch as 'Attic' was the key concept of classicism by virtue of its paradigmatic position, representing the highest cultural and educational ideal to be emulated.⁶¹³

The Atticistic lexicon of Moeris entitled Ἀττικιστής presumably stems from the 3rd century AD.⁶¹⁴ Photius refers to this work in his *Bibliotheca* (cod. 157, 100a29–31) as a *πονημάτιον*, and it was directed towards practical purposes, following the pattern of Phrynichus' *Ecloga*. It included a comparison of Attic and non-Attic expressions and served as an aid for the correct use of Attic. A small Attic glossary has been transmitted under the name of Herodian, which has the title Φιλέταιρος ("Companion").⁶¹⁵ As Alpers [1998] has shown, it is possibly a 3rd century excerpt of the lexicographic work of Alexander of Cotiaeion.⁶¹⁶ Lupercus' collection Ἀττικαὶ λέξεις ("Attic vocabulary")⁶¹⁷ also stems from the 3rd century.

In the first half of the 5th century, the grammarian Orus compiled an Ἀττικῶν λέξεων συναγωγή ("Collection of Attic expressions"),⁶¹⁸ which took a position against Phrynichus, and, as can be inferred from the surviving fragments, Orus accepted a broader canon of exemplary authors than proposed by the strict Phrynichus.⁶¹⁹ As an ideological program, Atticism did not lose its value even in later times. Rather, in the essential periods of the Byzantine Empire, the so-called 'Renaissance' of the 9th century, during the Comnenian Restoration and later in the Palaeologan period, Atticism served to give substance to the Imperial political, educational and cultural orientation. This found abundant expression in the linguistic-grammatical and lexicographic activity of the Byzantine scholars.⁶²⁰

613 On a definition of Atticism and its relationship to classicism, the distinctions made by Gelzer [1979] 24–41 are especially significant.

614 Literature on Moeris: Wendel [1932b], Baumbach [2000], Dickey [2007] 98 and LGGA s.v. Moeris. Moeris' glossary has been edited by Hansen [1998], who also analyzed the transmission and the sources of the lexicon.

615 The lexicon was edited by Dain [1954]. On its attribution to Herodian, see Dyck [1993a] 791–792.

616 On Alexander and his lexicographic work, see above § 3.3.

617 On Lupercus, see above § 4.1.

618 On Orus and his Atticistic lexicon, see above in this paragraph.

619 See Alpers [2001] 199.

620 See Pontani in this volume.

Scholarship in the Byzantine Empire (529–1453)*

Filippomaria Pontani

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* The most reliable and exhaustive general treatments of this topic are Wilson [1996²] and Hunger [1978] 3–83. Also very useful are the briefer treatments by A. Pontani [1995a], Wilson [2004] and Flusin [2008]. On written culture see the papers collected in Cavallo [2002a]. On special periods see Lemerle [1971], Constantinides [1982], Mergiali [1996], Fryde [2000], and partly Wilson [1992] (with A. Pontani [1995b]).

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1 From Justinian to Iconoclasm

1.1 *Beginnings*

Sept. 22nd, 529 has been regarded by some scholars as the symbolic *coupure* marking the end of antiquity in the Eastern Roman Empire:¹ the date corresponds to Justinian's closing of the philosophical school at Athens, a fact whose historicity is beyond doubt, and whose effects on the cultural life of the Greek East have been variously assessed.² Whether it was a local move directed against the teaching of philosophy and astronomy, *i.e.* against the school of Damascius,³ whether it marked the definitive end of Platonic studies on Greek soil (some teachers, from Damascius to Simplicius, apparently moved to Persia or Syria, and there is hardly any evidence of philosophy being taught in Athens thereafter),⁴ or the end of curricular instruction altogether (in Zonaras' words, "being in need of an enormous amount of money, following the prefect's advice <Justinian> cut the salaries that in every town had always been given by law to the teachers of the liberal arts, and thus the schools were left unattended

1 This periodisation is reported (and countered) in the first sentence of Krumbacher [1897] 1; see also Hadas [1950] 273, who takes precisely 529 as the final limit of his survey.

2 Beucamp [2002].

3 Watts [2004], who downplays the effects on other fields of teaching such as rhetoric; see already Cameron [1969].

4 Blumenthal [1978]; on the peregrinations of the Athenian philosophers see Chuvin [2012] 138–146 and Thiel [1999], to be read however with Luna [2001]; Watts [2006] 138–142.

and ignorance dominated the populations of all towns”),⁵ what matters to us here is that this date is one of the few widely acknowledged iconic moments in Western history to proceed from an issue related to civilisation and education rather than from a military, geographical or political turning-point.

The importance of 529 is clear: even if the long reign of emperor Justinian (527–565) witnessed a remarkable flourishing of poets, jurists, architects and historians, some of whom (from Paulus Silentiarius to Procopius) were directly involved in the state administration,⁶ it has to be considered that the direct patronage of Justinian in the specific field of letters was in fact rather limited,⁷ and that precisely in this period the institutional commitment to the preservation and transmission of the Classical heritage started to show the traces of a steady decline. When prosecutions against pagan intellectuals are effected and propitiated by the Emperor himself,⁸ when philosophy and literate culture are paralleled with hasard games as pointers to a dangerous way of divining the future outside of Christian prescriptions,⁹ when pagan books are burnt (in 562 according to Malalas’ account),¹⁰ and legal prominence is given to religious studies and orthodox professors,¹¹ little room remains for an autonomous

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- 5 Zonaras 14.6, p. 274.3–5 Dind. ἀπειρων χρημάτων δεόμενος τὰς τυπωθείσας ἀνέκαθεν ἐν ἐκάστη τῶν πόλεων δίδοσθαι σιτήσεις τοῖς ἐν αὐταῖς διδασκάλοις τῶν λογικῶν τεχνῶν ὑποθήκαις τοῦ ἐπάρχου ἐξέκοψε, καὶ οὕτω τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι διδασκαλείων ἐσχολακῶτων ἀγροικία τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς κατεκράτησε.
- 6 Rapp [2005].
- 7 Jeffreys [2011] 19–21.
- 8 Theophanes Confessor, *Chronicle*, p. 180.11 de Boor, with Mango-Scott [1997] 274–275; Chuvin [2012] 135–138.
- 9 John Malalas, *Chronicle* 18.47, p. 379.67–69 Thurn ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ὑπατείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ Δεκίου ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς θεσπίσας πρόσταξιν ἔπεμψεν ἐν Ἀθήναις, κελεύσας μηδένα διδάσκειν φιλοσοφίαν μήτε ἀστρονομίαν ἐξηγεῖσθαι μήτε κόττον ἐν μιᾷ τῶν πόλεων γίνεσθαι... “During the consulship of the same Decius, the emperor issued a decree and sent it to Athens ordering that no one should teach philosophy nor interpret astronomy nor in any city should there be lots cast using dice”: on this passage see Watts [2006] 128–138.
- 10 John Malalas, *Chronicle* 18.136, p. 424.9–11 Thurn, συσχεθέντες “Ἕλληνες περιεβωμίσθησαν καὶ τὰ βιβλία αὐτῶν κατεκαύθη ἐν τῷ Κυνηγίῳ καὶ εἰκόνες τῶν μυσερῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ἀγάλματα “Hellenes were arrested and paraded around and their books were burnt in the Kynegion, and so were the pictures and statues of their loathsome gods”.
- 11 *Codex Justinianus* 1.11.2 πᾶν δὲ μάθημα παρὰ τῶν νοσοῦντων τὴν τῶν ἀνοσίων Ἑλλήνων μανίαν διδάσκεσθαι κωλύομεν, ὥστε μὴ κατὰ τοῦτο προσποιεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς παιδεύειν τοὺς εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀθλίως φοιτῶντας, ταῖς δὲ ἀληθείαις τὰς τῶν δῆθεν παιδευομένων διαφθεῖρειν ψυχὰς “For every science, we forbid its teaching by those who are sick with the madness of the Hellenes, that they might not according to this rule pretend to teach those who miserably approach them and in fact destroy the souls of the persons supposedly studying with them”:

circulation of ancient pagan wisdom; that wisdom—it should be stressed—which had proved productive both in the capital until the age of Priscian and of the Vienna Dioscorides (ms. Vind. med. Gr. 1, created for the noblewoman Juliana Anicia in 512), and in Athens, where the old Neoplatonic school of Proclus, situated between the Areopagus and the Acropolis, continued to be inhabited and served until the 530s, only to be later renovated and refashioned into a Christian *insula*.¹²

As a matter of fact, the real transformation effected by the age of Justinian, and more broadly by the 6th century in general, lies less in the emperor's specific decrees than in the establishment of a cultural atmosphere in which the ancient Greek world became a more distant object of study rather than part and parcel of an ongoing identitarian and cultural process,¹³ the active role of pagan teachers became *de facto* a marginal phenomenon, and the book became less a means for the circulation of contrasting ideas and paradigms than a static pedigree functional to the moral instruction of the average citizen, or else a holy object suitable for veneration and cult.¹⁴

This state of affairs has a bearing on each of the three categories of evidence that will retain our attention throughout the present survey, namely the production and transmission of books, the philological activity on ancient texts (originating chiefly, but not exclusively, from the pagan Classical world), and the traces of a broader circulation and reception of those texts in the writings of medieval authors and in the educational systems of their times. It should be stated at the outset that in the case of Byzantine culture the interaction among these elements represents a very fortunate object of study, for we still possess—particularly dating from the 9th century onwards—several manuscript witnesses stemming from the heart of the Empire as well as from its periphery, and indeed the quantity and the quality of extant codices can be

see Fuchs [1926] 4; Lemerle [1971] 68–71. A different context for this law is posited by Trombley [2001] 81–94.

12 Watts [2006] 80–87; Frantz [1988]; Frantz [1975]; doubts on this identification have been cast by Chuvin [2012] 251.

13 Allen-Jeffreys [1996]. The extent of the change can be seen if one compares the perception of space and geography before and after Cosmas Indicopleustes' *Christian Topography* (ca. 547–549): scientific commentaries on Ptolemy did not cease to exist and circulate, but the focus of this discipline shifted to a religious dimension that did not belong to it earlier: see Wolska-Conus [1968] 36–43.

14 Cavallo [1978] and [1987]; Cavallo [2002a] 163–165; Cameron [1985] 19–32; a more optimistic verdict on the circulation of pagan culture under Justinian is given by Kaldellis [2005]; but there is an ongoing debate between those who see a discontinuity in the Dark Ages—e.g. Cavallo [1995] and Kazhdan-Cutler [1982]—and those who do not—Treadgold [1990].

deemed at least partly representative of the wider cultural trends of every single age. The study of this happy combination of direct tradition and indirect sources may be very effective in discrediting the obsolete but persistent view of Byzantium as a substantially hostile or at best indifferent soil for the preservation of Classical texts.¹⁵

To be sure, the interest for ancient authors rested on a sensibility largely at odds with our own, *i.e.* not on their moral, civic or political meaning, but rather on formal issues connected with their stylistic and rhetorical excellence, in a cultural frame in which mastering Greek, and particularly Attic Greek,¹⁶ was an indispensable skill for every high-ranking civil servant or member of the ecclesiastical hierarchy.¹⁷ And it was chiefly this need for a linguistic instruction, and for training in the production and adornment of rhetorically elaborate texts such as the *prooimia* that introduced official documents,¹⁸ that called for a certain continuity of the school curriculum. The latter was structured into a primary (*hiera grammata*: reading, writing and spelling, based on Christian texts and elementary poets), a secondary (*enkyklios paideia*, the necessary linguistic tools for the aspiring civil servants or ecclesiastics, consisting mainly in grammar [Dionysius Thrax, Theodosius' *Canones*, Apollonius Dyscolus and Choeroboscus' *Epimerisms on the Psalms*], rhetoric [Aphthonius and Hermogenes] and some logic [Porphyry's *Eisagoge*]), and a higher level (more elaborate poetry such as Attic drama, Pindar and Theocritus, higher mathematics and astronomy, rhetoric, philosophy).¹⁹ The third stage was normally accessible to a very restricted elite, which aspired to leading positions at court or in the ecclesiastical hierarchy (in this framework, poetry had the role of providing the rhetor with myths and quotations, as well as unusual grammatical rules and eccentric vocabulary). A paradigmatic case, because of the high social rank and the comparatively modest scholarly stature of the man, is represented by John Mesarites (1162–1207), whose long prose epitaph written by his brother Nicholas indulges in a lengthy description of his schooldays and

15 Maas [1927³] 70: "Eine Wissenschaft von der klassischen Literatur hat es in Byzanz nicht gegeben", a position substantially shared by Pasquali (see Tessier [2010b]), and resting on a Western prejudice that has its deep roots in the prejudices of Petrarch and of other humanists: see Bianconi [2008a] 453–455, and Kaldellis [2009a] 1–2 on the danger of 'Orientalism' lurking behind this view.

16 Wilson [2007] 46. On Atticism in Byzantium, see *e.g.* Rollo [2008a]; Horrocks [2004]; Browning [1978b].

17 Mango [1965] 32; Fryde [2000] 8–10.

18 Hunger [1964].

19 Fuchs [1926] 43–45; Hunger [1978] 10–11; Constantinides [1982] 1; Efthymiadis [2005]; Markopoulos [2006] and [2008]; Browning [1964] 5.

intellectual training, starting from reading and writing all the way up to his full syllabus of rhetoric and philosophy.²⁰

This didactic continuity, which relied partly on the persistence of educational institutions, but left considerable scope for the personal curiosity of advanced scholars throughout several different epochs of the Byzantine millennium, should be regarded as an essential and by no means banal element leading to the preservation and circulation of ancient texts in a Christian milieu, in the very heart of a theocratic regime.²¹ “Byzantine classical scholarship was, therefore, the study of an admired but *foreign* society”, for the Byzantines “were the first culture to consume classical literature from such a detached albeit respectful perspective”:²² in this, they fulfilled perfectly the prescriptions of the 4th-century Greek Fathers (Gregory of Nazianzus and Basil of Caesarea, against the perspective of Julian the Apostate) who wished to separate linguistic and rhetorical Hellenism from religious issues.²³

If we keep in mind this general attitude, as well as the number (and impact) of the personalities who made a decisive contribution to the transmission and study of texts from the 6th through the 15th century, we will realise that any reductive or disparaging verdict against the process and performances of Byzantine scholarship is largely unfair.²⁴

1.2 *Schools and Cultural Centres in the Mediterranean*

Despite its symbolic value, the policy of Justinian against the Neoplatonic academy at Athens is neither the only nor the most relevant feature of the 6th century in the domain of the organisation of culture. This was, for instance, also the age when the glorious pagan schools of grammar, law, rhetoric and philosophy throughout the Mediterranean started to shrink towards an irreversible decline, even well before the Arab conquest in the mid-7th century. In general terms, by the 540s Cassiodorus' praise of Eastern schools that combined the *salus animae* and the *saecularis eruditio*, from Alexandria to Nisibis,²⁵ refers to an academic network that was on the verge of disappearance. After Justinian's edict and its consequences, Athens plunged into a slow decline before its fall to the Slavs in 579; Antioch, the homeland to several Church Fathers as well as

20 Flusin [2006].

21 Fabricius [1967] 187–188.

22 Kaldellis [2009a] 7.

23 Agapitos [1998] 171–174; Bowersock [1990] 1–13; Kennedy [1983] 180–264; Chuvin [2012]. Simonetti [1983] 69–96.

24 Kaldellis [2009a] 1–6.

25 At the outset of his *Institutions, praef.* 1, p. 3, 7–10 and 23–25 Mynors.

to a significant school of exegesis and grammar, was sacked by the Persians in 540; Berytos, once a pivotal centre for the study of law, did not recover from an earthquake in 551; the golden age of Gaza came to a close under Justinian soon after the glorious times of Choricus' declamations and John of Gaza's poetry.²⁶ At times, peripheral areas could still provide interesting teaching posts, as in the case of Tychikos the scientist, who in the course of the 7th century, after being trained in Alexandria, became a teacher in Trebizond, where he had among his pupils the Armenian geographer and astronomer Ananias of Shirak.²⁷

But the only school in which philosophy (and other related disciplines) continued to be taught regularly, and ancient Greek texts continued to be copied regularly (at least to some extent), is that of Alexandria in Egypt, a town which fell to the Arabs as late as 641. The fortune of the Alexandrian school lies in its inclination to a compromise with Christian doctrine—as opposed to the intransigent Platonic orthodoxy in Athens—and in the ability of its teachers to establish ties with the Christian community and to separate all religious issues from the contents and style of their teaching,²⁸ as well as in a certain predilection for the teaching of technical disciplines and sciences, above all medicine (the 7th century witnessed an explosion of commentaries to Galen, *e.g.* by Paul of Aegina and John of Alexandria).

The major figure of this period in the realm of philosophical studies is John Philoponus (ca. 490–570),²⁹ who was often primarily regarded as a *grammatikos* despite presenting himself as a commentator and critic of Aristotle: his *Against Aristotle* addressed the Stagirite's thought on the aether and on the eternity of movement, and in the fatal year 529 he published eighteen books *De aeternitate mundi* against the Neoplatonic theories of the Athenian scholarch Proclus. But Philoponus was also a specialist in astronomy (he wrote *inter alia* a treatise on the astrolabe and a commentary on Nicomachus of Gerasa's *Introduction to arithmetic*), and, in his capacity as a grammarian, the author of a short lexicon of words differing only for their accent (of the type νόμος θεσμός, νομὸς δὲ ἢ βoσκή),³⁰ and of a companion to Greek dialects,³¹ as well as

26 See the summaries on the late years of these schools in Wilson [1996²] 28–60; Cavallo [2002a] 60–75; Chuvin [2012] 106–122.

27 Lemerle [1971] 82–85.

28 Westerink [1976] 23; Watts [2006] 257–261.

29 Saffrey [1954]; Sorabji [1987].

30 Ed. Daly [1983].

31 For its problematic manuscript tradition and for its editions, see Consani [1991] 55–59.

of the prosodic rules known as *Τονικά παραγγέλματα*.³² Both these works are in fact partial epitomae of Herodian's *General Prosody*.³³ John's intellectual activity, which embraced several branches of human knowledge, evolved progressively towards Christian and creationist stances: this gave a decisive twist to the philosophical orientations of the Alexandrian school,³⁴ partly offering a radical alternative to the stances of his younger contemporary Olympiodorus (ca. 500–560),³⁵ head of the school for at least 40 years since the mid-520s. Olympiodorus, who in his youth had written commentaries on Platonic dialogues (the *Gorgias*, the *First Alcibiades*), defended the dignity of pagan ideas on theology and ethics by refraining from making them clash against the dogmas of the Christian faith. He later worked on Aristotelian writings, from the *Meteorology* to the *Organon* (Alexandria was *inter alia* home to a very influential compendium of logic, that was to influence a series of ecclesiastical and philosophical writers over the following decades),³⁶ while allowing a place of honour in his school to Christian teachers such as David and Elias. The latter, in the preface to his commentary on Aristotle's *Categories*, devoted an entire paragraph to the art of commentary, insisting on the old, Aristarchan maxim of explaining an author through the author himself (*Homerum ex Homero*),³⁷ without being biased or influenced by others and without adapting one's own ideas and personality to those of the commented author.³⁸

ὁ δὲ ἐξηγητὴς ἔστω ἅμα ἐξηγητὴς καὶ ἐπιστῆμων. ἔστι δὲ ἐξηγητοῦ μὲν ἔργον ἢ ἀνάπτυξις τῶν ἀσαφῶν ἐν τῇ λέξει, ἐπιστῆμονος δὲ ἢ κρίσις τοῦ ἀληθοῦς καὶ τοῦ ψεύδους, ἦτοι ἀνεμίω καὶ γονίμω. δεῖ αὐτὸν μὴ συμμεταβάλλεσθαι οἷς ἂν ἐξηγήται δίκην τῶν ἐν σκηνῇ ὄντων καὶ διάφορα πρόσωπα ὑποδουμένων διὰ τὸ μιμῆσθαι διάφορα ἦθη, καὶ Ἀριστοτελικὸν μὲν γίνεσθαι τὰ τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους ἐξηγούμενον καὶ λέγειν ὅτι οὐκ ἐγένετο φιλόσοφος τοιοῦτος, Πλατωνικὰ δὲ ἐξηγούμενον Πλατωνικὸν γίνεσθαι...

The commentator should be both commentator and scholar at the same time. It is the task of the commentator to unravel obscurities in the text; it is the task of the scholar to judge what is true and what is false, or

32 Ed. Dindorf [1825]. See Dyck [1993a] 777–778; Dickey [2007] 81–82.

33 See Probert in this volume.

34 Watts [2006] 232–256 on the entire issue.

35 Westerink [1976].

36 Roueché [1974].

37 See Montana in this volume.

38 Elias, *On Aristotle's Categories* (CAG 18.1), pp. 122–123 Busse; see Wilson [1996²] 47.

what is sterile and what is productive. He must not assimilate himself to the authors he expounds, like actors on the stage who put on different masks because they are imitating different characters. When expounding Aristotle he must not become an Aristotelian and say there has never been so great a philosopher, when expounding Plato he must not become a Platonist . . . [transl. N. G. Wilson]

Another Alexandrian—though possibly not by birth—is the first man whom our sources credit with the title of *oikoumenikos didaskalos* in Constantinople (on which more will be said shortly): after teaching in the Egyptian metropolis, by 617 Stephanus of Alexandria had been summoned to the capital by emperor Heraclius, where he taught philosophy and the *quadrivium*. He composed commentaries on Porphyry's *Eisagoge*, on Aristotle's *On the Soul* and *On Interpretation* but also, perhaps availing himself of the large technical library at Alexandria,³⁹ on Ptolemy's astronomical treatise known as *Handy Tables*: in effect, Stephanus was very active as an astrologist and alchemist.⁴⁰ A Christian scholar, Stephanus was perhaps the first great teacher of philosophy not to face major problems with the Christian hierarchy. It has been suggested that Stephanus and his books may be one of the links connecting the Alexandrian school with the remarkable collection of manuscripts copied in 9th-century Byzantium and known as "philosophical collection", on which more will be said below in § 2.4.⁴¹

Far from Alexandria, the Egyptian *chora* shows a remarkable circulation of Classical texts not only indirectly, for instance as the evident sources of the poems scribbled by Dioscorus of Aphrodito, who was simply continuing a long-standing literary tradition that used Homer's language in order to express the truths of Christian faith,⁴² but also in the substantial amount of 6th-, 7th- or even 8th-century fragments of papyrus codices found in the Fayûm or in other areas of the Egyptian desert. These codices largely derived from a steadily decreasing but tenaciously enduring personal interest of learned Egyptian citizens, despite the fact that "the production of non-Christian books appears to have declined very sharply after the time of Justinian",⁴³ and the majority of Christian books were copied in monasteries scattered from the Nile Valley

39 Westerink [1976] 169.

40 Wolska-Conus [1989]; Papathanassiou [2006].

41 Rashed [2002] 713–717, with earlier bibliography.

42 Fournet [1999]; Agosti [2009] and [2011] with further bibliography.

43 Maehler [1997] 128.

to the desert of Negev. A recent census has shown that while the copying of evangelic, liturgical or patristic books was by far predominant, and almost exclusive from the late 7th century onwards, as far as pagan authors are concerned, together with popular schooltexts such as Aristophanes, Demosthenes, Homer and Euripides one finds a persistence of epic poetry (from Apollonius Rhodius down to the more recent Nonnus of Panopolis), of some novelists (Chariton, Heliodorus) and historians (Thucydides, Malalas), as well as of various technical texts, from lexicographers to medical authorities such as Hippocrates and Galen.⁴⁴ Menander is no longer attested after the late 6th century (PBerol 21199), and notoriously did not make his way into the medieval transmission in minuscule script.⁴⁵ To our eyes, perhaps the most surprising phenomenon—and the most illuminating one concerning the interests of some cultivated individuals in the late antique Egyptian *chora*⁴⁶—is the survival of papyrus codices carrying the poems of Sappho⁴⁷ and Callimachus,⁴⁸ authors whose existence in Byzantium was endangered by their early exclusion from the educational curriculum.⁴⁹

Virtually no clear sign of the practice of textual scholarship is known to us from the so-called Dark Ages, but this does not mean that philological studies had disappeared altogether. Anastasius of Sinai, a Cypriot monk who settled in the monastery of St. Catherine around 660, composed a work called *Hodegos* (“Guide”), concerned with a series of moral, dogmatic and theological issues: in his text he also criticised a governor of Alexandria named Severianus for sponsoring a *scriptorium* of 14 copyists in order to deliberately alter and falsify the text of the Church Fathers, and especially of St. Cyril:⁵⁰

ἐπὶ ἱκανοὺς χρόνους ἔσχε ἰδ’ καλλιγράφους ὁμόφρονας αὐτοῦ, κατ’ ἐπιτροπήν αὐτοῦ καθεζομένους καὶ φαρσεύοντας τὰς βίβλους τῶν δογμάτων τῶν πατέρων, καὶ μάλιστα τὰς τοῦ ἁγίου Κυρίλλου· ἐν <αἴς> ἐλθόντων ἡμῶν εἰς τὴν Πρὸς Σούκενσον χρήσιν τὴν λέγουσαν ὅτι “Δύο τὰς φύσεις εἶναι φαμεν” [*Flor. Cyrill.* 109.22 Hespel], οὐχ εὖρομεν αὐτὴν ὀρθῶς κειμένην ἐν οἰαδήποτε βίβλῳ ἐν

44 Crisci [2000] 7–16.

45 Nervegna [2013] 271–279.

46 Maehler [1997].

47 PBerol 9722, late 6th century: Cavallo-Maehler [1987], n. 39b.

48 POxy 20, 2258, equipped with an impressive set of marginalia that testify to the rise of marginal commentaries: see (albeit in a different perspective) Montana [2011a], 136–144 (with full earlier bibliography).

49 Pontani [2001] and [2011a] respectively.

50 Anastasius Sinaita, *Guide* 10.2.179–203 Uthemann.

Ἀλεξανδρεῖα· ἀλλ’ αἱ μὲν εἶχον “Δύο φύσεις ἠνώσθαι φαμεν”, αἱ δὲ πάλιν “Δύο τὰς φύσεις ἔνωεῖσθαι φαμεν”. καὶ ἐν πολλῇ ἀθυμίᾳ ἡμῶν ὄντων, ἐξήγαγεν ἡμῖν ὁ κύριος Ἰσιδωρος ὁ βιβλιοφύλαξ τοῦ πατριαρχείου βίβλον ἔχουσαν ἀνόθευτον τὴν τοιαύτην χρήσιν. ὁμοίως καὶ τὴν τοῦ μακαρίου Ἀμβροσίου διέστρεψαν· ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ “Φυλάξωμεν τὴν διαφορὰν τῆς θεότητος καὶ τῆς σαρκός” [Ambros. *De fide* 2.9.77], “Φυλάξωμεν τὴν διαφορὰν τῆς ἀναγνώσεως” ἔλεγον. πάλιν τε τὴν τοῦ μακαρίου Προκλου τὴν περὶ Χριστοῦ φάσκουσαν, ὅτι “ἐκεῖνος ἀφθάρτως ἐγεννήθη, ὁ καὶ θυρῶν κεκλεισμένων ἀκωλύτως εἰσελθῶν, οὗ τὴν συζυγίαν τῶν φύσεων, ὁ Θωμᾶς ἔωρακώς” [Procl. *Const. Or.* 2, p. 104.4–6 Leroy], ἀντὶ τοῦ “ἀφθάρτως” διὰ τοῦ -ως γραφομένου, οἱ Γαϊανῖται “ἄφθαρτος” λέγουσι, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰπεῖν ὁμολογούμενον τὸ ἄρθρον τὸ φάσκον “οὗ τὴν συζυγίαν τῶν φύσεων” (τουτέστι τοῦ Χριστοῦ), ἐκεῖνοι πάλιν ἀρνητικὸν αὐτὸ φάσκουσι λέγοντες “οὐ τὴν συζυγίαν ὁ Θωμᾶς ἔωρακώς”, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.

For several years he had on his side fourteen calligraphers, who sat under his supervision and falsified the dogmatic books of the Fathers, above all those of St. Cyril: when we arrived at the sentence against Succensus saying that “We say that the natures are two”, we did not find it soundly copied in any book in Alexandria, but some copies carried “We say that two natures are united”, others “We say that the natures are understood as two”. And since we were in great distress, Isidore the librarian of the Patriarchate took out for us a book that had the aforementioned sentence without alterations. They corrupted in the same way the saying of the holy Ambrosius: instead of “Let us observe the difference between divinity and the flesh”, they said “Let us observe the difference of readings”. And again, in the saying of holy Proclus about Christ, that “he was born incorruptibly, he who entered without obstacles when the doors were shut, he whose combination of natures Thomas saw”, the Gaianites read “incorruptible” instead of “incorruptibly” with long -os. And instead of acknowledging the relative pronoun *hou*, “whose duplicity of nature” (namely of Christ), they take that *ou* as a negative, reading “Thomas did not see the combination of natures” etc.

This kind of philological interest surfaces, additionally, in Anastasius’ other major work (he also wrote a lost *Orthography*), the *Hexaemeron*, an extended exegesis on the first three chapters of the *Genesis*, where he shows himself to be familiar with the different Greek versions of the Old Testament, especially with the Septuagint but also with other translations collected in Origen’s *Hexapla*. In *Hexaem.* 8.72 he speaks about some ἀνόθευτα τῶν Ἐξαπλῶν ἀντίγραφα (“uncorrupted copies of the *Hexapla*”), which means that he might have had at his

disposal one or more copies of Origen's work, condemned by the Church in 543 and believed to have gone lost after the Arab conquest of Caesarea in 638.⁵¹

It is of course no chance that Origenian material and methods should have inspired the "sacred philology" of the Greek Dark Ages, for Origen was beyond doubt the first—and to a certain extent the only—great Biblical scholar to apply to the Holy Scripture a textual methodology inherited from Alexandrian models, as both his commentaries and the newly discovered homilies on the *Psalms* show in a spectacular way.⁵² And it is no coincidence that these dangerous textual practices were so disliked by the Church that as late as the 8th century the patriarch of Constantinople Germanus I († 733) used them in retaliation on Patristic works, marking with an *obelos* some passages of Gregory of Nyssa in order to denounce them as interpolations of Origenist haeretics—bizarrely enough, he replaced them with excerpts of Plato's *Phaedo*.⁵³ We can thus see that philology and textual scholarship did survive during the Dark Ages, but they were put to a practical use in the frame of ecclesiastical debates: the history of this particular scientific approach still has to be written.

The library of the monastery of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai, certainly accessible to Anastasius, was a *Fundgrube* of 7th and 8th-century manuscripts: along with a large bulk of Biblical, liturgical, patristic and hagiographical books, the section devoted to pagan authors must have been admittedly slim; still, a 9th-century *Iliad* with a paraphrasis by Sophronius has come to the light in a chance discovery made forty years ago, perhaps attesting to an earlier circulation of pagan texts as well.⁵⁴

If we move our gaze further north, we can realise that the entire Syro-Palestinian area, as recent research has begun to demonstrate in detail, should rank among the liveliest places in terms of cultural and philological activity during the so-called Dark Ages.⁵⁵ Some scholars have considered it, with a varying degree of likelihood, as the birthplace of very old, often fragmentary manuscripts of Classical authors (e.g. Par. Gr. 2179 of Dioscorides; Lond. Addit. 17211, ff. 49–53, of Euclid; the De Langhe parchment of Euripides' *Andromache*), but also as the home to the lost ancestors of textual branches which remained alive down to the 10th century, e.g. those represented, for Diodorus Siculus, by ms. Neap. Gr. 4*, for Demosthenes by ms. Mon. Gr. 485, for Euripides by ms.

51 See most recently Kuehn [2010].

52 Neuschäfer [1987]; Perrone [2012].

53 Carlini [1987].

54 Nicolopoulos [1999] and [2003].

55 Starting with Mango [1991]; see Flusin [2004].

Hierosol. Taphou 36.⁵⁶ And even if the Palestinian origin of these and other textual witnesses remains to a large extent hypothetical, our sources give us evidence of the Palestinian training of several outstanding figures of Greek literacy between the late 6th and 8th century.

Setting aside for the sake of brevity great hymnographers such as Romanos the Melode (the author of the cruel pun against Aratus τρισκατάρατος “thrice damned” and Demosthenes ἀσθενής “feeble” and Homer ὄνειρος ἀργός “empty dream” in *cant.* 33.17.3–6 Maas-Trypanis),⁵⁷ and the great homiletes such as Theophanes and Theodorus “Grapti” (who studied under Michael Syncellus at the monastery of St. Saba), one can assume a certain continuity in the transmission of Greek learning from the remarkable Damascene rhetor, scholar and Anacreontic poet Sophronius (ca. 550–ca. 640), who travelled to Egypt with the monk and ascete John Moschos and later became patriarch of Jerusalem, down to the outstanding theologian Maximus Confessor (ca. 580–662, although other sources relate he was born in Constantinople) and to John the Damascene (ca. 675–749), the greatest Greek-speaking scholar of the 8th century, whose works such as the theological *summa* called *Pege gnoseos* or the florilege called *Sacra parallela* presuppose a wide availability of books⁵⁸—and we will skip here altogether, precisely after mentioning John the Damascene and Maximus Confessor, the thorny issue of the forms and origin of the Greek gnomological tradition, of which the Dark Ages marked an important turning-point in its very complicated history, made of fluctuating, non-authorial materials and desperately uncertain dates.⁵⁹

The percentage of Classical Greek doctrine and quotations in the manuscript evidence and in the literary activity of the aforementioned authors is admittedly thin, and yet Palestine must have been a fertile soil for grammatical instruction, for it gave birth to one of the most outstanding grammarians of the 9th century, namely Michael Syncellus from Jerusalem (ca. 761–846), the author of a fundamental treatise *On Syntax* composed in 812–813 in Edessa (a city where translations from the Greek and the interest in Greek culture

56 Cavallo [2002a] 196–197; Crisci [2000]; and—with a special emphasis on Christian texts in the middle Byzantine period—Perria [2003].

57 A pun Maas [1906] 21 related specifically to the closing of the Athenian academy in 529; but this is unlikely, see Speck [1986] 617.

58 See on these authors, and on the broader picture of Greek learning in Palestine, Cavallo [2002a] 165–166 and 198–202.

59 Searby [2007] 50–59. Odorico [2004]. Ihm [2001] i–xxix, esp. iii n. 14.

were remarkable).⁶⁰ This treatise,⁶¹ which Syncellus wrote in addition to several theological writings (and some poetical and encomiastic works), is a landmark in a field which the Byzantines never practiced in depth;⁶² it is indebted to Apollonius Dyscolus, Herodian, Arcadius, as well as to several Atticist authors,⁶³ and it is based on the typical Byzantine approach, centered on single words and on single parts of speech rather than on their reciprocal relations in the natural flow of discourse. Syncellus' speculation on the transitivity of verbs and on their constructions with different cases runs along similar lines as Apollonius Dyscolus and Priscian; his treatment of prepositions is detailed, and displays overt references to Homer and awareness of ancient Homeric exegesis, although he does not recommend indulgence for poetic usage.⁶⁴ This is a representative passage on the preposition ὑπέρ:⁶⁵

Ἡ ὑπέρ πρὸς γενικὴν καὶ αἰτιατικὴν συντάσσεται, οἷον ὑπέρ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὅπερ σημαίνει δύο, τὸ ἄνωθεν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. ἤνικα μὲν συνηγορίαν ποιῶμεν, λέγομεν ὑπέρ τινος· ἡ γὰρ ὑπέρ συνηγορικωτέρα ἐστίν· ὁ γὰρ λέγων ὑπέρ τοῦ Πέτρου συνηγορεῖ τῷ Πέτρῳ. εὐρίσκεται δὲ λαμβανομένη ἀντὶ τῆς κατὰ, ὡς παρ' Ὀμήρῳ [Ζ 523–24] “τὸ δ' ἔμὸν κῆρ / ἄχνηται ἐν θυμῷ ὅθ' ὑπέρ σέθεν αἴσχε' ἀκούω”, ἀντὶ τοῦ κατὰ σοῦ· δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ πολλακίς τὴν ἀντὶ πρόθεσιν, οἷον “ὑπέρ Χριστοῦ πρεσβεύομεν”. ἀντὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ γὰρ δηλοῖ· καὶ ὑπέρ τοῦ φίλου κινδυνεύειν τὸ ἀντὶ τοῦ φίλου σημαίνει· τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ σημαίνει τὸ ὑπέρ ἀνθρώπῳ κατὰ ποιητικὴν σύνταξιν τῷ ἄνωθεν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου· τὸ μὲντοι ὑπέρ ἀνθρώπου αἰεὶ ποτε σημαίνει τὸ ὑπέρτερον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου· οὕτω καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια συντασσόμενα. δηλοῖ δὲ ἐν ταῖς συνθέσεσιν ὑπεράσπισιν καὶ συνηγορίαν, οἷον ὑπέρμαχος, ὑπερασπιστής, καὶ τὴν ὑπέρ τὰ λεγόμενα ἄρσιν καὶ ὑψωσιν, οἷον ὑπέρθεος, ὑπερούσιος, ὑπεράγαθος· ἐπὶ Θεοῦ δὲ ταῦτα λέγονται καὶ σημαίνουσιν αὐτὸν εἶναι ὑπέρ πᾶν ὄνομα ὀνομαζόμενον οὐσίας τε καὶ ἀρετῆς σημαντικόν· ἐξ αὐτῆς δὲ παρήκται καὶ τὸ ὑπέρτερος.

The preposition *hyper* is constructed with genitive and accusative, as in *hyper tou anthropou*, which has two meanings, “above man” and “about man”. When we give a defensive speech, we speak in favour of (*hyper*) someone: *hyper* is often used in justice, for the one who speaks in favour

60 Segal [1970] 210–213.

61 Ed. Donnet [1982].

62 Donnet [1967b].

63 Robins [1993] 149–162.

64 § 127, l. 1000 Donnet ἄλλ' οὐ χρηστέον τῇ ποιητικῇ συνηθείᾳ.

65 § 143, ll. 1109–1127 Donnet.

of Peter defends Peter. The same preposition is found to be used instead of *kata*, as in Homer (*Il.* 6.523–24) “my heart is grieved within me, when I hear words of shame regarding you”, instead of “against you”; it also often stands for the preposition *anti*, as in “we pray for Christ”, which means “in place of Christ”, and in “to risk for a friend” which means “in place of a friend”. “*hyper anthropo*” [dative] in poetic syntax means the same as “above man”; but “*hyper anthropou*” [genitive] always signifies that which is higher than man: and the analogous constructions in a similar way. In compounds, the preposition indicates defence and assistance, as in *hypermachos* (“combatant for”), *hyperaspistes* (“defensor”) and also the rising above what is predicated, as in *hypertheos* (“supradivine”), *hyperousios* (“supersubstantial”), *hyperagathos* (“exceedingly good”): these adjectives are used of God, and they mean that He is above every named noun meaning substance and virtue. From this preposition derives also *hyperteros* (“higher”).

Almost coeval with Syncellus, and—according to the most refined codicological and material analysis—probably also originating from Jerusalem or Damascus,⁶⁶ is an important manuscript of the so-called *Doctrina Patrum*, Vat. Gr. 2200, showing both an early form of the minuscule Greek script, independent from the Stoudite type that was to prevail in the early 9th century in Constantinople (see below § 1.5), and a new writing material, namely paper, a support that would begin to supersede parchment in Byzantium no earlier than the 12th century,⁶⁷ and must therefore proceed in this case from contacts with the Arabic tradition.

The reality of textual transmission in the Egyptian province throughout the Dark Ages, as well as the sporadic information we gather from the Syro-Palestinian area, help us gauge the evolution of tastes and interests during this crucial period, before and after the decline of Alexandria as the leading cultural centre of the Mediterranean in the later 7th century. What is certain is that without public support and a widespread fruition, although ancient texts could still circulate in the hands of some erudites they had little chance of surviving the grand rapids of history, especially in peripheral *milieux*. Subsequent to the political, urbanistic and legal efforts of Justinian, the centre that showed an overt ambition to a leading cultural role (in the domain of architecture, law, politics and art in general) was of course Constantinople. But when we turn to the capital, it may come as a surprise that until the early 9th century it

66 Perria [1983–1984].

67 Irigoien [1950].

was definitely not the venue of the most significant scholarly or scholastic activities.⁶⁸

1.3 *Constantinople: Schools and Scholars*

The decay of teaching and of the general scholarly *niveau* in Constantinople is the proof of the cultural decline (widely known under the generic label of “Dark Ages”) that followed from Heraclius’ reign until the early 9th century:⁶⁹ the elites thinned down, the atmosphere of social and political precariousness hampered the promotion of literary studies, the only curricular teaching that could survive was primary instruction, with the occasional, elementary reading of such common authors as Homer, Euripides, Aristophanes, Demosthenes, Aelius Aristides and Gregory of Nazianzus. What is more, we have no evidence of the existence of a higher scholastic institution throughout this period: the *Pandidakterion* founded by Theodosius II in 425 in the very heart of the capital (in itself little more than a school of grammar, rhetoric and philosophy) disappears from extant records after the age of John Lydus (*On magistracies* 3.29), and nothing is known about the fates of its curricula or its library.⁷⁰

What we hear about the initiative of patriarch Sergius (610–639) involving a project to restore a school in the Patriarchate is again a likely fact, albeit uncertain in its size and importance:⁷¹ but while we know that the palace known as Thomaites housed the patriarchal library, which was of course devoted to ecclesiastical writings (including haeretical works “on a special shelf”, ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ κιβωτίῳ), and burnt down in 791,⁷² it is far less self-evident to admit that regular courses were being taught there. This explains our surprise when we encounter well-read authors such as Theophylactus Simocatta, who in the early 7th century alludes to Callimachus, to Euripides’ *Alcestis* and to other relatively uncommon texts (but see above § 1.2 about the circulation of manuscripts) in the proem of his historiographical work, sketched as a dialogue between

68 Cavallo [2002a] 168–171; Lemerle [1971] 84–105.

69 Treadgold [1988] 51–58.

70 Speck [1974a] 1–13. On the uncertain fate of the imperial library, see A. Pontani [1995a] 313–315 and Wilson [1980] 277–283.

71 Lemerle [1971] 77–79 and 96.

72 John Zonaras, *Epitome* 15.12, p. 362.11–17 Dind. ἐμπρησμοῦ δὲ συμβάντος, ὁ μέγας τρίκλινος τῶν ἱερῶν ἀνακτόρων ὁ Θωμαιτῆς λεγόμενος ἔργον γέγονε τοῦ πυρός, ὅτε λέγεται καυθῆναι καὶ τὰ σχεδιάσματα τῆς ἐξηγήσεως τῆς θείας γραφῆς, ἃ ὁ χρυσοῦς τὴν γλώτταν συνεγράψατο Ἰωάννης, ἐκεῖσέ που ἀποκείμενα “a fire took place, and the great hall of the holy palace called Thomaites was destroyed by fire: it was then, they say, that were burnt the papers of John Chrysostom’s commentaries on the Holy Writ, which were kept in that building”. See Wilson [1980] 282.

Philosophy and History in praise of the patriarch for his activity of restoring studies and culture.⁷³ It is namely unclear whether Theophylactus gained this knowledge and skill, also apparent from his private correspondence, through his own, personal study, or thanks to some sort of curricular instruction. Later in the same century, with the remarkable exception of George of Pisidia and of his flawless iambic trimeters on the campaigns of Heraclius, there surfaces hardly any trace of familiarity with ancient models among high-brow literati. In fact, no profane work in Greek survives from the age of Theophylactus' *History* down to the *Historical epitome* written by patriarch Nicephorus shortly before 787.

An important symptom of the discontinuity in this context is the definitive linguistic separation between Latin and Greek: after the age of Priscian (the author of the most ambitious extant work on Latin grammar, the *Institutiones grammaticae*, completed in the early years of the 6th century), Latin slowly disappeared from both official use⁷⁴ and from cultivated communication in Byzantium: the Latin panegyrics written by Corippus in 566–567, and later the entire age of Emperor Heraclius (610–641), appear as the swan song of a bilingual literate society.⁷⁵ In the Latin West, the decades following the great season of Graecomania “de Macrobe à Cassiodore”,⁷⁶ witness a parallel oblivion of Greek, a phenomenon which resulted *inter alia* in the progressive disappearance of Greek manuscripts from the regions of Western Europe, with some exceptions—of uncertain size—in the areas of Sicily and Rome, where some translations of technical and ecclesiastical texts were undertaken.⁷⁷ Cassiodorus' library at Vivarium lists mathematical, geometrical and medical texts in cupboard 8 (“ubi sunt Graeci codices congregati”) and some translations may have taken place in his coenobium,⁷⁸ but neither this reference nor the rare and mostly uncertain traces of the production of profane Greek books in Ravenna or Byzantine Italy,⁷⁹ nor other traces of the likely Italian circulation

73 Olajos [2000].

74 John the Lydian *On magistracies* 3.68 tells about this gradual oblivion of Latin in official documents of the Empire: τὰ τῆς ἐλαττώσεως προὔβαινε, “the process of reduction began to advance”.

75 Jeffreys [2011]; Rochette [1997] 141–144. On a specific case, see De Stefani [2006].

76 Courcelle [1948²].

77 Berschin [1980] 97–108; Cavallo [2001]; Chiesa [2002].

78 Berschin [1980] 100–102.

79 *E.g.* ms. Neap. Gr. 1 of Dioscorides (7th century), but ms. Par. suppl. Gr. 1362 of Aristotle's *Sophistical Confutations* and ms. Bruxell. IV.459 of Paul of Aegina also belong to this age.

of 5th-century Greek manuscripts,⁸⁰ can possibly credit the Italian peninsula with the preservation of a substantial heritage of ancient Greek culture (not to mention ancient Greek scholarship) for the use of monks or scholars, the few remaining traces of Greek—even in the age of the Greek or Palestinian popes—being almost exclusively confined to aspects of ecclesiastical life and at most to the preservation of medical works.⁸¹ After all, neither Isidore of Seville nor Gregory the Great were to know a word of Greek,⁸² and the aids to the mere understanding of words (dictionaries, lists of words such as the *Hermeneumata* etc.),⁸³ while sometimes invaluable as detectors of phonetic, grammatical and semantic phenomena, show that the West never shared in a real programme of cultural transmission.

But even turning our gaze away from the decline of bilingualism and into the field of Greek studies proper in the heart of the empire, we find that the age of Justinian has little to offer in terms of textual scholarship *stricto sensu*. Admittedly, Agathias of Myrine (ca. 532–ca. 580) was so clever as to collect and edit a *Cycle* of epigrams written by himself and other contemporaries, in what would later become an essential component of the *Greek Anthology*;⁸⁴ Hesychius of Miletus compiled a bio-bibliographical dictionary of pagan writers and scholars of the Classical and Hellenistic period (Ὀνοματολόγος ἢ πῖναξ τῶν ἐν παιδείᾳ ὀνομαστῶν), which went lost but was to become a primary source for the lexicon of Suidas in the 10th century.⁸⁵ Even more importantly, the obscure grammarian Stephanus of Byzantium, most probably a Christian, produced sometime in the 6th century a remarkable geographical and topographical lexicon called *Ethnika*, consisting of roughly 50–55 books, and extensively depending on his predecessors Orus and Eugenius. Only an epitome survives, produced by a certain Hermolaus a few years after the original (Suid. ε 3048),⁸⁶ and it shows that Stephanus had a more markedly linguistic and philological

80 The scattered palimpsest leaves of Theophrastus and Strabo in Vat. Gr. 2306 (+Vat. Gr. 2061A+Crypt. Z.α.43) were perhaps rewritten in Southern Italy, and some folios of Cassius Dio were re-used in a Calabrian menologion (Vat. Gr. 1288): see Irigoin [2006a].

81 Irigoin [1969] 43–45; Cavallo [2002a] 203–5; Berschin [1980] 113–118.

82 Lemerle [1971] 10–21.

83 Dionisotti [1982]; Dickey [2012].

84 Cameron [1970]; Mattsson [1942]; Valerio [2014].

85 Kaldellis [2005] esp. 385–389, see also Dickey in this volume.

86 Rare passages are quoted *ad verbum* and in full by Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus in his *De administrando imperio*: see Billerbeck [2006] *3–*9. The letters not yet included in Billerbeck's edition (Billerbeck [2006] and [2014] and Billerbeck-Zubler [2011]) must be consulted in Meineke [1849].

rather than strictly geographical interest, as his entries, in addition to localisation, display a special concern for the orthographical variants in toponyms and ethnonyms, for their occurrences in the works of ancient historians or poets, and sometimes for the local mythographical traditions involving them. Here is an example, where Stephanus also refers to his own teaching role:⁸⁷

Ἄνακτόριον Ἀκαρνανίας πόλις, οὐδετέρως, Κορινθίων ἄποικος. Θουκυδίδης α' (1.55.1). ἄρσενικῶς παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ (fr. 1009 Radt). τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ἄνακτόριος καὶ Ἄνακτορία ἢ γῆ καὶ Ἄνακτοριεύς. Σοφοκλῆς (fr. 916 Radt) δὲ φησι διὰ τῆς εἰ “Ἄνακτόρειον τῆσδ' ἐπώνυμον χθονός”. καὶ Εὐγένιος δέ, ὁ πρὸ ἡμῶν τὰς ἐν τῇ βασιλίδι σχολὰς διακοσμήσας, ἐν συλλογῇ λέξεων διὰ διφθόγγου φησίν· ἔοικε δ' ἀστιγεί ἐντετυχηκένα βιβλίῳ· ἡμεῖς γὰρ διὰ τοῦ ι εὐρομεν.

Anaktorion: a town in Acarnania, colony of the Corinthians. Neuter noun. Thucydides book one. It is masculine in Sophocles. The ethnonym is *Anaktorios* (the feminine *Anaktoria* indicates the hinterland), and also *Anaktorieus*. Sophocles writes it with *ei* “Anaktoreion, that gives the name to this land”. Likewise Eugenios, our predecessor in the direction of the schools in the capital, writes it with a diphthong in his *Collection of words*, but he must have used an uncorrected book: we have found it with *iota*.

Above and beyond Stephanus' work, lexicography and grammar were certainly practiced in Constantinople between the 6th and the 8th century, even if the extant evidence is meagre. As a lexicon, Stephanus' *Ethnika* belongs to a well-represented category in the centuries ranging from the 6th to 8th. The so-called lexicon of Cyril, whose origin probably belongs to the age of Justinian, underwent many different redactions and reshaping, and various minor lexica were added to its original bulk;⁸⁸ more importantly, before the end of the 9th century it was interpolated into the lexicon of Hesychius, thus giving rise to one of the favourite lexica of the Byzantine period, alas still unedited to our own day.⁸⁹ More specific grammatical lexica on spirits⁹⁰ and on accents⁹¹ may belong to the later part of the 8th or early 9th century.

87 Steph. Byz. α 305 Billerbeck. The occurrence of the adj. ἀστιγής (non punctuated, hence not corrected) should be noted.

88 Alpers [2001] 202. Drachmann [1936]; Cunningham [2003] 43–49; Hagedorn [2005] v–xiv (with a preliminary edition of one of the versions); Hunger [1978] 37–38.

89 Reitzenstein [1888]; Alpers [1991b].

90 Περί πνευμάτων, ed. Valckenaer [1739] 207–242.

91 Ed. Koster [1932].

In the field of grammar proper, there was little theoretical advance, but the systematisation of the inherited doctrine continued *e.g.* in the works of John Charax, a scholar who may belong to the late 6th century.⁹² We may recall here his treatise *On enclitical words* (a compilation from Herodian's *General Prosody* book 21), his commentary on Theodosius of Alexandria's *Canons*, later abridged by Sophronius patriarch of Alexandria in the 9th century,⁹³ and a still unpublished *Orthography*.⁹⁴ The field of orthographical studies was covered by several other specialist handbooks, partly unedited and partly preserved in shorter *résumés* dealing with the distinction of homophone vowels and diphthongs, such as η / ι / υ / ει / οι, ο / ω, ε / αι.⁹⁵

The mechanisms of textual transmission do not appear to be especially popular among writers of the Dark Ages. We hardly ever hear, either in literature or in subscriptions to manuscripts of Classical authors, of a systematic emendatory work performed by learned individuals on single texts. Some attention is devoted to this issue by John the Lydian, the author of three antiquarian books *On magistracies*, *On months*, *On omens*, in his account of the history of the oracles of the Chaldaean Sibyl:⁹⁶

ὅτι δὲ οἱ στίχοι αὐτῆς ἀτελεῖς εὐρίσκονται καὶ ἄμετροι, οὐ τῆς προφήτιδος ἐστὶν ἢ αἰτία ἀλλὰ τῶν ταχυγράφων, οὐ συμφθασάντων τῇ ῥύμῃ τῶν λεγομένων ἢ καὶ ἀπαιδεύτων γενομένων καὶ ἀπειρῶν γραμματικῶν.

That her lines are found to be incomplete and unmetrical, does not depend on the prophetess but on the scribes, who did not keep up with the speed of the dictation, and were ignorant and unexperienced in grammar.

Again under Justinian, Hypatius of Ephesus questioned the authenticity of the works ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite on the grounds that they were not quoted in the theological works of either Cyril or Athanasius (we know about

92 Kaster [1988] 391–392 argues for the 8th–9th century, but see Alpers [2004] 19.

93 Mazal [2001] 477.

94 Alpers [2004] 7–8 and 19.

95 See Hunger [1978] 18–19 for all the references, and above all Egenolff [1888]; Alpers [2004]. The popularity of orthographic questions is attested by their frequent appearance in manuscript notes and short treatises down to the 15th century: Hunger [1978] 21–22; Ronconi [2012a] 72–80 for the general context of grammatical and orthographical teaching on Dionysius Thrax and other texts.

96 *On months* 4.47 Wünsch.

this from Theodore's refutation of Hypatius summarised in the first chapter of Photius' *Bibliotheca*, on which more in § 2.2)—a methodology allegedly employed by the emperor himself against the authenticity of some texts supporting the monophysite haeresy.⁹⁷

As a matter of fact, the transmission of ecclesiastical or theological texts seems to be a particularly fertile area for the application of textual philology even during the Dark Ages: we have seen above the case of Anastasius in the peripheral area of Mt. Sinai, but issues of authenticity could concern also official ecclesiastical documents. The acts of the Council of Constantinople of 680 are full of palaeographical and philological arguments introduced in order to prove or disprove the reliability of the contrasting theological stances: numbering and misplacement of quires, palaeographical observations, comparisons between paper and parchment codices—all this is invoked for such purposes as refuting the authenticity of a letter on the unity of Christ's will, allegedly written by patriarch Menas to pope Vigilius.⁹⁸ This is a sample:⁹⁹

καὶ ἐπισκήψαντες ὁ τε εὐσεβέστατος βασιλεὺς ἅμα τοῖς ἐνδοξοτάτοις ἄρχουσι καὶ τισι τῶν τῆς ἁγίας συνόδου θεοφιλῶν ἐπισκόπων, καὶ ἀναπτύξαντες καὶ ἀνακρίναντες εὗρον τρεῖς τετράδας εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ βιβλίου ἐκ προσθήκης ἐμβληθῆναι, μὴ ἐχούσας ὑποσημείωσιν ἀριθμητικὴν τὴν πρὸς συνήθειαν ἐντεθειμένην ἐν ταῖς <τετ>ράσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τετράδι εἶναι τὸν πρῶτον ἀριθμόν, καὶ εἰς τὴν μετ' αὐτὴν δευτέραν καὶ τρίτην τετράδα ἐφεξῆς· ἄλλως τε καὶ ἀνόμοια εἶναι τὰ γράμματα τῶν ὑποβληθεισῶν ἐν πρώτοις τριῶν τετράδων, ἐν αἷς ἐμφέρεται ὁ λεγόμενος Μηνᾶ πρὸς Βιγίλιον λόγος, πρὸς τὰ γράμματα τὰ ἀρχῆθεν γεγραμμένα ἐν τῷ λεχθέντι βιβλίῳ.

The most pious emperor together with the most illustrious magistrates and some god-beloved bishops of the holy Synod, inquired, opened, and examined the book, and found out that three quires had been added at the beginning, which did not bear the numbering *in calce* usually apposed on quires: the first quire-number appeared on the fourth quire, and then on each following quire. Furthermore, the handwriting of the three quires interpolated at the beginning, which carried the so-called letter of Menas to Vigilius, was different from the one originally employed in the book under review.

97 Wilson [1996²] 53.

98 Bianconi [2004a] 531–539; Speyer [1971] 198–199; A. Pontani [1995a] 343.

99 *Actio tertia*, pp. 40.32–42.4 Riedinger (= n. 225B Mansi; see also pp. 289–389 and 588–592 Ried. for the single verifications of readings in the manuscripts).

Similar discussions of alleged forgeries and tampering with manuscripts also repeatedly surface in the acts of the Council of Nicaea (787) in the framework of the iconoclastic *querelle*.¹⁰⁰

In the field of profane studies, the fate of grammar and learning in the capital experienced a radically new thrust in the second half of the 8th century, the age of two outstanding scholars, George Choeroboscus and Ignatius the Deacon. Choeroboscus, perhaps an *oikoumenikos didaskalos* and/or a *chartophylax* (the titles leave us confused: while certainly working in the patriarchate, he might have been a teacher, a dignitary, a librarian), was a prolific author, but a rather obscure personality.¹⁰¹ He produced *inter alia* some treatises on prosody and metre (amongst which a rich commentary to Hephaestion's manual, dealing with metres that had long perished in Byzantine poetical practice),¹⁰² a commentary on the *Techne* of Dionysius Thrax,¹⁰³ a widely read canon of the 27 rhetorical figures,¹⁰⁴ and a substantial guide to orthography, now preserved in a very partial and abridged form.¹⁰⁵ According to a plausible recent reconstruction, the lost proem of the latter work may have contained the following, representative methodological statement:¹⁰⁶

κανόνες δὲ αὐτῆς (*scil.* ὀρθογραφίας) τέσσαρες, ἀναλογία, διάλεκτος, ἔτυμολογία, ἱστορία. καὶ ἀναλογία μὲν κατορθοῦμεν γραφήν, ὅταν κανόνα ἀποδῶμεν, ὡσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ ταχεῖα ἐδηλώσαμεν· διάλεκτῳ δέ, ὅταν τὸ ἡμεῖς διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου γράφων εἶπω ὅτι Αἰολεῖς ἄμμες λέγουσι, τὸ προσὸν ἐν τῇ λέξει <ἐκ>φωνήσαντες. ἔτυμολογία δέ, ὅταν τὸ ἡπειρος διὰ τοῦ η τὴν πρώτην συλλαβὴν καὶ διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου τὴν δευτέραν γράφων, εἶπω ἐπειδὴ πέρας οὐκ ἔχει, ἄπερός τις οὔσα. ἱστορία δέ, ὅταν τὸ χίλιοι γράφων διὰ τοῦ ι εἶπω· οὕτως αὐτὸ βούλεται γράφεσθαι ἢ παράδοσις.

Its [*scil.* orthography's] canones are four: analogy, dialect, etymology, history. And we correct the spelling with analogy, when we enunciate a canon, as we have demonstrated for the word *tacheia*. With dialect, when I spell *hemeis* with the diphthong *epsilon-iota* and I say that the Aeolians

100 Lamberz [2000]; Speyer [1971] 199 and 277; Lemerle [1971] 109–112.

101 Long believed to belong to the age of Justinian, his chronology has been partly fixed only recently: Theodoridis [1980] 341–345; Alpers [2004] 19.

102 Ed. Consbruch [1906] 175–254; see Hunger [1978] 50–51.

103 Ed. Hilgard [1901] 67–106.

104 Ed. Spengel [1853] I, 244–256; see Besharov [1956].

105 Ed. Cramer, *An. Ox.* II [1835] 167–281; see Valente [2010a] 639–650. Alpers [2004] 31–35.

106 Valente [2010a] 644–645.

say *ammes* pronouncing the *epsilon* present in the word. With etymology, when we spell *epeiros* (“land”) with *eta* in the first syllable, and with the diphthong *epsilon-iota* in the second and I say “because it has no limits, being *aperos*”. With history, when I spell *chilioi* (“a thousand”) with *iota* and I say “the paradosis has it spelt this way”. [transl. S. Valente]

But Choeroboscus wrote above all two remarkable works, both honoured by prolonged success in Byzantine grammatical practice,¹⁰⁷ and both clearly intended for the instruction of pupils in need of elementary training in accentuation, punctuation, prosody and grammar. The first one, indebted to Apollonius Dyscolus, Herodian and of course Dionysius Thrax, is a long commentary to the *Canons* of Theodosius of Alexandria,¹⁰⁸ chiefly concerned with the establishment and observation of a clean linguistic standard, and of rules designed to prevent barbarism and solecism.¹⁰⁹ The other work is *Epimerisms on the Psalms*,¹¹⁰ a pedantic exercise of word-for-word parsing of the Septuagint’s text with the aim of singling out the morphological and grammatical category of each term, independently of its syntactic function but with an eye to its semantics.¹¹¹ A nice, if very synthetic example of how Choeroboscus interweaves different sources in his grammatical work is his note on *Ps.* 75.7:¹¹²

ἐνύσταξαν· ῥῆμα, ἀόριστος πρῶτος τρίτου προσώπου τῶν πληθυντικῶν. τὸ δὲ νυστάζω γίνεται ἐκ τοῦ νευστάζω, τὸ δὲ παρὰ τὸ νεύω. Τί διαφέρει τὸ κινεῖν καὶ νευστάζειν; τῇ μὲν φωνῇ διαφέρει, τῷ δὲ σημασινομένῳ οὐδαμῶς. ἴσον γὰρ τὸ κινεῖν τῷ νευστάζειν, καὶ Ὁμηρος· “νευστάζων κόρουθι βριαρῆ” [Υ 162], καὶ τὸ “νευστάζων κάραν Ἰούδας” [Cosm. Hieros. canon pro magna quinta feria, PG 98.480B].

enystaxan: verb, first aorist, third person plural. *Nystazo* derives from *neustazo*, itself deriving from *neuo*. What is the difference between “to

107 Some instances are collected by Ronconi [2012a].

108 Ed. Hilgard [1889–1894].

109 See Robins [1993] 117–123, and the programmatic statements in *On Theodosius’ Canons* 1.103.7–9 and 2.1.8–10 Hilgard (“knowing the declension of names is useful in order not to fall into barbarism or solecism” τὸ δὲ εἰδέναι τὴν κλίσειν τῶν ὀνομάτων χρήσιμόν ἐστιν εἰς τὸ μήτε βαρβαρίζειν μήτε σολοικίζειν). For barbarism and solecism see Pagani in this volume.

110 Ed. Gaisford [1842]. See Alpers [2004] 35–36.

111 Robins [1993] 125–127, and 130–138 for examples. On Choeroboscus’ work in general, with examples, see Wilson [1996²] 69–74; Dickey [2007] 80–81.

112 *Epim. Ps.* 160.29–35 Gaisf. (whence *Etym. Gud.* 481.16 Stef.)

move” (*kinein*) and “to shake” (*neustazein*)? The words are different, but the meaning is identical, for *kinein* and *neustazein* mean the same thing, as in Homer “shaking his mighty helmet”, and “Judas shaking his head”.

Being a *pièce de résistance* of the school system, epimerisms were a very popular genre in Byzantine grammar, and were practiced in schools down to the age of Planudes and Moschopoulos. Those attributed by manuscripts to Herodian are demonstrably a Byzantine product, perhaps as late as the 12th century,¹¹³ but epimerisms to Homer represent an undoubtedly ancient practice, already attested as early as the 2nd century AD.¹¹⁴ The collection of *Epimerismi Homerici* handed down to us in Byzantine manuscripts has been plausibly ascribed to Choeroboscus himself, and it might in fact represent his greatest scholarly achievement in the field of pagan literature.¹¹⁵ Due to the plurality of its sources (from Herodian to Cyril, from Philoxenus to Michael Syncellus), and the consequent variety of its approaches (one finds quotations of Sophron and Callimachus, of Gregory of Nazianzus and the Old Testament), this collection represents an invaluable source of fragments documenting the evolution of Homeric and grammatical scholarship from Apion to Herodian to Theognostus, as well as a very influential tool for the great etymological lexica produced between the 9th and the 10th century.¹¹⁶ Originally arranged as the grammatical parsing of each word along the order of the *Iliad*'s lines, these epimerisms were soon reshuffled into a bulky alphabetical ‘lexicon’ (the so-called *Epimerismi alphabetici*),¹¹⁷ much in the same way as (some time between the late 9th and the early 10th century) a special dictionary known from its first item (αἰμωδεῖν) arose out of a combination of epimerisms from Byzantine historians (Procopius, Agathias, Menander and Theophylactus Simocatta) with glosses and epimerisms to Homer.¹¹⁸

The other important scholar of this age, Ignatius the Deacon (ca. 770–ca. 845), was not only a very artificial writer (his letters bulge with references to Homer and Euripides: see *e.g. epist.* 32, 36, 60 Mango), but also one of the few Byzantines not only to be acquainted with various ancient Greek metres, as

113 Ed. Boissonade [1819].

114 Dyck [1983] 3–5, insisting on the meaning of *epimerismos* as “division of a line into its parts” rather than into the “parts of speech” (or μέρη τοῦ λόγου).

115 Dyck [1983] 5–7 and 35–36; Dyck [1995] 23–24.

116 Dyck [1995] 27–33 and 36–42, cf. also Dickey in this volume.

117 Ed. Dyck [1995] 1–825.

118 Ed. Dyck [1995] 831–1034.

he himself states in the biography of his teacher Tarasius,¹¹⁹ but also to use them in his own poetical activity,¹²⁰ and to show a special sensitivity for Greek tragedy in his trimeters on Biblical subjects and in his paraphrases of Babrius' fables.¹²¹ All this does not necessarily configure him as a first-rate Classical scholar, but his claim to a high rank in the realm of poetry and to the merit of rescuing from oblivion the art of grammar may be at least partly justified.¹²²

The first half of the 9th century is also the common dating of the book on orthography dedicated by a grammarian named Theognostus to emperor Leo, traditionally taken to be Leo V (813–820), although a recent study has made a case for Leo VI (886–912), thus shifting the chronology to the middle of the century.¹²³ The work itself,¹²⁴ with its 1006 *kanones* dealing first with the beginning and body of words (1–142) and then more broadly with their endings (143–1006), has the lexicon of Cyril as one of its main sources, and it declaredly follows the ordering of Herodian's *General prosody*, while emending and restoring some of its items. This *Orthography* thus offers a comprehensive study of Greek grammar going far beyond the mere spelling of words,¹²⁵ which is why it was chosen, together with Choeroboscus' *Orthography*, a treatise *On quantity* (περὶ ποσότητος), and a series of alphabetical epimerisms, as the source of a grammatical *corpus* used by the redactor of the *Etymologicum Genuinum*, and copied *tel quel* in the 10th-century manuscript Bodl. Barocc. 50.¹²⁶

If we turn for a moment to rhetorical studies, their continuity in Byzantium is apparent (in the so-called Dark Ages, writers such as Paul of Aegina and Theophylactus Simocatta display in their works a remarkable familiarity with

119 See Lemerle [1971] 128–129 and Mango [1997] 8 for the relevant passage of the *Life of Tarasius* (p. 69.7–10 Eftymiadis) τῆς μὲν ἐντροφῆσας ἐν ἀκμῇ τῆς νεότητος καὶ μυηθεὶς ἐκ σοῦ τριμέτρων καὶ τετραμέτρων τροχαϊκῶν τε καὶ ἀναπαιστικῶν καὶ ἠρώων ποιημάτων τὰ κράτιστα “The former [*scil.* education] I enjoyed in the prime of my youth when I was initiated by you in the best examples of the trimeter and the tetrameter, both trochaic and anapaestic, and in dactylic verse” (transl. C. Mango).

120 Lauxtermann [2004] 314–318; Speck [2003] n. xii.

121 Lampakis [2001]; Browning [1968].

122 *Greek Anthology* 15.39.2–3 “This is the work of Ignatius, who brought to light the art / of grammar, buried in the depths of oblivion” (Ἰγνάτιος τάδε τεύξεν, ὃς ἐς φάος ἤγαγε τέχνην / γραμματικὴν λήθης κευθομένην πελάγει).

123 Antonopoulou [2010].

124 Ed. Cramer, *An. Ox.* II [1835] 1–165, but see above all the partial edition by Alpers [1964].

125 See Alpers [2004] 29–31, and particularly Theognostus' dedicatory epistle (Alpers [1964] p. 69.4–10).

126 On the *corpus*, see Reitzenstein [1897] 192–93 and Alpers [1964] 23–24. On the glorious Bodl. Barocc. 50, known to Bentley, Villoison, and Ritschl, see Ronconi [2007] 91–131.

the principles of artistic prose), though often hard to trace in detail due to the lack of primary witnesses and the physiological, continuous replacement of handbooks and treatises. As a matter of fact, the first scientific writing on this subject after Late Antiquity is a commentary on Aphthonius' *Progymnasmata* by John the archbishop of Sardis (first half of the 9th century),¹²⁷ Aphthonius being the major schoolbook of rhetorical training throughout the Byzantine era.¹²⁸ Based on a series of earlier treatises (from David's commentary on Porphyry down to Sopater's own *progymnasmata*), this work not only attests to the continuity of rhetorical teaching throughout the Dark Ages and early Macedonian period, but it was also to provide fruitful reading for rhetors of the later Byzantine age.¹²⁹ John of Sardis' definition of myth, for instance, may depend on Sopater, but it also undoubtedly displays a certain originality.¹³⁰

καί φαμεν, ὅτι τοῦ μύθου δύο εἶδη· τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν ἀλληγορικόν, τὸ δὲ πολιτικόν· καὶ ἀλληγορικόν μὲν ἐστὶν, ὅταν ἄλλην ἔχη τὴν φαινομένην πλάσιν, ἄλλο δὲ ἀγορεύειν δοκῆ, ὡς οἱ παρ' Ὀμήρῳ πεπλασμένοι οἶον “Ξανθῆς δὲ κόμης ἔλε Πηλείωνα” (A 197)· τὸν γὰρ νοῦν ἀντὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς αἰνίττεται ὁ μῦθος. καὶ οἱ ποιητικοὶ δὲ μῦθοι τοιοῦτοι τὴν φύσιν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον, διὸ καὶ ἀσυντελεῖς εἰσιν εἰς τὴν ῥητορικὴν, τῷ μέντοι τυγχάνειν οὐσιώδεις τὸ ψεῦδος αὐτῶν εἶναι γε μῦθοι πιστεύονται· οὐκοῦν οἱ ἀλληγορικοὶ τῶν ῥητόρων ἀλλότριοι. τῶν δὲ πολιτικῶν μύθων οἱ μὲν εἰσιν πλαστικοί, οἱ δὲ ἱστορικοί· καὶ πλαστοὶ μὲν λέγονται οἱ τῆς ἐν αὐτοῖς πλάσεως πολλὴν τὴν αἴσθησιν παρεχόμενοι, ὡς ὁ τοῦ γηράσαντος λέοντος καὶ ὑποκρινομένου τὴν νόσον ἢ ὁ τοῦ ἵππου καὶ τῆς χελώνης· ἢ γὰρ πλάσις τούτων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων εὐαίσθητος. ἱστορικοὶ δὲ εἰσιν οἱ δοκοῦντες ὡσπερ ἱστορεῖσθαι καὶ ἐωρᾶσθαι γινόμενοι καὶ ἔχοντες μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ ψεῦδος ὁμολογούμενον, τῇ φύσει δὲ τῆς ὕλης τὴν πλαστικὴν ἐναλλάττοντες, ὡς ὁ παρῶν μῦθος καὶ ὁ τῆς κυνὸς τῆς ἀρπασάσης τὸ κρέας καὶ ὡς ὁ τοῦ ἱξευτοῦ τοῦ ἐξαπατηθέντος ὑπὸ τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ τέττιγος· οἱ γὰρ τοιοῦτοι ἐξ ἐπιπολῆς ὡσπερ εἰπεῖν ἀληθείας δόκησιν παρεχόμενοι τὸ ψεῦδος τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐπικρύπτουσιν.

We say that there are two kinds of myth: one is allegorical, the other political. Allegorical myth is when its outer appearance is different from

127 Ed. Rabe [1928], see xvi–xix for the context of this work.

128 On Byzantine rhetorical instruction in general, and the role of Aphthonius in particular, see Hunger [1978] 75–120; Kustas [1972] 5–26; Conley [1986]; Constantinides [2003]; Kraus [2013]; Valiavitcharska [2013].

129 See most recently Pontani [2014].

130 pp. 10.3–11.3 Rabe.

the message it conveys, like the myths fashioned by Homer, “she seized the Peliad by his blond hair” (for in myth, Athena means the mind). The myths of the poets are mostly of this nature, wherefore they are useless for rhetoric, and because their falsehood is substantial they are believed to be myths: allegorical myths are thus alien to rhetors. Political myths are subdivided into invented and historical ones: invented myths give a clear sense of their invention, like the myth of the old lion pretending to be ill or that of the horse and the tortoise: that these and similar myths are invented is easy to perceive. Historical myths are those that seem to have been found by searching and then seen in their development, and have their declared share of falsehood, but which, on account of the nature of their subject, resemble sculpture, like the present myth, and that of the dog seizing the meat, or of the bird-hunter deceived by the verse of the cicada: such myths, so to say, procure superficially an expectation of truth, while concealing the falsehood they contain.

1.4 *Iconoclasm*

The most important cultural phenomenon in the period under review is doubtless the battle against the holy images known as iconoclasm, a theological and ideological movement stretching from the late 7th century well into the 9th.¹³¹ Due to the lack of reliable sources, different views have been taken concerning the impact of iconoclasm on the transmission of books and particularly of Classical culture:¹³² we now incline to believe that this impact must have been rather modest, for while the iconoclasts were ready to destroy illuminated Bibles and patristic books, the iconodules, in their orthodoxy, showed an even greater hostility towards paganism and ancient culture. We also have to reckon with the consequences of propaganda: major episodes such as the action of setting fire to the *oikoumenikon didaskaleion*, allegedly perpetrated by the initiator of iconoclasm Leo III Isaurikos in 726, are probably the fruit of iconophile propaganda rather than of historical truth.¹³³

In fact, important grammarians and experts in ancient Greek language and literature, such as the aforementioned Theognostus (perhaps a Sicilian) and Choeroboscus, were trained under iconoclastic emperors, and it seems that this did not adversely affect their instruction; the same can be said for Theodore Stoudites (759–826) and the organisation of the Stoudios

131 See lately Brubaker [2012].

132 See in general Auzépy [2004].

133 John Zonaras, *Epitome* 15.3 (pp. 341.17–25 Dind.), with Speck [1974a] 74–90 and Lemerle [1971] 89–94.

monastery in Constantinople. Quite the contrary: the evidence of hagiographies down to the early 9th century suggests that education continued to follow a bipartite curriculum, consisting of an elementary *propaideia* (focusing on psalms and hymns) and of a more restricted, and far less common, *paideia* (grammar, rhetoric, philosophy, dialectic etc., with regular combination of Christian and pagan authors), in a line of continuity with respect to earlier ages¹³⁴ and without too negative a thrust in comparison with the ensuing so-called 'Macedonian Renaissance' (see below § 2.1).¹³⁵

Debates on texts and their status predictably flourished in iconoclastic times: as we have seen above (§ 1.3), the 7th oecumenical Council of Nicaea (787) implied discussions about forgeries, faithful and unfaithful copies, and even details of book production. In the second and final phase of iconoclasm, emperor Theophilus (829–842) resorted to a full collation of the available copies of Isaiah in order to establish the correct reading of a debated passage.¹³⁶

τοῦ δὲ μακαρίου Θεοφάνους ῥήσιν τινα ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Ἡσαΐου προσάγοντος προφητείας, οὐκ ἔχειν οὕτως ταύτην ὁ Θεόφιλος ἀντέλεγεν, καὶ ἅμα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ βίβλον ἀνελίττων ἐδείκνυε τοὺς λόγους πιστούς. Ὡς δὲ νενοθεῦσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ οὐ ταύτην δὴ μόνον ὁ ἅγιος ἐπεβόα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσας τὰς εἰς αὐτοῦ χεῖρα βιβλους ἐλληλακυίας, ἐκείνην ἔλεγε προστιθεὶς τὴν βίβλον ἰέναι πρὸς αὐτὸν τὴν κατὰ τὴν πατριαρχικὴν ἐν τῷ Θωμαίτῃ κατὰ τήνδε τὴν θέσιν κειμένην βιβλιοθήκην εἰς τῶν λεγομένων βεβαίωσιν.

When blessed Theophanes adduced a quotation from the prophecy of Isaiah, Theophilus answered that the text was not correct, and looking it up in his own Bible he pointed at the right reading. When the holy man complained that not only had that prophecy been altered by him, but that all the other books that had come in his hands had been as well, he added the order to fetch the book that lay in a certain place in the patriarchal library in the Thomaites, so that the wording might be verified.

Theophilus, the last iconoclastic emperor, had been trained in his youth by John the Grammarian (born ca. 770), who later became a patriarch and suffered confinement upon Theophilus' death in 842. John had been one of the

134 Lemerle [1971] 97–104; Moffatt [1977].

135 Moffatt [1979].

136 Theophanes Continuatus *Chronicle* 3.14 Bekker.

most highly regarded scholars of the first half of the 9th century,¹³⁷ and in 814 he had promoted on behalf of Leo v a famous hunt for ancient manuscripts in churches and monasteries,¹³⁸ aiming at the discovery of ecclesiastical and patristic texts rather than of pagan literature.¹³⁹ A bibliophile and a reader of pagan authors, John was criticised by the learned monk Theodore Stoudites for being a new Pythagoras or a new Plato, a charge that is partly understandable in the light of his interests in pagan philosophy, magic, and poetry.¹⁴⁰

It is plausible, albeit impossible to demonstrate, that he may have promoted an ambitious lexicographical compilation, largely derived from the so-called lexicon of Cyril, other sources including the D-scholia to Homer, the glosses of Apollonius Sophista's Homeric lexicon, and Atticist glosses to historians (Thucydides, Xenophon, Arrian, Dio Cassius), orators (Demosthenes, Aeschines etc.) and philosophers (Plato, Aristotle). This dictionary, which proved highly influential in the coming centuries for the lexica of Photius and Suidas, is known as the *Synagoge lexeon chresimon* and was transmitted above all by the 10th-century ms. Par. Coisl. 347, and—in an enlarged version that took onboard further Atticist glosses from Harpocration, Phrynichus, Aelius Dionysius, Pausanias, Orus—in ms. Par. Coisl. 345.¹⁴¹

1.5 *Transliteration*

The name of John the Grammarian has sometimes been connected, though without any firm basis, with one of the most important developments in the history of Greek texts, which occurred between the last decades of the 8th century and the first decades of the 9th: namely, transliteration. The technical evolution of Greek handwriting from majuscule into minuscule is of uncertain origin and debated chronology, but it certainly affected in a decisive manner not only the layout of the individual codices, but above all the chances of survival of ancient Greek texts.¹⁴² Although a recent, provocative study has attempted to trace the genealogy of minuscule script back to the standard of Byzantine notaries from as early as the 6th century,¹⁴³ a scientifically more

137 Lemerle [1971] 135–146.

138 *scriptor incertus*, p. 350.6–8 Bekker (τοῦ ψηλαφήσει τὰ ἀπανταχοῦ παλαιὰ βιβλία, ἅπερ ἀπόκεινται εἰς τὰ μοναστήρια καὶ εἰς τὰς ἐκκλησίας).

139 Alexander [1958]; Treadgold [1984] 80.

140 See Alpers [1988] 354–358 on John's pagan learning, as praised by contemporary sources.

141 See the edition (with detailed introduction) by Cunningham [2003].

142 Lemerle [1971] 112–121.

143 Luzzatto [2002–2003].

acceptable view identifies the origin of the minuscule in 7th- and 8th-century acts and documents of the imperial and patriarchal chanceries.¹⁴⁴

The calligraphic evolution of this minuscule as a book script¹⁴⁵ has often been connected with the monastery of Stoudios in Constantinople, apparently the place of origin of the first dated minuscule codex (the famous Uspenskij Gospel Book of 835, ms. Petrop. GPB gr. 219), as well as of other, early books in the new handwriting (Leid. BPG 78; Laur. 28.18).¹⁴⁶ The astronomical content of the latter books reminds one of the well-known ms. Vat. Gr. 1291 of Ptolemy's *Handy Tables*, a richly illuminated codex which has been dated to the late 8th or more realistically shortly after 811, but is still written in uncial letters.¹⁴⁷ Now, the proof of a pivotal role of Stoudios in the transliteration movement is admittedly thin, but we do know that in the rules of the monastery in question the work of scribes was very strictly organised, with fines and punishments for those who committed mistakes in matters of punctuation or accents, for those who broke their pen out of rage or irritation, for those who followed their *dictée intérieure* rather than the manuscript's text, and for those who dared interpolate something in the text they were copying.¹⁴⁸

The advantages of the new script, smaller and faster than the majuscule, are evident in terms of space-saving and practicality, and particularly, due to the more systematic presence of reading aids such as accents, spirits and punctuation marks, in terms of reader-friendliness: this explains its comparatively fast spread throughout the empire, with the majuscule remaining confined to ecclesiastical or liturgical books, such as the famous book of Ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite (now Par. Gr. 437) offered by the Byzantine ambassadors of emperor Michael II to king Louis le Pieux in Compiègne in 827, and thereupon exhibited to public veneration in the abbey of St. Denis. This official

144 A unique example of this evolution is P^Vindob G 3, whose handwriting reproduces the writing standard of 681: De Gregorio-Kresten [2009] 339–344.

145 See esp. De Gregorio [2000a]; Mazzucchi [1991].

146 Fonkić [1980–1982]; Perria [1997].

147 Janz [2003] vs. Brubaker-Haldon [2011] 37–40.

148 *Monastic penalties* 53–60 (PG 99.1740) see esp. 55: ἐάν τις ἐκστηθήσει ἐκ τῶν γεγραμμένων τοῦ ἐξ οὗ γράφει βιβλίου, ἀφοριζέσθω ἡμέρας γ' "if someone learns by heart what is written in the book from which he is copying, let him be relegated for three days"; and 56: εἴ τις πλέον τῶν γεγραμμένων ἀναγνώσει ἐξ οὗ γράφει βιβλίου, ξηροφαγείτω "if someone reads more than what is written in the book from which he is copying, let him eat dry food". These rules probably do not stem from Theodore himself but certainly reflect his views: Leroy [1958] 210–212. See in general Lemerle [1971] 121–128; Cholij [2002] esp. 31–33; Eleopoulos [1967].

ecclesiastical use may be one of the reasons why this script was adopted by Cyril and Methodius, the apostles of the Slavs, when shaping a new alphabet.¹⁴⁹

On the other hand, the once fashionable idea that most Greek texts must have undergone no more than one transliteration in the course of their history, and that every *stemma codicum* should eventually lead to a single 9th-century archetype of the entire *paradosis*, is no more than a scholarly myth with little firm basis in either historical evidence or common sense. However complicated the transliteration process may have been, due to the plurality of libraries and of Greek-speaking cultural centres in the entire Mediterranean area, copies of texts in majuscule script certainly survived for a long time, and the switching from one handwriting to the other must have been a more plural, multifaceted, and at times also slow and belated process.¹⁵⁰

2 From the Byzantine Revival to the Age of Encyclopedism

2.1 General

Several recent studies have warned against considering Byzantine culture along the parameters of “renaissances” (or indeed “humanisms”) and subsequent “dark ages”: not only do these terms anachronistically refer by way of an ambiguous comparison to a unique experience—the Italian Quattrocento—belonging to a totally different time and place, but above all they obfuscate the substantial, if uneven, continuity of Classical instruction in the educational process of all Byzantine elites.¹⁵¹ Ancient Greek authors may have experienced various degrees of popularity among the members of the educated class, but they never disappeared altogether, nor did they cease to be, if in varying degrees, a primary component of the Greek identity. Therefore, when we talk about ‘revivals’ we reject all ideas of a ‘new beginning’, and simply adopt this terminology in order to highlight historical moments in which a higher number of scholars devoted their efforts to the production and study of books and texts, often in the wake of a special increase in educational policies and cultural investments.¹⁵²

In particular, the Byzantine Renaissance of the 9th century has been authoritatively described as the moment when the Romans of the East started to

149 Cavallo [1977]; Berschin [1980] 145–147.

150 Ronconi [2003] 7–39.

151 Treadgold [1984] 76 “If humanism simply means reading and understanding Greek literature of the classical period, humanism had never died out at Byzantium”; Irigoin [1980].

152 Ševčenko [1975] 19.

peruse and exploit the ancient Greek heritage in the view of their own identitarian needs.¹⁵³ This, however, does not necessarily imply that we believe in the existence or the creation of an imperial academy or a patriarchal school, two institutions whose role has too often been taken for granted on a very slight basis: the latter is not positively attested until the early 12th century;¹⁵⁴ as for the former, we only know that some time in the second quarter of the century emperor Theophilus granted a room for teaching at the church of the Forty Martyrs to Leo the Philosopher (or the Mathematician, ca. 790–post 869), the cousin of John the Grammarian.¹⁵⁵ Leo, who was later promoted to the archbishopric of Thessalonica, had apparently studied at Andros in his youth,¹⁵⁶ and before being appointed by the emperor he taught privately in Constantinople: thanks to his deep knowledge of astronomy and astrology he won the admiration of the Arab caliph Al-Mamun, who apparently invited him to come and teach in Baghdad.¹⁵⁷ A much-debated passage of Theophanes Continuatus relates that some time between 843 and 855–856 the *kaisar* Bardas—a high-ranking civil servant, who dominated the political scene of Byzantium around the middle of the century—created a new school, directed by Leo himself, in which the *ἔξω σοφία*, the pagan learning, finally revived after decades of silence:¹⁵⁸

τότε δὲ τῆς ἔξω σοφίας ἐπιμεληθεῖς (καὶ γὰρ ἦν τῷ τοσοῦτῳ χρόνῳ παραρρυσταὶ καὶ πρὸς τὸ μηδὲν ὄλως κεχωρηκυῖα τῇ τῶν κρατησάντων ἀγροικία καὶ ἀμαθία) καὶ διατριβάς τῶν μαθηματικῶν κατὰ Μαγναύραν ποιήσας αὐθις ἀκμάζειν καὶ ἀνηβᾶν αὐτήν ἐσπούδαζέ τε καὶ πεφιλοτίμητο.

Then he [*scil.* Bardas] took charge of pagan learning, which after such a long time had fallen in decay and boiled down almost to nothing due to the ignorance and boorishness of the people in power: establishing a school of science close to the Magnaura, he made ambitious efforts in order to reinvigorate that learning and make it flourish again.

Whether Bardas' initiative was simply the refurbishing of Theophilus' academy by a powerful minister in search of personal prestige, or the creation of

153 Speck [2000].

154 Beck [1966]; Browning [1962–1963]; Cavallo [2002a] 169–170.

155 On him, see Lemerle [1971] 148–176.

156 But see Angelidi [1998].

157 For the anecdote, see Lemerle [1971] 150–154; Speck [1974a] 1–4. But contrast the skepticism of Gutas [1998] 180.

158 Theoph. Cont. 4.26, p. 185.2–7 Bekker.

a totally new institution by public initiative,¹⁵⁹ remains unclear; in much the same way, we have no knowledge of the precise link of this school with the imperial palace of the Magnaura, next to which (or “in which”?) it appears to have been established. The four teachers appointed were Leo himself for philosophy, the otherwise little known Theodore and Theodegius for geometry and astronomy respectively, and a man named Cometas for grammar, “which makes words soundly Greek”.¹⁶⁰ This must be the same Cometas mentioned in some epigrams of the *Greek Anthology* (15.36–38) as the promoter of a ‘rejuvenation’ and transcription of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.¹⁶¹

εὐρών Κομητᾶς τὰς Ὀμηρείους βίβλους
 ἐφθαρμένας τε κοῦδαμῶς ἐστιγμένας,
 στίξας διεσμίλευσα ταύτας ἐντέχνως
 τὴν σαπρίαν ῥύψας μὲν ὡς ἀχρησίαν,
 γράψας <δ’> ἐκαινούργησα τὴν εὐχρησίαν.
 ἐντεῦθεν οἱ γράφοντες οὐκ ἐσφαλμένως
 μαθητιῶσιν ὡς ἔοικε μανθάνειν.

I, Cometas, finding the books of Homer
 corrupt and quite unpunctuated,
 punctuated them and polished them artistically,
 throwing away the filth as being useless,
 and with my hand I rejuvenated what was useful.
 Hence writers now desire to learn them
 not erroneously, but as is proper. [transl. W. Paton]

This epigram has been variously interpreted by modern scholars as referring to a mere practice of punctuation and transcription,¹⁶² a complex and systematic work of transliteration,¹⁶³ or a philologically refined edition of the poem.¹⁶⁴

159 These are by and large the opposing views of Speck [1974a] and Lemerle [1971]. A fresh look on these topics will be provided by the proceedings of the conference *À la suite de Paul Lemerle*, organised by J.-C. Cheynet and B. Flusin in Paris in October 2013.

160 Theoph. Cont. 4.29, p. 192.16–20 Bekker τῆς κατὰ τὴν Μαγναύραν μὲν οὗτος [*scil.* ὁ Λέων] ἤρχε φιλοσόφου σχολῆς, ὁ δὲ δὴ τούτου φοιτητῆς Θεόδωρος τοῦ τῆς γεωμετρίας διαιτητηρίου προΐστατο, καὶ Θεοδῆγιος τοῦ τῆς ἀστρονομίας, καὶ Κομητᾶς τῆς τὰς φωνὰς ἐξελληνιζούσης γραμματικῆς.

161 *Greek Anthology* 15.38.

162 Lemerle [1971] 166–167.

163 Cortassa [1997a].

164 See the different opinions in Ronconi [2003] 56–59.

In any case, it is hard to think that this sort of textual scholarship should have remained without some kind of relationship with the new philological *facies* of the *Iliad* and its scholia as we perceive it from the archetype *a*, the direct ancestor of the glorious ms. Venetus A (Marc. Gr. 454).¹⁶⁵

Whatever the implications of Cometás' activity, two issues remain open: first of all, behind the four subjects taught at the Magnaura we can hardly discern the shape of a consistent curriculum;¹⁶⁶ secondly, there is no evidence that this school should be regarded as having been a public institution rather than an elitarian system of education with no legal profile and no official recognition.¹⁶⁷

The director, Leo the Philosopher, whether or not he had among his pupils Constantine/Cyril the apostle of the Slavs,¹⁶⁸ is known for a high-brow scholarly activity that is difficult to reconcile with his teaching at the Magnaura, for he devoted his efforts to various authors of philosophy, *e.g.* emending Plato's *Laws* up to 5.743b (as we learn from a note preserved in three Platonic manuscripts, among which the venerable Vat. Gr. 1 and Par. Gr. 1807, once attributed to Arethas' patronage)¹⁶⁹ and writing an epigram on Aristotle's *Categories*.¹⁷⁰ Epigrams in the *Greek Anthology* also inform us that copies of such disparate and demanding authors as Apollonius of Perga, Proclus, Theon, Euclid, Archimedes, Ptolemy all featured in his library: he might have indeed owned or made a copy of Vat. Gr. 1594 of the *Almagest*, and he certainly commissioned the earliest Byzantine recension of Archimedes, as we gather from colophons in mss. Laur. 28.4 and Par. Gr. 2360;¹⁷¹ his studies of profane authors, which included even a novel such as *Leucippe and Clitophon* (*Greek Anthology* 9.203), earned him the lively and stern reproach of Constantine the Sicilian¹⁷² in a famous epigram condemning his proclivity to pagan deities, philosophers and attitudes.

Leo, also nicknamed "Hellen",¹⁷³ represents a good example of a wider trend in Byzantine culture and scholarship, one we will encounter often from now

165 Alpers [1989] 257; Pontani [2005b] 143 and 148–149.

166 Fuchs [1926] 18–20 vainly attempted to detect a syllabus consisting of grammar, ancient poets, rhetoric, dialectic, arithmetic and geometry and astronomy.

167 Speck [1974a] 6–8 and 14–21.

168 Dvornik [1933] 349–380, with Lemerle [1971] 160–165.

169 Lemerle [1971] 167–169 and 214–215. Saffrey [2007].

170 Magnelli [2004].

171 Wilson [1996²] 83–84.

172 Rather than Constantine/Cyril of the Slavs, as Spadaro [1971] maintains: see Lemerle [1971] 172–176 and Cameron [1993] 245–253.

173 See the lemma of the epigram *Gr. Anth.* 15.12, a text that shows Leo's familiarity with allegorical readings of Homer: see Westerink [1986].

on, and more so in later periods of enhanced scholarly activity: rather than (and sometimes along with) public teaching or institutionalised curricula, the element that fuelled the recovery and the study of classical authors throughout the Middle Ages was the constant activity of individual members of the cultivated elite who had received secondary education, a very restricted group often assessed at no more than 300 people altogether¹⁷⁴—as opposed to a situation of relatively wide literacy at an elementary level.¹⁷⁵ These people often gathered in groups of two, three, or more, and joined their efforts in reading, discussing, interpreting ancient pagan or christian texts, in a sense continuing the late antique practice that had come to an abrupt end in the Latin West.¹⁷⁶ It is thus thanks to these “literary salons and coteries”, to these learned gatherings of educated civil servants, ministers, officers, metropolitans, priests, teachers and amateurs, that many ancient texts carved their way out of the Dark Ages.¹⁷⁷ This said, we should never forget that even the scholars who were most keen on the study of pagan books exercised themselves even more often on Christian texts, namely those which displayed a more immediate and evident *opheleia* (usefulness) for everyday life and ethics:¹⁷⁸ this is confirmed, *inter alia*, by the sheer number of pagan authors to be found in book-lists of the Byzantine period.¹⁷⁹

2.2 *Photius*

One of the members of the cultivated elite, and doubtless one of the most remarkable men of learning in the entire Byzantine age, is Photius (ca. 810–893): perhaps a pupil of Leo the Philosopher, perhaps himself a private teacher for a short while,¹⁸⁰ he was a high-ranking civil servant, first as a *protasekretis*,¹⁸¹ later switching to the ecclesiastical career and becoming patriarch of Constantinople (he held this post twice, in 858–867 and in 878–886), and the man who tried to bring about the radical schism with the Roman Church by attacking and refuting the authority of the Pope (863–867). Some modern critics have regarded Photius as the first outstanding representative of

174 This was the estimate of Lemerle [1971] 257; Treadgold [1984] 81; but see Markopoulos [2006] 86–87.

175 M. Jeffreys [2008]; Cavallo [2007a]; Mango [1975] 4–5.

176 Cavallo [2003]; Bianconi [2008a].

177 Cavallo [2002b] 432–440 and [2010].

178 Cavallo [2002b] 441; Maltese [2003].

179 Bompaire [1979]; Wilson [1980] 285–294 and 300–303.

180 Fuchs [1926] 21.

181 Lemerle [1971] 183–185.

the so-called ‘Christian humanism’, namely an intellectual trend, stretching from John the Damascene to George of Cyprus, from Theodore Metochites to Bessarion, consisting in profound familiarity not only with pagan Greek literature but also with the methods of its study and with its epistemological dimension—in a word, the concretisation of the old idea of the Church Fathers that the knowledge of letters should be devoted solely to the pursuit of the divine word, according to the criterion of *opheleia*.¹⁸² Whether or not this definition applies to Photius, or rather to other, less ‘ecclesiastical’ figures such as John the Grammarian and Leo the Philosopher,¹⁸³ the scholarly output of this man is remarkable, and will be considered here only in its broader outlines.

In his youth, Photius spent some time compiling a *Lexicon*, whose edition is now almost completed, after the happy discovery in 1959 of a new, much fuller manuscript preserved in the monastery of Zavorda in northern Greece. The *Lexicon* is by no means an original work, for it derives most of its lemmas from the enlarged recension of the *Synagoge lexicon chresimon* (see above § 1.4), and from rhetorical lexica and Atticist works (Harpocration, Phrynichus, Aelius Dionysius, Pausanias, Boethus, Antiatticista):¹⁸⁴ Photius’ outspoken taste for the fragments of Attic comedy and for Atticist glosses in general makes us think that this work was meant as a tool for prospective writers of good Atticist prose, rather than as a help in reading classical works. To be sure, if the boom of lexicography in the 9th century may well be connected with the ongoing revival of classical authors,¹⁸⁵ Photius’ case should be contextualised in the frame of rhetorical and linguistic training, particularly in the appropriation of the sources’ linguistic standard for Byzantium’s learned elite,¹⁸⁶ rather than in the light of an alleged ‘humanistic’ attitude. This is partly what Photius himself alludes to when recalling in a later work the genesis of his own lexicon:¹⁸⁷

καὶ πολὺστιχον ἂν τις ἀπαρτίσῃ βιβλόν, οὐκ ἔάν ποθεν τὰς πολυσήμους φωνὰς ἀπάσας περιλαβεῖν ἐθελήσοι (ἐργῶδες τε γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ πλησίον τῶν ἀνεφίκτων), ἀλλ’ ἔάν εἰς ἓν συναγαγεῖν βουλευθεῖν τὰς ἐπὶ πλέον τῶν ἄλλων συνήθειαι καὶ τοῖς λόγοις μᾶλλον ἐπιπολαζούσας· οἶα δὴ καὶ ἡμῖν ἐπράχθη τὴν τῶν μερακίων ἡλικίαν, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς οἶσθα, παραλλάττουσι...

182 On this ideal, see Podskalsky [2003]; Fryde [2000], 11–13; Bossina [2003].

183 Different views are held on this *e.g.* by Wilson [1996²] and Alpers [1988].

184 Theodoridis I [1982] lxxii–lxxvi.

185 Tosi [2007].

186 Matthaios [2010a] 193–197.

187 *Amphilochia* 21.132–36 Westerink.

One would compile a long book, not only if one wished to embrace all the polysemic words (a laborious task, next to impossible), but even if one wished to collect in one place the most common of them, those surfacing more often in literature: precisely this I did, as you know, when I was quitting the age of childhood.

Photius' most ambitious (if partially unsuccessful)¹⁸⁸ achievement is the collection of 280 'book-reviews' of different literary texts known as *Myriobiblos* or *Bibliotheca*.¹⁸⁹ We will refrain from entering here the long-standing debate on the reliability of the prefatory letter to this work, in which Photius informs his brother Tarasius, the dedicatee, that he had written it before leaving Constantinople on an embassy to Baghdad, as a sort of *pro-memoria* of the books they had not been able to read together. The reference to the embassy has led scholars to date the work either to 838 or to 855, with the latter date proving more likely,¹⁹⁰ but what can be gleaned from Photius' words, and from the very shape of his work, is that the *Bibliotheca* grew out of a 'reading circle'¹⁹¹ devoted to the study of relatively uncommon prose writers (which is why the most obvious authors consecrated by school curricula are not considered, with the sole exception of Demosthenes in *codex* 265). The group probably had at its disposal a remarkable wealth of rare books, whether they belonged to Photius' personal library or to the library of the Imperial Palace.¹⁹² The entire question of the composition of the *Bibliotheca* will have to be studied afresh after the recent reappraisal of its most important manuscript witness, namely Marc. Gr. 450,¹⁹³ as the palaeographical and philological evidence strongly suggests that this very manuscript is the master copy on which the work was first put together from Photius' scattered notes and *schedaria*: if so, this implies that—especially in the latter part—we are in fact dealing with a sort of work-in-progress, extending well into the 870s.

More important to our ends are two other basic issues: the choice of the authors discussed, and the typology of Photius' approach. The predominance

188 In the list of manuscripts provided by Eleuteri [2000], just three antedate the 15th century.

189 Lemerle [1971] 189–196; Ziegler [1941]; Wilson [1996²] 93–114; Wilson [2002].

190 Markopoulos [2004] no. xii.

191 Canfora [1998].

192 Another hypothesis has it that a special lot of books arrived from Alexandria, which would perhaps explain the prominence of Egyptian authors, and the very form of the introductory letter, modelled on Aristeeas' narration about the translation of the Septuagint: Canfora [1995] 38–58.

193 Ronconi [2012a]. See on the topic Canfora [1995] 30–43.

of theology (with special emphasis on haeretical works), and in general of Christian works (158) over profane ones (122) chimes in with what we have just said about the interests and background of the educated Byzantine elite: “what Photius and other Byzantines lacked is a preconception that Greek works written before Alexander the Great were inevitably superior to later ones”.¹⁹⁴ It should be noted that among the works discussed there also figure council acts, a genre whose popularity among Byzantine scholars we have already illustrated (above § 1.3). As for profane authors, the total absence of poets—matched by the relative paucity of surviving manuscripts—should not be explained as a sign of general neglect for poetry in the 9th century, but rather as the peculiar choice of the compiler. Clearly, Photius’ heart beat for historiography, and particularly for imperial historiography, from Appian to Herodian and beyond (Herodotus, summarised in the very brief codex 60, and Thucydides, absent altogether, were neither familiar nor edifying authors for the public of the *Rhomaioi*),¹⁹⁵ with some curious preferences (Memnon’s history of Heraclea Pontica is awarded an extremely long and detailed résumé in *codex 224*), and the addition of paradoxographers, mythographers and fantastic tales (*e.g.* Phlegon of Tralles, Conon, Ptolemy Chennus, for all of whom Photius is our main or sole source of information).

Writers on philosophy, mathematics, agriculture and science are also represented, but even less easily compatible authors such as Achilles Tatius (*cod.* 87) or Lucian (*cod.* 128) are included and earn high praise for their style, the command of high-quality Attic being Photius’ fixed ideal throughout the *Bibliotheca*—a substantial part of the codex devoted to Philostratus’ *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* (*cod.* 241) is occupied by a long list of words and expressions worthy of particular attention from the stylistic point of view; and in later *codices* we find lengthy excerpts from orators and rhetors, such as Dio Chrysostom (*cod.* 209), Himerius (*cod.* 243), and Aelius Aristides (*cod.* 246–48). It should be stressed that many of the authors reviewed by Photius are not known to us through direct transmission, indeed several of the historians were, to the best of our knowledge, no longer available to emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus a few decades later. Allowance should be made to the possibility of indirect or imperfect knowledge: one will hesitate, for instance, to believe that the patriarch did actually see a manuscript containing 52 genuine speeches of Hyperides (*cod.* 266), whereas no medieval codex of his survives.¹⁹⁶

194 Treadgold [1984] 96; Schamp [2011] insists on his specific paedagogical project.

195 See *e.g.* Jeffreys [1979]; A. Pontani [1995a] 339–341.

196 With the exception of the folios in the ‘Archimedes palimpsest’: see Easterling [2008].

Let us now turn to the contents: while most of Photius' chapters contain some biographical data on the author,¹⁹⁷ some kind of résumé of the work at issue, and some stylistic observations, three different typologies can be discerned for the pagan works:¹⁹⁸ the short notices (*Kurzreferate*), the analytical notices (with in-depth analysis of the work) and the excerpts (with entire passages from the book at issue—these instances represent an invaluable source for us in the modern age, when the work is lost or poorly attested, *e.g.* in the case of Agatharchides' *On the Erythraean Sea*, or of Conon's stories, or of Proclus' *Chrestomathy*). As mentioned above, stylistic observations creep in more or less overtly, and they relate to both ancient and new categories:¹⁹⁹ this explains for instance the favour accorded to Arrian (*cod.* 91–93) as the *princeps historicorum* and to Aelius Aristides (*cod.* 246–48) as the *princeps oratorum*, as well as the praise bestowed on Plutarch, Philostratus and Damascius; in some cases Photius seems to posit an interrelation between the stylistic qualities and the ethical value of the single authors.²⁰⁰ On the whole, the constant interaction between profane and Christian learning has a bearing on Photius' skilful technique of abridging and evaluating the books he is talking about.²⁰¹

As a representative case, we choose to present a large part of *codex* 164 on Galen's *On sects*, bearing in mind that Galen is one of several medical writers Photius proves familiar with (Oribasius, Aetius, Paul of Aegina etc.).²⁰²

ἀνεγνώσθη Γαληνοῦ περὶ αἰρέσεων. περὶ αἰρέσεων δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἰατρικὴν τὴν σύστασιν ἐσχηκυῖων διαλαμβάνει, καὶ φησι τρεῖς κατ' ἰατρικὴν καθολικὰς αἰρέσεις συστήναι, τὴν τε καλουμένην λογικὴν, ἣν καὶ δογματικὴν ἐπονομάζει ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἀναλογιστικὴν, δευτέραν δὲ τὴν καλουμένην ἐμπειρικὴν, ἥτις καὶ τηρητικὴ καὶ μνημονευτικὴ ἐπικαλεῖται, τρίτην δὲ τὴν μεθοδικὴν . . .

δῆλον δ' ὅτι τὸ βιβλίον τοῦτο τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἰατρικὴν ἀναγνωσμάτων πάντων προτάττεσθαι ὀφείλει, εἴπερ δεῖ μαθεῖν ποῖα πασῶν ἀρίστη αἵρεσις, εἶθ' οὕτω ταύτη κεχρησθαι. εἴη δ' ἂν οὐδὲ κυρίως ἰατρικὸν τὸ βιβλίον ἀλλὰ προοιμίου τόπον ἐπέχον καὶ φιλοσοφία μᾶλλον ἀνακείμενον. δῆλον δ' ὅτι, ὅσα γε ἐπὶ τε λέξει καὶ συντάξει, καθαρὸν ἐστὶ καὶ εὐκρινές. τοῦτων γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐν πᾶσιν ὁ Γαληνὸς φροντιστής, εἰ καὶ ἐν πολλοῖς αὐτοῦ τῶν συγγραμμάτων ἀκαιρολογίας

197 Analysed by Schamp [1987].

198 Hägg [1975]. On the paradigmatic case of Agatharchides, see Marcotte [2001].

199 See Kustas [1962], also on the relationship with Demetrius' *On style* and Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

200 Afinogenov [1995] 339–345; Hägg [1999] on the criteria applied to hagiographic texts.

201 Schamp [2010].

202 *Bibliotheca* 107a–b (II.135–36 Henry).

καὶ παρεκτροπαῖς καὶ τῶ τῶν περιόδων σχοινοτενεῖ φορτίζων τὰ βιβλία συγχεῖ καὶ σκοτοῖ τῶν γεγραμμένων τὸν νοῦν, τὴν τε σύμφρασιν οἰονεὶ διακόπτων, καὶ εἰς ἀκηδῖαν ἄγων διὰ τοῦ μακροῦ λήρου τὸν ἀκροατὴν ὧν τέως τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον ἀπήλλακται.

I have read Galen's *On sects*. It is about the sects that have originated in the art of medicine. He says that three great medical sects have seen the light: the so-called 'logical' one (which he also names 'dogmatic' and 'analogistic'), the so-called 'empirical' one (which is also defined 'observationist' and 'recording'), and thirdly the 'methodical' one . . .

This book must clearly stand before all other readings in the domain of medicine, if one needs to make out which sect is the best, and then follow it. The book itself might not seem to be a book of medicine *stricto sensu*, but it plays the role of a prologue, and belongs rather to philosophy. It is clearly pure and neat as far as style and syntax are concerned, for Galen is always careful in these matters, even if in several of his treatises, by loading the text with infelicitous additions, digressions, and prolix phrasings, he blurs and obscures the meaning of what he writes, interrupting the context, so to speak, and pushing the reader towards indifference through his verbosity: but the present book is free from these faults.

Aside from its paramount importance as an unprecedented collection of pagan and Christian literature, and aside from its relevance for the development of stylistic criticism, the *Bibliotheca* does not stand out as a thorough work of scholarship. Photius does follow his authors when they deal with issues of forgery²⁰³ or debated authorship.²⁰⁴ But that in such a bulky work the references to philology and grammar should be so rare, certifies that these were not Photius' primary areas of interest.

While Photius' letters, through their numerous allusions, display a vast and often unexpected acquaintance with Classical texts ranging from Sophocles

203 See *cod.* 1 on Dionysius the Areopagite; *cod.* 230 and 274; in *cod.* 201 and 219 Photius himself puts forth the issue.

204 In *cod.* 88 a book on the history of the Council of Nicaea is presented as follows: "The name of the author is not given in the title; but in another manuscript of the same text I found the work attributed to Gelasios, bishop of Caesarea in Palestine" οὐ γὰρ ἐγγέγραπτο αὐτῶ ἡ κλήσις τοῦ γράψαντος. ἐν ἄλλῳ μέντοι ἔχοντι τὰ αὐτά, Γελασίου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Καισαρείας τῆς Παλαιστίνης εὗρον τὸ βιβλίον ἐπιγραφόμενον (*Bibl.* 66b 30–33). In *cod.* 77 Photius refers to a double edition of Eunapius which he has found ἐν παλαιοῖς βιβλίοις. See also *cod.* 98 and 111.

to Aristophanes, from Epicharmus to Plato,²⁰⁵ a partly different picture emerges from the collection of problems and solutions called *Amphilochia*, a work belonging to the later part of Photius' career, when his main interest was devoted to theological or philosophical issues, and the space awarded to pagan doctrine was strongly reduced.²⁰⁶ In these shorter essays, Photius' philological sensitivity is particularly attracted to the textual problems of the Bible: the editions of the Old Testament (*Amphil.* 154), the pagan quotations in the Gospels (*Amphil.* 151), the polysemantic words in Greek from Plato to the New Testament (*Amphil.* 21, a long text mentioned above in connection with Photius' lexicon), and above all variant readings such as those elegantly discussed in *Amphil.* 227 (whether the Son was born or simply came into existence according to *1st epistle to the Galatians* 4.4: γενόμενος vs. γεννώμενος) and in *Amphil.* 1. The latter essay deals with the variant ἔκτησεν "possessed" vs. ἔκτισεν "created" in the Septuagint text of *Prov.* 8.22, as well as—in the wake of John Chrysostom's anti-Marcionite polemic—with the question of the correct punctuation of *2nd epistle to the Corinthians* 4.4: these apparently minor, but in fact dogmatically essential variant readings elicit from our author an important statement of principle:²⁰⁷

οὐ μόνον δὲ γράμματος ἐνὸς πρόσθεσις καὶ ἀφαίρεσις οὕτω πολλῶν πραγμάτων καταστροφὴν καὶ ἀλλοίωσιν ἀπεργάζεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τόνου χρῆσις οὐκ εὐκαιρος τό τε ῥῆμα ἀνθ' ἑτέρου, καίτοι τῆς γραφῆς ἀναλλοιώτου μενούσης, παρέδειξεν ἕτερον, καὶ εἰς νόημα παντελῶς ἀλλοτριώτατον τὸν νοῦν ἐκτοπίσασα ἢ δυσσεβῆ δόξαν ἢ γελώμενον λήρον συνήγαγεν. τί δαὶ λέγω γράμματα; ὅπου γε καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ πάντων βραχύτατον, ἢ στιγμὴ, κακουργούμενον ἢ παρορώμενον καὶ τῆς οἰκείας μετατιθέμενον λήξεως, παντοδαπὰς μὲν καὶ μεγάλας αἰρέσεις ἀπέτεκεν . . .

It is not only the addition or subtraction of a single letter that creates wholesale confusion and misrepresentation, but the inexact use of an accent can turn one word into another although the spelling is identical, and can alter the sense to an utterly inappropriate meaning or produce an impious notion or laughable nonsense. Why speak of letters? After all, even the smallest of signs, the mark of punctuation, wrongly used or overlooked or misplaced, creates great haeresy of every kind. [transl. N. G. Wilson]

205 The evidence is collected and discussed by Wilson [1996²] 111–114.

206 Lemerle [1971] 199–202.

207 *Amphil.* 1.742–49 Westerink. See Wilson [1996²] 116–118.

2.3 *Lexicography and Grammar*

When mentioning the *Lexicon* of Photius, we have referred to a wider interest in lexicography during the central decades of the 9th century: the most remarkable outcome of this trend, probably connected in some way with the activity of the Magnaura school, is a bulky etymological dictionary preserved in just two manuscripts (Vat. Gr. 1818, 10th century, and Laur. San Marco 304, copied in 994), but highly influential on later works of this kind.²⁰⁸ I am referring to the so-called *Etymologicum Genuinum*,²⁰⁹ an impressive alphabetical list of terms derived from prose and poetry of all centuries, analysed in their etymology, orthography and meaning, with the help of commentaries to ancient texts, and often with references to non-grammatical sources that may help clarify proper names or historical realities: all this lends to the work the status of an encyclopedia.²¹⁰ While the *Genuinum* is chiefly indebted to Orion's *Etymologikon*, to the enlarged *Synagoge*, and to various other (largely lost) lexicographical predecessors, the level of scholarship displayed by the compilers can be properly assessed only if one takes into account the fact that they evidently had access to a series of commented editions of Homer, Hesiod, Aeschylus, Euripides, Aristophanes, Apollonius Rhodius, Lycophron, Nicander, Theocritus, and various other poets.²¹¹ To the modern scholar, this means that the *Etymologicum Genuinum* represents a source of primary interest not only for the massive amount of ancient learning it displays (including a great number of quotations from lost ancient texts, such as lyric poets or novels),²¹² but also in view of the constitution of both text and scholia to the authors involved (the case of the scholia to the *Iliad* is particularly remarkable, for the compilers had access to the direct ancestor of ms. Venetus A).²¹³ In an historical perspective, this means that even if we do not possess them any longer, poetical manuscripts did circulate in 9th-century Byzantium, and that it is all the less likely that such an ambitious enterprise should have been conceived outside of Constantinople and of a highly developed institutional context of education and research such as the school of Leo the Philosopher.²¹⁴

208 Alpers [1991a] and [1969].

209 Alas still largely unpublished: Lasserre-Livadaras [1976–1992]; Alpers [1969]; Colonna [1967]. Other letters published individually: see Dickey [2007] 92.

210 Alpers [1989].

211 Reitzenstein [1897] 47; Alpers [2001] 203.

212 Calame [1970]; Alpers [1996].

213 Erbse [1960] 128–139.

214 Alpers [1989] esp. 267; Alpers [1988] 347–348.

In the neighbouring field of grammar, it can be added that around the middle of the 9th century, at the request of the bishop of Damietta, Sophronius the patriarch of Alexandria (848–860) drew up a highly abridged version of John Charax's commentary on Theodosius' *Canons* (on which see above § 1.3) trying "to obtain the useful brevity but renouncing a longer discourse, as you thought would be suitable, not by ignorance of the rhetorical means, but rather in the attempt to appear friendly towards beginners";²¹⁵ Sophronius must be the same man who also produced a paraphrasis of the *Iliad*, known to us in the folios of ms. Sinai ΜΓ 26.²¹⁶ The special favour enjoyed by grammatical and linguistic studies throughout this period is proved by the wealth of extant manuscripts dating to the later part of the 9th century: I am particularly referring to the D-scholia to Homer's *Iliad* (Matr. 4626 + Rom. Bibl. Naz. Gr. 6),²¹⁷ to the lexica preserved in mss. Par. Coisl. 347 (see above § 1.3 about the *Synagoge*), and to the Leipzig palimpsest containing an uncial copy of Oros' commentary on Herodian's *General Prosody* (Lips. Gr. 2)²¹⁸—Herodian's work itself is notoriously lost, and only a minuscule copy dated ca. 900 is fragmentarily preserved in ms. Vind. hist. Gr. 10.²¹⁹ It is thus no wonder if around 895 even a learned amateur such as the ambassador and minister Leo Choerosphactes (†ca. 920) was ready to display, in a diplomatic correspondence, the sophistication of his grammatical training, and to take his cue from issues of syntax and punctuation when addressing an official complaint to Symeon the king of Bulgaria about the release of some prisoners:²²⁰

εἴπερ γραμματεῖς καλῶς ἀναγινώσκοντας εἶχες, ἀρχόντων φιλανθρωπότητα, εἴπερ τοῖς στιγμῆν προσήκουσαν ποιούμενοις εὐπόρεις, ἔγνωσ ἄν ἔγνωσ . . .

if you had secretaries capable of reading properly, o most generous of rulers, if you had at your service people capable of punctuating correctly, you would understand . . .

215 Ed. Hilgard [1889–1894] II 375–434 (quotation at 375.15–17: καὶ σύντομον ἐξ αὐτῆς ὠφέλειαν καρπώσασθαι πειράσομαι, τὸ πλάτος δὲ τοῦ λόγου παραιτήσομαι, ἔπερ αὐτός, οὐχ ὡς ῥητορείας ἄπειρος, εἰς τοὺς εἰσαγομένους δὲ μᾶλλον φιλανθρωπευσάμενος, ἐπενόησας).

216 Nicolopoulos [1999] 124–128 and [2003]; Apthorp [1999].

217 Montanari [1979]; Pontani [2005b] 145–147.

218 Alpers [2004] 43–50.

219 Dyck [1993a] 776. Gruškova [2010] 31–41.

220 Strano [2008], epistles 4, 6 and 7 (quotation at 4.2–4); Wilson [1996²] 3–4.

2.4 Manuscripts (9th Century)

The evidence of extant 9th-century manuscripts of ancient Greek authors is controversial: the almost total lack of poetical texts, as we have just seen, does not imply that these texts were not available in Constantinople at the time. Admittedly, the lion's share among extant books is taken by philosophers and technical writers: Aristotle (*e.g.* his ethical works in ms. Laur. 81.11, an *Organon* in ms. Ambr. L 93 sup., and the famous Vind. phil. Gr. 100 carrying *On generation and corruption, On heavens, Physics, Meteorology* and *Metaphysics*),²²¹ Ptolemy (the *Almagest* is preserved in minuscule, Vat. Gr. 1594, and in uncials, Par. Gr. 2389), Dioscorides (Par. Gr. 2179, again in uncials), Euclid (Vat. Gr. 190, the only manuscript preserving the original text without Theon's alterations), astronomical collections (Vat. Gr. 204), astrological poems (Manetho and Maximus in Laur. 28.27), geographers (Heid. Pal. Gr. 398).²²²

The last two manuscripts we have mentioned belong to a special group of 19 extant books that share analogous outer characteristics, scribes and, roughly speaking, contents: they were most probably produced under the same circumstances in mid-9th-century Constantinople, and have been baptised by the name of "philosophical collection". The group includes not only codices of Plato (the venerable Par. Gr. 1807), Proclus, Damascius, Olympiodorus, Philoponus, Albinus, Simplicius, Alexander of Aphrodisia, Dionysius the Areopagite, but also scientific books and particularly a unique and extravagant sylloge of geographers, paradoxographers and epistolographers (ms. Heid. Pal. Gr. 398).²²³ The importance of the "philosophical collection" for the history of textual tradition is at least twofold: on the one hand we owe to it (and to it alone) the survival of most of the extant Neoplatonic commentaries to Plato and Aristotle, as well as of a number of other rare authors, in philologically adequate copies; on the other hand, it shows that 9th-century Constantinople could indeed dispose of (and deem worthy of further transmission) an unexpected wealth of ancient texts.

This is the reason why this codicological enterprise has often been linked with the names of great scholars of this age, from Leo the Philosopher to Photius to Arethas, without any support in textual evidence.²²⁴ The fullest survey of the paleographical evidence²²⁵ has detected the leading role of one of

221 Irigoin [1957].

222 For a survey, see Wilson [1996²] 85–87.

223 Cavallo [2002a] 208–209 and [2007] with earlier bibliography.

224 Ronconi [2007] 33–75, through a detailed study of Heid. Pal. Gr. 398, discusses and rules out all these hypotheses. See also Marcotte [2007].

225 Perria [1991], who also reviews the attributions to known scholars.

the scribes (scribe I), who beside copying various parts of the manuscripts also played the role of coordinator and corrector; however, the identity of this man remains obscure. It has even been suggested, particularly in view of the many Alexandrian authors represented in the collection, that this sylloge of texts (*i.e.* the antigraha of these manuscripts) may have arrived in Constantinople from the Egyptian capital—as we mentioned above (§ 1.2), Stephanus of Alexandria has been credited with the role of mediator. Nowadays there is a tendency to enlarge the scope of the provenance of these codices, renouncing any unitary solution, taking into account the contribution of Palestine, Persia and other peripheral areas of the Greek world, and referring the entire conception of this cultural enterprise to the activity of one or more ‘writing circles’ in 9th-century Constantinople.²²⁶ However, other scholars maintain that at least the core group of these manuscripts must share a common background, that should be confidently traced back to Late Antiquity.²²⁷

The existence of non-professional writing circles, often connected with single personalities or groups of intellectuals, has emerged as a vital factor in 9th- and 10th-century book production, even if—due to the collective nature of the enterprises—these men were less ready to leave a trace of their activity in the form of colophons or subscriptions.²²⁸ One wonders if this may be the origin of other outstanding products of Byzantine scribes of the late 9th century, namely Vat. Urb. Gr. 111 of Isocrates (deriving *recta via* from a late antique edition of the orator)²²⁹ and Par. Gr. 2934 of Demosthenes (famously preserving the text of the decrees and the *martyriai* reported in the trials, and probably coming from a different late antique prototype than the three other independent witnesses, themselves slightly later in date).²³⁰

In Greek-speaking Southern Italy, between the 9th and the 10th century we do not encounter any known scholar or scholarly activity *stricto sensu*,²³¹ nor is the number and quality of Classical manuscripts at all remarkable. What we understand, however, is that Greek lexicography and grammar, along

226 Cavallo [2005]; Ronconi [2008], with a special analysis of Par. Gr. 1962; Ronconi [2013], a radical thesis against the very existence of a “philosophical collection”.

227 See, after Irigoin [1980] 200–204, Rashed [2002], Marcotte [2007], and the forthcoming proceedings of the conference *La collection philosophique face à l'histoire* organised by F. Ronconi and D. Bianconi in Paris, June 2013.

228 Orsini [2005].

229 Pinto [2003] 38–40; Fassino [2013] 28–32.

230 See the essays in Gruškova-Bannert [2014] (particularly E. Gamillscheg, S. Martinelli Tempesta, B. Mondrain, and J. Gruškova).

231 Mazzucchi [2010b] has argued that some form of philological activity must have been performed in Southern Italy on Dio Cassius' Vat. Gr. 1288 and on Homer's *Ilias picta Ambrosiana* (Ambr. F 205 inf.).

with technical disciplines such as rhetoric and medicine, did find readers in Calabria and Sicily, possibly as a mirror of the peculiar interests displayed by the late antique schools of Egypt, Syria and Palestine,²³² but also following to some extent a chain of indigenous transmission.²³³ To narrow down the focus to grammar and lexicography, the circulation of the so-called lexicon of Cyril in Southern Italy is testified very early (see *e.g.* ms. Vallic. E 11); however, it seems unlikely that ms. Marc. Gr. 622 of Hesychius, written in the 15th century, should have an Otrantine origin—as once believed—and thus derive from an earlier Italian copy. Even if scholars are today more skeptical about the Italian provenance of the two manuscripts of the *Etymologicum Genuinum*,²³⁴ and even if we do not know the exact origin of the so-called *Etymologicum Casulanum* (12th–13th century),²³⁵ the persistence of an important tradition of lexicographical studies is confirmed by such a complex manuscript as Vat. Barb. Gr. 70, to be assigned to the Terra d'Otranto of the late 10th century.²³⁶ The archetype of the entire extant tradition of the so-called *Etymologicum Gudianum*, a widely read and copied lexicon that draws on the same sources of the *Genuinum* (notably the epimerisms to Homer and the Psalms, the lexica of Orus and Orion, synonymic lexica and *lexeis* to Byzantine canons etc.),²³⁷ ms. Barb. Gr. 70, was the object of a remarkable philological work of diorthosis, addition and implementation (*e.g.* further Homeric scholia and notes by Choeroboscus; the lexicon called *Synonymicum Barberinum*), that must have taken place in the Terra d'Otranto towards the end of the 10th century.²³⁸ It has been plausibly argued that this activity, directed by the hand known as *d*, took place in the context of school teaching.²³⁹

2.5 *Arethas*

The leading Byzantine scholar between the last quarter of the 9th and the early decades of the 10th century is again an ecclesiastical, namely Arethas of Patras, archbishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia (ca. 850–*post* 932): neither a teacher nor a literary critic, he contributed to the dissemination of ancient Greek

232 Lucà [1994] and [1990] 54–58.

233 Lucà [2012a].

234 Alpers [1991a] 531–541; Menchelli [1996] esp. 138.

235 Parlangei [1953–1954].

236 Maleci [1995] 13–32; Ronconi [2012a] 82–83.

237 Ed. Sturz [1818] and—for the section α -ζεῖαί—De Stefani [1909–1920].

238 On the formation and sources of the *Gudianum*, see Cellerini [1988] esp. 30–63; on its relatively extensive manuscript transmission in Byzantine times, see Sciarra [2005a].

239 Arnesano-Sciarra [2010] 430–433.

culture by organising and promoting the copy of manuscripts, above all of pagan prose texts, some of which still carry his handwritten notes in the margins. The identification of the exemplars that belonged to his library, and of the scribes who cooperated in his scriptorium, is not yet a settled question:²⁴⁰ among the landmarks in Greek codicology which certainly belonged to Arethas we find ms. Bodl. D'Orville 301 of Euclid (the first dated Greek profane manuscript in minuscule handwriting, copied by Stephanos *klerikos* in 888),²⁴¹ ms. Bodl. Clark. 39 of Plato (written in 895 by John the Calligrapher: it cost 13 nomismata for the copy + 8 for the parchment, and was equipped with a series of scholia whose late antique origin has been recognised but recently),²⁴² ms. Vat. Urb. Gr. 35 of Aristotle's *Organon*, with copious marginalia,²⁴³ ms. Lond. Harl. 5694 of Lucian (written by the scribe Baanes, again with many scholia in Arethas' hand),²⁴⁴ ms. Bodl. Auct. T.4.13 of Epictetus' *Dissertations*.

Arethas also owned works by authors of the Second Sophistic and the Imperial age, from Aelius Aristides (Par. Gr. 2951 + Laur. 60.3, written by John the Calligrapher)²⁴⁵ to Dio Chrysostom (Vat. Urb. Gr. 124 may be the offspring of Arethas' edition, and most probably carries his notes),²⁴⁶ from a lost manuscript of Plutarch (some scholia to the *Lives* have been plausibly traced back to Arethas)²⁴⁷ down—according to some scholars—to the venerable Marc. Gr. 447 of Athenaeus (also attributed to John the Calligrapher, but devoid of scholia);²⁴⁸ Arethas may also have been behind the lost archetype of the lexicon of Pollux,²⁴⁹ and the lost archetype of Marcus Aurelius' philosophical work. We know about the latter from a letter sent by Arethas himself to a certain Demetrius, where he claims to have copied an old, but not too badly flaked codex of the *Meditations*, for the benefit of a wider public.²⁵⁰

240 Wilson [1996²] 120–130; Cavallo [2002a] 139–141; Lemerle [1971] 210–239, admittedly very generous; Cufalo [2007] xxix note 73 (with discussion of the individual manuscripts).

241 Aletta [2004].

242 Luzzatto [2010].

243 Ed. Share [1994].

244 Russo [2012] esp. 1–11 on the textual transmission of the scholia.

245 Quattrocelli [2008].

246 Sonny [1896] 83–130. See most recently Panzeri [2011] 88–90.

247 Manfredini [1975].

248 Wilson [1996²] 129; Russo [2012] 83 note 66 with earlier bibliography.

249 Bethé [1900] v–vi.

250 *epist.* 44 Westerink: the correct interpretation of the passage οὐ μὴν ὅτι καὶ παντάπασι διερρηγῶς καὶ τοῦ χρησίου ἐαυτοῦ τοῖς βουλομένοις βασιχάναντος (“not entirely fallen apart, nor depriving readers of its utility”) has been restored by Ceporina [2011] against *e.g.* Cortassa [1997b]; see also Ronconi [2003] 20–23.

It should not come as a surprise that Arethas' attention was also drawn towards Christian texts, *e.g.* ecclesiastical law (Vallic. F. 10, with scholia),²⁵¹ the apologete Fathers such as Justin, Athenagoras, Eusebius and Clement (Par. Gr. 451, completed in 914; Arethas paid 20 nomismata to the scribe, Baanes, and 6 for the parchment, and the codex is now a fundamental witness for all the texts it carries), and theological treatises (Mosq. GMI 231, written by Stylianos in 932, with scholia).

As for the scholia penned by Arethas in his books, some of them faithfully reproduce ancient or late antique prototypes, others (such as the memorable “dialogues” with Lucian, or the criticisms directed against Plato and Julian) stem from his own pen and ideas, though the distinction is not always easy to draw. Recent analysis of the scholia to Lucian—by far the largest *corpus* of Arethan scholia to one and the same author—has shown how much Hellenic doctrine Arethas mastered and loved to display: on the cottabus, on the jussive infinitive, on the history of Delos, on the blindness of Homer, on the Attic use of incidental ἦ δ' ὅς, on hyperbata in Hermogenes, on the *aitia* of the Attic Thesmophoria, on Pythagoras' golden thigh, and above all on all sorts of lexicographical issues.²⁵² In finding modern equivalents for Lucian's words, in elucidating antiquarian or mythographical issues, in looking for the author's stylistic and narrative characters even beyond the charges of impiety and sacrilege, Arethas establishes a dialogue with the ancient sophist that involves in a productive manner not only his erudition but also the principles of his own faith and ethics. Let us read a note on the *Apology*, in which the archbishop learnedly attacks Lucian's inconsistency with respect to his earlier treatise on the “salaried posts in great houses” (*de mercede conductis*):²⁵³

ὀδύρεσθαι τὸ γῆρας· ἀπλότητος ἦθους ταῦτα κατασκευαστικά. ἀλλ' οὖν, βωμολόχε, εἰς ταύτην κάκεινοι, ὧν κατέδραμες ἀπηνῶς, καταφεύγοντες ἀπολογίαν ληρόν σε καὶ φιλαίτιον καὶ μεμψίμοιρον ἀποφανοῦσι καὶ κώνωπα, φασί, μιμούμενον ἀετόν· τάχα γὰρ καὶ Σωκράτην ἐθέλων μιμείσθαι, οἷς οὗτος Πρόδικον τὸν Κεῖον καὶ τοὺς κατ' αὐτὸν ἀπελέγχει σοφιστάς, ἐπὶ τὴν τοιαύτην ἀπέδραμες γλωσσαλγίαν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ καλῶς ἔχει τοῖς Ὀμήρου σε βάλλειν· “ἦ τοιόσδε ἐὼν πόντον ἐπιπλώσας ἐτάρους ἐρήφρας ἀγείρας” [Γ 46–47] καὶ ὅσα λοιπά.

251 Meschini [1972].

252 Russo [2012].

253 *Sch. Luc. Apol.* 10 (p. 236.11–21 Rabe), see Russo [2012] 92–93.

to complain of old age: this creates the image of a simple character. But, o ribald, those whom you have cruelly attacked will resort to this same excuse, and will show that you are a censorious and querulous charlatan, a mosquito—as they say—imitating an eagle: perhaps you resorted to this verbiage in the attempt to imitate Socrates, when he refutes Prodicus of Ceos and the sophists around him. But it is enough to counter you with Homer's lines: "Were you like this when you assembled oarsmen and sailed over the sea" etc.

For all his admiration for a paradigm of pure Attic prose, Arethas was notoriously fond of an obscure and difficult style, a choice he defended by invoking the example of Thucydides, Herodotus and even Gregory of Nazianzus: the following passage is interesting for his views on ancient and modern Greek style:²⁵⁴

εἰ δὲ δεῖ φιλαληθέστερον φθέγγασθαι, ποθοῦσι καὶ οὗτοι, ὡς ἔστιν ἐπακοῦσαι πάλιν τοῦ θείου τὸν λόγον ἀνδρός, τὴν Θουκυδίδου γλώσσαν καὶ τὴν Ἡροδότου σχολὴν [cf. Greg. Naz. or. 4.92] τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἐναρμόσασθαι λόγοις, οἵτινες ἄνδρες τῶν παρ' Ἑλλήσι δεινότατοι χρῆσασθαι τῇ τε κατὰ λέξιν τῇ τε κατ' ἔννοιαν συστροφῇ καὶ πολλὰ παρέχουσι πράγματα μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο τοῖς φιλοπινώτερον αὐτοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν. οὐκ ἂν γὰρ ἔλοις αὐτόθεν τὸ τούτοις προχειρισθέν, μὴ πρότερον ἀμυθήτους στροφάς περιενεχθεῖς καὶ μεγάλα τῇ ἀπορίᾳ μεμψάμενος. οὐκ οὖν ἀδόκιμον οὐδὲ τοῖς θείοις πατράσι τὸ τοῦ λόγου συνεστραμμένον τε καὶ στριφνὸν καὶ πρὸς σεμνότητα διαιρόμενον.

To tell the truth, they [*scil.* the Fathers] too (as one can gather from the words of the divinely writing man) seek to adapt to their own works the language of Thucydides and the learning of Herodotus, two authors who prove to be the best among the Hellenes through their density of style and thought, and cause serious trouble to their attentive readers down to the present day. For you cannot grasp automatically what they mean, unless you follow ineffable twists and complain greatly about your helplessness. Thus, not even the divine Fathers hold the conciseness, the acerbity and the elevated solemnity of style as displeasing.

254 *Scripta minora* 17 (1, pp. 187.27–188.5 Westerink).

2.6 *More Manuscripts (10th Century)*

No first-rate philologist, Arethas stands out as a reactive scholiast and a bibliophile peculiarly committed to profane prose. This is all the more important in a century that saw a large production of manuscripts of Classical writers, some of which of paramount importance for the respective textual traditions down to the present day.²⁵⁵ I recall here the glorious Vat. Gr. 1 of Plato (baptised “O” by editors), Vat. Gr. 90 of Lucian (annotated in the second quarter of the century by Alexander of Nicaea: the subscription hints at some kind of editorial work),²⁵⁶ Laur. 69.2 of Thucydides (the subscription “*Deo gratias Petrus scripsit*” suggests it may have been copied from a late antique prototype in 13 rather than 8 books, stemming from Justinianic Constantinople),²⁵⁷ Laur. 70.3 of Herodotus (also perhaps carrying traces of a late antique recension),²⁵⁸ Vat. Gr. 1335 of Xenophon’s minor works, Par. Gr. 1853 of Aristotle,²⁵⁹ Marc. Gr. 395 of Cassius Dio, Laur. 59.9 of Demosthenes, Par. Gr. 1741 of Aristotle and other authors,²⁶⁰ Par. Gr. 1397 of Strabo,²⁶¹ the famous palimpsest of Archimedes now in Baltimore,²⁶² and the important grammatical miscellany (our unique witness *e.g.* for Apollonius Sophista and Phrynichus) Par. Coisl. 345, once attributed to Arethas himself.²⁶³

One of the most famous and productive copyists of this period, working for Arethas and other patrons, and particularly careful with regard to orthographic precision and to the faithful rendering of variant readings and diacritical signs, was the scribe Ephraem, to whom we owe *inter alia* the main

255 Wilson [1996²] 136–140, with further bibliography; Irigoin [1980] 192–193.

256 *Sch. Luc.* p. 154.15 Rabe διώρθωσα ἐγὼ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπίσκοπος Νικαίας . . . : Kavrus-Hoffmann [2010] 55–56, with previous bibliography.

257 Luzzatto [1993]; Pernigotti [2001].

258 Luzzatto [2000].

259 See now Ronconi [2012c], showing that this codex is not the copy of a late antique prototype, but rather the work of a 10th-century compiler who collected and annotated different Aristotelian texts.

260 On Laur. 59.9 see L. M. Ciolfi, in Gruškova-Bannert [2014] 239–62. Par. Gr. 1741 is our fundamental witness of the *Poetics*, grouped together with Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Menander Rhetor and other uncommon authors of literary criticism: it was clearly commissioned by someone favouring an alternative approach to rhetoric than the current one, represented by Hermogenes and his commentators: Harlfinger-Reinsch [1970]; Conley [1990]; Fryde [2000] 31–32; Orsini [2005] 310–313.

261 Diller [1975] 42–53.

262 Kavrus-Hoffmann [2010] 65–66. Netz-Noel-Tchernetska-Wilson [2011].

263 On Coisl. 345 as in fact belonging to the late 10th century, see now Valente [2008]. See however Ucciardello [2012] 91–94.

witness of Polybius' first pentad (Vat. Gr. 124, ca. 947),²⁶⁴ an independent codex of Plato (Marc. Gr. IV.1, siglum T), an *Organon* (Marc. Gr. 201), the basic extant collection of Hippocratic writings (Marc. Gr. 269),²⁶⁵ as well as an important sylloge of rhetorical handbooks (Vat. Urb. Gr. 130).²⁶⁶

This elementary and very incomplete list (which could easily be extended to the later decades of the century with such illustrious manuscripts as Neap. Gr. 4* of Diodorus Siculus,²⁶⁷ Vind. phil. Gr. 67 of Stobaeus, and Vat. Gr. 738 of Sextus Empiricus),²⁶⁸ serves only as an exemplification of how important a contribution this century made to our knowledge of Greek prose authors: even when these manuscripts, most of which bear clear traces of their Constantinopolitan origin, are not our unique or our earliest witnesses for the authors involved, they generally stand out for their philological accuracy and completeness.

The 10th century is also the age of the first, massive appearance of poetical manuscripts in Byzantium.²⁶⁹ Perhaps the best-known exemplar is the famous Venetus A of Homer (Marc. Gr. 454), the only extant codex to display in its margins the critical signs and (large excerpts from) the commentaries deriving from the textual criticism of the great Alexandrian scholars: a remarkable manufacture reproducing its archetype with impressive skill, ms. Venetus A is perhaps one of the most pivotal codices in the entire history of Classical philology.²⁷⁰ No less impressive is Laur. 32.9, a landmark in our knowledge of both Greek tragedy (it is our earliest witness for both Aeschylus and Sophocles) and Hellenistic epic (it carries Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica*), and of their ancient exegesis.²⁷¹ The philological analysis of both these codices shows that they most probably derive from prototypes of the 9th century, which means that the discovery of Greek poetry definitely antedated the age of Arethas.

264 Moore [1965] 11–12 and *passim*.

265 Formentin [1999].

266 Prato [1994] 13–29; Irigoin [1958–1959].

267 Lucà [1990].

268 de Gregorio [2000b].

269 Diller [1974].

270 Dué [2009], with earlier bibliography; Pontani [2005b] 96–99 and 146–150; Maniaci [2002] insists on the overly complex *mise en page*; old ideas of connecting the manuscript with Arethas (Severyns) or Ephraem (Hemmerdinger) must be rejected (the copyist also appears in Par. Gr. 1741 of Aristotle).

271 Orsini [2005] 305–310 on its conception as a single unit; Fryde [2000] 21–23 about transliterations.

It cannot be denied, however, that Venetus A and Laur. 32.9 belong to an age especially fertile in books of poetry, such as the earliest preserved *Odyssey* (Laur. 32.24),²⁷² the composite Par. suppl. Gr. 388 (Theognis, Dionysius the Periegete and other poets),²⁷³ the miscellany Bodl. Barocc. 50 (carrying *inter alia* the epyllion of Musaeus, but also the *Orthography* of Theognostus, see above § 1.4),²⁷⁴ and above all ms. Ravennas 429 (copied by the same scribe as the Sophocles in Laur. 32.9), which is our unique complete witness for several comedies of Aristophanes, and our earliest one for all of them;²⁷⁵ on a smaller scale, and from the last quarter of the century, one can recall the beautifully illustrated Par. suppl. Gr. 247 of Nicander,²⁷⁶ as well as Par. Gr. 2771, the oldest copy of Hesiod's *Works and Days*.²⁷⁷

A paradigmatic case showing the intimate connection between philological work and production of manuscripts in this age is represented by the collection to which we owe most of the extant ancient Greek epigrams, namely the anthology put together in the last decade of the 9th century by Constantine Cephalas, a teacher in the school of the Nea Ekklesia, and *protopapas* in the imperial palace in 917. Through a meticulous selection of texts from previous syllogae, and with the help of transcriptions from stone epigrams collected by a certain Gregory of Campsa in Greece and Asia Minor, between 880 and 902 Cephalas gathered together and digested a large number of epigrams, increasing the pagan collection with a series of Christian texts (most notably the epigrams collected in book 1; but perhaps Cephalas had included in his original master plan also Nonnus' *Paraphrasis of the Gospel of St. John* as well as the ephrastic poems by Paulus Silentiarius and John of Gaza).

Thus arose an exemplar whose closest extant reproduction—but by no means the only one: other copies, now lost, must have circulated, *e.g.* one by Alexander of Nicaea—is preserved in ms. Heid. Pal. Gr. 23 + Par. Suppl. Gr. 384 (ms. P, from which the *Greek Anthology* has inherited its denomination *Palatine*), written in the mid-10th century.²⁷⁸ This large codex, whose rediscovery after centuries of oblivion in the late 16th century brought about a

272 Pontani [2005b] 192–195.

273 Ronconi [2006].

274 Ronconi [2007] 91–131.

275 van Leeuwen [1902]; Eberline [1980] 27–28, and the introductions to many recent editions of Aristophanes' plays and the respective scholia.

276 Jacques [2002] cxxxvii–cxlvi.

277 Pertusi [1950].

278 The story is reconstructed by Cameron [1993]; Lauxtermann [2007]; Maltomini [2011]. An updated survey in Valerio [2014] 41–115.

revolution in the modern knowledge and *Nachleben* of the epigrammatic genre, represents an impressive achievement, in that it puts together two different copies of Cephalas' Anthology, it incorporates later accretions (today's books 2, 3 and 8), and adds further epigrams of recent date. The *concepteur* of the Heidelberg manuscript has been identified with scribe J, the learned scholar Constantine the Rhodian,²⁷⁹ himself the author of important ecphrastic poems on the city of Constantinople.²⁸⁰ The outline of this complicated story of books, collections and corrections, makes clear how, in the span of two generations, different scholars and various anonymous scribes engaged in what resulted in a collective effort for the preservation and transmission of a hitherto largely neglected genre, often adopting a highly insightful philological approach.

2.7 *Schools*

The intellectual life of 10th-century Constantinople did not consist only of ambitious scholarly enterprises. The epistolary of an anonymous professor of grammar and rhetoric, who lived and taught in Constantinople around 920–930, represents an invaluable and unique document revealing the dynamics and mechanisms of education in this age.²⁸¹ Beside showing that private teaching was fairly common in the capital, and that the pupils mostly belonged to the educated elite of high state officers,²⁸² this collection of letters also yields historical elements concerning the competition and cooperation among teachers, the practices of transcription, copying and borrowing of manuscripts, the methods for teaching elementary and advanced grammar, the fees pupils were required to pay and the help expected from ecclesiastical authorities, the educational attitude and the special role of teaching assistants assigned to advanced students.

However, what interests us more directly in the present context is the philological practice to which the Anonymous professor refers in one of his letters, addressed to a patriarch, perhaps Nicholas I Mysticus (in office 901–907 and 912–925).²⁸³ Evidently aware of the distinction between the scholars (φιλομαθείς and σπουδαῖοι) and the mere scribes and calligraphers (χειροτέχνοι

279 Cameron [1993] 300–307; on the parts of the ms. see Orsini [2005] 302–305.

280 James [2012] esp. 144–157.

281 The letters, preserved in ms. Lond. Addit. 36749, have been edited by Markopoulos [2000].

282 Lemerle [1971] 246–257; Speck [1974a] 29–35.

283 This is *epist.* 88 Markopoulos: see Browning [1954], Markopoulos [1982], and particularly Cortassa [2001].

and βάνουσοι),²⁸⁴ the Anonymous professor declines the responsibility of revising and editing a particular (probably patristic) text, which the patriarch has assigned to him. Arguing that the task is too complex and not sufficiently rewarding, the professor suggests leaving it in the hands of other copyists whose work he might then revise, or else taking the edition of one scholar and then merely copying it down, with or without further revision. In the professor's opinion, the emendation of the text would require such a vast and deep examination of the tradition that it could not be achieved within a short space of time; above all, the text could not be emended by simply adding diacritical signs (l. 35 σημείοις ὀλίγοις) in the margins, or the missing parts or the indispensable corrections: rather, it would call for a new transcription and a fresh constitution of the text (ll. 35–36 δι' ἑτέρας μετεγγραφῆς καὶ ἑτέρας συνεπισκέψεως), because the variant readings concern single words (Χριστός vs. ὁ Χριστός vs. Θεός) as well as matters of punctuation and syntax, *e.g.* whether a sentence should be read as affirmative or as interrogative (ll. 36–41).²⁸⁵ Even if the professor concludes (ll. 47–53) that he will bow to the authority of his predecessors (or superiors), save when the sense of the passage, the style of the author and doctrinal orthodoxy require the opposite, the issues raised in this text show that textual criticism was far from unknown even to simple school-teachers and to their pupils.

One wonders if this is the same situation encountered in Constantinople by Abraamius of Trebizond, later known as Athanasius the founder of Athonite monasticism and the Great Lavra. We know from his *Life* that some time in the mid-10th century Abraamius followed the courses of a certain Athanasius, described as “president of the schools” (προκαθήμενος τῶν παιδευτηρίων), and that later—before his definitive conversion to monastic life—he started a career as a teaching assistant and then became a teacher in his own right, after having received the *placet* of the emperor (νεύσις βασιλική), namely of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus.²⁸⁶

284 *Epist.* 53.13–15 Mark.

285 *Epist.* 88.32–41 Mark.: καὶ εἰ ἔστι τις ὁ διατεινόμενος κὰν λανθάνον εὔροι (φύσεως γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνης τοῦτο) τοσαύτης δεῖσθαι ἀκριβοῦς ἐπιδιορθώσεως, ὡς οὐκ ἔξαρκεῖν παρεντιθέναι τοῦτο καὶ τὸ περιττεῦον ἢ ἄλλοιπον σημείοις ὀλίγοις ποιεῖν ἐμφανές, ἀλλὰ δι' ἑτέρας μετεγγραφῆς καὶ ἑτέρας συνεπισκέψεως ἐπικρίνεσθαι. . . ἵνα τί γένηται; ἴν' ἕτερος μὲν ὁ Χριστὸς γράψῃ, ἀπαλείψοι δὲ τὴν προσθήκην ἄλλος τοῦ ἄρθρου, ὁ δὲ μεταβάλῃ τὸ Θεὸς ἀντ' ἐκείνου; ἢ ἵνα ὁ μὲν τῆ κάτω, ὁ δὲ τῆ μέσῃ, ὁ δὲ τῆ ἄνω στίξοι στιγμῆ; ἀλλ' ἵνα τὸ χωρίον ὁ μὲν κατ' ἄρσιν, ὁ δὲ κατὰ πρόσθεσιν, καὶ ὁ μὲν κατ' ἐρώτησιν, ὁ δὲ μὴ κατ' ἐρώτησιν ἀναγνῶ.

286 Lemerle [1971] 257–260.

2.8 Collections

As a matter of fact, the role of Constantine VII (912–959) in the organisation of culture must have been quite remarkable: we know that he sought to revitalise higher instruction by combining in his ‘university’—whether this was an entirely public institution or an episodic creature of the emperor’s mecenatism²⁸⁷—both *praxis* and *theoria*, and by appointing the best teachers available.²⁸⁸ Amongst them was the aforementioned Alexander of Nicaea, the author of *catenae* to the Old and New Testament and the owner of ms. Vat. Gr. 90 of Lucian, on which he left scholia partly related to those of Arethas.²⁸⁹ But Alexander was also the bibliophile to whom Nicetas Magistros wrote in 937/938 complaining that he could not find commentaries on some well-known orations of Demosthenes (the *False Embassy*, the *Crown*, the *Against Androction* etc.).²⁹⁰

That a well-developed interest in books and book-collecting should surface in schools and literary *milieux* of this age, is understandable: the emperor himself, partly continuing the tradition of his father Leo VI “the Wise”, devoted strong efforts to arts and letters, not only writing ambitious comprehensive syntheses on the etiquette at the imperial court (*On the Cerimonial at the Court of Constantinople*), on government (*On the Administration of the Empire*), on the geography of the empire (*About the Themes*), but also guiding the compilation of encyclopedic syllogae devoted to different areas of human knowledge, from medicine to veterinary studies (ms. Berol. Phill. 1538, prepared for the imperial library), from zoology (the ancestor of Par. Suppl. Gr. 495 and Athos Dion. 180) to agriculture (a copy in Laur. 59.32 of the *Geoponica*),²⁹¹ from military technique (Laur. 55.4 of the *Tactica*) to human history.²⁹²

Rather than envisaging the faithful textual transmission of single works, Constantine aimed at collecting in his library as many books as he could, appointing teachers and scholars capable of working on these books, and then digesting the useful knowledge gathered from them in suitable encyclopedias. By far the most ambitious of these collections embraced excerpts from Greek historians of all ages (with a predilection, as far as we can tell, for

287 Lemerle [1971] 263–266 vs. Speck [1974a] 22–28 (stressing the role of the corporation of teachers).

288 Theophanes Continuatus 6.14, p. 446.1–22 Bekker: see Agapitos [1998] 175–176 and Lemerle [1971] 264–265.

289 Markopoulos [2004], no. xvii; Maas [1973] 468–72.

290 *epist.* 9, Westerink [1973] 77–79.

291 See most recently Amato [2006].

292 See the overview by Lemerle [1971] 288–297.

early Byzantine authors), arranged according to their topic: out of the 53 original sections, only the book *On embassies* and partly the books *On virtues*, *On ambushes* and *On gnomic statements* survive,²⁹³ but their bulk is such that one wonders if the whole enterprise—consisting of dozens of similar chapters—was ever brought to a conclusion, and at any rate if it was ever read or copied by anyone, beyond being preserved in the imperial library.²⁹⁴

This incredible compilation was clearly intended not as a historiographical achievement in its own right,²⁹⁵ but rather as an encyclopedic work, which paid the price of de-contextualisation to the advantage of readability and of a thoughtful selection, especially—though by no means exclusively—orientated on the moral aspect.²⁹⁶ Its leading idea was to gather bits and pieces from different historians from Herodotus to Georgius Monachus (no more than 26 appear in the extant sections), and to select their most useful parts in a spirit that has recently been compared with Justinian's rationale in putting together the *Digest*.²⁹⁷

ὁ τῆς πορφύρας ἀπόγονος Κωνσταντῖνος, ὁ ὀρθοδοξότατος καὶ χριστιανικώτατος τῶν πώποτε βεβασιλευκότων, ὄξυωπέστερον πρὸς τὴν τῶν καλῶν κατανόησιν διακείμενος καὶ δραστήριον ἐσχηκῶς νοῦν ἔκρινε βέλτιστον εἶναι καὶ κοινωφελὲς τῷ τε βίῳ ὀνησιφόρον, πρότερον μὲν ζητητικῇ διεγέρσει βίβλους ἄλλοθεν ἄλλας ἐξ ἀπάσης ἐκασταχοῦ οἰκουμένης συλλέξασθαι παντοδαπῆς καὶ πολυειδοῦς ἐπιστήμης ἐγκύμονας, ἔπειτα τὸ τῆς πλατυεπείας μέγεθος καὶ ἀκοᾶς ἀποκναῖον ἄλλως τε καὶ ὀχληρὸν καὶ φορτικὸν φαινόμενον τοῖς πολλοῖς δεῖν ᾧθήη καταμερίσαι τοῦτο εἰς λεπτομέρειαν ἀνεπιφθόνως τε προθεῖναι κοινῇ τὴν ἐκ τούτων ἀναφυομένην ὠφέλειαν, ὡς ἐκ μὲν τῆς ἐκλογῆς προσεκτικωτέρως καὶ ἐνδελεχέστερον κατεντυγχάνειν εἰς τοὺς τροφίμους τῶν λόγων καὶ μονιμώτερον ἐντυποῦσθαι τούτοις τὴν τῶν λόγων εὐφράδειαν, μεγαλοφυῶς τε καὶ εὐεπιβόλως πρὸς ἐπὶ τούτοις καταμερίσαι εἰς ὑποθέσεις διαφόρους, τρεῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς πενήκοντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν οὔσας, ἐν αἷς καὶ ὑφ' αἷς ἅπανα ἱστορικῇ μεγαλουργίᾳ συγκλείεται. κοῦκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν τῶν ἐγκειμένων, ὃ διαφεύξεται τὴν τοιαύτην τῶν ὑποθέσεων ἀπαριθμησιν, οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἀφαιρουμένης τῆς

293 Of the latter two we have the original copies realised for the imperial library, mss. Turon. C 980 and Vat. Gr. 73: see Irigoin [1959] and [1977]. See the editions by De Boor – Roos – Büttner-Wobst – Boissevain [1903–1910]. A new edition of *On embassies* is in preparation by P. Carolla (winter 2014).

294 Cohen-Skalli [2012] and [2013]; Németh [2010] and [2013]. Pittia [2002].

295 Flusin [2002]. Magdalino [2011].

296 Lemerle [1971] 280–288. See however Németh [2010].

297 Németh [2010] and Cohen-Skalli [2013].

τοῦ λόγου ἀκολουθίας τῇ διαιρέσει τῶν ἐννοιῶν, ἀλλὰ σύσσωμον σωζούσης, καὶ ἐκάστη ὑποθέσει προσαρμοζομένης τῆς τηλικαύτης οὐ συνόψεως, ἀληθέστερον δ' εἰπεῖν οἰκειώσεως.

So it is that Constantine, born in the purple, that most orthodox and most Christian of the emperors up to the present time, fitted to the task by a most sharp discernment concerning what is good and possessing an enterprising intellect, judged that the best thing, the most conducive to the common good and useful for governing conduct is—in the first place—to collect by means of diligent research all manner of books from all over the *oikoumene*; books bursting with every kind and every variety of knowledge. Next, he thought that it was necessary to divide and distribute their great quantity and extent—which weigh heavily on the understanding and which seem to many to be irksome and burdensome—into small sections. Hence, all the useful material which they contain in such fertile abundance could, [he thought,] be made available unstintingly to the public. By a very careful selection the utility of these works could be demonstrated more assiduously to those who are being reared in the knowledge of letters, while at the same time their literary quality might be more easily impressed upon them. In addition to this, [his intention was] to distribute [the material] after an ingenious and careful manner into diverse subjects, fifty-three in number, in and through which the whole epic course of history might be grouped together. Nothing contained in the texts would escape this distribution into subjects; by following the sequence of the narrative nothing would be omitted in virtue of this division according to subject. Rather would it preserve the coherence of the whole, not by providing the usual summary for each of the subjects, but rather, to describe the process more accurately, by assigning each of them a proper classification. [transl. A. Németh]

The scale of this enterprise did not dissuade the compilers—whatever the organisation of their work, itself a debated issue²⁹⁸—from quoting long passages from the various historians *verbatim*, with a fidelity that is all the more welcome as several of the original sources (from Nicholas of Damascus to John of Antioch down to several books of Diodorus Siculus) went lost soon after the production of this anthology. In its ambition to transmit the useful parts of a massive cultural heritage for the benefit of future generations, the scope of Constantine's work as stated in the proem attains the status of

298 Mazzucchi [1979a] 133; Matthaios [2006] 12–13.

a full-fledged scholarly operation, all the more so if one considers that in the same decades the imperial *scriptorium* was busy in the actual copying of manuscripts of historians (the famous 32-lines books, amongst which *e.g.* Patm. 50 of Diodorus Siculus, Vat. Urb. Gr. 105 of Dionysius of Halicarnassus etc.),²⁹⁹ and also devoted attention to the preservation of less popular authors such as Theopompus, Ctesias, Polybius.

The terminology connecting the latter part of the Macedonian Renaissance with the idea of ‘encyclopædism’ has been the object of much revision over the last decades,³⁰⁰ and some scholars prefer to speak today about the phenomenon of “collection” / *sylloge*, while others wonder whether such aspects as the systematisation of the hagiographical material in the calendar designed by Symeon Metaphrastes (who translated and refashioned into high Greek the lives that had been written in the ‘low’ language) should be ranged under the label of ‘encyclopædia’ or not.³⁰¹

Beside nominalistic issues, it is clear that the bulky lexicon known as “Suida(s)” or “Souda”³⁰² represents an outstanding example of the 10th-century ambition to cover and systematise different areas of knowledge, and particularly to entertain a dialogue with the Hellenic past. Of uncertain date but probably belonging to the last quarter of the century, Suidas is largely based on earlier lexica, such as the enlarged *Synagoge*, a rhetorical lexicon, an abridged version of Harpocration, the so-called *Lexicon Ambrosianum*,³⁰³ and perhaps Photius,³⁰⁴ as well as on various exegetical *corpora* to Greek authors, and on the biographies of Hesychius of Miletus. Organised in a particular alphabetical order (the so-called *antistoichia*), it embraces 31.342 entries, the majority of which of lexicographical nature, or dealing with proverbs and quotations from literary authors, while others are more directly oriented around historical, geographical or scientific interests: roughly 5000 entries derive directly from Aristophanes and his scholia, many others from Homer and his exegetes, whereas yet others stem from or discuss passages of Marcus Aurelius, Athenaeus, epigrams (from Cephala’s collection) and above all Greek

299 Irigoin [1977].

300 Odorico [1990] and [2011]; van Deun-Macé [2011].

301 Lemerle [1971] 293–294.

302 Adler [1931]. The name is itself a riddle: see recently Ruiz de Elvira [1997], to be added to the several other proposals (Dölger for *suda* as “fortification”, Mercati for *suida* as ital. “guida”, Siamakis for *souda* as lat. *summa*, Hemmerdinger for *Suidas* as a personal name etc.) listed by Matthaïos [2006] 4–5.

303 On this unpublished and poorly studied lexicon, see Pace [2000].

304 This is a hotly debated issue: see Theodoridis II [1998] xxvii–xl and Cunningham [2003] 29.

historians of the imperial and early Byzantine age, mostly subsumed from Constantine Porphyrogenitus' brand-new encyclopedia.³⁰⁵

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the longest articles are devoted to such important figures as Homer, Jesus, Origen and Dionysius the Areopagite. As a matter of fact, the main goal of this work is to produce a historical dictionary that might revive the (best of the) glorious Hellenic and Roman past in contemporary Byzantium: lexicographical and historiographical choices can be explained precisely in the light of this veneration of the remote past.³⁰⁶ The peculiar attention devoted to Roman history chimes in well with what one would expect from a Byzantine work, but also derives largely from the peculiarity and scope of the intermediate sources to which Suidas is indebted.³⁰⁷ If the interest of the modern scholar is stirred primarily by the wealth of information about ancient authors and intellectuals, going back—sometimes in a desperately confusing way—to Hesychius of Miletus, and is attracted by the numerous fragments of otherwise lost works,³⁰⁸ it should be borne in mind that this work represents an outstanding *unicum* in the panorama of scholarly literature of the 10th century, for it does not limit its scope to that of a mere etymological lexicon, but combines different sources and different areas of interest in order to provide the Byzantine reader with a wealth of otherwise widely scattered knowledge, to introduce the reader into a world of the past that might open up a dialogue with the present. A recent analysis has even attempted to demonstrate that the compiler(s) of this lexicon was/were particularly gifted in conjectural criticism.³⁰⁹

3 From Basil II to the Fourth Crusade

3.1 *From Basil II to the nth Century: The Context*

According to a famous statement of the historian Anna Comnena, “from the time of Basil Porphyrogenitus down to the emperor Monomachus, the study of letters was neglected by the many, but it did not die out altogether: in the days of emperor Alexius [*scil.* since 1081] it blazed up again and sprang

305 Lemerle [1971] 297–299. Wilson [1996²] 145–147.

306 Matthaios [2006] and [2010a] 196–201.

307 Bearzot [1999].

308 See *e.g.* Schepens [2010].

309 Theodoridis II [1998] lvii–lxvi.

forward, being seriously pursued by the learned ones".³¹⁰ As a matter of fact, the earlier of the two periods outlined by Anna happens to be a golden one for both profane and Christian poetry, if one considers the activity of such learned authors as John Geometres (2nd half of the 10th century), John Mauropous (ca. 990–1075), and Christopher of Mitylene (ca. 1000–1050).³¹¹ Even the evidence of manuscripts points to an enduring interest in Classical authors between the later years of the 10th and the earlier part of the 11th century: suffice it to mention Oppian's beautifully illustrated *Marc. Gr. 479*,³¹² the Plutarch and the Homeric scholia written by Gregory *kouboukleisios* (Laur. 69.6 and Bodl. Auct. V.1.51),³¹³ several good manuscripts of Plutarch's *Lives* and *Moralia*, Lucian's *Vind. phil. Gr. 123*, etc.

In later years, the hand or the supervision of Theodore *hypatos* and *basilikos notarios*—perhaps the son of the historian Michael Attaliates—produced an important witness of Isocrates (Vat. Gr. 65, dated to 1063), while another Theodore, in much the same years, produced the archetype of the extant tradition of Lysias (Heid. Pal. Gr. 88);³¹⁴ additionally, other manuscripts arose, equipped with fundamental scholiastic *corpora* drawing on doctrine of the imperial age by way of a late antique or early Byzantine mediation: e.g. the Townley *Iliad* (Lond. Burney 86, dated 1059), ms. *Marc. Gr. 474* of Aristophanes (with scholia drawing on Heliodorus and Symmachus), and two codices of Euripides (Par. Gr. 2713 and Hierosol. Taphou 36; the former, just like the slightly later *Marc. Gr. 471*, carries a subscription mentioning the commentaries of Dionysius and Didymus).³¹⁵

However, this state of affairs does not necessarily correspond to a flourishing exegetical or didactic activity on Classical texts: the imperial faculties of law and philosophy, created by Constantine IX Monomachus (1042–1055) and entrusted to the two most outstanding scholars of the period, Michael Psellus and the patriarch John Xiphilinus, focused more closely on the explanation of legal books such as the *Basilica* (although, in the process, grammatical and

310 Anna Comnena, *Alexiad* 5.8.2 (p. 162.50–54 Reinsch): καὶ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας Βασιλείου τοῦ πορφυρογεννήτου καὶ μέχρις αὐτῆς τῆς τοῦ Μονομάχου βασιλείας ὁ λόγος, εἰ καὶ τοῖς πλείοσιν ἐρραθύμητο, ἀλλ' οὖν γε πάλιν οὐ καταθεδυσκῶς ἀνέλαμψε καὶ ἀνέθορε καὶ διὰ σπουδῆς τοῖς φιλολόγοις ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τῶν χρόνων Ἀλεξίου τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος.

311 Lauxtermann [2004] 322–327 and Magdalino [2012]; on the Classical background of these authors, see Hörandner [1976]. See most recently Bernard [2014].

312 Oppianus [2002].

313 Pontani [2005b] 184–185 and Bianconi [2011a].

314 Fassino [2013] 36–39; Pinto [2003] 42–44 and *passim*; Sosower [1987].

315 Turyn [1957], 86–89 and *passim*. On subscriptions in mss. of this age, see Cavallo [2002a] 181–186.

syntactical issues were sometimes tackled),³¹⁶ and they hardly survived the general political and cultural decline in the decade following the disastrous military defeat at Mantzikert in 1071, which marked a decisive turning-point in the history of the Byzantine empire. There is no reason to assume that these chairs were part of a more wide-ranging ‘imperial university’ encompassing a full-fledged curriculum, but it is clear that Monomachus’ initiative was an attempt to gather under the same roof the intellectual elite of his time, whose members, from John Mauropous to the *mesazon* Constantine Leichoudes to Psellus himself,³¹⁷ had since the age of Basil II been running private schools in various areas of the capital (Chalkoprateia, Sphorakiou, Forty Martyrs, Diakonissa, Orphanotropheion etc.):³¹⁸ “in those days men did not devote themselves to letters for profit but cultivated learning on their own, whereas most scholars do not follow this path in matters of education, since they consider money as the prime reason for occupying themselves with learning”.³¹⁹ A case in point might be John Xiphilinus, the nephew of his namesake the patriarch: his epitome of Cassius Dio’s books 36–80 (these books are today mostly no longer preserved) was inaugurated at the request of emperor Michael Ducas (1071–1078) in order to give an account of the pre-history of the Roman empire, and therefore focused particularly on Augustus’ accession to imperial power “given that our own life and political system to a very large extent depend on those times”.³²⁰

This elite of imperial teachers, scholars, scribes and amateurs, which included civil servants, learned monks, high-ranking ecclesiastics etc., was deeply rooted in the intellectual and cultural atmosphere of the capital, not only as far as instruction was concerned, but also with respect to their periodical meetings, readings and recitals known as *theatra*. The *theatra* became particularly frequent in later decades under the Comnenian emperors, and focused primarily on rhetoric and learning, sealing the mutual links of cooperation and exchange between their members: what we gather from the speeches and the reciprocal *encomia* of these people is the picture of a network of

316 Wolska-Conus [1979] 24–25. Flusin [2008] 387–389.

317 Lemerle [1977] 195–248.

318 Efthymiadis [2005] 264–266.

319 Michael Psellus, *Chronicle* 1.29: μὴ πρὸς ἄλλο τέλος τοὺς λόγους οἱ τότε ἄνδρες μετεχειρίζοντο, ἀλλ’ ἐσπούδαζον περὶ αὐτοὺς ὡς αὐτοτελεῖς· ἀλλ’ οἱ πολλοὶ παρὰ τὴν παιδείουσιν οὐχ οὔτω βαδίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ χρηματίζεσθαι εἰς πρώτην αἰτίαν τῶν λόγων ἀναφέρουσι.

320 Xiphilinus, *Epitome*, p. 87.2 Dindorf διὰ τὸ πάμπλου ἀπηρτήσθαι τῶν καιρῶν ἐκεῖνων τὸν καθ’ ἡμᾶς βίον καὶ τὸ πολίτευμα μνημονεῦσθαι: see Brunt [1980] 488–493; Wilson [1996²] 179.

educated friends who conceived literature and art both as a vehicle of education and as a form of performance and high-brow entertainment.³²¹

This context is all the more important for two reasons: first of all, the predominance of the capital has inevitably induced scholars to neglect isolated amateurs living in more remote regions of the empire, such as the Cappadocian *protospatharios* Eustathius Boilas, whose will (1059) stands out because it mentions, along with a generous list of liturgical and ecclesiastical books, one copy of *Leucippe and Clitophon*, one of Aesop, and perhaps one of Artemidorus' *Onirocriticon*.³²² Secondly, the rhetorical turn of *theatra* and of learned communication in the 11th century (declamations, encomia etc.) explains to a certain extent the flourishing activity of distinguished rhetoricians such as John Sikelos, who wrote a lengthy and erudite commentary on Hermogenes' *On types of style (De ideis)*, and later of John Doxapatres, the author of homilies on Aphthonius which draw significantly on ancient and less ancient literature from Dionysius of Halicarnassus down to John Geometres.³²³

3.2 *Maupous, Psellus, Italus*

John Maupous (ca. 990–soon after 1081) was active as a teacher in his small house in Constantinople; he later became a monk and an educator and counsellor at the imperial court, then finally the metropolitan of Euchaita in the Pontus.³²⁴ Capable of writing official imperial documents but also of composing difficult didactic verse on the etymology of Greek words,³²⁵ he is sometimes known for his 'blasphemous' dodecasyllables invoking God's grace over Plato and Plutarch, "for in their words and in their ways of life / these twain approached most nearly to thy laws".³²⁶ But beyond his veneration for pagan texts and authors, Maupous also displayed an activity as a textual critic: in some of his epigrams he described his own editorial work concerning the transcription and emendation of the *Menaia*, showing that he regarded this

321 Marciniak [2007]; Cavallo [2007a] 73–78; Agapitos [1998] 177–181; Kazhdan-Epstein [1985] 120–158.

322 Vryonis [1957]; Lemerle [1977] 13–63.

323 Rabe [1931] li–liii and cxiii; Kustas [1972]. On Sikelos see Wilson [1996²] 150. On Doxapatres see Rabe [1907] and Hock-O'Neill [2002] 234–237.

324 Karpozilos [1982]. Wilson [1996²] 151–153.

325 Hörandner [2012] 63; Reitzenstein [1901], showing his debt to a lost Latin grammatical source of the Augustan period.

326 *Epigr.* 43.4–5 Lagarde: ἄμφω γὰρ εἰσι καὶ λόγον καὶ τὸν τρόπον / τοῖς σοῖς νόμοις ἔγγιστα προσπεφυκότες.

operation as the culmination of his scholarly life.³²⁷ In his letter 17 Karpozilos, he discusses minute philological problems in the speeches of Gregory of Nazianzus, ranging from the syntax of correlative μέν—δέ in *Oration* 15.1 and elsewhere in the *corpus*,³²⁸ to the correct interpretation of an η as disjunctive rather than as an adverb or particle in *Oration* 38.6, down to the scribal *lapsus* that replaced the name of Alcmeon by that of Solon in *Oration* 4.72, which elicits a thoroughly Bentleyan comment:³²⁹

ἦττον γὰρ ἔγωγε προσέχω τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις ἢ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ τοῦ πράγματος, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄλλως οὐκ ἔχω συννορᾶν ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸ καθαρὸν καὶ ἀκίβδηλον ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου σφζόμενον

as for myself, I pay less attention to the copies than to the truth of the matter, since I have no other way to detect in them the tradition preserved by time in a genuine and uncorrupted state.

Finally, Mauropous' letter 18 is devoted to philological problems in the Old and New Testament, ranging from matters of interpretation (the five or six persons in NT, *Luke* 12.52 should be intended in an allegorical sense) to clerical errors of transmission (in *Luke* 24.13 “thirty” should be read instead of “sixty”):³³⁰

πάσι δὲ τοῖς τοιούτοις μίαν λύσιν ἐπάγουσι, τὸ τῶν ἀντιγράφων οὐκ ἄπταιστον περὶ τὴν γραφὴν οὐδ' ἀνέγκλητον· ᾧ λόγῳ καὶ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἀλόγως πρὸς τὸ θεολογικὸν κεχρήμεθα ζήτημα

to all such problems they [*scil.* scholars] put forth one solution—that copies are not infallible nor blameless in their text, an explanation that I have also introduced with good reason in the discussion of this theological inquiry.

327 See *epigr.* 97–99 Lagarde, e.g. 97.1–2 ὕμνων ἐπελθὼν ἡμερησίῳ βιβλίῳ, / πᾶσάν τε τούτων τὴν γραφὴν ἐπιξέσας, on which Magnelli [2010] 113–115; Bianconi [2009] and [2011a] describes the *corpus* designed and put together by Mauropous in ms. Vat. Gr. 676.

328 *Epist.* 17.59–60: ὁρᾷς ὅση δύναμις ἔνεστι τοῖς ἀνὰ χεῖρα συνδέσμοις, κἂν μονοσυλλαβία στενοχωροῖντο: “you see how much power there is in these particles in hand, even though they are limited to one syllable”.

329 *Epist.* 17.127–30. On this and on Mauropous' philology in general, see A. Pontani [1995a] 344–347.

330 *Epist.* 18.113–16.

It is also interesting to see that Mauropous, while dealing with the reading “Absalom” instead of “Joab” in Gregory of Nazianzus (*Oration* 21.15), identifies the category of *Verschlimmbesserung* as “what the mass calls a mistake from correction” (τὸ παρὰ τοῖς ὄχλοις ἀδόμενον ἐκ διορθώσεως σφάλμα: *epist.* 18.97–98; perhaps a reminiscence of Origen’s terminology? or else a terminological borrowing from the ethical/religious sphere?).

A pupil of Mauropous became the leading intellectual of his age: Michael Psellus (1018–1092/93) would frequently boast of his expertise in the most diverse fields of knowledge, such as astronomy and medicine, geography and mythology, law and architecture, music and rhetoric, with a special emphasis on the entire range of Greek literary history.³³¹ Claiming to be well acquainted with foreign cultures (Egyptian treatises and Chaldaean oracles, works on magic and alchemy etc.), Psellus was a polygraph who constantly tried to present himself as a philosopher (a physician, a theoretic philosopher, a theologian): as a matter of fact, he became *hypatos ton philosophon* in Monomachus’ newly restored academy,³³² and in his own autobiography, after describing his early success as a pupil, he showcased his swift promotion to the rank of the most learned and versatile professor of the capital (he taught amongst others the Georgian scholar Petritsi):³³³

καὶ γὰρ καὶ περὶ ποιημάτων πρὸς ἐνίους τῶν ὁμιλητῶν φθέγγομαι καὶ περὶ Ὀμήρου καὶ Μενάνδρου καὶ Ἀρχιλόχου, Ὀρφέως τε καὶ Μουσαίου καὶ ὅποσα καὶ τὸ θῆλυ ἦσαν, Σιβύλλαι τε καὶ Σαπφῶ ἢ μουσσοποιός [Hdt. 2.135.1], Θεανῶν τε καὶ ἡ Αἰγυπτία σοφῆ, πολλοὶ δέ με καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ὀνομάτων κατελιπάρησαν, ὥστ’ εἰδέναι τί τὸ ἀκράτισμα, τί τὸ ἄριστον, τί δὲ τὸ ἐσπέρισμα καὶ τίς ἡ δορπίς καὶ ἡ ἐν τοῖς δεῖπνοις Ἰσαΐα καὶ τίνες μὲν ἐν ἔπεσι συνεγράψαντο, τίνες δὲ τῇ καταλογάδην λέξει ἐχρήσαντο καὶ τίς ἡ παρ’ Ὀμήρῳ ὄρχησις καὶ ὅλως τίς ὁ παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ ἠρωϊκὸς βίος, τί τε ὀψοφαγία καὶ τί πολυτέλεια, καὶ τίς ἡ τῶν ἀκροδρύων χρῆσις καὶ ἡ ἀρχαιοτέρα τῶν Τρωϊκῶν, τί τε τὸ νέκταρ καὶ ἡ ἀμβροσία καὶ τὸ πρόπομα καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ γῆν γεράνιον καὶ ἡ ἐγγεστόκος γένεσις [Theophr. *hist. plant.* 1.6.9]. ἐὼ λέγειν ὅποσα μοι παρέχουσι πράγματα, τίς ὁ Ἄλεξις καὶ ὁ Μένανδρος καὶ ὁ αὐτόσιτος Κρῶβυλος [Athen. 1.47e] καὶ ὁ Κλήσαφος καὶ εἴ τις ἕτερος ποιήσει λεγόμενος χρῆσασθαι.

331 A recent assessment of Psellus as an intellectual is provided by Papaioannou [2013]. On his scholarship, see Wilson [1996²] 156–179.

332 Fuchs [1926] 29–31. On the office of *hypatos ton philosophon* from the 11th to the 14th century, see Constantinides [1982] 113–115.

333 *Autobiography* 30a–d (see Criscuolo [1989]; Kaldellis [2006] 106–108).

And so I lecture to some of my students on matters of poetry, on Homer, Menander, and Archilochos, on Orpheus and Musaeus, and also on the verses sung by women, Sibyls and ‘Sappho the poetess’, Theano and the wise Egyptian woman [*scil.* Hypatia]. Many also entreated me earnestly about the terms that occur in those works, in order to know what the *akratisma* is, what the *ariston*, what the *hesperisma*, what the *dorpis* and the dinner-time *isaia*; which authors wrote in verse and which made use of prose composition; what the dance is in Homer, and, in general, what the heroic life is in the poet’s view; what dainty living is and what luxury, what use do fruit grown on the upper branches have; what the most ancient of the Trojan events was; what *nektar*, *ambrosia*, and the *propoma* are; what the “geranium under the earth” and what “the generation that occurs within the earth”. I leave aside all the issues that I am asked to clarify, such as who Alexis was and who Menandros; who Krobylos, “who brought his own provisions”, Klesaphos, and any other who may be known for his poetic compositions. [transl. A. Kaldellis]

In the footprints of Byzantine encyclopedism, but arguing that only a multi-disciplinary approach can secure a better understanding of the spiritual and material world,³³⁴ Psellus practiced epistolography and historiography, theology and poetry, writing a large amount of essays in various genres. Some of the items of his *corpus* are demonstrably spurious, while others appear to be pedestrian reworkings of ancient material. The former category includes the so-called Psellian paraphrase of the *Iliad*,³³⁵ the latter embraces a meticulous *reprise* of Porphyry’s allegory on the *Cave of the Nymphs*, a discourse on the soul and its journeys, the Intellect, the angels.³³⁶ Undoubtedly, allegory (and chiefly Neoplatonic and Christianising allegory) was the method he preferred in his own autonomous exegesis of Homer, which he had practiced since his early years:³³⁷ Psellos applied it to the opening of *Iliad* 4 (the heavens, God and the angels), the Golden Chain in *Iliad* 8 (the One and the lesser substances), the birth of Zeus (God and Kronos / Time), and to various other mythological issues (Pandarus’ bow, Circe, Tantalus, the Sphinx), including a careful analysis of Odysseus’ *moly* (*orat. min.* 32 Littlewood).³³⁸

334 Psellus, *Chronicle* 6.35–44; *epistle to M. Cerularius* 2a–3a; Agapitos [1998] 180–183; Criscuolo [1990].

335 Vassis [1991] 16–32.

336 Ed. Boissonade [1851] 343–371. See Cesaretti [1991] 90–123.

337 See *encom. matr.* 6a–c.

338 Cesaretti [1991] 60–89. Wilson [1996²] 161–163. Roilos [2005] 121–124. Angelidi [2005].

This approach was probably a consequence of his long-standing friendship with Nicetas, himself a teacher of grammar at the school of St. Peter, and an allegorist in search of the “mysterious beauty” (ἀπόθετον κάλλος) of pagan poetry, which he pleased himself to Christianize, for instance interpreting the Golden Chain as a halt in the revolution of the universe, or Ithaca as the celestial Jerusalem.³³⁹ Psellus’ attitude on this point was slightly different, as he insisted on detaching the individual lines from their context, and on highlighting the rhetorical dimension of the allegorical game, which in his view may—or may not—have displayed the divine dogmas of Christianity behind the pagan subject-matter:³⁴⁰

μῦθος ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄπας Ἑλληνικὸς μῦθος, καὶ ὡσπερ οὐκ ἂν ὑποσταίεν ποτε ὅσα μῆτε ὑφέστηκε, μῆτε ὑποστήναι δεδύνηται, οὕτως οὐδ’ ἡ κενὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μυθολογία ἐν ὑποστήματι σταίη ποτέ, ἢ πῆξιν τινα ὁ διαλελυμένος αὐτῶν λήψεται λόγος. ἀλλ’ ἡμῖν γυμναστέον τὸν λόγον οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰσχυροῖς μᾶλλον καὶ ὅσα βάσιμα ῥητορικῆ πομπεία καὶ λόγοις φιλοσόφοις καθέστηκεν, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲν ἦττον καὶ τοῖς ἀνυπάρκτοις τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου δοτέον ὑπόστασιν, ἵνα μὴ μόνον ἀπὸ τῶν ποτίμων ναμάτων ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς θύραθεν ἄλμης γλυκάζουσιν πόσιν παραδεχόμεθα.

Every Hellenic myth is really just myth, and just as the things that do not exist and never had a chance to exist can never exist, so too the empty mythology of the Hellenes can never acquire firm substance, nor will their scattered wisdom ever become concrete. However, we should practice speech not only on the firm ground and on paths accessible to the mission of rhetoric and philosophical discourse, but we should give discursive substance even to non-existent entities, so that we may obtain a sweet drink not only from the drinkable waters but also from the external, bitter ones.

Less a philologist than an experienced rhetorician,³⁴¹ Psellus practiced an original form of literary criticism, taking his cue from ancient prototypes such as Hermogenes and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Laur. 59.15, the most important—at times the only—extant manuscript of the latter’s *opera*

339 Guglielmino [1974]; Cesaretti [1991] 29–43; Wilson [1996²] 149–150. Psellos’ funeral oration for Nicetas is still to be read in Sathas [1876] 87–96.

340 *Alleg. de love nato*, p. 220.1–9 Sathas (see Cesaretti [1991] 81, and Roilos [2005] 122).

341 Papaioannou [2013] 29–50.

rhetorica, stems precisely from Psellos' age):³⁴² his focus on style influences his judgment concerning Christian authors, *e.g.* the praise he bestows on Symeon Metaphrastes for having recast the hagiographies in a neater style, or on Gregory of Nazianzus as the finest paradigm of Greek prose (in various genres, from panegyric to philosophical writing), or on John Chrysostom for his clarity as opposed to Thucydides.³⁴³ Psellos' most illuminating essays in this field are the *comparationes* between Euripides and the 7th-century poet George of Pisidia and between the novelists Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius. While the conclusion of the former comparison is lost (but Euripides' metrical versatility and ethical shortcomings are both taken into account),³⁴⁴ the latter ends in favour of Heliodorus, thanks to the quality of the complicated plot, the richness of Attic diction, and the moral qualities of the female protagonist³⁴⁵ (a Byzantine *penchant* for Heliodorus is easy to prove: suffice it to think of the allegorical interpretation by Philip-Philagathus of Cerami: see below § 3.8). A passage on Euripides will exemplify Psellos' approach to ancient authors:³⁴⁶

οὐτ[ε] ἀνὴρ τὰς ὑποθέσεις [ὑπερορᾷ οὐτε τὰ τῶν προσώπων ἦθη, καίτοι ἐν τούτοις αἱ Σοφοκλέους τραγωδίαι] μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων ἐπραγματεύθησάν τε καὶ ἐπονῆ[θησαν]. Εὐρι[πίδ]η δὲ τούτων μὲν [ἦτ]τρον ἐμέλησεν, ἐπραγματεύσατο δὲ πλέον ἐκείνου περὶ τε τ[ὴν με]λοποιΐαν, φημί δὴ τὴν [ἐν λ]όγοι[ς], καὶ τὴν χρῆσιν ταύτης καὶ τὰς τρεῖς ταύτας τῶν καλλίστων ἐπιστημῶν, μουσικὴν τε καὶ ῥυθμικὴν καὶ [μετ]ρικήν, ὥσπερ α[ὐλοῦς καὶ] κιθάρας καὶ λύρας ταῖς οἰκείαις συναγαγὼν ὑποθέσει. βαρβαρίζ[ειν δὲ δέον τὴν γλώ]τταν μεμίμηται ὡς δοκεῖν τὸν αὐτὸν ἄκρωσ τε ἐλληνίζειν καὶ ἀκριβῶς σολ[οικίζ]ειν· τὸ γὰρ παρὰ τὴν Ἀτθίδ[α] γλώτταν ἐν ταῖς βαρβαρικαῖς λέξεσι σολοικοφανές. ἔστι δ' ὅπη διαμαρτάνει τοῦ πρέποντος καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως μάλλον τῆς λογικῆς γίνεται ἢ τοῦ ἀκριβοῦς τῆς ποιήσεως· ἀμέλει τοι τὴν Ἑκάβην τῷ Ὀδυσσεὶ ἀντεισενεγκῶν [Hec. 218ff.] ἀνδρὶ γενναίῳ καὶ ῥητορικῶ κατ' ἐκείνου αἴρει καὶ τὰ πρεσβεῖα χαρίζεται· καὶ μελετᾷ μὲν κάκεινον οὐκ ἀτερπῶς, ἐλάττονα δὲ τῆς αἰχμαλώτου ποιεῖ.

Nor does he [neglect] plots [or characterization, although in these matters Sophocles' tragedies] were elaborated and labored over more than

342 Aujac [1975]; Orsini [2005].

343 Hörandner [1996]; Wilson [1996²] 163–165; Cavallo [2007a] 47–48; Papaioannou [2013] 51–86.

344 Lauxtermann [1998].

345 See the edition by Dyck [1986], and McLaren [2006].

346 Michael Psellos, *Comparison between Euripides and George of Pisidia*, ll. 83–97 Dyck.

those of others. Euripides, on the other hand, took fewer pains over these matters but devoted more effort than he to musical composition, *i.e.* that in the words, and its use and to these three fairest of arts, viz. music, rhythmic and metric, bringing as it were shawms, citharas and lyres into conjunction with his own plots. When he has to use barbarian accents, he imitates their speech in such a way that the same man is considered best in using Greek and most precise in committing solecisms (the element in barbarian speech which is contrary to Attic is solecistic). There are times when he deviates from propriety and comes more under the sway of the power of his own eloquence than of the strict demands of the poetry. For instance, when he has brought Hecuba onstage as antagonist to Odysseus, a man of noble birth and oratorical skill, he raises her up against him and gives her the prize of honor; he has Odysseus declaim not without charm, but he makes him inferior to a captive woman! [transl. A. R. Dyck]

Indeed, Psellus was particularly keen on ancient Greek drama—a rare occurrence in pre-Palaeologan Byzantium³⁴⁷—, and there is a chance that he may have composed a short treatise on tragedy, partly derived from Aristotelian doctrine and partly original in its approach to metre, poetic diction, scenography (*ekkyklema* etc.), musical styles, dance and actorial conventions.³⁴⁸

Even if Byzantine philosophy does not fall within the scope of the present survey, it must be stressed that Psellus' commitment to the recovery and the study of Platonic and Neoplatonic thought (Porphyry, Iamblichus, Proclus, but also the Hermetic *corpus*) proved propaedeutic not only to the development of his own theoretical work (*e.g.* the important treatise *On miscellaneous wisdom* [*De omnifaria doctrina*], largely indebted to Plutarch and Proclus), but above all to a surge in the transmission and study of these authors in Byzantium.³⁴⁹ Psellus' letter to the patriarch Xiphilinus is paradigmatic in this respect as an attempt to rescue Plato and pagan philosophy in the sense indicated by the Church Fathers and by Gregory of Nazianzus in particular.³⁵⁰ Much as in the case of Homeric allegorism, Psellus keeps promoting pagan wisdom for the exclusive purpose of gaining useful teachings for the present age and a correct understanding of nature, without any conflict with the Christian faith.³⁵¹

347 Wilson [1996²] 177–179.

348 Browning [1963]; Perusino [1993].

349 Sicherl [1980] 538–543.

350 Criscuolo [1973]; Maltese [1994].

351 Kaldellis [2007] 191–219.

This is why Psellus' 'humanism' has been often seen as a compromise that gave no impulse to a first-hand scholarly activity on texts or to a true philosophical revival, but fostered a new inquiry into the intellectual and literary genealogy of well-known authors (Gorgias behind Hermogenes, Plato behind Proclus etc.).³⁵²

Even so, Psellus' Platonism earned him the sentence of having to make a public profession of orthodox faith, and a brief relegation in a monastery.³⁵³ Much more severely, Psellus' pupil John Italus, a native of Southern Italy who succeeded him in the chair of philosophy in 1055, was put to trial in 1076 and confined to a monastery six years later for his overt adherence to Platonism, and for his attempt to deal on the same level with pagan philosophy and with Christian theology.³⁵⁴ The text of the anathema against Italus and his works (which, despite the *damnatio*, partly survive down to our own day) is a remarkable *caveat* against "those who study the Greek disciplines and not only for the sake of educational training but also follow these vain doctrines and believe in them as having certainty, so that they initiate others into these doctrines, some by stealth, others openly, and teach them without hesitation".³⁵⁵ Although Italus' learning extended to grammar and poetry,³⁵⁶ his symbolic importance in the cultural history of 11th-century Byzantium is connected with the vicissitudes and the meaning of his trial:³⁵⁷ the risk of a Neo-platonic haeresy was to pop up frequently in the 12th century, not only at the imperial court,³⁵⁸ but also in the wider context of culture, from the inaugural lectures in the

352 Ljubarskij [2004] 348–356.

353 Michel [1954].

354 Kazhdan-Epstein [1985] 158–166.

355 Gouillard [1967] 57–61 and 192–194 on Classical culture in a Christian *milieu* from Origen through the Byzantine age—see esp. p. 59, ll. 214–18 τοῖς τὰ ἑλληνικὰ διεξιούσι μαθήματα καὶ μὴ διὰ παιδείουσιν μόνον ταῦτα παιδευομένοις ἀλλὰ καὶ δόξαις αὐτῶν ταῖς ματαίαις ἐπομένοις καὶ ὡς ἀληθεῖσι πιστεύουσι, καὶ οὕτως αὐταῖς ὡς τὸ βέβαιον ἔχουσαις ἐγκειμένοις, ὥστε καὶ ἐτέρους ποτὲ μὲν λάθρα, ποτὲ δὲ φανερώς ἐνάγειν αὐταῖς καὶ διδάσκειν ἀνευδοιάστως, ἀνάθεμα.

356 *E.g.* his *quaestio* 43 (pp. 53–55 Joannou) revisits the gates of dreams in *Odyssey* 19.562–67; his *quaestio* 71 (p. 121.10 Joannou) discusses the allegorical interpretation of Zeus' jars in *Odyssey* 24.527; he also wrote a grammatical essay against Psellus' Georgian pupil John Petritsi. See Wilson [1996²] 153–155; Pontani [2005b] 157.

357 On which see Clucas [1981], esp. 140–163 on the various anathemas and their background, and Gouillard [1985]. Fryde [2000] 50–52.

358 The number of known trials against haeretical or unorthodox philosophers and theologians rose to 25 during the 12th century: Browning [1975a].

patriarchal academy³⁵⁹ down to the choice of whether or not to copy new manuscripts of Plato.

This trend contributed to the enforcement of a sort of cultural barrier between philosophy and theology,³⁶⁰ and more in general to the gradual severing of the links with Classical antiquity as a full-fledged heritage of thought (and art: one need just think of the difference between the Nea Moni on Chios and the later frescoes of Peć or Chora). But this did not necessarily entail adverse consequences for the development of textual scholarship: “The repression of metaphysical speculation under the Comnenoi did not inhibit the study of ancient texts for their own sake, and may even have proved beneficial to language and literature . . . By renouncing, or denouncing, Hellenism as a system of thought, they were able to preserve and even proclaim Hellenism as a mode of expression”.³⁶¹

3.3 *The Comnenian Age: General Features*

The age of the Comnenian dynasty (ca. 1081–1185) marks in many ways a fresh beginning as regards the cultural trends of the Byzantine empire. First and foremost, the imperial court played a far more active role than before, both in terms of patronage and through direct initiative in the domain of education. Patronage was exercised not only by the emperors themselves, but also by their relatives such as Anna Comnena, Bertha of Sulzbach or the sebastokratorissa Irene:³⁶² either by hiring individual scholars for a specific intellectual duty, or by creating a true reading circle, these members of the imperial elite contributed crucially to the protection and the promotion of culture in Constantinople.³⁶³

This is also the first period in Byzantine history for which we can point out with a degree of certitude that curricular instruction was offered in the capital, both by the state and by the patriarchate, in newly reorganised institutions that worked alongside each other in a spirit of co-operation or at least in non-conflictual terms (Alexius I Comnenus restructured the panel of teachers in 1107, shortly after the school of the patriarchate had been refurbished by the

359 Michael of Anchialos when promoted to the chair of *hypatos ton philosophon* in 1165/67: see Browning [1977], iv.

360 Agapitos [1998] 187–191; Podskalsky [2003].

361 Magdalino [1991] 11. See also Magdalino [2012] 19.

362 On the latter see Rhoby [2009] and Jeffreys-Jeffreys [1994].

363 Mullett [1983]; Jeffreys [2011]; Cavallo [2002b] 429–431; Kazhdan-Epstein [1985] 121–133.

patriarch Nicholas III Grammaticus).³⁶⁴ Many of those who belonged to the scholarly *milieux* and most of the educated civil servants and ecclesiastical dignitaries were trained both personally and professionally in the imperial or the patriarchal academy, under the supervision of a pool of teachers that included decade after decade most of the *intelligentsija* of the Greek-speaking world, from Nicephorus Basilaces to Eustathius of Thessalonica, from Michael Italicus to Nicetas of Heraclea, from Gregory of Corinth to George Tornices, etc.³⁶⁵ This does not detract from the permanence and the importance of informal classes in the homes of intellectuals and the *grammatikoi*, and it should be remembered that we have evidence of a new substantial interest in a systematised higher education rather than of the structure of a proper ‘university’.³⁶⁶

The share and the quality of Classical learning in the patriarchal school can be gauged by looking at some remarkable scholars who taught there: one such figure was Nicetas of Heraclea (also known as Nicetas of Serres, but not to be confused with Psellus’ companion Nicetas, of whom more above § 3.2), who lived between the late 11th and the early 12th century, and probably reached the honour of *oikoumenikos didaskalos*—whether or not this term has a direct connection with the oecumenical patriarchate.³⁶⁷ Nicetas of Heraclea may or may not be the copyist and commentator of the excellent and richly annotated manuscript Marc. Gr. 476 of Lycophron and Aratus,³⁶⁸ but he was certainly the author of catenae and scholia on orations of the Church Fathers, of a short treatise on metre,³⁶⁹ of a versified *résumé* of Greek grammar and syntax,³⁷⁰ and of various didactic poems on orthography and lexicography, including some on eccentric subjects such as the epithets of the Olympian gods or the forms of the aorist subjunctive.³⁷¹ The most likely context of these works was teaching in schools.

364 Browning [1981]; Katsaros [2003]; Flusin [2008] 390–391; Fuchs [1926] 29 and 47; Luzzatto [2000] 53–54.

365 See the impressive list by Browning [1962–1963], completed by Constantinides [1982] 51; Agapitos [1998] 190–191.

366 See the “pessimistic” view by Speck [1974a] 64–80, and Magdalino [1993] 325–330.

367 Lemerle [1971] 85–88 and 95–96.

368 Martin [1956] 229–230. Wilson [1996²] 180–181.

369 Ed. Koster [1922] 101–113.

370 Ed. Boissonade II [1830] 340–393; see Tovar [1969].

371 Hunger [1978] 20 and Hörandner [2012] 64–66; Darrouzès [1960]; Roosen [1999] and Antonopoulou [2003], with a fresh account of biographical and bibliographical data; Nicetas’ poem in hymnic form on the pagan epithets of the Olympian gods is a remarkable *tour de force*: Kaldellis [2009a] 14–15; Browning [1963] 14–17.

Another interesting case is that of the distinguished rhetor Michael Italicus († *ante* 1157), who eventually became in 1142 “teacher of the Gospel” (διδάσκαλος τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου): according to his own words, he used to offer his pupils a “banquet of wisdom” (λογικὴ πανδαισία) embracing many pagan authors, from poets to mathematicians (including Sappho and Euclid), and thereby leading “to the bosoms of the Gospel” (εἰς τοὺς εὐαγγελικούς κόλπους).³⁷² This attitude not only lay at the origin of the wealth of Classical learning in Italicus’ orations, but it was also reflected in his philological concerns and *institutio*, as they appear for instance in a letter written in 1143 from Philippopolis to an Alexius Comnenus:³⁷³ in addressing a detail of interpretation and with a gratuitous digression on the meaning of the adjectives *homognios* and *homaimon* (not just “brother”, but more broadly “relative”), the author invokes several ancient authorities such as Homer, Hesiod, Euripides, Plato and Lucian, and mentions the peculiar sense of *haima* as *genos* in *Odyssey* 4.611 (already discussed by the *sch. v in Od.* 4.611a), as well as Nicander’s verse address to Hermesianax in *Theriaca* 3 “o most illustrious of my many *homaimoi*” (πολέων κудίσταθ’ ὁμαίμων, a reading nowhere attested in Nicander’s manuscripts), whereby he clarifies that:

καὶ δῆλον ὡς οὐκ ἀδελφὸν αὐτὸν ὠνόμασεν ἐκ τοῦ καὶ τινα τῶν ἀντιγράφων “πηῶν” ἔχειν τὸ τοῦ μέτρου ἀκροτελεύτιον. <ἐν> ἐνίοις γὰρ τῶν βιβλίων οὕτως ἐφεύρομεν· “πολέων κудίστατε πηῶν”· ὁ δὲ “πηὸς” συγγενῆς ἐστὶ δῆπουθεν.

clearly he did not call him “brother”, for some copies have “*peon*” [of the *peoi*] as the fag-end of the line: in some of the exemplars we have found “*poleon kudistate peon*” [most illustrious of my many *peoi*], and *peos* is a generic noun for “relative”.

Many other scholars taught in the patriarchal academy during the first half of the century. But a no less crucial feature of the Comnenian age consisted in the imperial court’s special interest in the ancient Hellenic heritage. Far from the asphyctic walls of schools and academies, in a delicate historical juncture where “they needed to counterbalance the territorial contraction of their Empire”,³⁷⁴ the emperors and their circles rediscovered or reshaped part of their Greek identity precisely around the Hellenic past and classical *exempla*, in a ‘double-tongued’ discursive synthesis that was not in conflict

372 Gautier [1972] 156; Cavallo [2010] 28.

373 *Epist.* 35 Gautier (the references below are to p. 216.17–20 and 218.2–9 respectively).

374 Roilos [2005] 302.

with the Christian and Roman pedigree but supplemented it with the flavour and the very substance of a glorious civilisation: the pagan gods were back in fashion, political and historical speculation cautiously started to take into account ancient Athens behind the old and the new Rome, and some of the ancient works dealing with pagan history and mythology became essential reading for every educated man.³⁷⁵ This is very evident in the fresh approach to Homer and Homeric studies as a repertoire for historians, as a source of inspiration for poets and writers, and as a working ground for philologists (from Theodore Prodromus to Eustathius of Thessalonica, from the novelists to Constantine Manasses to Nicetas Choniates).³⁷⁶ But perhaps even more impressive is the creation, by the hand of an anonymous scholar deeply familiar with ancient literature, of a refined cento of 5th-century Attic drama known as *Christus patiens*, and dealing in very sophisticated and allusive (chiefly Euripidean) terms with the Passion of Christ (the text used to be attributed, wrongly, to Gregory of Nazianus).³⁷⁷

To be sure, a suspicious attitude against profane culture, and specifically against the teaching of ancient Greek grammar, continued to make itself felt, *e.g.* when the rhetor George Tornices, metropolitan of Ephesus in the 1150s, gave voice to the worries of Alexius I, and wrote that the wise emperors and educators did show a high consideration for culture and studies, but:³⁷⁸

τὴν γε μὴν προτρέχουσαν τούτων γραμματικὴν, ἧς τὸ κράτιστον μὲν ἢ ποιήσεις, ἧς τὸ πολύθειον εἴτ' οὖν ἄθεον καὶ μῦθοι τὸ γνῶρισμα, οἱ θεοὺς πλάττουσιν ἐρώντας δυσέρωτας ἔρωτας καὶ παρθένων φθορὰς καὶ ἀρρένων ἀρπαγὰς καὶ ἄλλην ἀριστουργίαν ἐν λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις πολὺ τὸ ἄσεμνον ἔχουσαν, ταύτην μὲν καὶ ἀνδράσιν ἐπικίνδυνον, γυναιξὶ δὲ καὶ παρθένους καὶ λίαν ἐπίβουλον καλῶς νενομίκασιν, ὧν δὴ ἀκοὰς καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς παρθενεύειν χρῆναι κεκρίκασιν.

the grammar preceding these doctrines [*scil.* dialectic and philosophy], whose main topic is poetry connotated by polytheism (or actually atheism) and by myths that depict badly lovesick gods, raped virgins, abducted males, and other remarkable feats entirely indecent in the facts and in the accounts; this grammar, then, they rightly judged both dangerous for

375 Kaldellis [2007] 225–255. Macrides-Magdalino [1992].

376 Basilikopoulou-Ioannidou [1971–1972], esp. 119–166 with a census of the thematic and linguistic borrowings from Homer in 12th-century authors; Browning [1992]; Pontani [2005b] 159–163.

377 Hörandner [1988]; Pontani [2006b].

378 Darrouzès [1970] 245.5–11.

men and treacherous for women and girls, whose eyes and ears, in their view, should remain virgin.

Despite these tensions and reservations, however, the so-called 'revival' or 'renaissance' of the 12th century³⁷⁹ created a favourable atmosphere enabling intellectuals not only to salvage, preserve and compile what remained of the literary and philological scholarship of antiquity, but also to engage in the active practice of textual and interpretive criticism of ancient texts.³⁸⁰ This trend affected all levels of culture, from scholastic teaching all the way up to pure scholarly research.

3.4 *The Comnenian Age: Schedography and Grammar*

What was chiefly at stake in this period was precisely how pagan literature should be used: on the one hand stood a cautious trend that considered ancient works as mere pre-texts for grammatical exercises, parsing and everyday schooling practices; on the other, there was no shortage of voices urging a deeper philological and philosophical engagement with the same texts, well beyond their re-use as a mode of expression for purely educational or rhetorical ends. The essence of this contrast is highlighted in a famous passage of Anna Comnena's *Alexiad* (15.7.9):

ταῦτα δὲ λέγω ἀχθομένη διὰ τὴν παντελῆ τῆς ἐγκυκλίου παιδεύσεως ἀμέλειαν. τοῦτο γάρ μου τὴν ψυχὴν ἀναφλέγει, ὅτι πολὺ περὶ ταῦτὰ ἐνδιατέτριφα, κἂν, ἐπειδὴν ἀπὴλλασθαι τῆς παιδαριώδους τούτων σχολῆς καὶ εἰς ῥητορικὴν παρήγγειλα καὶ φιλοσοφίας ἠψάμην καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἐπιστημῶν πρὸς ποιητὰς τε καὶ ξυγγραφεῆς ἦξα καὶ τῆς γλώττης τοὺς ὄχθους ἐκείθεν ἐξωμαλίσάμην, εἶτα ῥητορικῆς ἐπαρηγόσης ἐμοὶ κατέγων τῆς πολυπλόκου τῆς σχεδογραφίας πλοκῆς

I am distressed by the complete neglect of general elementary education. This enrages my mind because I have spent much time on these same parsings, and when I escaped from these puerile studies and took up rhetoric and applied myself to philosophy, as part of these studies I turned eagerly to the writers of poetry and prose, and from them I smoothed away for myself the roughness of my speech, and finally, with the help

379 See Basilikopoulou-Ioannidou [1971–1972] 169–199, and a thorough discussion of the reliability of this terminology in Magdalino [1993] 382–412.

380 Browning [1995] 23.

of rhetoric, I condemned the complicated twist of schedography. [transl. G. Buckler]

Schedography was a method of systematic, elementary and rather repetitive linguistic analysis of the words of a specifically composed text—in prose or verse—, involving features of etymology, orthography and grammar (it ultimately derived from epimerisms), and designed as an aid for pupils to recall the morphological and lexical peculiarity of every single term and construction rather than to obtain any sense of the general meaning or literary value of the text at issue.³⁸¹ These model-texts often included well-thought-out misspellings, tricky orthographies and problematic pronunciations, precisely in order to prompt reflection among pupils: for example, an enigmatic text by the renowned rhetor and satirical writer Theodore Prodromus [† *ante* 1157] on Nicholas of Myra can be read in a twofold way depending on word-division, itacistic traps and consonantal word-play;³⁸² some iconic lines by his contemporary Leo of Rhodes convey not only a professor's lament on the toil of teaching, but above all a reminder about the use of completive participles and the double accusative, as well as a pun between the homophonous locutions *eis os / isos* (εἰς ὧς / ἴσως, “in the ear”—“in the same way”):³⁸³

κέκμηκα καὶ γὰρ προσλαλῶν βρεφυλλίους,
 πλέκων ἀπείπον τοὺς ἀμιλλητηρίους.
 ὧς οὖν ἐφάνης, Παῦλε, κυρίου στόμα
 λέγων πρὸς ὧτα τῷ σοφῷ διδασκάλῳ,
 οὕτω περ ἴσως τληπαθοῦς ἀνδρὸς χάριν
 τῷ πατριάρχῃ φράζει τῆς οἰκουμένης.
 διδάξον αὐτὸν τοὺς μακροὺς ἐμοὺς πόνους
 ὄσους ἀνέτλην σῆς χάριν κληρουχίας.

381 Robins [1993] 127–148; Browning [1975a] 9; Browning [1976]; Gallavotti [1983]; Festa [1931]; Polemis [1995]; Efthymiadis [2005] 266–271; Ciccolella [2008] 113–118; a synthetic overview in Hunger [1978] 24–29.

382 Vassis [1993–1994] 10–12, ll. 4–6: χρηστὰ γάρ τιν' ἄμμιν οἴσων ἐπιδεδήμηκεν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ βύζαντος γῆν, μᾶλλον δὲ ἤδη κεκόμικε πόλλ' εἰς πάσαν νικολαϊκῶν ἂν ἐπλήσθη χαρίτων = χρηστὰ γάρ τινα μηνύσων ἐπιδεδήμηκεν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Βύζαντος γῆν, μᾶλλον δὲ ἤδη καὶ κώμη καὶ πόλις πάσα Νικολαϊκῶν ἀνεπλήσθη χαρίτων “For he came to Byzantium bringing us good news (but every village and every town are already full of Nicholas' grace)”.

383 Miller [2003] 12–13 (ll. 8–15).

For I am worn out in addressing the tribes of young children, / and I renounce my weaving contentious words. / Therefore, just as you appeared as the mouth of the Lord, O Paul, / when you spoke into the ear of the wise teacher [John Chrysostom], / so, in the same way, on behalf of a wretched man / speak to the ecumenical patriarch. / Teach him my long painful labors, / as many as I have endured on behalf of your inheritance. [transl. T. S. Miller]

Leo's "contentious words" are in fact a reference to contests of schedography between pupils and schools, which were very popular in this age: from these lines one may even conjecture that the patriarch himself attended these competitions—and Leo's school, the Orphanotropheion, was by no means a minor institution: it numbered amongst its teachers or pupils a large part of the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the age, including important scholars such as Constantine Stilbes, metropolitan of Cyzicus in 1204, who proved capable of judging the authenticity of several works attributed to John Chrysostom on the basis not only of moral and theological arguments, but also of stylistic and palaeographical criteria (*e.g.* he warned from the danger of assigning excessive significance to the age of manuscripts).³⁸⁴

However foreign to scholarly activity *stricto sensu*, schedography earned the attention and harsh criticism of Anna Comnena and John Tzetzes³⁸⁵ due to its enormous spreading and influence from the 11th through the 14th century: affecting even high-brow circles such as those of Michael Psellus and Constantine IX Monomachus,³⁸⁶ and becoming an indispensable tool for the elementary schooling of a broader public of pupils (witness, for instance, the first exercises of John Mesarites),³⁸⁷ it gradually diverted attention away from the canonical descriptive texts of earlier centuries such as those of Dionysius Thrax, Apollonius Dyscolus, Theodosius and Choeroboscus.³⁸⁸

Traditional grammar, however, did not die out entirely: a comprehensive treatise on the subject may stem from Prodromus himself,³⁸⁹ and lexicography

384 Lackner [1984].

385 *Chiliades* 9.703–708 Leone "for the many have become barbarians through their schedographies, / without reading at all the books of the ancients": καὶ γὰρ ἐβαρβαρώθησαν οἱ πλείους σχεδουργίαις, / βιβλους ἀναγινώσκοντες τῶν παλαιῶν οὐδόλως. Other texts are collected by Efthymiadis [2005] 269.

386 Miller [2003]; Gaul [2005]; Webb [1994] 85–87.

387 Flusin [2006] and above § 1.1.

388 See *e.g.* Markopoulos [2006] 93–95 and Ronconi [2012a] 90–99.

389 Zagklas [2011]; ed. Goettling [1822] 80–197.

experienced a period of remarkable flourishing. This was namely the age of two very popular etymological lexica, known as *Etymologicum Symeonis* (ca. 1100–1150),³⁹⁰ and *Etymologicum Magnum*. The latter represents simultaneously the bulkiest of Byzantine dictionaries and a free re-elaboration of the *Genuinum* and *Gudianum*, with interpolations from the lexicon of ‘Cyril’, further reworked (through suitable additions and omissions) in order to satisfy the needs of contemporary literate society.³⁹¹

Perhaps the most distinguished grammarian of this age (also a professor of rhetoric at the patriarchal school) is Gregory Pardus, archbishop of Corinth some time between 1092 and 1156:³⁹² he composed a learned commentary on Hermogenes’ *On the forcefulness of style*,³⁹³ an exegesis on John the Damascene’s iambic canon for the Pentecost,³⁹⁴ an essay on syntax, partly building on Syncellus,³⁹⁵ and a handbook on style dispensing guidelines and judgments about the writing of prose and iambic poetry, and setting the very influential canon of the four most brilliant orations ever written in Greek language (Demosthenes’ *On the Crown*, Aristides’ *Panathenaic*, Gregory of Nazianzus’ *Epitaph on Basil the Great*, Psellus’ *Autobiography*).³⁹⁶ The mingling of Christian and pagan learning emerges from the ensemble of Gregory’s *oeuvre*: in his exegesis to the iambic canon (a peculiar grammatical and theological genre that developed in the 12th and 13th centuries),³⁹⁷ flat paraphrases of single strophes and elaborate discussions of Christological issues are flanked by disquisitions on the etymology of the word *πόπυσμα* or on the role of long compound adjectives in hymnic poetry,³⁹⁸ thus displaying a special taste for the sometimes rare and obscure linguistic features of the Damascene’s language.

390 Only partly edited: see Sell [1968]; Berger [1972]; Lasserre-Livadaras [1976–1992]; Baldi [2013]. Its interest lies *inter alia* in the fact that it faithfully reproduces the glosses of the *Genuinum*, thus enabling their reconstruction when the two mss. of that lexicon are damaged or missing.

391 Ed. Gaisford [1848]; letters α – β are also available in the synoptic edition of Lasserre-Livadaras [1976–1992]. See Reitzenstein [1897] 241–248. A much smaller compilation is the so-called *Etymologicum Parvum*, ed. Pintaudi [1973].

392 Browning [1962–1963] 19–20.

393 Kaldellis [2009a] 16–17.

394 Ed. Montana [1995].

395 It shows the same system of parts of speech, and the same overlap with philosophical categories: see Robins [1993] 163–172 and Donnet [1967a].

396 Wilson [1996²] 184–187.

397 Giannouli [2007] and Demetrakopoulos [1979].

398 Gregory of Corinth, *Exegesis on the iambic canon* 17.4 and 2.5–6 Montana respectively.

But the work that constitutes Gregory of Corinth's best claim to renown today is his lengthy treatise on the Greek dialects,³⁹⁹ whose degree of originality has, however, often been called into question. The author himself mentions among his sources Trypho and John Philoponus; modern research has confirmed these debts, and has also detected debts to the scholia to Dionysius Thrax—all in all, little seems to proceed directly from Gregory's own autonomous learning. In the treatise, we find a series of (sometimes precious) quotations from ancient authors digested according to their alleged provenance: the preface mentions Aristophanes, Thucydides and Demosthenes for Attic, Hippocrates for Ionic, Archytas (!) and Theocritus for Doric, Alcaeus for Aeolic (though of course *e.g.* Euripides, Herodotus and Pindar often appear in connection with their respective dialects, and Homer for all of them). Then we read a definition also indebted to late antique models:⁴⁰⁰

Διάλεκτός ἐστὶν ἰδίωμα γλώσσης, ἢ διάλεκτός ἐστι λέξις ἴδιον χαρακτήρα τύπου [τόπου Schaefer] ἐμφαίνουσα. Ἰὰς ἐκλήθη ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰωνος, τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Κρεούσης τῆς Ἐρεχθέως θυγατρὸς, ἣ ἔγραψεν Ὀμηρος. Ἀτθίς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀτθίδος, τῆς Κραναοῦ θυγατρὸς, ἣ ἔγραψεν Ἀριστοφάνης. Δωρίς ἀπὸ Δώρου τοῦ Ἑλλήνος, ἣ ἔγραψε Θεόκριτος. Αἰολίς ἀπὸ Αἰόλου τοῦ Ἑλλήνος, ἣ ἔγραψεν Ἀλκαίος. κοινὴ δὲ ἦ πάντες χρώμεθα, καὶ ἣ ἐχρήσατο Πίνδαρος, ἡγουν ἢ ἐκ τῶν δ' συνεστῶσα. ἐκάστη δὲ διάλεκτος ἔχει οἰκεῖον ἰδίωμα.

A dialect is the idiom of a language, or a lexical form displaying the peculiar character of a genre [*or*: of a single place]. Ionic was named after Ion, the son of Apollo and of Creusa the daughter of Erechtheus: Homer used it. Attic was named after Atthis, the daughter of Kranaos, and it was used by Aristophanes. Doric after Dorus the son of Hellen, and it was used by Theocritus. Aeolic after Aeolus the son of Hellen, and it was used by Alcaeus. The *koine* is the dialect we all use (and Pindar used it as well), namely the dialect arising out of the other four. Every dialect has its own peculiarity.

Gregory's work on the whole lacks a coherent structure, and it shows a number of mistakes, oddities and inconsistencies, but it deserves consideration as an ambitious attempt to systematise such a difficult issue for the benefit of

399 Ed. Schaefer [1811]; see Bolognesi [1953] and Consani [1991] 59–68.

400 Pp. 9–12 Schaefer. For the reading τύπου instead of Schaefer's conjecture τόπου see Consani [1991] 66.

readers of Classical authors—one which would hardly be superseded by later efforts of the same kind.⁴⁰¹

3.5 *The Comnenian Age: Commenting Texts*

When Anna Comnena (1083–1153), one of the most brilliant Byzantine historians and herself an important (if politically unfortunate) member of the ruling dynasty,⁴⁰² regrets the time wasted in schedographic exercises (see above § 3.4), she is implicitly referring to her own very different and inspiring readings of ancient literature (those permeating the literary texture of the *Alexiad*), but also to her own unprecedented activity of cultural patronage, which led her to create and support a lively literary and philosophical circle. This circle included the Aristotelian commentators Eustratius of Nicaea and Michael of Ephesus:⁴⁰³ the former, a pupil of John Italus and himself convicted of heresy and forced to abdicate from his archbishopric, wrote on the *Nicomachean Ethics*, and devoted himself also to the exegesis of logical works; Michael of Ephesus, a faithful follower of Alexander of Aphrodisia, wrote extensively on the *Sophistic Refutations* and on many physical, cosmological and ethical treatises included in the *corpus* of Aristotle.⁴⁰⁴ Michael and Eustratius, who focused on different works of the Stagirite and thus strove at once to revive late antique exegesis and fill in its gaps, believed firmly in the relevance of Peripatetic doctrine to contemporary ethics and values, even beyond the religious distinctions. It is possible that their interest in Aristotle prompted some of the early Italian visitors to Constantinople (above all James of Venice) to produce the invaluable Latin translations that proved paramount for the return of Peripatetic thought to the West and, in due course, for the rise of scholastic philosophy (see below § 3.8).

That these Byzantine scholars should choose to write commentaries rather than autonomous philosophical treatises is in keeping with the philosophical tradition that had started in the previous century, above all with Psellus' *oeuvre* and his interest in late antique Neoplatonists. But the popularity of commentary as a genre is a hallmark of the 12th century, by no means limited to the

401 Including one unduly attributed to the 13th-century scholar Manuel Moschopoulos: see Hunger [1978] 31–32 with references, and Cengarle [1971].

402 Gouma Peterson [2000].

403 Wilson [1996²] 182–183; Kaldellis [2009a] 36–39; Browning [1962]. Conley [1990] 38–40. Fryde [2000] 54–58. Arabatzis [2006] 17–36.

404 Some of his works ended up in the *Okeanos*, namely ms. Laur. 85.1: Cacouros [2000]; Fryde [2000] 193–196. For Michael's interest in Aristotelian works on biology and zoology see Hellmann in this volume.

domain of philosophy: the revival of Classical poets from Homer to Lycophron resulted in an unprecedented production of exegetical works, designed either for an audience of scholars and advanced pupils or for a broader public of amateurs, by and large corresponding with the elite that patronaged letters.⁴⁰⁵ Two interesting examples of these distinct approaches to the art of exegesis are, respectively, John Diaconus Galenus and Isaac Sebastocrator.

The former, of whom virtually nothing is known other than the name (indeed, his very chronology is uncertain),⁴⁰⁶ wrote a long, though not continuous allegorical commentary to Hesiod's *Theogony*,⁴⁰⁷ which displays strong familiarity with ancient grammatical techniques, but at the same time represents perhaps the first attempt towards a thorough Platonising Christianisation of an ancient epic poem: we find here the reading of Zeus as God, the lore of Pythagorean numerology, the ethical or physical resonances of Olympian myth, the astronomical symbolism of Hecate and related deities, the etymological approach to the truth underlying Hesiod's innumerable proper names, and other similar interpretive devices. The following reading of the myth of Prometheus, while appended to a specific Hesiodic passage, clarifies Galenus' sophisticated transition between the Platonic and the Christianising approach.⁴⁰⁸

Πλατωνικῶν δὲ παῖδες τὴν δόξαν ταύτην σφετερισάμενοι θρυλλοῦσιν ἄνω καὶ κάτω, ὡς διὰ τινὰ ἁμαρτίαν ἐς τὸ σῶμα κατακέκριται ἐμπεσεῖν ἢ ψυχῆ· οὐκ ἄτοπον δὲ εἶ τις ὀρθῶς ἐθέλει νοεῖν τὰ λεγόμενα, καὶ ἐς τὴν ἡμετέραν αὐλὴν τὴν εὐσεβῆ παρεισάξαι τὸν μῦθον, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ προπάτορος ἐκλαβέσθαι τὸ νόημα εὐσεβῶς, ὡς ἠπάτησε μὲν τὸν δημιουργὸν ὁ πρωτόπλαστος, τὴν ἐντολὴν παραβάς, ἐξόριστος δὲ γέγονεν ἕκτοτε τῆς Ἑδέμ καὶ τοὺς δερματίνους ἀμφιέννυται χιτῶνας τὴν παχυτέραν ταύτην σάρκα, καὶ τὴν ἐπίπονον διαγωγὴν κληροῦται καὶ τὴν εἰς τὸ κλαυθμῶνος πέδον κατὰκρισιν, καὶ τὴν ἐν ἰδρώτι τοῦ προσώπου βρῶσιν τοῦ ἄρτου, καὶ τὰς παλαμναίας ἀράς· καὶ τὸ δὴ τελευταῖον ἐπιτίμιον, τὸν θάνατον, ἕως οὗ Ἡρακλῆς ἐλθὼν, ὁ ἐμὸς Ἰησοῦς, τῶν δεσμῶν ἠλευθέρωσεν.

Platonists appropriated this view, and famously affirmed that it was because of a sin that the soul had been condemned to fall into the body: nothing strange, then, if, wishing to understand the text correctly and

405 Kaldellis [2009a], esp. 19–20 and 24–36.

406 Cullhed [2014] 65–67, esp. 65 note 212.

407 Ed. Flach [1876] 295–365. See Roilos [2005] 128–130 and 168–170.

408 Jo. Diaconus Galenus, *On Hesiod's Theogony* 538, p. 336 Flach.

to introduce the myth in our own rightful court, one piously interprets its sense in relation to our forefather: for the first created man deceived the demiurge, violating his order, and was then exiled from Eden. Since then, he has worn this thicker flesh as a leathern coat, and has been allotted this toilsome life, being condemned to live in the valley of tears, to eat bread with his sweat, to succumb to abominable maledictions and to the worst of penalties, death—until Heracles, my Jesus, comes to set him free.

Neoplatonic philosophy was still popular in these days: Isaac Sebastocrator (1093–post 1152), the son of the emperor Alexius I Comnenus, and thus Anna Comnena's younger brother, was so conversant with it as to produce excerpts and paraphrases from works of Proclus we no longer possess.⁴⁰⁹ But perhaps his most interesting achievement is an elaborate *ekdosis* of the *Iliad*, framed by a general preface and two introductory works, of modest originality, dealing with the *praetermissa ab Homero* (the facts that happened before and after the *Iliad*) and with the physiognomical features of the Homeric heroes.⁴¹⁰ This annotated edition, preserved in ms. Par. Gr. 2862, provides the poem with a remarkable series of scholia, some of which reproducing or rephrasing the ancient exegesis to the relevant lines (from the D-scholia to the bT-scholia down to Porphyry's *Homeric Questions*), others focusing on minute formal analysis (prosody, grammar, and particularly etymology, with some new interpretive suggestions; he also has some notes on rhetoric).⁴¹¹ Writing far-removed from any scholarly ambition, Isaac is hardly ever interested in textual criticism (indeed he sometimes defends absurd or unmetrical readings): rather, he prefers to concentrate on ethical and theological aspects, deploring passions (e.g. Achilles' wrath on *Il.* 22.358), declaring his misogyny (against Hera's deceitful speech on *Il.* 16.458), denouncing Athena's treacherous nature (on *Il.* 22.228–31), pondering on the relationship between gods and mortals (on *Il.* 24.423), on the cosmic and ethical value of friendship (on *Il.* 23.105), on the nature of dreams (on *Il.* 1.63) etc.

409 The best edition is Rizzo [1971]. See also Wilson [1996²] 180.

410 The treatises are edited by Kindstrand [1979] and Hinck [1873] 57–88. On Isaac's *ekdosis* see Pontani [2006a], with the *editio princeps* of selected scholia.

411 His interest in prosopopoea surfaces e.g. in his note to *Il.* 8.183, where we read an uncommon reference to Lucian: *πολλάκις δὲ τοῖς ἀψύχοις λόγοις καὶ ἔναρθροι φωναὶ προσάπτονται, ὡς ὁ Λουκιανὸς παρίστησι τὴν κλίην καὶ τὸν λύχνον κατηγοροῦς τῶν τοῦ Μεγαπένθους ἀδικημάτων* (cf. *Catapl.* 27).

An important element of Isaac's exegesis is allegoresis, both physical and ethical, though he rarely attains a true degree of originality: his work thus has a more banal ring to it than John Galenus' Hesiodic soundings. Not comparable either in scope or in depth with Eustathius' *Parekbolai* (on which more below § 3.7), Isaac's *ekdosis* sometimes includes baffling items: such is the case, for instance, when he reads in *Il.* 24.214 a non-existent participle *ἐκαβιζόμενον* instead of the right *ἐκακίζόμενον* (referred to Hector), and explains it as follows:

συναρμοζόμενον τῷ ἐμῷ δηλαδή τῆς Ἑκάβης βουλήματι καὶ βουλευμάτι καὶ τῇ παρακλήσει τῇ βιασάσῃ τοῦτον ἐντὸς εἰσελθεῖν τῆς Τροίας καὶ ἀποσχέσθαι τοῦ Ἄρεος. τὸ δ' ἐκαβιζόμενον ῥῆμα πανευφύεστατόν τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοῦ Ὀμήρου ῥημάτων καινοπρεπέστερον ἡμῖν ἔδοξεν

“complying with my (*i.e.* Hecuba's) intention and resolution, and with my plea that urged him to enter the walls of Troy and retire from the battle”. The verb *hekabizomenon* seemed to us extremely well-shaped and more original than the other Homeric verbs.

3.6 *John Tzetzes*

A layman having no direct professional link with the ecclesiastical or the imperial *milieu*, John Tzetzes (†1170 or 1180) was one of the most versatile and learned scholars in the Byzantine age, and in many ways an exception in the landscape of 12th-century culture. During his life, after working as a private teacher and subsequently falling into disgrace, he faced periods of severe economical difficulties,⁴¹² and found himself depending more than once on private patronage: the shrewdness and boldness exhibited when offering his services for money, a stern independence of judgment, a very idiosyncratic personality, all conjure up the complex character of a ‘freelance’ intellectual, “one of the first men in European society to live by his pen”,⁴¹³ ready to tackle the most diverse subjects in a highly sophisticated and original fashion.

A great expert on Homer, under the sponsorship of empress Bertha of Sulzbach and later of the court dignitary Constantine Cotertzes he produced two books of *Allegories on the Iliad* and *on the Odyssey* in decapentasyllables:⁴¹⁴ hexameters, instead, he used for a group of three poems summarising in a modern poetic fashion the essential information about the events of the Trojan

⁴¹² Grünbart [2005].

⁴¹³ Browning [1975b] 26.

⁴¹⁴ Ed. Boissonade [1851] and Hunger [1955 and 1956].

myth, named *Antehomerica*, *Homerica* and *Posthomerica*.⁴¹⁵ All these works were not strictly speaking scholarly achievements, but rather well-thought-out *divertissements* aiming to introduce an audience of non-specialists into the maeanders of Homeric mythology and ideology. The *Allegories*, an ambitious if partly unsystematic work, attempt to deal with all 48 books of Homer by singling out passages and lines suitable for a physical, a moral or an historical/pragmatic reading, with a special preference for the latter, the most interesting one for rhetoricians (we often find gods who become kings, divine ambassadors identified as letters, etc.).⁴¹⁶ This interpretive approach, while refraining from a consistent and overarching allegorical exegesis of either poem, did not require any deep Classical learning on the part of the audience: by neutralising the pagan element and at the same time stopping short of any Christianisation, by avoiding the dangers of atomisation and by contextualising every allegory within the framework of Homeric narration, by showing Homer as a ‘strong allegorist’ who intended to cover his discourse in implausible myths for reasons of *variatio* or of stylistic choice, Tzetzes succeeded in offering his amateur patrons an elegant and morally edifying version of the Trojan saga, and could thus appropriately claim that his approach grasped the truth of Homer’s poetic intention, surpassing earlier ones—Palaephatus, Heraclitus, Cornutus etc., the woman allegorist Demo (whom he paronomastically insults as a μῆμω “monkey”), and of course Psellus.

But John Tzetzes was above all the author of a very different and more ambitious sort of exegesis, clearly designed for a scholarly audience, and thus adequately displaying the author’s learning and his predisposition towards intellectual research and polemical attitudes. Of his commentary to the *Iliad*, only part of book 1 is preserved—indeed it is so detailed that one wonders if he ever got beyond that point:⁴¹⁷ as could be expected, Tzetzes virtually eclipses the original by treating it as a pretext for every kind of learned *excursus*, be it in the realm of prosody or etymology, of grammar or mythography, of ethical or allegorical interpretation. Whether or not this commentary was conceived and used in and for everyday school practice, it shows a plurality of approaches and offers a suitable floor for Tzetzes’ polemic against Psellos’ didactic methods, digressions and Christianising allegories: Homer may well be the source of all knowledge (including philosophy and the workings of the world), his myths are indeed rhetorical devices intended to entice the interest of the many in delving into hidden philosophical truths, but both Homer’s intellectual

415 Ed. Leone [1995].

416 Hunger [1954]. Cesaretti [1991] 171–204. Roilos [2005] 124–127.

417 Ed. Papatomopoulos [2007].

biography and the contents of *Iliad* and *Odyssey* must be reconstructed and understood *within* their historical context and ideological horizon, not in the arbitrary *vacuum* of a philosophical or theological stance.⁴¹⁸ In this respect, Tzetzes displays a very philological mind indeed.

Tzetzes is also the author of several *corpora* of scholia now lost or unpublished, e.g. to Sophocles,⁴¹⁹ to Oppian,⁴²⁰ to Porphyry's *Eisagoge*.⁴²¹ But he is best known for the impressive commentaries on Hesiod's *Works and Days*,⁴²² on Aristophanes' plays,⁴²³ and on Lycophron's *Alexandra*—the latter is attributed in the manuscripts to his brother Isaac, but was in fact certainly composed under John's direct scrutiny.⁴²⁴ All three works, preserved intact down to our day, address pivotal texts in the late antique and Byzantine curriculum (the fortune of Lycophron may sound unexpected to us, but it proceeds from the status of the *Alexandra* as a repository of exquisite mythographical learning, and as the only narrative poem in “dramatic” form),⁴²⁵ and they all interact with the respective *corpora* of *scholia vetera*. However, Tzetzes' attitude towards the heritage of ancient exegesis is rarely a passive one: the Hesiod commentary offers from the very beginning a proud statement of its novelty and originality, and is replete with critical remarks against the predecessor Proclus, who is reproached for his obscurity and manifold inadequacy.⁴²⁶ The remarkable blend of literary, allegorical, moral, etymological and mythographical learning in Tzetzes' writings on epic is well exemplified by the following passage on the Muses occurring in *Works and Days* 1 (29.13–30.1 Gaisford = ll. 109–33 Cardin):

ἀλλὰ Μοῦσα μὲν ἔστιν ἡ διὰ παιδεύσεως γνῶσις, οὐχ ἡ αὐτοφυῆς καὶ ἀδίδακτος φρόνησις. Μοῦσα δὲ λέγεται παρὰ τὸ ὑπὸ πάντων ἢ τῶν πλειόνων ζητεῖσθαι, ἢ παρὰ τὸ περὶ πολλῶν ζητεῖν καὶ πολυπραγμονεῖν συλληπτικῶς δὲ καὶ πληθυντικῶς ἢ Μοῦσα Μοῦσαι ἐκλήθη, καὶ ἑννέα εἶναι μυθεύονται, καὶ τρεῖς τρεῖς, ἤγουν πολλάκις πολλαί· ὁ γὰρ τρεῖς ἀριθμὸς πλήθους ἀρχή. κἄν γὰρ ἡ καθόλου γνῶσις μονοειδῆς ἔστι καὶ ἀπλή, ἀλλ' οὖν ταῖς κατὰ μέρος

418 Budelmann [2002]. Cesaretti [1991] 129–134 and 148–167.

419 Bevilacqua [1973–1974].

420 Napolitano [1973].

421 Harder [1895].

422 Ed. Gaisford [1823]; see also Colonna [1953 and 1954]; new edition in preparation by M. Cardin (see Cardin [2009] on the titles of Hesiod's poems).

423 Full commentaries on the triad *Wealth, Clouds, Frogs*: ed. Holwerda-Koster-Massa Positano [1960–1964].

424 Ed. Scheer [1881–1908].

425 De Stefani-Magnelli [2009].

426 Ponzio [2003].

ἐπιγνώσεσί τε καὶ ἐφευρέσειν εἰς ἄπειρον παρεκτείνεται· αἱ γὰρ ἐν ἀνθρώποις γνώσεις ἀμυδραὶ τε καὶ μερικώταται, καὶ οὐχ οἷα ἢ παρὰ τῷ θεῷ ἐνιαία τε καὶ ὀλόκληρος. γεννῶνται δὲ αἱ παρ' ἡμῖν αὐταὶ γνώσεις, αἱ Μοῦσαι, ἐν τῇ Πιερῷ, τῷ τοῦ Διὸς ἦτοι τῷ τοῦ νοδὸς οἰκητηρίῳ, τῷ περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἡμῶν τόπῳ, ἔνθα τὰ πῖονα καὶ πιμελῆ καὶ ἀγχινοῦστατα ῥέουσι, τοῦ Διὸς ἐννέα ἡμέρας μιγέντος τῇ Μνημοσύνῃ, τουτέστι τοῦ νοδὸς πολλάκις ἀναπολήσαντος καὶ μνημονεύσαντος ἃ ἀνέγνωκε. γεννηθεῖσαι δ' αἱ γνώσεις ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ Πιερῷ, οὐκ ἐν τῷ ὄρει, χορεύουσιν ἐν τῷ Ἑλικῶνι, τὸν αὐτῶν πατέρα Δία ὑμνοῦσαι, τουτέστιν ἐγγραφεῖσαι ταῖς βίβλοις ἐλίσσονται καὶ περιφέρονται πανταχοῦ, δίκην χορείας κηρύττουσαι τὸν αὐτὰς γεννησάμενον νοῦν. καὶ οὕτω τὸ τοῦ νοδὸς ἐγὼ οἰκητήριον Πιερῷαν καλῶ, τὰς βίβλους δὲ Ἑλικῶνας, ἐν αἷς περιχορεύουσιν αἱ Μοῦσαι γνώσεις, καὶ τὰ συγγράμματα.

But “Muse” is the knowledge obtained through education, not the innate and untaught wisdom. “*Mousa*” is so called because it is sought by everyone or by the many, or because it inquires and investigates on many things. The Muse is called collectively “Muses” in the plural: they are nine, according to myth, namely thrice three, *i.e.* many times many, for number three is the beginning of multitude. And even if the general knowledge is uniform and simple, it extends itself endlessly through the partial discoveries and inventions: the doctrines of men are faint and very partial, not like the divine one which is unitary and entire. And those doctrines of ours, the Muses, are born in Pieria, the dwelling of Zeus (*i.e.* of the intellect), namely the place in our head whence flow the fertile, abundant [*piona, pimele*] and wittiest thoughts, through a nine-day intercourse of Zeus with Mnemosyne, *i.e.* through the intellect’s repetition and memorisation of what it has read. Being born in this true Pieria (not on the mountain), the doctrines dance on the Helicon, celebrating their father Zeus: this means that, being written down in books, they whirl [*helisson-tai*] and circulate everywhere as if in a dance, announcing the intellect that has given them life. And thus I call Pieria the dwelling of the intellect, and Helicon the books through which the doctrines (*i.e.* the Muses) circulate, and the literary works.

The scholia to Aristophanes are largely indebted to ancient *corpora*, but expand them through comparisons with many other ancient Greek poets and with Tzetzes’ contemporary linguistic (and sometimes political) reality. They show a conservative textual critic who rarely accepts new readings in his text (even when he owns better manuscripts and proves capable of assessing their value), and indulges in all sorts of antiquarian details and

linguistic observations; here too, Tzetzes often displays a polemical attitude,⁴²⁷ particularly—due perhaps to the very content of the plays—in his commentaries to the *Frogs* and the *Wealth*, which may on occasion become somewhat verbose. For example, he does not refrain from declaring his need to pad the text with additional comments in order to fill the page,⁴²⁸ or the fear of hostile acts by his rivals bent on robbing him of some works and ideas.⁴²⁹ While hardly ever offering something new as regards the interpretation of Aristophanes himself, Tzetzes' works embody a certain rendering of the Byzantine Atticist trend, and at the same time they give a sense of a deep personal engagement of the commentator with his favourite dramatic author.

Finally, the commentary on Lycophron is a genuine mine of mythographic lore, equipped with dozens of quotations or allusions from extant or lost poetical works (among them, a number of fragments of the Epic Cycle, and of lost Euripidean tragedies), and it displays thorough familiarity with a vast range of handbooks and lexica, but above all with the exegetical *corpora* to other authors, starting from Homer. Tzetzes' acquaintance with unusual texts is demonstrated by the fact that he was the last known reader of a book by the archaic lyric Hipponax,⁴³⁰ and was familiar with Ptolemy's *Geography* (well before Planudes' rediscovery), with Ptolemy Chennus' cumbersome *New History*, with the early books of Cassius Dio's historiographical work, with some of Callimachus' fragments. . . .⁴³¹ The Lycophron commentary, however, is in bad need of a new edition singling out and explaining Tzetzes' genuine additions to the bulk of ancient exegesis: it is also worth noting that when the Byzantine's contributions are overtly declared as such, they present his characteristic features, such as rationalising allegories and a polemical attitude against the author.⁴³²

Minor treatises were devoted by Tzetzes to various aspects of Greek literature and scholarship: his *Prolegomena on comedy*, which he prefaced to the commentary on Aristophanes, as well as important sections of the proems to other commentaries,⁴³³ include a sketch of the literary history of archaic

427 Hunger [1967b].

428 *On Aristophanes' Wealth* 677b and 833b; but this should be understood in Tzetzes' wider concern for the *mise en page* of his exegetical works, see e.g. *On Aristophanes' Frogs* 843b with Koster's note.

429 *On Aristophanes' Frogs* 897a; the same issue is mentioned in Tzetzes' *epist.* 42 Leone.

430 Masson [1962] 42–52.

431 Wilson [1996²] 196.

432 E.g. *In Alex.* 111 and 805, pp. 58–59 and 253–254 Scheer respectively.

433 Ed. Koster [1975], no. xi and xxii respectively.

Greece (esp. lyric poetry and drama), a controversial history of the Pisistratean recension of the Homeric poems and of the translation of the Septuagint,⁴³⁴ and a detailed reconstruction of the library and the scholars in Hellenistic Alexandria (the author's interest in chronology emerges more fully in his bulky *Chiliades*—a sort of universal chronicle grown out of distinct scholia to his own letters—but also in other parts of his work).⁴³⁵ A didactic treatise in iambic trimeters on ancient Greek tragedy, largely devoted to its origins, structure, and metre, was compiled by Tzetzes on the basis of scholia to Euripides and Dionysius Thrax, the *Anonymus Parisinus* and other more remote sources.⁴³⁶ His inquiries into metre resulted in a short companion to the principal *cola*,⁴³⁷ but his brother Isaac surpassed him greatly in this respect: in his versified treatise on Pindar's odes⁴³⁸ Isaac paraphrased the metrical scholia but also displayed a certain familiarity with complex lyric systems and responsion,⁴³⁹ in an age when Byzantine doctrine on metre still widely relied on the rules put forth by Hephaestion's handbook, variously excerpted, commented, and amplified in the several, mostly anonymous short treatises devoted to the subject.⁴⁴⁰ Following in Isaac's footsteps, his later contemporary Trichas produced an influential *Synopsis of the nine metres*, based on the lines of a hymn to the Virgin.⁴⁴¹

We will never know what Tzetzes' "book of reasonings" (βιβλος τῶν λογισμῶν) looked like, if it ever existed: in a passage of his commentary on the *Frogs*,⁴⁴² he tells us it contained a critical discussion of 52 (!) Euripidean dramas and 119 books of various authors, while yet "other books bear my scattered reasonings on other wise authors", dealing with flaws, contradictions and various types of lapsus to be found in each of them. The latter statement has found some partial corroboration in the notes detected on two important manuscripts of ancient Greek historians: Tzetzes' autograph annotations on ms. Laur. 70.3 of Herodotus address issues of prosody, grammar, and accentuation,⁴⁴³

434 Ferreri [2002] 20–47.

435 *E.g. epist.* 81 Leone, where he correctly assigns Galen to the second century AD, or *Allegories on the Odyssey* 5.157–65, where he dates Theocritus in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and Homer to a later date than David and Salomon.

436 Ed. Pace [2011]; see Pace [2003].

437 Ed. Cramer [1835–1837] III 302–333.

438 Ed. Drachmann [1925].

439 Tessier [2003–2004]; Irigoin [1952] 57–72.

440 An overview of these texts and their editions is provided by Hunger [1978] 52–53.

441 Ed. Consbruch [1906] 363–399.

442 *On Aristophanes' Frogs* 1328, p. 1076.43–1077.55 Koster.

443 Luzzatto [2000].

while the fifty marginalia he penned in the margins of a late 9th-century codex of Thucydides (Heid. Pal. Gr. 252) display a greater ambition, and number among the most surprising, if unsystematic, philological achievements of the Comnenian age.⁴⁴⁴

In addition to the acute observation of some palaeographical peculiarities of the scribe (the position of final *sigma*, the old-fashioned system of accentuation and punctuation), Tzetzes offers here some more wide-ranging protests against the world of learning around him (we have mentioned his violent attacks on the new fashion of schedography and its popularity in the patriarchal academy: see also his note to Aristophanes' *Frogs* 1160a, p. 139 Koster), or against the obscurity (*asapheia*) or the syntactical soloecism of the author he is commenting on (notes on Thuc. 5.17.2 and 18.1–5). More specifically, when defending the reading *προφέρεται* against *προφέρετε* in Thuc. 1.123.2, he adds an extremely violent invective against those philologists (“offspring of pigs, of illiterate barbarians”) who correct sound texts without any guiding criterion, e.g. eliminating the psilosis from Ps.-Herodotus' *Life of Homer* (ἐφ' ἡμισείας, ἀφικνεῖται instead of the respective forms with π; he later pleads in favour of the manuscript's ἐπ' ἡμᾶς in the speech of the Thebans in 3.61.1—although he wonders why this is the only dialectal feature left in the entire speech):⁴⁴⁵

τὰς συγγραφὰς κρίνειν δὲ τεχνικῶ τρῶπι
 σκύλλου τε τουδὶ καὶ παλαιῶν καὶ νέων
 Τζέτζου μόνου χάρισμα δυσμαθεστάτου,
 ἢ φύρσις ὄνπερ καὶ χυδαιότης βίου
 ἐγγωνιώντα τῇ Στοᾷ καὶ τῇ Θόλῳ
 σύρει διαμπάξ, ἢ σοφὴ κουστωδία,
 ἀνθ' οὐπερ αὐτοῖς οὐδαμῶς συνειστρέχει
 ὅτι τέ φησι τεχνικῶς δέον γράφειν
 πεζοῖς ὁμοῦ λόγοις τε καὶ τοῖς ἐν μέτρῳ,
 φύρειν δὲ μηδὲν μηδαμοῦ τὰ τῆς τέχνης.

To judge according to the criteria of *technē* the writings / of this puppy [scil. Thucydides], of the ancients and the recent authors, / is the prerogative of Tzetzes, the most ignorant man: / as he crawls in a corner of the Stoa or of the Rotunda, / the learned guard, the coarse and confuse / mass of his time, targets and ridicules him / because he never rushes to chime

444 Full edition and commentary in Luzzatto [1999].

445 Luzzatto [1999] 48–59; see also below § 3.7.

in with their opinions, / and argues that one should write according to the *techne's* norm / both in poetry and in prose, / not polluting in any respect the principles of the *techne*.

Together with many other minor philological suggestions, some of which supported by references to his knowledge of literature (*e.g.* Euripides' *Alcmeon* quoted on Thuc. 2.102.5), or to unconventional etymologies (*Italia* from Latin *vitulus*, or *Gela* from river Gelas: the latter shows that he had access to a fuller copy of Stephanus of Byzantium's *Ethnika*), Tzetzes overtly addresses issues of manuscript transmission when praising the antiquity of manuscripts as a criterion for their textual reliability. This is the same idea lurking behind his lengthy metrical addition to the scholium on Aristophanes' *Wealth* 137 (p. 41.12–28 Massa Positano), against the βέβηλοι δυσμαθείς βιβλογράφοι who blemish recent codices:

ἐπεὶ δ' ὅς ἡμᾶς ἦν συνωθήσας γράφειν,
 πρῶτον παλαιᾶν οὐκ ἐφευρέ μοι βίβλον
 ἢ καὶ δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἔκ γε τῶν νεογράφων,
 ὡς ἄλλον ἐξ ἄλλης ἀνορθοίην στίχον,
 βίβλους ἐφευρῶν τῶν νεογράφων δύο . . .
 ὥρθουν μὲν ὥρθουν τὸ σκάφος τὸ τοῦ λόγου
 ἕως βραχὺ τὸ κύμα τῆς ἀτεχνίας.

because the man who had urged me to write / did not find for me an old book, / or at least two or three of the recent ones, / so that I may correct one line from one, one line from the other, / I then found two recent books . . . / and I redressed the ship of speech / until the wave of awkwardness remained tiny . . .

3.7 *Eustathius*

Tzetzes' aforementioned invective in the Thucydides notes was directed, amongst others, against the professors of the patriarchal school (the *Tholos* of St. Sophia) and of the imperial academy (the so-called Senate of the Philosophers, close to the Portico of Achilles). It is possible that Tzetzes included among his targets also the most distinguished figure among such professors, although we have no clear information about his personal and intellectual relationship with him: I am alluding to the other great Classical scholar of the Comnenian age, perhaps the most learned man of the Byzantine millennium, namely archbishop Eustathius of Thessalonica (ca. 1115–1195/96).

Eustathius spent the first part of his life in the capital as a private teacher, then from 1168 onwards as a professor of rhetoric (*maistor ton rhetoron*) in the patriarchal academy and as the organiser of an important reading circle; in 1174 (or 1177) he was appointed archbishop of Thessalonica, the city whose surrender to the Latin invasion in 1185 he described in a detailed historical monograph.⁴⁴⁶ His letters and his *opera minora*, while dealing chiefly with moral, ecclesiastical or theological issues, show a vast amount of Classical learning, which he regularly manages to prevent from clashing with Christian ethics and ideology. In this respect, Eustathius appears as one of the most paradigmatic examples of Byzantine Christian humanism, all the more so as he proves conversant with an incredible number of ancient authors and texts. His pupil Michael Choniates, in a heartfelt eulogy of Eustathius' extraordinary moral and intellectual qualities, affirmed that he "subordinated Greek philosophy to the divine Christian wisdom like a serious servant to a noble landlady."⁴⁴⁷

Eustathius' outstanding place in the history of scholarship is ensured, once again, by his commentaries: there is scanty evidence about his notes to Oppian,⁴⁴⁸ Aristophanes,⁴⁴⁹ or the *Greek Anthology*,⁴⁵⁰ and we will overlook here his (as yet largely unpublished) exegesis on John the Damascene's Iambic canon for Pentecost.⁴⁵¹ The most important documents of his scholarly work are definitely his commentaries on Pindar, on Dionysius the Periegete and on the Homeric poems.

Of the Pindar commentary, probably the earliest in date, only the proem is extant, and it is fair to wonder if he ever wrote down in full the entire exegesis, or if it remained in the state of an unsystematic set of notes from his lectures. Be that as it may, even the proem⁴⁵² offers some penetrating insights on Pindar's poetic style (his dialect, the compound adjectives, the hyperbata, the profusion of metaphors and allegories, the *ekphraseis*, the frequent use of digressions and *gnomai*, obscurity as a *Stilprinzip*), as well

446 On Eustathius' biography see Kolovou [2006] 3–5.

447 Lampros [1879] 283–306: 304, ll. 6–7 (σοι) ὑποκλίναντι τὴν Ἑλληνα φιλοσοφίαν τῇ χριστιανικῇ θεοσοφίᾳ ὅσα καὶ σεμνῆ δεσποίνῃ σπουδαίαν θεράπειναν.

448 Dyck [1982a].

449 Koster-Holwerda [1954].

450 His scholia to the epigrams allegedly featured in a single manuscript destroyed in the fire of the Escorial library, but the reliability of the account is doubtful: Browning [1962–1963] I, 187.

451 See Ronchey [1991], esp. 153–155 for Eustathius' discussion of the authenticity of the canon on stylistic and philological grounds. An edition, by S. Ronchey and P. Cesaretti, is forthcoming [Berlin-New York 2014].

452 Negri [2000]; Kambylis [1991a] and [1991b].

as sound information on metre, music and performance, and various bio-bibliographical data on the author, mostly taken over from the ancient *Lives* and from the scholia. Eustathius' explanation for the survival of the epinicians to the detriment of Pindar's other poetical output overlaps with that suggested by some modern specialists.⁴⁵³

οἱ καὶ περιάγονται μάλιστα διὰ τὸ ἀνθρωπικώτεροι εἶναι καὶ ὀλιγόμυθοι καὶ μηδὲ πάνυ ἔχειν ἀσαφῶς κατὰ γε ἄλλα

they [*scil.* the epinicians] are especially popular because they are more human, concise and otherwise relatively less obscure.

Furthermore, in his stylistic observations he does not refrain from comparing Pindar's poetic diction with the prose style of Basil or Gregory of Nazianzus, *e.g.* when noting the use of a simple instead of a double negative particle, as in νόσοι οὔτε γήρας (*Pythian* 10.41–42).⁴⁵⁴

Eustathius' commentary on Dionysius the Periegete,⁴⁵⁵ written for the court dignitary John Doukas before his appointment to the archbishopric of Thessalonica but already containing references to the Homeric *Parekbolai*, concentrates chiefly on matters geographical, *i.e.* on the identification and discussion of toponyms, both on the linguistic and on the etymological and mythographical niveau. Eustathius' intention, as stated in the proem (pp. 205–7 Müller), is to clarify Dionysius' poetic style without correcting or changing the data it conveys, but simply amplifying the sections in which the author deals too briefly with certain areas of the world, and above all referring to other Classical authors who mention the same places, from the more 'obvious' Herodotus, Aristotle, Strabo and Arrian, down to poets like Homer, Pindar, the tragedians, Lycophron and Apollonius Rhodius: the notes on the Nile (*On Dionysius the Periegete* 222–229, pp. 256–258 Müller), on Dodona (*On Dion. Per.* 431, pp. 298–300 Müller) and on the Cyclades (*On Dion. Per.* 525, pp. 317–19 Müller) are particularly impressive for their learning and their multiple approach. If more technical in scope, and also partly relying on the ancient scholia (and on Stephanus of Byzantium), this commentary stands out for the amount of information it conveys, which could be especially useful to the advanced student.

453 *On Pindar* 34.1, see Negri [2000] 135–149.

454 See Eust. *On Pindar* 12.1–2: the references, undetected by Negri and Kambylis, are to Basil *Homily 2 (On Fasting)*, PG 31.192.10–12; Greg. Naz. *Funeral oration for Basil* 1.5.4 Boulenger.

455 Ed. Mueller [1861] 201–407; see Diller [1975] 181–207 and Cassella [2003].

The achievement for which Eustathius will be remembered forever in the history of classical scholarship is his huge commentary (*parekbolai*, properly speaking excerpts from exegetical works, or select annotations)⁴⁵⁶ to Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. One first interesting aspect of this bulky work is that we own Eustathius' autograph copies (one for the *Iliad*, ms. Laur. 59.2–3, and two for the *Odyssey*, Marc. Gr. 460 and Par. Gr. 2702), which give us an unprecedented snapshot of the *atelier* of a Byzantine scholar, and of the way he constantly added new findings in the form of parchment strips glued to the folia (in the *Iliad* manuscript), assembling scattered notes in a coherent exegetical discourse, or putting together different sets of quires in the various stages of the manuscripts' production (this is particularly evident for the *Odyssey*):⁴⁵⁷ it is clear that the author, albeit involved in very intense political and ecclesiastical activity, devoted many years of his long life to this enterprise.

Eustathius' main goal in the *parekbolai* is of a didactic nature: rejecting the sort of fanciful writings produced by the *kompsoi*, the "refined ones" (p. 2.20 van der Valk: Tzetzes' *Allegories* may be intended), he declares his essentially scientific purpose, and his intention to introduce the friends of his reading circle and above all his advanced students of rhetoric to the peculiarities and to the most uncommon features of the Homeric text:⁴⁵⁸

ἦν δὲ τὸ φιλικὸν θέλημα διὰ τῆς Ἰλιάδος ἐλθεῖν καὶ ἐκπορίσασθαι τὰ χρήσιμα τῷ διεξοδεύοντι, οὐ λέγω ἀνδρὶ λογίῳ, ἐκεῖνον γὰρ οὐδὲν ἂν τῶν τοιούτων εἰκὸς λαμβάνειν, ἀλλὰ νέῳ ἄρτι μαθητὴν τυχὸν δὲ καὶ μαθόντι μὲν, δεομένῳ δὲ ἀναμνήσεως

my heartfelt aim was to stroll through the *Iliad* and provide what is useful to the reader, not to the learned man (for it is unlikely that he should ignore any of these things), but to the young man who is learning at this moment, or perhaps has already learnt but needs some reminders.

This is why he devotes pages and pages to a systematic examination of even apparently irrelevant orthographical and grammatical peculiarities, expanding or developing morphological rules and stylistic principles from the minute consideration of individual passages or words; accentuation, prosody, etymology, are all fields Eustathius covers with the help of an amazing set of earlier

456 On this term, see Kambylis [1991a] 15–16. Kolovou [2012] 151–153.

457 Martini [1907], Pontani [2000], and above all the revealing codicological analysis by Cullhed [2012].

458 *Commentary on the Iliad* 2.21–23 (p. 3.5–8 van der Valk). See Browning [1992a] 141–142.

manuals or lexica, and above all by drawing extensively on various classes of Homeric scholia. The relationship between Eustathius and ancient scholia is undoubtedly highly complex, for it is clear that in the *Iliad* he had access to a collection called “Apion and Herodorus”, probably the very commentary carried by the ancestor of Venetus A (Erbse’s ms. *a*), and to a copy of the so-called “exegetical” scholia (*c* = bT),⁴⁵⁹ which makes him a primary witness in the *constitutio textus* of the *Iliad* scholia, but also a very interesting case-study of how the scholia could be re-used and appropriated in the frame of an autonomous scholarly discourse.⁴⁶⁰ In the *Odyssey*, he probably did not rely on any fuller scholiastic source than those still extant now, but there too one is struck by his skilful procedure of presenting the wisdom of “the ancients” (οἱ παλαιοί) and interweaving it with quotations from lexica or ancient grammarians.⁴⁶¹

In his immense editorial task on the *Iliad* commentary, Marchinus van der Valk has analysed in depth the incredible wealth of Eustathius’ sources, which represent in and of themselves an anthology of the most important scholarly tools that were in use in 12th-century Byzantium.⁴⁶² Leaving aside the technical manuals (Dionysius Thrax, Herodian, Apollonius Dyscolus, Choeroboscus, the Atticist and etymologic lexica, the scholia to Dionysius Thrax etc.) and the scholiastic *corpora* to virtually all ancient texts, the most recurrent authors quoted in the *Parekbolai* are Strabo (ὁ γεωγράφος) and Stephanus of Byzantium (rather than Pausanias) for geographical issues, Herodotus for historical comparisons, Hermogenes (ὁ ῥήτωρ) for rhetorical terminology and judgments, Athenaeus for poetical fragments and *Realien*. But of course Eustathius also had access to a number of works that we no longer possess (Strabo’s book 7; Arrian’s *Bithyniaka*; Ptolemy Chennus’ *New History*; Euripides’ ‘alphabetical’ plays, which were also known to Tzetzes),⁴⁶³ even if the enthusiasm for *e.g.* his quotation of the famous fr. 34V of Sappho (*in Il.* 729.22) should be attuned to the possibility that he may have consulted an anthology carrying the lines rather than a complete copy of the poet.⁴⁶⁴ It must be borne in mind, however, that any reference to poets ‘younger’ than Homer (the so-called *neoterōi*) is not intended—much in Aristarchus’ fashion—to clarify Homer’s text, but rather to gratify the pupils with pieces of more or less rare ancient doctrine.

459 Erbse [1960] 123–173.

460 Kolovou [2012].

461 Pontani [2005b] 170–178.

462 Van der Valk I [1971] xlvi–cxiii.

463 Magnelli [2003].

464 Pontani [2001] 245–248.

Not especially conversant with textual criticism (Maas' idea that he might have restored the text of Athenaeus when producing its epitome has been proved to be wrong),⁴⁶⁵ careful but sometimes enthusiastic with allegorical interpretation (especially when applied to traditional myths rather than to a poet's isolated fanciful imagination),⁴⁶⁶ Eustathius strikes the modern reader for his immense devotion to study, and his manifold interest in ancient life and literature. Rhetorical, allegorical and grammatical explanations occur freely here and there, and individual passages are sometimes first summarised and briefly commented on from an overall perspective and then taken up line by line. This procedure responds to the different needs inherent in Eustathius' commentary: on the one hand the task of locating and explaining passages of a complex poetical text, on the other the preparation of this text as a potential source of quotation and imitation for the pupils. Hence the importance of Hermogenian terminology:⁴⁶⁷ Eustathius' rhetorical comments on Homer, as recent research has shown, are not purely erudite notes on a dead author, but they rather presuppose a widespread mimetic practice on the part of Byzantine writers, in which both the stylistic features and the mythological content of the Homeric text are paramount to the refinement of oratorical or historiographical prose.⁴⁶⁸

The use of allegory in Eustathius is not primarily defensive for confessional purposes, and never aims at Christianising the poem (as in Psellus or to a certain extent in Galenus): rather, while refraining from a purely contextual or rhetorical rendering of the myths involved, Eustathius sticks to the general credibility of Homer's plot,⁴⁶⁹ but adds interpretive dimensions to a text whose multiple hermeneutic facets the pupils were invited to discover. This is why, even in the wider allegorical framework presenting, for instance, Penelope as philosophy (the homeland of the spiritual journey of Odysseus/man), in several cases various diverging types of allegoresis can be juxtaposed without choosing between them (Calypso as matter, bodily life, or astronomy; Proteus as a dancer, the idea of friendship, primal matter, or number ten).⁴⁷⁰

Eustathius' guiding principle is in fact the utility of Classical works for the education of the young. The "utility" (ὠφέλεια) of the poem does not reside in its alleged hidden Christian message, but more deeply in a moral reading,

465 Van der Valk I [1971] lii–lvi; Erbse [1950] 75–92; A. Pontani [1995a] 341–342.

466 Cesaretti [1991] 207–274.

467 Lindberg [1977].

468 Nünlist [2012c]; Cullhed [2014] 38–43 and 49–54.

469 Cesaretti [1991] 207–274, to be read with Cullhed [2014] 44–49.

470 Pontani [2011a] and [2013].

which of course presupposes a monotheistic context but more closely involves Homer's role as a paradigm of style and as a teacher of ethical behaviour. Although it is sometimes difficult to follow the archbishop in his convoluted accumulations of information, complicated grammatical lists (for onomatopoeic words, double-sensed words, compound words, metaplasmatic words etc.) and elaborate etymological and grammatical reasonings (he sometimes indulges in practices not too remote from epimerisms or schedography), one must consider that his enthusiasm for the fresh value of ancient poetry, as well as his frequent comparisons with the linguistic and ethnic reality of his own day,⁴⁷¹ are part and parcel of the same critical dialogue with Classical antiquity that we have identified as a hallmark of the Comnenian age.

καὶ τὰ χρήσιμα κατὰ ἀκολουθίαν εὐσυνθέτως ἐκλέγονται, οὐχ ὥστε μέντοι τὰ πάντων ἐνταῦθα εἶναι τῶν πονησαμένων εἰς τὸν ποιητὴν (τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ μόχθος μάταιος καὶ περιττός καὶ οὐδὲ ῥᾶον ἀνύσιμος), ἀλλ' ὥστε τὸν γινώσκειν ἐθέλοντα εὐρίσκειν κατὰ τόπον εὐτάκτως τὰ μὴ παρέλκοντα, οἶον· ἐννοίας εὐχρήστους τῷ καταλογάδῃ γράφοντι καὶ βουλομένῳ ῥητορικὰς ποιεῖν εὐκαίρως παραπλοκάς· μεθόδους, ἐξ ὧν καὶ ὠφελεῖται τις μιμεῖσθαι θέλων καὶ τῆς εὐτεχνίας θαυμάζει τὸν ποιητὴν· λέξεις, τὰς πλείους μὲν ὡς πεζῶ λόγῳ προσηκούσας, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ σκληρὰς καὶ τραχείας καὶ ποιητικὰς, ἅς εἰ μὴ ἀναπτύξει τις ἐτυμολογικώτερον οὐκ εὐγνώστον ἔσται τὸ χωρίον, ὃ παρεκβέβληται· γνώμας, αἷς καὶ αὐταῖς πολλαχοῦ ἡ Ὀμηρικὴ σεμνύνεται ποίησις· ἱστορίας, οὐ μόνον αἷς ὁ ποιητὴς χράται κατὰ κανόνα οἰκεῖον, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὅπου καὶ πλατύτερον, ὡς ἐξ ὧν ἱστόρησαν ἕτεροι· ἔτι δὲ μύθους, τοὺς μὲν ἀκράτους καὶ ἀθεραπεύτους καὶ κατὰ μόνον θεωρουμένους τὸ προφερόμενον, τοὺς δὲ καὶ μετὰ θεραπείας ἀλληγορικῆς εἶτε καὶ ἀναγωγικῆς.⁴⁷²

and we select in a reasonable order the useful things, so as not to fit in here the words of all those who have worked on the poet (this would be a useless and superfluous task, and one not easy to accomplish), but to let the curious find in the appropriate place what is necessary, such as for example: ideas useful for the writer of prose wishing to interweave poetic quotations in the right place; expressive modes that are precious for those who wish to imitate and inspire admiration for the poet's art; words, most of which suitable for prose, but often also the harder, more difficult and poetic ones, which have to be explained etymologically lest the passage under discussion become obscure; maxims, which in several

471 Koukoules [1950] and [1953].

472 *Commentary on the Iliad* 2.26–36.

places lend nobility to Homer's poetry; mythical stories, not only those told by the poet in a peculiar manner, but sometimes even more widely, as they emerge from the accounts of other writers; finally myths, some of which untempered, incurable and considered only at face value, others, on the other hand, equipped with an allegorical or anagogic treatment.

The importance of Eustathius' teaching and cultural activity must have been indeed remarkable in the latter part of the Comnenian age: two learned brothers acquired proficiency in the realm of letters precisely thanks to their daily *synanagnoseis* ("common readings") with the future archbishop. I am referring to Michael and Nicetas Choniates, the former himself an archbishop of Athens since 1182, the latter a writer of history and theology. Neither was a classical scholar, but Nicetas' historical prose is perhaps the most sophisticated example of the adoption of Classical quotations and models in Byzantine prose, as recent studies have shown, with regard, for instance, to the depiction of emperor Andronicus Comnenus in Odyssean terms,⁴⁷³ or even on a more down-to-earth lexical level.⁴⁷⁴

Nicetas' brother, Michael Choniates (1138–1222), overtly describes in his *epist.* 102 Kolovou his own participation in a reading circle of the capital, and recalls Eustathius' contributions of doctrine and liveliness to these meetings.⁴⁷⁵ Michael's special feeling for antiquity is revealed by a long elegy on the ruins of Athens, perhaps one of the most important pieces on this subject in the whole of extant Byzantine literature.⁴⁷⁶ His entire *oeuvre* is permeated by a sense of Christian humanism coloured by Stoic accents and by a strong fidelity to Atticist style, as well as by a constant dialogue between his Greek, Roman and Christian backgrounds. Michael's proximity to antiquity is shown *inter alia* by the fact that he is the last known man to quote at first hand Callimachus' *Hecale* and *Aitia*, yielding not only invaluable elements for the reconstruction of the epyllion, but also one of the most remarkable instances of stylistic and rhetorical appropriation of a Hellenistic author in Byzantium. As we learn from his letters, Michael owned a large personal library, which included Euclid, Thucydides and other Classical authors: it might well have suffered losses after

473 Saxey [2009]; Gaul [2003]; Cullhed [2014] 79–83.

474 *E.g.* when in a very dramatic scene of the city's fall, an old man is presented as ὄλοφύρομενος καὶ τῷ πηλῷ φυρόμενος (19.3.6, p. 590.6 van Dieten), with an etymological game that clearly derives from Eustathius *Il.* 696.18; for similar cases see the commentary by A. Pontani [1999] and [2014].

475 On Michael's intellectual biography see Kolovou [1999] 201–297.

476 Rhoby [2003] 24–72; Pontani [2002] 46–48; Kaldellis [2007] 317–334 and [2009b] 145–165.

the fall of Athens to the Latins in 1205, but it certainly subsisted after that date during Michael's exile on the island of Keos—indeed most of the Callimachean quotations in his works belong to the second decade of the 13th century.⁴⁷⁷

3.8 *The Comnenian Age: Manuscripts*

It is a reasonable expectation that such a productive age in the field of scholarship should also see the production of a large number of manuscripts, especially of Classical authors; recent studies have detected a slow but steady evolution of Greek handwriting (both in books and in documents) around and immediately after the cultural change brought about by the Comnenian dynasty.⁴⁷⁸ Indeed, we know that book-collecting was a popular activity, which kept even the patriarch John IX Agapetus (1111–1134) busy, if we are to trust the encomium of Theodore Prodromus crediting his library with no less than a copy of Empedocles.⁴⁷⁹

Quite surprisingly, however, aside from the autographs of Eustathius and the books owned by Tzetzes, there is a relatively limited amount of Greek manuscripts (and particularly of philologically important manuscripts of Classical authors) that can safely be dated to this age. Part of the problem may depend on our inability to distinguish, on palaeographical grounds, 12th-century codices from later ones: this would explain recent attempts to predate books previously thought to belong to the Palaeologan age, such as Par. Gr. 1759 of Diogenes Laertius, and Laur. 57.40 of Psellus' works.⁴⁸⁰

Perhaps the most interesting of these cases is ms. Ambr. C 222 inf., an illustrious codex carrying a first-rate recension of Pindar's epinicians, as well as a remarkable sylloge of dramatic (Aeschylus, Sophocles, Aristophanes, Lycophron) and narrative poetry (Hesiod, Oppian, Dionysius the Periegete, Aratus), and a number of other poetical and grammatical texts. Only a recent and thoughtful study⁴⁸¹ has managed to correct the generally accepted dating to the 13th/14th century, and to show that the codex was in fact written in 1185–1195 by a pupil and junior assistant of John Tzetzes and John Camaterus. This scribe has so far escaped identification, but his philological performance, whatever his personal contribution to the textual quality of the Ambrosianus, commands admiration, and probably proceeds from his idea of the purpose of

477 Pontani [2011b] 115–117, with further bibliography; Wilson [1996²] 204–206.

478 Cavallo [2000].

479 Magdalino [1993] 323–325; Bianconi [2010a] 77–79 and n. 6.

480 Cavallo [2000] 231–233 lists several manuscripts, arranged according to their paleographical *facies*.

481 Mazzucchi [2003] and [2004].

culture as allowing men “to have a mind sharp enough to produce thoughts, and a tongue ready to express what has been thought”.⁴⁸² One wonders if the note left by this scribe on f. 339r describes his own editorial work or that of his direct source, but in either case it shows the philological consciousness lying behind the idea of correcting a text with the aid of the indirect tradition and of metrical treatises:⁴⁸³

σημείωσαι ὅτι ὁ τοιοῦτος Θεόκριτος ὠρθώθη μετὰ τοῦ βαϊούλου τοῦ Καλαβροῦ βιβλίου, τοῦ σχολάζοντος εἰς τὸν Ψελλόν. ὁ δὲ Περιηγητής, ὠρθώθη ἀπὸ τοῦ Στεφανίτζη τοῦ περιηγητοῦ. ὁ Πίνδαρος ἐκ τοῦ Τριχᾶ.

Note that this Theocritus was corrected against the book of Calabrus the paedagogue, the pupil of Psellus. The Periegete, on the other hand, was corrected by comparing the text with Stephanitzes the Periegete [*scil.* Stephanus of Byzantium], and Pindar from Trichas.

One of the hands found in Ambr. C 222 inf. appears together with other scribes in a series of 21 manuscripts produced by the so-called “scriptorium of Ioannikios”.⁴⁸⁴ The only known scribe of this group, Ioannikios, must have been the leading figure of a team specialised in manuscripts of philosophical and medical content (Aristotle, Galen, Aetius, Paul of Aegina), while showing an interest for literary authors as well, *e.g.* Sophocles and Euripides (the important Laur. 31.10, with scholia), Homer’s *Iliad* (Vat. Gr. 1319) and Apollodorus (Par. Gr. 2722, ff. 16–32). Earlier research had connected this activity with Southern Italy, because five of the codices identified so far bear the mark of Burgundio of Pisa, an Italian scholar and translator who spent his life between Constantinople, Messina and his hometown (more on him below § 3.9); however, palaeographical and codicological analysis has proved inconclusive, and the exact collocation of this very interesting enterprise still remains *sub iudice*; an interesting case has been made for Constantinople, in connection with the local interest in Aristotelian philosophy in the early 12th century.⁴⁸⁵

482 Mazzucchi [2004] 417: τὸ τὸν νοῦν μὲν πρὸς νοημάτων τόκον εὐθηκτον σχεῖν τὴν δὲ γλώτταν, πρὸς τὴν τῶν νοουμένων ἔκφρασιν εὐστροφον (the note, actually excerpted from a text by Christophorus Zotrus, occurs on f. 337r).

483 Mazzucchi [2004] 433–434 (f. 339r).

484 For recent overviews, and description of the mss., see Degni [2008], [2010] and [2012].

485 See most recently Baldi [2011].

3.9 *Italy*

Ioannikios' manuscripts are linked to Burgundio of Pisa, one of the learned Westerners who spent part of their careers in Constantinople, in an age when Venice, Genoa and other cities intensified their commercial links with the Byzantine Empire.⁴⁸⁶ Burgundio translated the *Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* by John of Damascus as well as other patristic treatises, but also works of Galen and Nemesius, and Aristotle's *Meteorologica*. Other outstanding members of this heteroclite group of Italians are James of Venice, to whom the West owes the first systematic activity of translation of Aristotle from the Greek rather than from the Arabic,⁴⁸⁷ and Moses of Bergamo, a book collector and translator of Greek ecclesiastical and grammatical works (including a treatise on the oblique case of nouns like *χαρρακτήρ*), whose hand has recently been identified as the annotator and interlinear glossator of Theognis in the glorious ms. Par. Suppl. Gr. 388.⁴⁸⁸ Burgundio, James and Moses took part as interpreters and experts in the famous theological dispute of 1136 between patriarch Nicetas and Anselm of Havelberg in Constantinople.⁴⁸⁹ Other scholars and translators, particularly keen on ecclesiastical issues, were to follow in later decades, among them Leo Tuscus and Hugo Etherianus.⁴⁹⁰

But, as we have seen above (§ 2.6), first-hand Greek doctrine did circulate on the Italian soil: whether or not the Ioannikios manuscripts belong to Southern Italy, a brief note must be devoted here to Greek written culture in Sicily and Apulia between the 11th and the 12th century. First of all, once more we find an absolute predominance of liturgical and theological manuscripts; in the face of this, scholars have uttered conflicting judgments about the range and the extent of the circulation of Classical texts in the area. The optimistic view insists on the continuity of some textual traditions preserved in *Magna Graecia* since antiquity;⁴⁹¹ a more painstaking and more cautious analysis stresses the persistent incompatibility between monastic culture and pagan literature (even in the most important monasteries such as the Patir at Rossano or San Salvatore at Messina), and the paucity of manuscripts of Classical authors that can be safely ascribed to Southern Italy before the early 13th century (other

486 Classen [1974].

487 Minio-Paluello [1952]. For the vital importance of translations from Arabic see Gutas [1998].

488 Ronconi [2006] and [2007] 133–124. On Moses see also Pontani [1998].

489 Berschin [1980] 260–263.

490 Dondaine [1952].

491 Cavallo [1980]; Canart [1978]. See partly Irigoin [2001] and [1969] 50–51 ([1980] 245–246).

than the always popular 'technical' treatises of medicine, law, mathematics and grammar, see above § 2.6), be it in the Salento, or in Sicily and Calabria.⁴⁹²

The Norman conquest of Sicily, completed in 1079, has often been regarded as the starting-point of a cultural 'Renaissance' (the very adoption of this term is, once again, itself debatable), and this idea might well be argued in some respects: on the other hand, as far as the copy of codices of pagan authors and the emergence of full-fledged scholarly circles or personalities is concerned, the image of a 12th-century Renaissance seems to rest on an altogether shaky ground.⁴⁹³ Of course, some profane manuscripts were copied in Calabria and Sicily, though probably less by initiative of the state than of private scholars or families (I have in mind here the important ms. Messina, Fondo Vecchio 11 of Hesiod's *Works and Days* with conspicuous Tzetzian scholia, or Neap. III.B.29 of Diogenes Laertius, or the Madrid Skylitzes).⁴⁹⁴ But rather than favouring the development of Greek studies *per se*, and despite an overall negative attitude towards the Greek-speaking officers and ecclesiastical hierarchy, the Normans promoted the translation into Latin of some Greek works, above all philosophical texts: two Platonic dialogues (*Meno* and *Phaedo*), Aristotle's *Meteorology* and (perhaps) Diogenes Laertius' *Lives of the Philosophers* were translated by Henricus Aristippus, a cultivated officer at the Norman court; at the same place and time, Eugenius of Palermo rendered into Latin Ptolemy's *Optic* (and supervised a partial translation of the *Almagest*), besides writing Greek iambic verse that displays a long-standing dialogue with ancient Greek models.⁴⁹⁵

While following up on an earlier tradition of Latin versions of Greek medical treatises,⁴⁹⁶ the translators at the Norman court were members of a wider (if scattered and not institutionally or academically organised) class of intellectuals with a certain *penchant* for classical learning; perhaps the most widely debated and significant figure of this kind is Philip-Philagathus of Cerami, a Calabrian monk and renowned homilete, long active in Northern Sicily in the

492 Lucà [2012b] and [1993] respectively. See also Lucà [1990]; Jacob [2002].

493 See Lucà [1993] 29–30 and especially 63–88, with a painstaking examination of the cultural *milieu* and the manuscripts (though he is wrong on Philip-Philagathus, see below). Some form of philological attention was devoted to Christian texts (see *e.g.* Lucà [1989]), but the Norman domination did not bring about a flourishing of schools, academies or cultural activities in Southern Italy.

494 Lucà [1993] 85–86 and [2007a] 80; Dorandi [2002b].

495 Martinelli Tempesta [forthcoming]; Carlini [2002–2003]; Dorandi [2002b] 3 and Berschin [1980] 292–295, with earlier bibliography. For an updated survey on Eugenius' verse, and on the cultural atmosphere of Norman Sicily, see Torre [2007] and [2008] 63–89; Lucà [1993].

496 *E.g.* in the Salernitan school: see Irigoien [2006a].

mid-12th century. This man stands out for his acquaintance with Classical texts (from Homer to Plato, from Menander to Lucian to late Greek rhetors), which emerges both from the learned quotations, the philosophical depth and the erudite style of his homilies,⁴⁹⁷ and from the most surprising of his writings, namely a complex allegorical introduction to Heliodorus' novel, preserved in the Otrantine ms. Marc. Gr. 410, copied shortly after Philip's times.⁴⁹⁸ This allegory in Neoplatonic fashion,⁴⁹⁹ written upon the request of some students, is staged as an educational dialogue between Philip and his students, intended to show that the *Aethiopica*, albeit clad in a pagan atmosphere, are actually concerned with the fight between good and evil and the contemplation (θεωρία) of God, whereby the characters Theagenes and Chariclea represent models of *sophrosyne*, and Kalasiris (etymologically, ὁ εἰς τὰ καλὰ σύρων) the hierophant who "drags" mankind "towards the good".

By the late 12th century, Sicily and Calabria lost ground as opposed to the rapid ascent of southern Apulia, which became a more solid hearth for the transmission of the Greek written heritage. A paramount role was played in this context by the *hegoumenos* Nicholas-Nectarius (ca. 1155/60–1235) at St. Nicholas of Casole, in the region of Otranto.⁵⁰⁰ Active as a diplomat and an interpreter, he travelled extensively in Italy and to Byzantium, wrote epigrams and theological treatises, annotated manuscripts (most notably Par. Gr. 3 of the *Old Testament*), and devoted efforts to the creation of a rich library, also seeking to promote dialogue with the Roman Catholic Church, and to forge a Salentine circle of Greek-speaking poets and intellectuals. One of Nicholas' pupils, Palaganus of Otranto, is the *concepteur* of two outstanding manuscripts, namely the *codex unicus* of Aristaenetos' *Letters* (Vind. phil. Gr. 310) and the oldest preserved *Odyssea cum scholiis* (Heid. Pal. Gr. 45, anno 1201). The latter, the product of a team-work of eight scribes, carries an autograph epigram by Palaganus (the son of the powerful *komes* Pelegrinus) and a colophon written by the hand of Nicholas-Nectarius, and it displays on its margins chiefly glossographical and mythographical material, partly drawn from the

497 Torre [2008]; Bianchi [2011] 1–69 (contributions by A. Corcella, C. Torre, M. Dulus, G. Zaccagni); Cupane [1978].

498 An edition with a learned introduction in Bianchi [2006] 1–47. An earlier attribution of this text to an Alexandrian philosopher of the 5th century is untenable.

499 Roilos [2005], 130–133.

500 See on him Hoeck-Loenertz [1956]; Schiano [2011]; Jacob [1980] and [2008]; von Falkenhausen [2007] 55–60.

exegetical works of John Tzetzes (*e.g.* to Lycophron's *Alexandra*).⁵⁰¹ This state of affairs is particularly revealing, in that it shows that in the early years of the 13th century Otranto hosted an organised *scriptorium* devoted to the copying of Classical texts, probably in a scholastic context, and that Salentine scholars at such an early date were already familiar with the work of John Tzetzes, who had been active in Constantinople just a few decades before.

4 From Nicaea to the Palaeologan Renaissance

4.1 *Nicaea*

Nicetas Choniates' account of the dramatic siege and fall of Constantinople to the Latins in 1204 (books 17–19), weaves together Biblical tones and Classical reminiscences, and makes intense appeals to God's justice and to ancient Nemesis, as well as incorporating hints of the disintegration of Christian icons and the fusion of pagan statues in the Hippodrome.⁵⁰² Having inspired Edward Gibbon's image of the massive destruction of the books and the symbols of learning in the aftermath of the fall,⁵⁰³ Nicetas' pages on the Fourth Crusade serve as an excellent introduction to the long period (1204–1261) of the Latin Empire of Constantinople, when the Byzantine court was exiled in the provincial city of Nicaea, present-day Iznik.⁵⁰⁴ The need for a more immaterial and at the same time more substantial foundation of a national identity, as well as the growing and increasingly conflictual relations with the Latin West, prompted—in the wake of a wider trend of which more above in § 3.3—a further attachment to Hellenic identity, and particularly to the heritage of ancient Greek language, art and culture.⁵⁰⁵

Naturally, intellectual life in Nicaea could not immediately be revived. First of all, there was a predictable shortage of books: though no estimate can be made, a number of texts must have gone lost in 1204,⁵⁰⁶ and the manuscript production that can be safely assigned to the Nicaean period is extremely

501 Arnesano-Sciarrà [2010] 433–440; Pontani [2005b] 218–225; Jacob [1988]; Irigoien [1969] 51 ([1980] 248–249).

502 See the new commentary by A. Pontani [2014].

503 *Decline and Fall*, ch. 60: "To expose the arms of a people of scribes and scholars, they affected to display a pen, an inkhorn, and a sheet of paper, without discerning that the instruments of science and valour were alike feeble and useless in the hands of the modern Greeks".

504 Angold [1974]; Giarenis [2008].

505 Browning [1983] 124; Angold [1974] 29–33; Magdalino [1991]; Flusin [2006].

506 Wilson [1980] 285.

scanty, especially as far as the profane authors are concerned—and in this case, grammars, lexica and rhetorical handbooks once again prevailed, with very little room left for literary texts.⁵⁰⁷ But the most serious problem concerned intellectuals and scholars: some of them, starting from Nicetas Choniates and Nicholas Mesarites, found refuge in Nicaea upon fleeing the capital, but a new generation had to be raised and trained in order to replace them, and this was the long-term project of two important emperors such as John Vatatzes (1222–1254) and Theodore II Lascaris (1254–1258).

The latter must be regarded not only as a man of rhetorical and intellectual standing (he wrote short texts on rhetoric and annotated a copy of Aristotle's *Physics* and *On Heavens*),⁵⁰⁸ and a keen admirer of the *grandeur* of ancient Greece (his *epist.* 80 Festa is a tribute to the ruins of Pergamon),⁵⁰⁹ but also—in the wake of his predecessor, who had founded libraries on every art and subject in provincial towns⁵¹⁰—as a collector of books which he then left at the disposal of interested readers or students,⁵¹¹ and the promoter of a school of grammar and rhetoric in the newly restored premises of St. Tryphon in Nicaea. The teachers in this school (we are told in Theodore's *epist.* 217 Festa, which also includes details about the curriculum) were a certain Andronikos Phrankopoulos and a somewhat better known Michael Kakos Senacherim, who in addition to attaining the grade of *protasekretis* in the imperial administration also devoted efforts to the exegesis of Homer, as can be proved by a handful of scholia to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* attributed to him in manuscripts.⁵¹²

In the early 1240s, Theodore Lascaris had been the pupil of Nicephorus Blemmydes (1197–1272), a theologian and an ascetic, but above all the most important teacher and scholar of philosophy in the entire Nicaean age.⁵¹³ We have considerable knowledge about his training and career from his

507 Prato [1994] 31–72.

508 Constantinides [1982] 18–21. Prato [1981].

509 Rhoby [2003] 94–95; Pontani [2002] 48–49; Wilson [1996²] 220–221.

510 Theodore Scutariotes, *Additions to the History of George Acropolites*, p. 286.13–14 Heisenberg (on John Vatatzes) κατὰ πόλεις συνήθροισεν ἐκ βίβλων πασῶν τεχνῶν καὶ ἐπιστημῶν.

511 Theodore Scutariotes, *Additions to the History of George Acropolites*, p. 297.18–22 Heisenberg: καὶ βίβλους δὲ συνηγάγετο, οὐδ' ὅσας ὁ ἐπὶ τούτῳ μεγαλυνόμενος Πτολεμαῖος, παντοίων τεχνῶν τε καὶ ἐπιστημῶν, καὶ ταύτας ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐναποτιθεὶς τοῖς βουλομένοις εἰς ἀνάγνωσιν καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς σπουδασμάτων ἀνάπτυξιν ἐθέσπισε μεταδίδοσθαι.

512 Konstantinopoulou [1984]; Pontani [2005b] 200–201; Angold [1974] 180.

513 Constantinides [1982] 7–27; Wilson [1996²] 221–222; Fryde [2000] 75–77; Cacouros [2006] 8–13.

Autobiography,⁵¹⁴ in which he sketches a rather ordinary educational *iter*: Homer, Aphthonius, Hermogenes, mathematics and astronomy, logic (Aristotle's *Organon*), and finally divine science. Blemmydes then recalls his own activity as a monk and as a teacher of the same disciplines before and after he declined to accept the state appointment proposed to him by emperor John Vatatzes, "preoccupied by the decadence in education".⁵¹⁵ The latter emperor had sponsored his book-hunting tour in Northern Greece in 1239, which apparently yielded the discovery of some texts that had remained hitherto unknown to his contemporaries (*Autob.* 1.63–64). His last years were spent as a private teacher to the monks of Emathia near Ephesus.

Blemmydes' scholarly achievements are not especially original to our eyes, inasmuch as they consist of compilations and abridgments (primarily of Aristotle's treatises on logic and physics) and commentaries (*e.g.* on the *Psalms*);⁵¹⁶ however, they fulfilled the role of preserving and handing over ancient wisdom to the next generations in a difficult age, and they thus demonstrate that despite having entered monastic life he assigned a very important role to the teaching of and the scholarly research on pagan culture.⁵¹⁷ It has been suggested that Blemmydes might be the author of the most widespread lexicon of the Byzantine age (129 extant manuscripts), known under the name of "Zonaras", but assigned by modern research to a certain Nikephoros and to a date between 1204 and 1253.⁵¹⁸ Not a particularly original tool, it is based on a reworking of the older *Etymologica*, but also on Suidas and the *Lexicon Ambrosianum*, supplemented with excerpts from other grammatical or rhetorical works (most notably Michael Psellus, Stephanus of Byzantium, Anastasius Sinaites, and the Atticist lexicon of Orus), and with articles on terms of the Old and the New Testament.⁵¹⁹

Whether or not he lurks behind the mysterious figure of "Zonaras", we can safely argue that Blemmydes, together with his many pupils, gave a decisive impulse to Greek studies in the Nicaean period, even under adverse conditions. The appointment of professors on the part of the establishment is in this respect of the highest importance, as demonstrates the leading role played by

514 Ed. Munitiz [1988].

515 Nic. Blemm. *Autob.* 1.2–10 and 49 Munitiz.

516 The paraphrase of Dionysius the Periegete ascribed in manuscripts to Blemmydes is in fact a 16th-century fake: see Brodersen [1995].

517 Constantinides [1982] 24–25 and Kladova [2013].

518 Ed. Tittmann [1808]. See Alpers [1972] 749 and [1981] 11–13.

519 Alpers [1972]; Naoumidis [1974].

intellectuals such as *e.g.* Senacherim, Blemmydes and Theodore Hexapterygos (the latter a teacher of rhetoric who produced several *diegemata* on pagan mythology),⁵²⁰ and—as we have just seen—the creation of libraries in other centres of the Empire.⁵²¹ The importance of provincial areas should not be overlooked: the catalogues of monastic libraries in Patmos and on mt. Athos yield a positive image of the circulation of books, including classical authors,⁵²² and towards the end of the Nicaean age the Western scholar William of Moerbeke (1215–1286, Catholic archbishop of Corinth since 1280) completed in Boeotia and the Peloponnese his Latin translation of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, of Proclus' commentary on Plato's *Parmenides* (for whose 7th book he is our only source), of Archimedes' works, and of various other philosophical treatises, which were evidently available *in loco*, sometimes in more than one copy.⁵²³ Amongst the texts Moerbeke converted into Latin we can single out Aristotle's *Poetics*, for whose textual constitution his version, pedestrian and sometimes mistaken though it may appear, represents a fundamental indirect witness.⁵²⁴

4.2 Southern Italy between the 13th and the 14th Century

Recent studies have stressed the role of Southern Italy in Moerbeke's education and training;⁵²⁵ as a matter of fact, of all the 'marginal areas' of the Greek-speaking world, throughout the 13th century it is Southern Italy, and particularly Apulia, that earns pride of place. The Salentine pupils of Nicholas-Nectarius (on whom see above § 3.9) were particularly active, both as writers and as book-collectors: one need just think of John Grassus, a *litteratus* and an amateur poet, who sent an *Odyssey* to his friend George Bardanes the metropolitan of Kerkyra (the receiver was naturally intrigued by the books on Scheria, the Homeric equivalent of his island), and later annotated a copy of Diodorus Siculus, which had been brought from Constantinople to Otranto by a man named Nicholas (Par. Gr. 1665).⁵²⁶

520 Constantinides [1982] 9–11 and [2003] 42–44. Hörandner [1984].

521 Wilson [1980] 284.

522 Wilson [1980] 287–295.

523 Wilson [1996²] 226–227 and the detailed treatment by Fryde [2000] 103–143.

524 Colonna [1957]. The importance of Moerbeke's translation for the reconstruction of the Greek is also particularly relevant *e.g.* in Aristotle's *On Heavens* and in Alexander of Aphrodisias' *On Fate*, not to mention the works whose original is lost today (Fryde [2000] 108–110).

525 Rashed [2002].

526 Hoeck-Loenertz [1965] 184–188; Pontani [2005b] 207; Mazzucchi [1999].

Despite the slow decline of the Casole monastery, book production in the entire Salento grew conspicuously thanks to the efforts of low-brow ecclesiastical figures or isolated scholars,⁵²⁷ not only in Otranto but also in minor centres such as Gallipoli, Aradeo, Zollino, often connected to libraries or scholastic institutions.⁵²⁸ Of 177 Otrantine manuscripts of the 13th and early 14th century listed in the latest census, almost 50% are of profane character, and many of them are written in a peculiar style, conventionally known as “Baroque minuscule”.⁵²⁹

What is surprising is that we do not find only servile aids to students of medicine, law or rhetoric (though of course etymologica, lexica etc. are frequent), or schedographic and grammatical collections incorporating philosophical and technical definitions,⁵³⁰ but also ambitious copies of Homer equipped with bulky and prestigious *corpora* of scholia, such as ms. Lond. Harl. 5674 (our most important witness of the scholia to the *Odyssey*), Ang. Gr. 122 (a pivotal text for the so-called h-scholia to the *Iliad*), Vind. phil. Gr. 49 (the only witness of Demo’s Homeric allegories), Vind. phil. Gr. 56 (an *Odyssey* probably deriving from a copy of Nicholas-Nectarius, copied in the year 1300), and Oxon. New College 298 (an *Iliad* with many exegetical and allegorical materials partly stemming from Tzetzes and the Constantinopolitan *milieu*).⁵³¹ An Otrantine provenance and a date in the 13th century has also been assumed for other crucial copies of ancient Greek poets, *e.g.* (to mention but a few) mss. Par. Gr. 2773 and Vat. Gr. 2383 of Hesiod’s *Works and Days*,⁵³² ms. Scor. R-I-18 of Lycophron (of 1255, with Tzetzes’ commentary), ms. Laur. Conv. Soppr. 152 of Sophocles (of 1282),⁵³³ ms. Vat. Gr. 1135 of Euripides;⁵³⁴ not to mention miscellanies of philosophical (Laur. 71.35 of Porphyry and Ammonius, *anno* 1290–1291), rhetorical (Par. Gr. 2970)⁵³⁵ or medical content (Marc. Gr. 273 of Dioscorides).

In fact, despite this remarkable production of books, no real indigenous philological activity or advanced scholarship can be assumed for Southern Italy either before or after the reigns of Frederick II Hohenstaufen and Manfred—both emperors, for that matter, proved attentive to Greek, the

527 Arnesano [2008] 13–15; Jacob [1980] and [1987]; Lucà [2012a] 590–593.

528 On libraries see Wilson [1980] 295–299; on schools see Arnesano-Sciarra [2010] 440–454; Efthymiadis [2005] 274–275.

529 Arnesano [2008] 73–122.

530 Förstel [2002–2003].

531 Sciarra [2005b]; Cavallo [1989]; Pontani [2005b] 203–241.

532 Arnesano [2005] 143–145; Turyn [1964] 71–73.

533 Arnesano [1999].

534 Irigoin [1982].

535 Arnesano [2011].

former promulgating a bilingual version of the *Liber Augustalis* in 1231 (and earning an obituary upon his death by the hand of no less an authority than emperor Theodore II Lascaris), the latter promoting the translation of medical and philosophical writings by the hand of the learned scholar Bartholomew of Messina.⁵³⁶ Decades later, in the 1330s, when the golden age of Otrantine learning and scholarly activity was on the verge of decline, the king of Naples Robert I of Anjou would similarly hire Nicholas of Reggio to translate dozens of works of Galen, some of which are lost today in the original.⁵³⁷

Thus, even if some of the scholarly achievements mirrored in South Italian manuscripts, and the conspicuous doctrine assembled on their margins are best ascribed to their Oriental prototypes, it is undeniable that a form of interest for advanced Classical learning did flourish especially in medieval communities of the Salento, and that literary circles partly analogous to those of the Constantinopolitan *milieu* did develop there as well. Nothing comparable to the widespread ignorance of Greek in the rest of Latin-speaking Europe, where even such a remarkable feat of scholarship as Roger Bacon's Greek grammar, produced in the second half of the 13th century, or as Robert Grosseteste's coeval translations from Byzantine lexica, remained isolated exceptions.⁵³⁸

4.3 *The Palaeologan Renaissance: Context and Early Personalities*

The recovery of Constantinople by Michael VIII Palaeologus in 1261 was followed by a swift and massive movement of intellectuals heading to restore the capital as a centre of learning and research: the seeds thrown in the Nicaean period could finally fructify.⁵³⁹ The following decades were marked by great political instability, for neither Michael VIII himself (†1282) nor especially his son and successor Andronicus II (1282–1328) managed either to settle completely the internal struggles for power, or to consolidate the Balkan and Anatolian borders of the empire; nor did the attempt towards a theological reconciliation with the Latins—the Union of the Churches at the Council of Lyons of 1274, which also fulfilled an essential political goal in consolidating the power of Michael VIII—meet with approval among the Byzantine clergy

536 Irigoien [2006a] 132–136; McCabe [2007] 239–244 with earlier bibliography.

537 Weiss [1950]; Cavallo [1980] 233–235.

538 Berschin [1980] 314–317; Ciccolella [2008] 92–97; Dorandi [2013b].

539 The expression is by Theodore Metochites (Mineva [1994–1995] 324, concerning Nicaea: διέσωσε δὲ ὑπέρτατος ἀναβιώσεως σπέρματα). A concrete example might be found in the most important manuscript of the Greek novelists (Laur. Conv. soppr. 627), written in the 1260s or 70s, but carrying also some letters of Theodore II Lascaris: Wilson [1996²] 225; Bianchi [2002] 183–184.

and population; indeed the very quarrel around the union of the Churches had profound and unfortunate consequences on the Byzantine *intelligentsija* and on the teaching system in Constantinople.⁵⁴⁰

Despite this political shakiness, the reigns of Michael VIII and Andronicus II were a golden age for scholarship (and classical scholarship in particular), and a period to which we owe an immense debt for our knowledge of Greek pagan literature, both in matters of quantity and of quality. In quantitative terms, the comparison between the sheer number of manuscripts of any classical author dating before 1204 and after 1261, helps to understand the extent of the change that came about;⁵⁴¹ this process went hand in hand with the recovery of many books previously scattered far from the capital,⁵⁴² and with the rise of a new public for books and book-collecting, also thanks to the increasing popularity of bombycine and then particularly of (cheaper) Italian paper.⁵⁴³ In qualitative terms, the scholars of the Palaeologan age, from Planudes to Moschopoulos, from Pachymeres to Triclinius, produced outstanding editions and commentaries of tragedy and comedy, of Pindar, of hexametric poetry, of Plutarch, Ptolemy and Strabo, of Plato and Aristotle and Proclus . . . : for all these texts, and many others, the Palaeologan age can be said to represent a vital turning-point in the history of their tradition.⁵⁴⁴

This is by and large what is commonly understood under the label 'Palaeologan renaissance' (or 'revival'), a phenomenon that originated in the reawakening of learning in and around the imperial and patriarchal *milieux*, and involving not only the capital, but also spreading to Thessalonica (the second city of the empire), and extending to more peripheral centres such as Ephesus, Trebizond, Cyprus, Crete, and later the Peloponnese. Once more, it should be stressed that we are not dealing with a sudden revolution, but rather with the intensification of a contact with texts (and particularly ancient texts) that had never entirely disappeared from the horizon of Byzantine learned elites (those that met regularly within active scholarly circles and literary

540 Dagron [1984]; Pérez Martín [1995]; Constantinides [1993].

541 See *e.g.* Fryde [2000] 7 and 144–151, esp. on the paradigmatic cases of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides. Hunger [1959] 124–125.

542 Browning [1960] 14.

543 Browning [1978a] 42–46. Constantinides [1982] 136 and 141–144; Fryde [2000] 169–171; Irigoin [1950].

544 See a general overview in Hunger [1959]. Select examples of textual recensions are discussed in Browning [1960].

coteries),⁵⁴⁵ but acquired at this point a new institutional dimension and a renewed cultural prestige.⁵⁴⁶

As opposed to the relative diffidence of monks towards Classical wisdom in previous times,⁵⁴⁷ a crucial role was played in this age by the monasteries of the capital, such as the Akataleptos, the Christ Soter, the Pantokrator, and above all the monastery of Chora, which proved so important for Planudes, Metochites and Gregoras. Furthermore, the initiative of private intellectuals, often gathering in *theatra* and building a sort of closed elite,⁵⁴⁸ was essential in increasing and enhancing the didactic practices of traditional Byzantium, and in fostering the interaction between scholars in the so-called “*sodalizi eruditi*”.⁵⁴⁹ However, two decisive moves were the restoration of the patriarchal school by Germanus III (1265–1266),⁵⁵⁰ and the creation of an imperial school of philosophy by Michael VIII’s prime minister, the learned historian George Acropolites (1217–1282),⁵⁵¹ who had been a pupil of Blemmydes and was also an experienced teacher of mathematics (Euclid and Nicomachus), rhetoric, and Aristotelian philosophy, as well as a specialist in Neoplatonism.⁵⁵²

The two initiators of the early Palaeologan renaissance were precisely Acropolites’ pupils: George/Gregory of Cyprus and John Pediasimus. George of Cyprus (ca. 1240–1290),⁵⁵³ who had received his elementary instruction in Nicaea and later lived as a monk at the Akataleptos monastery in the capital, himself became the head of the school of philosophy in 1273, teaching such distinguished pupils as John Glykys, Theodore Muzalon, Nicephorus Chumnus, Constantine Acropolites and Maximus Planudes; he then attained the dignity of patriarch (by the name of Gregory II) in 1283. Bad health, poor resources (he lacked paper and books), and later his ecclesiastical commitments prevented him from writing a conspicuous *oeuvre*,⁵⁵⁴ but not from

545 Constantinides [1982] 148–151.

546 Ševčenko [1984]; Treadgold [1988] 373–380.

547 See in general Talbot-Rice [1987] 236–241.

548 Gaul [2011] 17–61.

549 Bianconi [2010b] 504–512; Gaul [2011] 267–271.

550 Constantinides [1982] 50–52; Mergiali [1996] 30–33.

551 Constantinides [1982] 31–35; Mergiali [1996] 15–16; Fryde [2000] 203.

552 It may be no coincidence that virtually no extant manuscript of Plotinus pre-dates the mid-13th century, starting with the fundamental Laur. 87.3: see Henry [1948²].

553 Constantinides [1982] 32–49; Mergiali [1996] 17–21; Larchet [2012] 13–64; Wilson [1996²] 223–225.

554 He apologises for this in his autobiography (p. 189.16–24 Lameere): ἔτυχε γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ πένης εἶναι καὶ τῶν βιβλίων κατάκρωσ ἐράων· ἔτυχε δὲ καὶ περὶ τὸ γράφειν μετρίως ἀγαθὰς ἔχων τὰς χεῖρας καὶ ἐπειδὴ περ χρήμασιν οὐκ ἦν τὰ φίλτατα κτήσασθαι, τοῖς ἰδίοις ἰδρῶσιν ἐκτῆσατο

practicing the typically Byzantine art of transcribing excerpts from the texts of his interest.⁵⁵⁵ Chosen on account of their linguistic features, proverbial nature or antiquarian importance, these excerpts (drawn from such diverse authors as Homer and Sophocles, Philo and Synesius) reveal a series of interesting variant readings, which must be ascribed either to his conjectural skill or to the use of better manuscripts than the ones extant today⁵⁵⁶—corrections and annotations by Gregory of Cyprus have been spotted in the margins of manuscripts of Demosthenes (Par. Gr. 2998), Plato (Scor. y.I.13), Proclus (Marc. Gr. 194)⁵⁵⁷ and Aelius Aristides (Par. Gr. 2953, a very influential hyparchetype in the tradition of this author, probably deriving from Acropolites' copy).⁵⁵⁸ An outstanding teacher and a prolific excerptor, George/Gregory of Cyprus tried his skill at rhetorical declamations, *progymnasmata* and paraphrases (e.g. of Aesop's fables),⁵⁵⁹ and he became one of the most distinguished paremiographers of the Byzantine age, setting up an epitome of the old collection of 'Diogenianus'.⁵⁶⁰ His intellectual physiognomy, however, will become clearer only once his theological *oeuvre* is taken into account, including some interesting linguistic remarks e.g. on the values of the prepositions *ἐκ* and *διὰ* in Gregory of Nyssa, related to the widespread 12th-century debates on the procession of the Holy Spirit.⁵⁶¹

Acropolites' other pupil, John Pediasimus Pothos (ca. 1250–1310/14), probably trained first in Thessalonica and later in the capital, became a deacon and was first appointed *hypatos ton philosophon* in the 1270s, was later promoted to the rank of chartophylax of Ochrid (where he also taught), and finally in 1284 *megas sakellarios* again in Thessalonica.⁵⁶² Not a particularly original scholar,

καὶ βιβλίων ἀντιγραφεὺς γέγονεν ὅσων οὐδεὶς σχεδὸν ἕτερος, τῶν λόγους φημί μετιόντων “he was poor and absolutely fond of books: his hands were relatively skilful at writing, and since he could not buy his favourite works with money, he bought them through his own toil and he became a copyist of more numerous books than any other lover of culture ever copied”.

555 Kotzabassi [2010].

556 Pérez Martín [1996].

557 Menchelli [2010].

558 Constantinides [1982] 145–146 and 153; Pérez Martín [forthcoming].

559 Kotzabassi [1993]. On the teaching of rhetoric in the early Palaeologan age, see Constantinides [1982] 153–155.

560 Pérez Martín [1996] 313–319.

561 *Antirrhética* 59; see Larchet [2012] 240; on the wider issue see Bucossi [2009].

562 Constantinides [1982] 116–125; Mergiali [1996] 21–23; Wilson [1996²] 242; Bianconi [2005a] 60–72, who also refers to a catalogue of books (in ms. Vat. Gr. 64) that may have something to do with Pediasimos.

Pediasimus wrote on astronomy, music, geometry, medical and legal subjects, and he shared with George/Gregory of Cyprus a special interest in such diverse literary texts as Aristotle's *Analytics* and *On Interpretation*,⁵⁶³ Theocritus' *Syrinx*,⁵⁶⁴ and Hesiod's *Shield*,⁵⁶⁵ on which he concocted scholia largely based on the materials of his predecessors, including his teacher Manuel Holobolus (on whom more below) and John Tzetzes; a treatise on the labours of Heracles is little more than a paraphrase of Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca*.⁵⁶⁶

A perfect contemporary of George/Gregory of Cyprus, and a *grand seigneur des lettres* during the last decade of Michael's reign and beyond, the historian and rhetorician George Pachymeres (1242–ca. 1315) held high positions both in the ecclesiastical and in the imperial hierarchy,⁵⁶⁷ and certainly taught in some form at the patriarchal school.⁵⁶⁸ Primarily known for his chronicle of the period 1258–1308, as well as for his rhetorical *meletai* and *progymnasmata*,⁵⁶⁹ Pachymeres compiled a companion to the four disciplines of the Quadrivium (arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy) known as *Tetrabiblos*, and he was especially keen on mathematics, as is apparent from his notes on ms. Ang. Gr. 38 of Diophantus.⁵⁷⁰ While his literary interests still await proper inquiry, particularly as far as the ethical and rhetorical exegesis on Homer's *Iliad* is concerned,⁵⁷¹ Pachymeres' philosophical studies are of the utmost importance: the twelve books of his *Philosophia*, containing a faithful paraphrase and summary of Aristotle's *oeuvre*, exerted a notable influence on the textual transmission of Peripatetic philosophy, and the manuscripts of this work, as well as those of his later exegetical works to Aristotle's *Organon*, *Physics*, *Metaphysics* and *Nicomachean Ethics*, show that he must be regarded as the head of a specialised circle of scribes.⁵⁷² Furthermore, as recent research has shown, Pachymeres' autograph copy of Proclus' commentary to Plato's

563 Ed. De Falco [1926].

564 Ed. Dübner [1849] 111–112; see Strodel [2002] 12–13 and *passim*.

565 The Hesiod scholia are in Gaisford [1823] 609–654, and they deal chiefly with grammatical or mythographical issues.

566 Ed. Wagner [1926²] 249–259.

567 Constantinides [1982] 61–64; Lampakis [2004]; Golitsis [2009]; Wilson [1996²] 241–42.

568 Golitsis [2008].

569 His hand has been recently recognised in ms. Par. Gr. 2940 of Demosthenes: see Harlfinger [2011] 289–290.

570 Cacouros [2006] 13–17. Constantinides [1982] 157 on Pachymeres and Manuel Bryennios, the two outstanding mathematicians of this time.

571 Pachymeres' name appears in the scholia to ms. Ambr. 1 4 sup., copied in 1275/76 by Meletius and other scribes: see Pontani [2005b] 267.

572 Golitsis [2008], [2009] and [2010].

Parmenides (ms. Par. Gr. 1810) represents a true 'edition' of the text, full of conjectures, corrections of philosophical terms and ideas, and equipped with a long supplement which he designed *suo Marte*.⁵⁷³ Pachymeres was fully convinced, against the ideas of patriarch Athanasius I, that philosophy is important for man,⁵⁷⁴

φέρει γὰρ εἰκόνα ταύτης τὸ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ μῶλυ, ὃ χαλεπὸν τοῖς πολλοῖς ὄν ὀρύσσειν
τηνάλλως μεμίσηται, καὶ ἔδοξεν ἀγλυκερές τὸ γλυκάζον διὰ τὴν ἀτημελησίαν
τῶν παντευκόλων, οὓς δὴ καὶ “ποτῶ δηλήσατο Κίρκη”.

for its aspect is similar to Hermes' *moly*, which is difficult to extract for the many and thus provokes their hatred, so that the sweet appears as bitter, because of the negligence of the simple men, those whom Circe “destroyed by means of a drink”.

The exact place of Pachymeres in the patriarchal school (the sources credit him with the titles of *dikaiophylax* and *megas didaskalos*) remains unclear, as does the distinction and hierarchy between the offices of *didaskalos ton didaskalon* and *katholikos didaskalos*. However, the deep links between the patriarchal school and the imperial *milieu* are demonstrated by the fact that the first teacher of logic and rhetoric (appointed in 1265 at the Church of the Holy Apostles, where generations of professors had taught) was no other than the imperial secretary Manuel-Maximus Holobolus (ca. 1245–1310/14), a monk, poet and scholar whose adventurous public life earned him imprisonment, mutilation and rehabilitation (as a fierce opposer of the union with the Latin Church, he was persecuted by his former patron Michael VIII).⁵⁷⁵ Holobolus, who became in his youth a *rhetor ton rhetoron* and later an *oikoumenikos didaskalos*, had experienced the difficult cultural situation of Nicaea, and after the recovery he successfully prompted Michael VIII to implement the teaching of grammar, poetry and rhetoric. He spent his career teaching and devoting his time to the study and exegesis of Aristotle (he made an overarching paraphrase of the Stagirite's works, as well as commentaries on *Physics* and *Prior*

573 Steel-Macé [2006]. Ed. Westerink et al. [1989]. Fryde [2000] 206–208 on Pachymeres' Platonic studies.

574 This part of the proem is edited by Golitsis [2009] 213, who also detects the reference not to Homer but to his most important exegete: Eustathius, *Commentary on the Iliad* 10.17–19.

575 Constantinides [1982] 52–59. Pérez Martín [1995] 414–417.

Analytics),⁵⁷⁶ to the translation of Boethius' philosophical texts from Latin into Greek, and to a new annotated edition of the Hellenistic *carmina figurata*.⁵⁷⁷

The Palaeologan age, from its very beginnings, is by definition the period when scribes, even anonymous scribes, tended to interact with the texts they were copying, and sometimes appeared as *pleno iure* editors of special types of recensions of those texts. The reconstruction of scribal *milieux* and of copying centres (in and beyond the capital) thus represents a fascinating task that sheds light on the intellectual and scholarly practices of this age.⁵⁷⁸ Amongst these scribes I single out as particularly significant one of the few female scholars of the Byzantine millennium,⁵⁷⁹ namely Theodora Raoulaina (ca. 1240–†1300), the niece of Michael VIII.⁵⁸⁰ As a nun, and a fierce opposer of the union of the Churches, Theodora was both a prolific copyist of Classical texts,⁵⁸¹ and the author of hagiographies containing many learned references and allusions to Homer, Hesiod, Euripides, and even to prose authors such as Strabo and Diogenes Laertius.

4.4 *Maximus Planudes*

The acme of the Palaeologan renaissance is undoubtedly represented by the long reign of emperor Andronicus II (1282–1328): despite a deep military crisis, the end of the dream of a union with the Catholic Church, and a series of severe political troubles in Anatolia and Thrace, this highly cultivated ruler surrounded himself with learned counsellors, and propitiated a fruitful cooperation with the orthodox Church, as well as the blossoming of a new generation of well-trained scholars.

576 Golitsis [2007].

577 Strodel [2002] 131–147; Galán Vioque [2009].

578 See e.g. Mergiali [1996] 43–48. Among the most active researchers in this field figure today D. Bianconi, M. Menchelli, I. Pérez Martín.

579 For lists see Schreiner [1999]; Cavallo [2007] 52–56. On Irene Eulogia Choumnaina, see Mergiali [1996] 103–105.

580 Riehle [2014]; Constantinides [1982] 44; Nicol [1994] 33–47; Mergiali [1996] 24–25; Parrinello [2011]; Kotzabassi, in Gruškova-Bannert [2014] 316–321.

581 Gregory of Cyprus and then Maximus Planudes owned her manuscript of Thucydides, now Mon. Gr. 430. Kotzabassi [2011] presents Theodora's correspondence with Gregory of Cyprus, esp. *epist.* 18 Kotz. which refers to Gregory promising her that great care would be taken in the copying of a ms. of Demosthenes (ἄστικτος . . . καὶ ἀκηλίδωτος) as soon as the time was ripe for the transcription (for now μηδὲ ἔαρ ἔστι, οὐδὲ κρεωφαγούσιν ἄνθρωποι, οὐδὲ δέρρεις προβάτων εἰς γραμμμάτων ὑποδοχὴν “it is not spring yet, and people do not eat meat, and there are no sheep hides to accommodate the letters on”).

The most important protagonist of this cultural climate was Manuel/Maximus Planudes (1255–1304/5),⁵⁸² born in Nicomedia and trained in the capital under George/Gregory of Cyprus, with whom he shared several friends, a form of bibliophilia, and a *penchant* for old proverbial sayings and for the Latin language. After favouring in his youth the union with the Latin Church, he later renounced worldly life, becoming a monk first at the Chora monastery and later at the Akataleptos; he taught for decades in the capital, at a monastic school or in some imperial institution.⁵⁸³ His contribution to the study and the transmission of ancient Greek literature in Byzantium is so impressive that it is impossible to list all the texts that have been in one way or another linked with his name, either on a palaeographical or on a philological basis.

Let us start with prose and science: in addition to his role in preparing new compilations of existing *corpora* of musical (lost) and rhetorical treatises (Laur. 57.5), in ms. Edinb. Adv. Library 18.7.15 Planudes tried his skill in astronomy by transcribing and emending the texts of Cleomedes, Eratosthenes and Aratus—in the latter’s *Phaenomena* he even added some hexameters refashioned *suo Marte* on the basis of Ptolemy’s *Almagest*.⁵⁸⁴ On the subject of mathematics, he wrote a treatise about Arabic numerals and the number zero (the autograph is preserved in ms. Ambr. &157 sup., ca. 1292–1293), he annotated Apollonius’ *Conics*, but above all he revised critically the archetype of the entire medieval tradition of Diophantus’ books 1 and 2 (Matr. 4678, later owned by John Chortasmenus),⁵⁸⁵ an enterprise in which he worked on a manuscript owned by Manuel Bryennius,⁵⁸⁶ and exploited his special expertise in drawing diagrams and in solving arithmetical problems:⁵⁸⁷

ἡ δὲ Διοφάντου βίβλος, ἦν ἀνάγκη τε ἀποπέμπειν ἦν... ἐπανήκει νῦν ἐκ τῶν πάλαι ρυτίδων ἠβύσσα· τὰ μὲν ἔξωθεν ὄφιν ἂν εἴποι τις τὴν παλαιὰν ἀποξυσάμενον λεβηρίδα, τὰ δ’ ἐντός, οἶαν ἂν ἴδοιμεν οἰκίας ἐκ μακροῦ πεπονηκυίας ἐπισκευὴν καὶ ἀνάκτησιν.

582 Constantinides [1982] 66–87; Wilson [1996²] 230–241; Fryde [2000] 226–267; Mergiali [1996] 34–42; Wendel [1950] is still very useful.

583 Fuchs [1926] 59–62; Constantinides [1982] 68–71; see his *epist.* 23 Leone on the rough selection of his pupils, amongst whom Manuel Moschopoulos, George Lacapenus and the Zarides brothers.

584 Fryde [2000] 157–158; Constantinides [1982] 72 and n. 33; Martin [1956] 295–299.

585 Pérez Martín [2006]; Wilson [1996²] 232–233.

586 “For I want to collate it with my own” (*epist.* 33, p. 66.15 Leone ἀντιβαλεῖν ἐξ αὐτῆς γὰρ βουλόμεθα τὴν ἡμετέραν).

587 *epist.* 67 (to Mouzalon), p. 99.24–29 Leone.

the book of Diophantus, which I had to send away . . . returns now rejuvenated from the old wrinkles. Its outer aspect resembles that of a snake having just deposited its old skin, its inner aspect recalls the restoration and refurbishing of a long neglected house.

In a long hexametrical epigram on Ptolemy's *Geography*, Planudes states that the difficult and expensive copying of that work and of its invaluable map of the entire oecumene had been made possible only through his own efforts and with the generous support of emperor Andronicus II. This could be an allusion to the discovery of an old, possibly late antique manuscript, which was the archetype of the entire Byzantine tradition of the *Geography*, starting with mss. Istanbul, Seragl. G1 57 and Vat. Urb. Gr. 82 (the latter is the copy brought to Italy by Manuel Chrysoloras, to the great benefit of geographic knowledge in the Renaissance).⁵⁸⁸

Planudes worked—often by conjectural emendation *inter scribendum* or by penning corrections in the margins of exemplars produced by his *scriptorium*—on a series of other prose authors, from Thucydides to Strabo to Cassius Dio, from Theophrastus to Marcus Aurelius to Pausanias,⁵⁸⁹ and he also prepared *Collectanea* (Συναγωγαί) of excerpts from various ancient and Byzantine authors,⁵⁹⁰ or syllogae of ancient texts dealing with one specific topic.⁵⁹¹ Recent research on ms. Laur. 60.8 has demonstrated the major contribution of Planudes' circle to the text of Aelius Aristides, a very popular author in Late Byzantine culture, as is certified by the multiple references to manuscripts carrying his work, scattered in the letters of Palaeologan scholars.⁵⁹²

However, Planudes' philological activity on Plato and Plutarch deserves a special mention. While his hand is not to be found in either ms. Laur. 59.1 or Par. Gr. 1808 of Plato, both originating from his *milieu*,⁵⁹³ he did co-operate personally with eight other scribes in the copying of ms. Vind. phil. Gr. 21, under the guide of the learned metropolitan of Crete (and bibliophile) Nicephorus Moschopoulos.⁵⁹⁴

588 Mittenhuber [2009]; Pontani [2010a]; Burri [2013]. For other instances of the direct derivation of Palaeologan manuscripts from late antique prototypes see Fryde [2000] 153–155.

589 See Fryde [2000] 237–241 (with further bibliography) and several essays collected in Diller [1983]; specifically on the text of Pausanias (whose archetype was probably prepared by Planudes) see Diller [1980] 489–491.

590 *E.g.* Laur. 59.30: Fryde [2000] 248–253.

591 *E.g.* Vat. Gr. 191 carrying technical and scientific authors: see Bianconi [2004b] 324–333.

592 Quattrocelli [2009]. Gaul [2011] 174–181.

593 The former was the antigraphon of Ficino's Laur. 85.9: see Bianconi [2008b].

594 d'Acunto [1995].

With regard to Plutarch, admittedly his *Lieblingsautor*,⁵⁹⁵ he continued to devote unceasing efforts to the philological improvement of his text: ms. Ambr. C 126 inf., carrying *Moralia* 1–69 and several *Lives*, was produced by no less than ten scribes working under Planudes' direct supervision, probably in 1294, and it still carries some notes in his hand.⁵⁹⁶ Planudes also contributed to the copy of mss. Par. Gr. 1671 (containing all the other *Lives* and several *Moralia*, and dated to 1296) and Par. Gr. 1672 (probably his definitive edition):⁵⁹⁷ a note penned in the former (f. 213r) shows his desire to find an old copy and his worries regarding the scribe's habit of concealing the material lacunae in his antigraphon:⁵⁹⁸

τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο ἀσαφέστατόν ἐστι διὰ τὸ πολλαχοῦ διαφθαρέντα τὰ τῶν παλαιῶν ἀντιγράφων μὴ δύνασθαι σώζειν τὴν συνέχειαν τοῦ λόγου· καὶ εἶδον ἐγὼ παλαιῶν βιβλίον, ἐν ᾗ πολλαχοῦ διαλείμματα ἦν, ὡς μὴ δυνηθέντος τοῦ γράφοντος εὑρεῖν τὰ λείποντα, ἐλπίσαντος δὲ ἴσως εὐρήσειν ἄλλαχοῦ. ἐνταῦθα μέντοι κατὰ συνέχειαν ἐγράφη τὰ διαλείποντα τῷ μηκέτι ἐλπίδας εἶναι τὰ λείποντα εὐρεθήσεσθαι

This passage is very obscure because the text of the old copies, worn away in many places, does not yield a continuous and consistent sense: I have seen an old book with many blank spaces, left by the scribe for he was clearly unable to find the missing words, but hoped perhaps to find them elsewhere. Here, on the other hand, in place of what was missing one finds continuous writing, because there was no hope of finding the missing parts.

In the context of Planudes' production, the three big manuscripts of Plutarch (accomplishments made possible *inter alia* by the increasing availability of parchment as a consequence of military victories in Asia Minor)⁵⁹⁹ belong to the category of the “*grands volumes*” gathering the works of an author in large, bulky and well-written books designed for the preservation of the text; manuscripts of smaller format, normally written in a cursive hand, represent

595 *epist.* 106, p. 169.18–19 Leone πάνυ γάρ, ὡς οἶσθα, τὸν ἄνδρα φιλῶ (“as you know, I like him very much”).

596 Rollo [2008b], with further bibliography. See Stadter [1973] (and A. Pontani [1995b] 92–93) on the manuscript's fate in Quattrocento Italy.

597 Bianconi [2011b].

598 Devreesse [1954] 90–91. Wilson [1996²] 236.

599 See Constantinides [1982] 136 on this and other instances of scholars facing problems with the parchment supply.

useful venues for taking more sporadic notes on selected works (“*exemplaires de travail*”).⁶⁰⁰ The former category embraces some other famous codices of prose (e.g. the aforementioned Vat. Gr. 191) and above all illustrious verse codices, which it is now time to examine.

Planudes’ achievements in the domain of poetry are most impressive, although he did not deal in depth with either lyric or dramatic poetry. As a matter of fact, scholia to Hesiod, Pindar and some scenic poets might stem from his pen,⁶⁰¹ and his *milieu* probably produced selections of teaching texts—partly equipped with scholia—such as Vat. Gr. 915 (Pindar, Lycophron, Homer, Theognis etc.).⁶⁰² But Planudes’ major feats of scholarship lie elsewhere: ms. Laur. 32.16, the product of six scribes working under his supervision as early as 1280–83,⁶⁰³ is a voluminous anthology of hexametric poetry ranging from Nonnus’ *Dionysiaca* (for which work it is our *codex unicus*) to Theocritus and Apollonius Rhodius (for both texts it is an independent witness of the utmost importance),⁶⁰⁴ from Hesiod’s *Theogony* (of which it offers our earliest preserved complete copy), down to Oppian, Moschus, Nicander, Tryphiodorus and some autobiographical poems of Gregory of Nazianzus.

Perhaps Planudes’ most remarkable achievement is his outstanding collection of Greek epigrams, digested by subject in 7 books⁶⁰⁵ in Marc. Gr. 481, written in 1299 or 1301.⁶⁰⁶ This codex embraces both Nonnus’ *Paraphrase of the Gospel of St. John* and a rich selection of Cephalas’ sylloge (see above § 2.6), including 388 epigrams lacking in the Heidelberg manuscript and now making up the *Appendix Planudea* (or book 16) in modern editions of the *Greek Anthology*. Planudes’ enthusiasm for this genre, as testified by his scribal care and conjectures, as well as by other copies of the same collection (he slightly later supervised the realisation of ms. Lond. Addit. 16409, a fair copy of the Marcianus), did not prevent him from mutilating or bowdlerising the more

600 The important distinction is made by Quattrocelli [2009] 152–155.

601 Constantinides [1982] 79. On Pindar see Irigoien [1952] 247–269. On Aristophanes see Koster [1963] 394–396.

602 Pontani [2005b] 293–297 and [2010a] 177–178.

603 Turyñ [1972] 28–39; Bianconi [2004b] 333–335; Browning [1960] 17.

604 See also Fryde [2000] 231–233, with further bibliography. It should be remembered that Planudes also wrote an *Idyllium* in 270 hexameters in Theocritus’ style, see Pontani [1973].

605 Later to be augmented by appendices merged in the first 4 books (according to Planudes’ own indications on f. 8iv of the Marcianus) in ms. Par. Gr. 2744, a codex that will be owned and corrected by Demetrius Triclinius (see below § 4.6).

606 Turyñ [1972] 90–96, with Cameron [1993] 75–77 and Valerio [2014] 66 n. 96.

morally questionable or erotically explicit texts.⁶⁰⁷ However, Planudes' acts of censorship in this and other genres were not frequent, and they should rather be regarded as a way to ease the access of a vast heritage of pagan wisdom into the cultural horizon of Palaeologan Byzantium.⁶⁰⁸ The note on the second-last page of ms. Marc. Gr. 481 (f. 122v) is evidence of the way in which, as a monk, Planudes sought to combine a militant approach to ancient literature with the orthodox faith: once more, his ideal of 'Christian humanism' rested ultimately on a stylistic approach.⁶⁰⁹

ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι αἰεὶ πρόσεστι τοῖς φιλομαθέσι ποθεινὸν καὶ ἐράσμιον ἢ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν συγγραμμάτων ἀνάγνωσις, καὶ μάλιστα ἢ τῶν Ὀμηρικῶν, διὰ τὸ εὐφραδὲς καὶ ποικίλον τῶν λέξεων. οὐ ἔνεκεν καὶ ἡ παρούσα μετάφρασις ἐμμέτρως ἐν ἡρωϊκοῖς ἐγεγράφη στίχοις, πρὸς τέρψιν τοῖς φιλομαθέσι καὶ φιλολόγοις.

We should note that the reading of Hellenic literature has always been an object of longing and delight for lovers of learning, and particularly the reading of the poems of Homer, because of the grace and variety of the language. That is why the present metrical paraphrase has been written in heroic metre, to give pleasure to lovers of learning and literature.
[transl. R. Browning]

One genre where Planudes was indeed sometimes obliged to resort to censorship were his translations of Ovid's amatory poems. In fact, relying on a solid though not impeccable knowledge of Latin⁶¹⁰ acquired perhaps through his familiarity with the Westerners living next door to the Akataleptos monastery, and refreshed during his diplomatic mission to Venice in 1296–1297, Planudes was the first Byzantine to devote a systematic effort to the Hellenisation of Roman masterpieces, from Christian (Augustine's *On Trinity* and Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*) to philosophical works (Cicero's *Dream of Scipio* with Macrobius' *Commentary*), from Ovidian poetry (including the *Heroides*

607 On censorship in general throughout the Byzantine millennium see Wilson [1996²] 12–18; A. Pontani [1995a] 322–327.

608 Karla [2006]; Valerio [2011].

609 Browning [1995] 21; Fryde [2000] 10; De Stefani [2002] 44.

610 See Bianconi [2004a] 554–564 on various categories of his mistakes in the translations, such as “διὰ βαλλαντίου” for “*perperam*”—wrongly spelled “*per peram*”—in Aug. *de trinitate* 13.5.8.

and above all the *Metamorphoses*)⁶¹¹ to a series of grammatical schooltexts (Donatus' *Grammar*, the *Disticha Catonis*, parts of Priscian's *Syntax*).⁶¹² The cultural impact of this *translatio* (barely initiated by Holobolus' attempts with Boethius) was substantial: not only did Planudes' versions become fairly widespread in manuscripts, but they opened up for the Byzantine audience a path to integrate and adapt Greek philosophy and mythology "into a new and challenging Latin cultural matrix".⁶¹³

The route of the dialogue between Greek and Latin culture, before affecting the heights of philosophy and theology (incidentally, translations from Augustine clearly fit into Michael VIII's unionist policy, which Planudes initially approved of),⁶¹⁴ had to arise from a basis of grammatical learning. This becomes clear if one considers Planudes' interest in Greek morphology, lexicography and syntax: he wrote epimerisms to Philostratus' *Images*,⁶¹⁵ a lexicon,⁶¹⁶ a dialogue on grammar,⁶¹⁷ and a treatise on syntax largely indebted to Priscian's *Foundations of Grammar*,⁶¹⁸ additionally, he has been regarded by some linguists as the *protos heurtes* of the so-called 'localist' theory of cases and case-endings.⁶¹⁹

The philological and palaeographical study of Planudes' manuscripts has often led scholars to the conclusion that he and his scribes had at their disposal very old codices, more than one copy of the same work, and enough material for a systematic work of collation. This state of affairs is hard to imagine outside of the most important library of Constantinople, namely that of the Chora monastery: indeed, recent scholarship has focused on the links between the books that demonstrably belonged to that library and some of the most illustrious scholars of the Planudean age, from Planudes himself to Nicephorus Gregoras and Theodore Metochites, of whom more will be said presently.⁶²⁰ All this is evidence of the continuity and co-operation between teachers and pupils, of the unceasing interchange and osmosis that marked intellectual activity in Byzantium from 1270 until 1330.

611 Fodor [2010].

612 Ciccolella [2008] 237–244.

613 Fisher [2002–2003] 98; Ciccolella [2008] 231–236.

614 Pérez Martín [1995] 419–421; Fryde [2000] 261–263; Constantinides [1982] 66–67.

615 Lindstam [1919]; Hunger [1978] 23; Fryde [2000] 222–223.

616 Mioni [1982].

617 Ed. Bachmann [1828] II.1–101; see Robins [1993] 201–209 and Ciccolella [2008] 241–242.

618 Ed. Bachmann [1828] II.105–66; see Robins [1993] 209–227.

619 But see Webb [1994] 94–95.

620 Bianconi [2005a] and [2004b]; Menchelli [2000]; Mazzucchi [1994] 205–210.

4.5 *Constantinople after Planudes: Moschopoulos, Grammar, Lexicography*

Planudes' favourite pupil was Manuel Moschopoulos (ca. 1265–*post* 1316),⁶²¹ the nephew of Nicephorus Moschopoulos, the metropolitan of Crete whose conspicuous library required no less than eleven mules for its transport.⁶²² Manuel was one of the leading grammarians of his age, the author of a popular grammar in erotapocritic form (*Erotemata*), and of minor grammatical works drawing on a long earlier tradition,⁶²³ but he also became one of the greatest innovators and authorities in the field of schedography—a method he applied to a wide range of texts from Homer to Christian prayers, increasing its practice in schools through massive insertion of learned quotations from ancient sources.⁶²⁴ Moschopoulos' linguistic, etymological and orthographical commentary on Philostratus' *Images* (later transformed into a lexicon known as *ὀνομάτων ἀπτικῶν συλλογή*)⁶²⁵ was based on the parsing of individual words, with special focus on declensions, morphology, semantics, but with little attention to the overall meaning, style or literary quality of the text. It is precisely for this reason that it enjoyed wide popularity in schools (especially in connection with his syllabus of prose and poetry, on which more below), attesting to the importance of schedography as a way to transform ancient masterpieces into texts not relevant to Greek culture or society, but mere linguistic paradigms.⁶²⁶

In keeping with his primary interest in grammar and its teaching, Moschopoulos worked on ancient lexica and grammars (although his involvement in the transmission of Harpocration is *sub iudice*: see below), and he wrote treatises on the Ionic and Doric dialects (attribution is partly controversial),⁶²⁷

621 Constantinides [1982] 103–108; Mergiali [1996] 49–52; Fryde [2000] 295–298; Wilson [1996²] 244–247; Gaul [2008] 169–171 argues for an earlier date of death, shortly after his teacher Planudes.

622 Constantinides [1982] 141; Browning [1960] 13. Among Nicephorus' books was the Plato mentioned above § 4.4 and the *Odyssey* Caes. Malat. D.XXVII.2 (Pontani [2005b] 297–300).

623 Ed. Titze [1822] 17–43. See Hunger [1978] 14; P. Ippolito [1981]; Constantinides [1982] 105–106; Mergiali [1996] 50–52; Fryde [2000] 219–221.

624 Webb [1994]; Keaney [1971] 303–313; Gaul [2011] 305–307. Moschopoulos' *Erotemata* and *Περὶ σχεδῶν* enjoyed great popularity throughout the Byzantine period and the Renaissance. The epimerisms to prose authors created by an otherwise unknown Staphidakes are discussed by Gaul [2008] 191–194.

625 See Lindstam [1925], and Gaul [2011] 181–183 for the success of Philostratus in Palaeologan Byzantium.

626 Webb [1997]; Webb [1994] 85–91.

627 Cengarle [1970] and [1971]; Hunger [1978] 32.

a paraphrasis of *Iliad* 1–2 (without the *Catalogue of ships*),⁶²⁸ and a commentary on Hesiod's *Works and Days*, also largely paraphrastic but displaying clear knowledge of the ancient scholia and some familiarity with the etymologies in Plato's *Cratylus* and in other exegetical literature.⁶²⁹ This is an example:⁶³⁰

κρύψε δὲ πῦρ] εἶχε δὲ τέως ὁ Ζεὺς κεκρυμμένον τὸ πῦρ· τοῦτο μὲν αἰθίς ὁ καλὸς παῖς τοῦ Ἰαπετοῦ, ἤγουν ὁ Προμηθεύς, ἔκλειψεν ἐν κοίλῳ νάρθηκι παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ, χάριν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, λαθῶν τὸν Δία τὸν τερπικέρανον· ὃν φασιν οὕτως ὠνομάσθαι, ἀπὸ τοῦ τρέπειν κατὰ μετάθεσιν τοῦ ρ, οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ τέρπεσθαι, ὡς τρέποντα δηλονότι τοὺς ἐναντίους τῷ κεραυνῷ, οὐχ ὡς τερπόμενον ἐν αὐτῷ. εἶτα ἐπάγει κατ' ἠθοποιῶνα, τίνας ἂν λόγους εἶπεν ὁ Ζεὺς ὀργιζόμενος πρὸς τὸν Προμηθεά διὰ τὴν κλοπὴν τοῦ πυρός.

hid the fire] Zeus had kept the fire hidden until then: Prometheus, the good son of Iapetos, stole it from Zeus the decision-maker in a hollow reed, for the sake of the mortals, escaping the notice of Zeus the thunder-bearer (*terpikeraunos*), whose name—they say—derives from the verb *trepein* (“to turn”) through metathesis of the *rho*, not from the verb *terpesthai* (“to be delighted”): this means that Zeus puts to rout the enemies with his thunder rather than delighting himself with it. Then he adds a sort of ethopoeia, imagining which words Zeus would speak to Prometheus in anger due to the theft of fire.

As a scholar of ancient Greek poetry, Moschopoulos produced important editions (with commentaries and glosses) of Pindar's *Olympian Odes*⁶³¹ and of the first eight idylls of Theocritus,⁶³² as well as of the triads of Sophocles (*Ajax*, *Electra*, *Oedipus Rex*) and Euripides (*Hecuba*, *Orestes*, *Phoenissae*).⁶³³ These texts, together with the aforementioned parts of Homer and Hesiod, were included in a standard curriculum of school readings that met with

628 Ed. Grandolini [1980–1981] and [1982].

629 Ed. Grandolini [1991].

630 Moschopoulos *On Hesiod's Works and Days* 50 (p. 18.5–13 Grandolini); the etymology comes from the D-scholium to *Iliad* 1.419.

631 Irigoin [1952] 270–286; Scholia ed. Abel [1891].

632 Gallavotti [1934].

633 Scholia ed. Dindorf [1863] and Longo [1971]. On Sophocles see the contrasting judgments of Turyn [1952] 16–30 and Dawe [1973]; on Euripides see Turyn [1957] 83–164; Günther [1995], esp. 60–64 and 268–270; Pérez Martín [1997b]; a balanced assessment in Mastronarde-Bremer [1982] 22–24 and 89–120 (see also Fryde [2000] 293–294, with bibliography). On his Aristophanes see Keaney [1972].

evident success throughout the Palaeologan age, and was often copied up to the 1330s.⁶³⁴ Moschopoulos' inclination to anthologies and chrestomathies in general also led him to the creation of the so-called "*Anthologie des quatre*" (excerpts from Philostratus' *Images*, Marcus Aurelius, Aelian's *Natural History*, and the so-called *Sylloge Vaticana* of the epigrams), which was designed as a textbook for the intermediate level between the primary learning of grammar and the exegesis of more advanced poetical texts. This collection, which still awaits closer study (as do other products of the Palaeologan anthologising fashion),⁶³⁵ marked the first instance of prose texts being integrated in a fixed school curriculum.⁶³⁶

While the real extent of his philological contributions to the establishment of the texts of Attic drama is still hotly debated in the present day (especially in the case of Sophocles, an author he edited around 1290), it can be affirmed that Moschopoulos does not stand out as a first-rate textual critic, although he was definitely well acquainted with the iambic metre, and certainly inserted metrical conjectures in his recensions. Some of his good readings, however, may in fact derive from deliberate editorial choices rather than from the inspection of better sources. Be that as it may, Moschopoulos' editions certainly enjoyed a great success among Byzantine schoolmen and scholars, and were by far the most widespread ones before Triclinius.

Moschopoulos owed his success also to his activity as a grammarian and schedographer. In fact, the fashion of elementary grammatical exercises, epimerisms, and schedography was so common in Palaeologan Byzantium that a man like George Lacapenus,⁶³⁷ a teacher of grammar and rhetoric living in the capital, even applied this method to a wide selection of Libanius' letters, and later to his own letters exchanged with Michael Gabras, with Planudes' pupil John Zarides and with other learned friends over a considerable span of years (1297–1315): these epimerisms were later arranged in alphabetical order.⁶³⁸

634 Dain [1980]; Gaul [2008] 174–177.

635 Canart [2010] and [2011].

636 Gaul [2008] 168 and 172–174.

637 Fryde [2000] 302–303; Constantinides [1982] 101–103; Mergiali [1996] 52–53; Wilson [1996²] 243.

638 Ed. Lindstam [1924]; and for the alphabetical version see Voltz [1893]. Little is known about his rhetorical notes to Homer in Par. Gr. 2938 (Pontani [2005b] 269–270). Lacapenus never wrote on Epictetus (*pace* Voltz [1893] 222).

And besides Lacapenus, lexicography was a lively genre in the early 14th century:⁶³⁹ Andreas Lopadiotes put together the so-called *Lexicon Vindobonense*,⁶⁴⁰ a second-rate work that embraced references to Greek literature from Homer to Gregory of Cyprus, and preserves down to our own day some otherwise unknown fragments of Attic drama; however, Lopadiotes showed a remarkable reluctance to include in his quotations from Euripides the conjectures of his colleague (or teacher) Manuel Moschopoulos. The still unpublished lexicon of George Phrankopoulos depends extensively on Zonaras and the *Etymologicum Magnum*, but its ms. Vat. Gr. 7 (of 1301) bears important, possibly autograph, marginalia with excerpts from Planudes, Lacapenus and other philological and rhetorical works, including some quotations from lost speeches of the Attic orators.⁶⁴¹ In view of the importance of the Atticist model in lexicography (particularly evident in the case of Thomas Magistros, see below § 4.7), and of the strong interest in Attic oratory to which such manuscripts as the *codex Crippsianus* (Lond. Burney 95) or the Bodl. Auct. T.2.8 bear witness, it has recently been suggested that precisely Lopadiotes or Phrankopoulos—rather than Moschopoulos, as had been hitherto assumed—should be credited with the redaction of the archetype of the entire textual tradition of Harpocration's *Lexicon of the ten orators*.⁶⁴²

4.6 *Constantinople after Planudes: Between Christian and Classical Culture*

Hagiographies of the Palaeologan age show that profane wisdom and theology continued to be kept separate in school curricula, thus confirming the persistent, obvious *Spaltung* between Christian and pagan instruction⁶⁴³—an issue that will become paramount with the explosion of the Palamite movement and ideology (see below § 5.1). Throughout the early period, however, in the frame of the ideal of so-called ‘Christian humanism’, various different strategies were adopted by scholars, monks and ecclesiastics in order to bridge the gap between Classical and Christian learning.

639 Gaul [2008] 195–196.

640 Ed. Nauck [1867], from Vind. phil. Gr. 169. On Lopadiotes see Colonna [1971]. Benedetti [1966]; Gaul [2008] 182–184.

641 Ucciardello [2007b]; Gaul [2008] 178–181.

642 Gaul [2008] 183 *contra* Keaney [1969].

643 Mergiali [1996] 26–29 and 84–89.

The monk Joseph Rhacendytes (ca. 1260–ca. 1330), long a teacher in Constantinople (1308–1321),⁶⁴⁴ took the encyclopedic approach: his *Synopsis*, a massive work on universal learning (from rhetoric to logic, from physics to medicine and theology) was subdivided into a number of mostly independent treatises, and largely based on the synthesis made by eminent Byzantine commentators and theologians, from Menander the Rhetor to Maximus Confessor, from Nicephorus Blemmydes to George Pachymeres. Rhacendytes' paedagogical aim, striving to provide pupils with a guide to the supreme truth by means of an adequate recognition of the intermediate sciences, did not prevent him from embracing a much more radical contemplative stance (possibly under the influence of hesychasm) during his later years.⁶⁴⁵

A more distinctly rhetorical path was followed by a correspondent of Joseph, the monk Sophonias, who excelled in the paraphrase of Aristotelian treatises (*Short Treatises on Nature, Sophistical Confutations, On the Soul*). Recent studies have shown an unexpected facet of this lesser figure of Palaeologan learning, for he has been identified as the author of a *melete* on the oration of St. Paul at Athens' Areopagus, full of overt or less overt references to Platonic philosophy, starting from the *incipit*, patently reminiscent of Plato's *Apology of Socrates*.⁶⁴⁶

A fervent admirer of Plato and Platonic philosophy in all its aspects, from psychology to ethics,⁶⁴⁷ Manuel Gabalas, later Matthew archbishop of Ephesus (ca. 1271/72–1355/60),⁶⁴⁸ iconically declared his inner conflict between Classical and Christian instruction in a letter to Michael Gabras, where he described his irresistible passion for Homer.⁶⁴⁹ In effect, Gabalas produced a series of three works on the *Odyssey*, carried by an autograph manuscript otherwise exclusively devoted to theological works (Vind. theol. Gr. 174): a lengthy prose paraphrase of some of Odysseus' wanderings with no reference whatsoever to the pagan gods,⁶⁵⁰ a short moralistic prologue to the poem (insisting on Homer as a universal teacher and on Odysseus as a paradigm of virtue),⁶⁵¹ and a brief *résumé* of books 9–12 of the *Odyssey*, in which many episodes are read in an allegorical or moralistic key (the Cyclops as the daemon of evil; Circe and the

644 Constantinides [1982] 108–109; Fryde [2000] 208–210; Mergiali [1996] 85–87; Wilson [1996²] 243–244.

645 See on this Gielen [2011] and above all the excellent overview in Gielen [2013].

646 Searby-Sjörs [2011]; Pontani [2010b] 23–36; Constantinides [1982] 125–126.

647 References in Reinsch [1974] 17–22.

648 Mergiali [1996] 99–102; Reinsch [1974]; Browning [1992a].

649 *epist.* 20, p. 115.11–30 Reinsch (Nov. 1326), with Reinsch [1974] 11–16.

650 Browning [1992a].

651 Ed. Matranga [1850] 11.520–24; see Reinsch [1974] 66–75.

Sirens as two different forms of pleasure; Scylla and Charybdis as moral and physical sin etc.).⁶⁵² These works, albeit no outstanding feats of scholarship, all attest to a lively enthusiasm for ancient poetry, substantiated by a remarkable erudition and familiarity with old exegetical and allegorical works; however, this fondness is never devoid of a sense of guilt for the pleasure of reading a poetry that he qualifies as ἔπεα σαθρά, “sordid, rotten verse”.⁶⁵³

Finally, another learned teacher and politician who devoted his time to literate instruction was John Glykys, a former pupil of George of Cyprus, and an imperial officer who later became patriarch of Constantinople in 1315–1319.⁶⁵⁴ Glykys is the author of a treatise entirely devoted to syntax,⁶⁵⁵ which abandons the ambition of a general overview and opts, instead, to provide solutions to particular problems (*zetemata*), above all the nominal cases, the uses of the participle and the issue of solecism and barbarism—the latter a very popular theme in Byzantine grammars but also in smaller independent, mostly anonymous notes or treatises to be found scattered in Byzantine manuscripts.⁶⁵⁶

σῶμά τι γὰρ ὁ λόγος, ἐς τὸ πλήρες εἰρμοῖς καὶ μέλεσιν, ὡς ἐκεῖνο, καὶ αὐτὸς συγκεῖμενος . . . περὶ ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν συνάφειαν, ὡς χρῆ, καὶ σύνταξιν καὶ ὁ λεγόμενος σολοικισμός, ὅσπερ ἐστὶ χωλότης ἐν τῷ λόγῳ, φαίνεται, περὶ οὗ σε φροντίσαι δεῖ οὐδὲν τι ἥττον τῶν καλλίστων ἐπὶ τῇ γραφῇ ἰδιωμάτων καὶ ὠραϊσμάτων Ἀττικῶν

A sentence is a sort of body, and like a body it consists entirely of joints and limbs . . . It is in these limbs and their connections and syntax that, as one would suspect, what is called solecism, that is lameness in the sentence, makes its appearance. You must pay attention to this, no less than to the finest styles of written literature and the beauties of the Attic authors.⁶⁵⁷ [transl. R. Robins, adapted]

4.7 *Thessalonica: Thomas Magistros and Demetrios Triclinios*

We have mentioned above that one of the characteristics of the Palaeologan revival is the plurality of cultural centres, libraries and *scriptoria*: cities such as Trebizond, Mystra, Ephesus acquired a certain prestige in this period; the most

652 Ed. Westermann [1843] 329–344.

653 On Matthew of Ephesus’ Homeric studies see also Pontani [2005b] 271–273.

654 Constantinides [1982] 98–100; Mergiali [1996] 53–54; Kourouses [1974].

655 Περί ὀρθότητος συντάξεως; ed. Jahn [1839]; see Robins [1993] 173–200.

656 For a list see Hunger [1978] 16–17.

657 Jahn [1839] 35; Robins [1993] 193.

evident sign of this new polycentric dimension is the city of Thessalonica, already a lively place in the times of archbishop Eustathius, but since the Greek *reconquista* in 1246 a first-rate intellectual metropolis. Thessalonica was the birthplace of some illustrious *literati* such as John Pediasimus, Nicephorus Chumnus, Thomas Magistros and Demetrius Triclinius, and hosted in the first or second decade of the 14th century such outstanding personalities as Maximus Planudes, Theodore Metochites, George Lacapenus, Joseph Rhacendytes.⁶⁵⁸

Thomas Magistros (ca. 1280–† soon after 1347)⁶⁵⁹ is the perfect example of a ‘gentleman scholar’, a champion of that cooperative production of written culture which flourished in the literary salons of 14th-century Thessalonica. His lexicon *Collection of Attic Words*, written before 1328 and edited by F. Ritschl in the early 19th century,⁶⁶⁰ owes its form to an early circulation in the *milieu* of the author, which led to a textual instability (‘interpolations’ and omissions) that still deserves closer analysis.⁶⁶¹ This bulky work, displaying a clear prescriptive goal in orthographical and morphological issues, derives its examples partly from a first-hand reading of some of the leading Attic writers (from Aristophanes to Thucydides), and partly from pagan authors of the imperial age (and from Gregory of Nazianzus); its greatest innovation on the background of contemporary linguistic tools consists in the massive use of the Atticist lexica of the imperial age, from Phrynichus to Moeris.⁶⁶² Magistros’ familiarity with the Attic dialect, and more specifically with the authors and the intellectual horizon of the Second Sophistic, was so great that two of his speeches (in ms. Vat. Gr. 714) have been regarded for centuries as the work of Aelius Aristides.⁶⁶³ In this connection the author’s ideal of *paideia* bears a distinct political and ideological dimension.⁶⁶⁴

But Magistros, who was a teacher of renown and became a monk at the important monastery *tou kyr Isaak* in the 1320s, but apparently never held any political or ecclesiastical role, also stands out for his unceasing devotion to the edition and commentary of dramatic texts:⁶⁶⁵ in the years around 1300 he pro-

658 Gaul [2011] 215–219; Bianconi [2005a] 19–31 and 51–60; Katsaros [1997]; Laourdas [1960].

659 Bianconi [2005a] 72–90; Fryde [2000] 299–301; Mergiali [1996] 54–55; Wilson [1996²] 247–249; Gaul [2011], esp. 220–240.

660 Ritschl [1832].

661 Gaul [2007] 296–326.

662 Gaul [2008] 184–190.

663 Lenz [1963].

664 Gaul [2011] 121–163.

665 An analytical catalogue of the manuscripts and the modern editions of Magistros’ scholia to the scenic poets (mostly, but not always, coinciding with that of Triclinius’ and Moschopoulos’) is provided by Gaul [2011] 387–401.

vided the triads of Aeschylus, Euripides, Aristophanes and Sophocles (the latter with the addition of the *Antigone*) with important introductory texts, such as biographies and summaries, and with commentaries largely indebted to earlier scholia (the same is true for Pindar's *Olympian Odes* and, less certainly, *Pythian* 1–4).⁶⁶⁶ In most of these cases Magistros did not constitute genuinely new texts of the poets involved: rather, he added his own exegesis and some emendations to the 'vulgate' text of Planudes and Moschopoulos,⁶⁶⁷ at times displaying great tolerance for *variae lectiones* of the same passage and their multiple meanings.⁶⁶⁸ This partially explains why it is sometimes very hard to disentangle in the manuscripts the exact attribution to the different Byzantine scholars, and to sort out the contributions of each one to the constitution of the text.⁶⁶⁹ However, as far as Magistros' notes are concerned, the obvious morphological paraphernalia and a rather uncertain command of metre do not obscure the attention he dedicated to mythological and stylistic features, as well as his pride in distinguishing his own approach from that of his colleagues. The analysis of the scholia to the *Oedipus rex* (the only ones well edited in modern times—in addition, naturally, to the Aristophanes scholia)⁶⁷⁰ shows a much more wide-ranging and ambitious approach than Moschopoulos'.⁶⁷¹ A good example is provided by the ambitious note on Aristophanes' *Wealth*, post 626 χοροῦ:⁶⁷²

σημείωσαι ἐνταῦθα ὅτι, δέον χορὸν διὰ μέσου θείναι μέχρις ἂν ἐκείνοι ἐς Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἐλθόντες ἀναβλέψαιεν τὸν Πλοῦτον, ὁ δὲ παραχρῆμα τὸν Καρίωνα φέρει εὐαγγελίζοντα τοῖς γέρουσι περὶ τῆς τοῦ Πλοῦτου ἀναβλέψεως. ἐποίησε δὲ τοῦτο οὐκ ἄλογως, ἀλλὰ τῆ τε τῆς νέας κωμωδίας συνηθεία ἐν ἡ αἰ παραβάσεις ἐπαύσαντο, ὡς προείρηται, καὶ ἅμα δεῖξαι βουλόμενος ὡς ἄρα τάχιστα πάνυ ὁ Πλοῦτος ἀνέβλεψεν.

666 Irigoin [1952] 182–185.

667 Euripides: Schartau [1973]; Turyn [1957] 165–187; Diggle [1991] 81–92; Mastronarde-Bremer [1982] 121–136; Günther [1995] 93–118. Sophocles: Turyn [1952] 31–40; Kopff [1976]; Dawe [1973] 79. Aeschylus: Shotwell [1984]; Dawe [1964] 18–22 and Smith [1986]; Smith [1975]. Aristophanes: Smith [1976a]; Eberline [1980]; Chantry [1996] xiii–xix. See Bianconi [2005a] 82–83.

668 See *e.g.* Gaul [2007] 270–271 on *μαντεία*, *μαντεῖα* or *μαντείας* in Soph. *OT* 21.

669 See on this esp. Gaul [2007] 267–296 (focusing on Pindar and Euripides); Schartau [1973]; Smith [1996]; Bianconi [2005a] 83–86.

670 Longo [1971].

671 Gaul [2011] 241–266.

672 Chantry [1996] 172. See Gaul [2011] 260–261.

Note here that, although it would be necessary to insert a choral song until they arrive at the temple of Asclepius and can see Ploutos once again, the poet immediately represents Karion as he brings the old men the good news of Ploutos' recovery. He does so not without reason, both following the habits of New Comedy, in which the *parabasis* had disappeared (as we mentioned above), and wishing to show that Ploutos recovered his eyesight very quickly.

The Thessalonican scholar Demetrius Triclinius, who may have been a pupil of Magistros and must have had some contact with the school of Planudes, was the most famous philological genius of the early 14th century,⁶⁷³ and probably—with a breadth of vision well above the average of the literary coteries—the only one to conceive of Classical studies not exclusively as subservient to rhetorical or stylistic aims.⁶⁷⁴ The acme of his activity must be placed in 1305–1320, yet despite the great renown associated with his learning his biography remains very imperfectly known, and no information is available with regard to his profession (where was he trained? did he become a monk? did he ever teach in a school?). What can be reconstructed is an unceasing commitment to the study of Classical texts (poetry in particular), practiced in the wake of his fellow countryman Magistros, probably in the same erudite circles of Thessalonica. More generally, the number and quality of the scribes involved in the copying of manuscripts, as well as the constant dialogue or overlap between the philological activities of the various leading scholars of this age, point to the existence of a *cercle d'écriture* having immediate connections with the capital.⁶⁷⁵

As opposed to his other colleagues and predecessors, Triclinius devoted most of his own efforts to textual criticism, above all concerning dramatic and lyric texts, which he emended and assessed by relying on the collation of several, often old and forgotten manuscripts, and on a firm knowledge of metre, ranging from the more obvious iambic, trochaic, dactylic and anapaestic sequences, to the more elaborate responsions of lyric strophae and antistrophae. This resulted not only in a special ability to make sense in metrical terms of some of the most difficult lyrical sequences in Greek tragic choral

673 Bianconi [2005a] 91–118; Fryde [2000] 268–292; Wilson [1996²] 249–255; Mergiali [1996] 55–57.

674 Gaul [2008] 163.

675 Bianconi [2005a] 92–96.

odes,⁶⁷⁶ but also in a revision of Hephaestion's critical and diacritical signs marking length of vowels, speakers, scene-endings, etc. (see, for instance, his introduction to Aristophanes preserved in Holkh. Gr. 88, and above all his ms. Marc. Gr. 483 of Hephaestion and other metrical writers).⁶⁷⁷ Through a careful meditation of Hephaestion and of Isaac Tzetzes' *On Pindar's Metres*, Triclinius progressed towards a constantly growing precision in the assessment of epinician colometry,⁶⁷⁸ which enabled him to produce a new edition of Pindar, improving on the textual and exegetical work of his predecessors Manuel Moschopoulos and Thomas Magistros:⁶⁷⁹ without the textual interventions of these three scholars, the text of this difficult poet would have come down to us, and to the Italian humanists, in a much poorer state.

Triclinius devoted philological attention to the text and scholia of Aristophanes: his autograph of the edition of the triad is preserved in ms. Par. Suppl. Gr. 463, while his final recension of eight plays, equipped with metrical notes and emendations, is carried by the 15th-century ms. Holkh. Gr. 88, and proved immensely influential for and after the Aldine edition of 1498.⁶⁸⁰ Also important for its influence on modern editions since Turnèbe is Triclinius' work on Sophocles: while we no longer possess his autograph, mss. Par. Gr. 2711 and Marc. Gr. 472 reflect the outcome of Triclinius' philological and metrical work, and attest to its early spread in the writing-circles of Constantinople.⁶⁸¹

But the editions for which Triclinius is best known are those of Aeschylus and Euripides: for both of these poets he certainly produced more than one text. The autograph ms. Neap. II.F.31 of Aeschylus, carrying *Agamemnon* and *Eumenides* besides the triad, and improving on the first edition (preserved in mss. Laur. 31.8, Marc. Gr. 616 and Salmant. Gr. 233), is essential both as our only primary witness of some lines of those tragedies (those damaged or missing in the glorious Laur. 32.9, see above § 2.6) and as the most philologically advanced manuscript copy of the poet.⁶⁸²

676 Basta Donzelli [1994] on Laur. 32.2; De Faveri [2002], to be read with Magnani [2004]; Tessier [1999].

677 Lamagna [1996]; Wilson [1996²] 252; Smith [1981–1982] and [1992].

678 Tessier [1999] 44–49; Günther [1998] 61–166.

679 Günther [1998] 167–185; Irigoien [1952] 331–364; Bianconi [2005a] 105.

680 Koster [1957]; Wilson [1962] and [1996²] 251–253.

681 Tessier [2005] xvii–xix; Aubreton [1949] 29–41; Bianconi [2005a] 100–104, a fundamental overview of the mss., adding Triclinius' notes to the *Ajax* in ms. Par. Gr. 2884.

682 Smith [1975] 1 and 34–40; Turyn [1943] 100–116; Dawe [1964] 59–64; Fryde [2000] 270.

Triclinius was also the scholar who managed to find—perhaps unearthing it in some Thessalonican *Fundgrube*, or carrying it over from Constantinople—an old codex (possibly still in majuscule letters) of the alphabetical series of Euripides' plays, which had remained almost unknown to the Byzantines up to his day. He promoted the copying of these texts in the paper manuscript Laur. 32.2 (*siglum* L), written by several scribes and carrying the master's own corrections, notes and interventions.⁶⁸³ The relationship between ms. L and ms. P (Vat. Pal. Gr. 287 + Laur. Conv. Soppr. 172, also carrying the “alphabetical” plays), is notoriously controversial, and so is the role of ms. Ang. Gr. 14, carrying another, peculiar textual recension of the triad. What is certain, is that all these witnesses—and several others—go back to Triclinius' activity, which took its cue from Magistros' text but augmented it by many scholia and glosses, which were to prove highly influential in Western humanism starting with the Aldine edition.⁶⁸⁴

Euripides and Aeschylus appear in the triclinian ms. Vat. Gr. 1824 + 1825 together with two other poets, namely Hesiod (whose three extant complete poems he edited and equipped with a selection of ancient and Byzantine scholia in Marc. Gr. 464)⁶⁸⁵ and Theocritus (Par. Gr. 2832 is the largest extant collection of Theocritean idylls, going well beyond the Moschopoulean selection).⁶⁸⁶ Amongst other Greek authors edited by Triclinius, mention should be made of Babrius (whose fables he emended and annotated in the 10th-century ms. Lond. Addit. 22087)⁶⁸⁷ and the *Greek Anthology* (as mentioned above § 4.4, he owned and annotated at least two manuscripts of Planudes' collection, namely Par. Gr. 2744 and Planudes' autograph Marc. Gr. 481).⁶⁸⁸ Less is known about Triclinius' attention to the study of prose authors, although we can tell that he copied or annotated manuscripts of Aphthonius and Hermogenes, Synesius, Ptolemy's *Geography*, Theodoretus of Cyrhus, and above all of Libanius. In the textual work on Libanius' *Letters*, performed on the 10th-century manuscript

683 Ms. Laur. 32.2 (on which see Zuntz [1965] 128–134; Browning [1960] 15) also included Sophocles, some tragedies of Aeschylus, Hesiod's *Works and Days* and the Theocritean section of Par. Gr. 2722, partly written by Planudes.

684 Turyn [1957] 222–258 and 23–52 (with Bianconi [2005a] 119–122: the scribe of the Angelicanus is the same of Par. Suppl. Gr. 463 of Aristophanes); Zuntz [1965] 136–140; Magnani [2000] 29–51; De Faveri [2002] for the edition of the metrical scholia.

685 Derenzini [1979].

686 Gallavotti [1982]; Bianconi [2004b] 343–344; Bianconi [2005a] 39 and 99, with further bibliography.

687 Turyn [1957] 250–252.

688 Derenzini [1984]; Bianconi [2005a] 124–126. This is of course relevant for our knowledge of the relationship between Planudes and Triclinius: see Wilson [1978].

Vat. Gr. 83, and then in a series of newly produced codices, he was helped by the scribe Nicholas Triclines, who often emerges as his collaborator, and displays a lively copying activity, for instance in ms. Laur. 70.6 (Herodotus) and in the margins of Ang. Gr. 83.⁶⁸⁹

The scholarship of Triclinius is not easy to reconstruct in detail, consisting as it does in a vast proliferation of manuscripts, often produced by a network of well-trained scribes.⁶⁹⁰ His work was aided by unceasing progress in the knowledge of ancient metre, but also prompted by a “divine and secret inspiration” (θεία καὶ ἀπόρρητος ἔμπνευσις) that urged him to textual emendation and conjecture,⁶⁹¹ though his sound method led him to declare regularly the exact provenance of the collected or concocted scholia (*e.g.* by prefixing a cross to Moschopoulos’ notes, a capital letter to Magistros’, and the word ἡμέτερον to his own).⁶⁹² Less frequently, he also showed an interest in other exegetical approaches, including allegory (an astronomical reading of *Iliad* 4.1–4 recalls the Neoplatonic tradition stretching from Porphyry to Michael Psellus).⁶⁹³

Despite the respect it commands, Triclinius’ activity has received contrasting assessments.⁶⁹⁴ What is certain is that: a) it was not merely the fruit of an isolated genius, but it involved an erudite circle keen on editions of poetry and prose (from rhetoric to historiography, from grammar to philosophy and science);⁶⁹⁵ b) it became of paramount importance both in the field of Byzantine teaching⁶⁹⁶ and as the touchstone for the tradition of many Classical texts in Italian humanism and later.⁶⁹⁷ This partly justifies the disparaging attitude by which Triclinius, in the prolegomena to his Aeschylus edition, justifies his interest for lyric metres of Greek drama:

οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ’ οἱ πάλαι τὰ κάλλιστ’ ἐπινενοηκότες ταῦτα τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἐκδεδώκασιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς συνετοῖς, βραχὺν λόγον τῶν μὴ συνετῶν ἔχοντες ὡς καὶ πού τις ἔφη “αἰδῶ ξυνετοῖσι· θύρας δ’ ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι” [Orph. fr. 1a = 101 Bernabé] . . . ἴν’ οὖν μὴ αὐτὸς ἀδικεῖν δόξω τοὺς συνετούς, τὸ ἐπελθόν μοι κατὰ νοῦν τούτοις προὔθηκα, οὗτοι δ’ ἂν εἰδεῖεν εἰ καλῶς ἔχει ἢ μή, ἐπεὶ καὶ

689 Bianconi [2005a] 106–107 and 124–141; on Libanius particularly Bianconi [2005c].

690 Bianconi [2005a] 102–182.

691 Smith [1975] 257. Tessier [2005] x.

692 Smith [1975] 36.

693 The note has been transmitted by Angelo Poliziano: Maier [1954].

694 A negative tone *e.g.* in Diggle [1991] 99–101; Zuntz [1965] 194–197.

695 Bianconi [2005a] 178–182.

696 Bianconi [2010b] 494–498.

697 Fryde [2000] 289–290.

ἄ μοι περὶ τῶν χορικῶν μελῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐν τοῖς δράμασι φερομένων εἰδῶν ἐπινενόηται θεία τινὶ καὶ ἀπορρήτῳ ἐμπνεύσει πλείστα πονησαμένῳ περὶ τε τούτων καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς μέτρων, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν τοῖς δράμασιν ἐξετέθη.

For not even those who invented these excellent things published them for such (ignorant) people, but for the intelligent ones, taking little care of the dull people, as someone once said “I sing to the intelligent: close the doors you laymen”. . . . Therefore, in order not to give the impression that I damage the knowledgeable, I offered them what has come to my mind, and they will realise if it is correct or not, because what I have excogitated on the choral songs and the other genres contained in the plays, working a lot through a divine and secret inspiration on these texts and on their metres, all this has been expounded in the plays.⁶⁹⁸

Interest in ancient Greek tragedy was not confined to Thessalonica: George Carbone, a refugee from Asia Minor and a teacher in Constantinople in the early years of the 14th century, left a few notes (but many more may have existed) on his exemplars of Aeschylus and Sophocles.⁶⁹⁹ However, in the first three decades of the 14th century Thessalonica was certainly populated by many anonymous or little known scribes, among whom one finds the case of John Catrares, who copied an *Iliad* with scholia (Scor. Φ.11.19), owned an important codex of Stobaeus' *Anthologion* (Vind. phil. Gr. 67) and numerous other philosophical, poetical and rhetorical manuscripts.⁷⁰⁰ Above all, Catrares was a book-collector, a poet, and a scholar good enough to compose a short comic fragment in imitation of ancient prototypes,⁷⁰¹ and to be credited with—whether rightly or not—with the forgery of the last lines of Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis* (and the beginning of the *Danae*) in ms. Vat. Pal. Gr. 287 (ms. P).⁷⁰²

4.8 *Theodore Metochites and Nicephorus Gregoras*

Any visitor of the Chora monastery (now Kariye Djami) in Constantinople will be impressed by the mosaic portrait of Theodore Metochites (ca. 1270–1332), not only one of the principal benefactors of the monastery, but above all an outstanding scholar, writer and politician (he acted as prime minister

698 Smith [1975] 256–257.

699 Browning [1988].

700 Wilson [1996²] 255–256; Bianconi [2005a] 141–156.

701 Hörandner [1974]; Bianconi [2000].

702 Wilson [1996²] 255–256; Magnani [2000] 22; Bianconi [2005a] 144 and n. 86, with further bibliography on the still unsettled dispute over the paternity of these lines.

to Andronicus II), and an extraordinary example of the fusion between *vita activa* and *vita contemplativa*.⁷⁰³ Firmly convinced that the Byzantines shared descent and language with the ancient Hellenes, and were thus their successors,⁷⁰⁴ Metochites proudly stated that “everything done by the Greeks and said about the Greeks has been studied by us to a considerable degree, both great things and things not so great but still perhaps worth a passing mention”.⁷⁰⁵ Ancient Greek writings, in his view, should not be considered just as paradigms of style, but also in their ethical purport, particularly when they concern characters of pagan antiquity such as Pericles or Themistocles.⁷⁰⁶ This attitude has sometimes been regarded as a proof of his ‘humanism’, for in his view the conversation with the Classics constitutes an integral part of man’s intellectual and moral formation, and at the same time the Classical world is considered in a deeper chronological and cultural perspective than used to be the case in previous decades.⁷⁰⁷

However, Metochites regarded himself as an epigone, and his strict obedience to religious principles prevented him from laying out a truly alternative cultural program. His *Miscellanea* (or *Semeioseis gnomikai*) are a good example of this: a series of shorter writings of almost encyclopedic ambition,⁷⁰⁸ in which he makes no claim to originality, for “practically every topic has been taken by others already, nothing is left as our share at this late date . . .”.⁷⁰⁹

Metochites’ range of interests was remarkably broad, stretching from Aristotle (whom he paraphrased and copied, deploring his predecessors’ mistakes but also at times the obscurity of the author)⁷¹⁰ to the development of science, from historiography to rhetoric. Precisely in the field of rhetoric and literary criticism, he had engaged in a lively polemic with the above-mentioned Nicephorus Chumnus, a politician and former friend, arguing for the ideals of *kallos* and *ethos* as they appear in Thucydides’ obscure style, against the plea for absolute *sapheneia* uttered by Chumnus and by his followers in their

703 Fryde [2000] 322–336; Mergiali [1996] 60–67; Wilson [1996²] 256–264; Ševčenko [1962] and [1975]. On Metochites and Chora see Underwood [1966–1975]; Teteriatnikov [1996].

704 *Misc.* 93.3.1 Agapitos οἱ καὶ τοῦ γένους ἐσμὲν καὶ τῆς γλώττης αὐτοῖς κοινῶν καὶ διάδοχοι.

705 *Misc.* 93.1.1 Agapitos πάντα δὴ τὰ παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ περὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡμῖν ἀξιολόγου σπουδῆς τετύχηκε, καὶ ὅσα μείζω καὶ ὅσα μὴ, ἀλλὰ καὶ βραχέος τινὸς ἴσως ἄξια λόγου.

706 Agapitos (et al.) [1996].

707 Hunger [1952]; Beck [1952] 75; Wilson [1996²] 264; Bazzani [2006]; Bianconi [2008a].

708 Featherstone [2012].

709 *Misc.* 1.2, in Hult [2002] πάντα γάρ, ὡς εἰπεῖν, φθάσαντ’ ἄλλοις εἰληπται, καὶ οὐδὲν ὅ τι λείπεται μεθύστερον νῦν ἡμῖν μοιρίδιον εἰς χρῆσιν τῇ φωνῇ.

710 Wilson [1996²] 258–259.

polemic against Metochites.⁷¹¹ While modern judgments vary on Metochites' ingenuity and on his debt to Hermogenian terminology and method, it is clear that he preferred prose authors who could be credited with the gift of *apheleia*, such as Xenophon, Josephus, Synesius, and Plutarch⁷¹²—the latter in particular he found admirable for his encyclopedic learning and high moral value.⁷¹³ Metochites' *comparationes* among ancient authors, and above all among the orators, are particularly relevant in this respect: Synesius is praised as an imitator of Dio Chrysostom (*Misc.* 18–19), and Demosthenes is judged superior to Aelius Aristides (*Misc.* 17),⁷¹⁴ although he considered the latter—as an illustrious representative of epideictic oratory—to be more useful for the present, which was after all an imperial, not a democratic age.

Finally, Metochites was also a first-rate astronomer, who studied with Manuel Bryennios (the author of a fundamental treatise of *Harmonics*),⁷¹⁵ and wrote around 1317 a massive companion to astronomy (the *Stoicheiosis Astronomike*, or *Elements of Astronomy*), the most ambitious attempt to restore the Greek, 'Ptolemaic' astronomical tradition (the entire work is conceived as a commentary on Ptolemy's *Mathematical Syntax*), versus the new theories coming from Islamic quarters, which were bearing special fruits in marginal centres such as Trebizond (an essential role in this mediation was played by Gregory Chioniades).⁷¹⁶

But Metochites' role in the intellectual world of the Palaeologan age goes far beyond his career as a literary critic, essayist, or astronomer. His restoration of the Chora monastery went hand in hand with the creation of a very active *scriptorium*, which both collected and produced codices of pagan and Christian authors, becoming in a few years a treasury of wisdom and a centre of irradiation of Hellenic culture. From the riches of Chora anyone can

ἐκλαβεῖν τάχ' αὐτόθεν ὧν τις ἔραται
 ὡς νύ τ' ἀπ' ἄρ ταμείου κοινοῦ τοῦ κεν χρειῶ,
 ῥεῖ', ἐπεὶ μάλ' ἐγκέεται ποῦλλὰ χρέεσθαι
 ὅστις ἂν αὐτὴν σπουδὴν προύθετο ἴφι κάουσαν
 παιδείας τε λόγων τε κτήσιν ἔρωτ' ἀτρέπτω

711 Ševčenko [1962] 208–209; Gigante [1981b] 167–198.

712 Hult [2004] and, less enthusiastically, De Vries-van der Velden [1987] 185–197; Ševčenko [1984] 164–165.

713 See *Misc.* 71, with Tartaglia [1987].

714 Gigante [1969]; Pernot [2006]. Another treatise on these authors: Polemis [2009].

715 Constantinides [1982] 95–97.

716 Bydén [2003]; Tihon [1981] 612–620; Pingree [1964]; Fryde [2000] 343–350.

obtain whatever one desires, as if from a common treasury of whatever is needful, easily, for there is great need when one purposes ardent study of wisdom for the acquisition of culture and letters with immutable love.⁷¹⁷

The Chora library and scriptorium⁷¹⁸ thus ended up being a repository of illustrious manuscripts (*e.g.* the glorious Clarkianus of Plato, but also Vat. Gr. 130 of Diodorus Siculus),⁷¹⁹ and a sort of scholarly circle, a reading-group where the activity of preserving, copying and annotating could become a collective enterprise, as is shown by the fact that often several scribes (not necessarily professional scribes) were engaged in the production, restoration, or philological study of one single book. Recent studies have made considerable headway towards the identification of some of these copyists: for instance the so-called *Metochitesschreiber*, who worked in close connection with the master⁷²⁰ and produced, besides copies of Metochites' own works, such landmarks as the *codex Crippsianus* (Burney 95) of the minor Attic orators, or the Aelius Aristides Vat. Urb. Gr. 123, or the monumental Aristotle Par. Coisl. 157,⁷²¹ has been identified with Michael Clostomalles, an imperial notary who wrote many official documents throughout the first decades of the 14th century.⁷²²

But the most important figure in this context is Metochites' pupil and cultural heir Nicephorus Gregoras (ca. 1296–1361), a teacher, an intellectual and a multifaceted scholar, capable of writing a fundamental historiographical work on his own times, of annotating and editing Classical authors, but also of calculating the exact length of the astronomical year centuries before the Gregorian reform.⁷²³ No less convinced than his master Metochites—to the edition of whose writings he devoted painstaking efforts—that “not only for us Christians do all good things belong to God, but also for the most learned of the ancient Hellenic writers”,⁷²⁴ his passion for science led him to

717 *Carm.* 1.1153–57 Treu (transl. Featherstone [2010], adapted). See also Browning [1960] 13.

718 Bianconi [2003] 541–543; Bianconi [2005b]; Pérez Martin [1997a]; Förstel [2011].

719 Mazzucchi [1994].

720 Wilson [1996²] 229.

721 Prato [1994] 123–131.

722 Lamberz [2006] 44–48.

723 Blachakos [2008]; Mergiali [1996] 63–78, with special attention to his astronomical work; Wilson [1996²] 266–269; Fryde [2000] 357–373; Guillard [1926]; Ševčenko [1962]; Fuchs [1926] 62–65 on his teaching activity.

724 *Epist.* 4.161–64 Leone οὐχ ὅπως ἡμῖν εὐσεβοῦσιν ἐξάϊρετον τὰς τῶν καλῶν αἰτίας ἀνατιθέναι θεῷ . . . ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοῖς σοφωτέροις. The whole letter is remarkable for its philological speculation on Aristides and Homer.

write on the astrolabe, to predict eclipses,⁷²⁵ and to edit Ptolemy's treatise on musical theory by adding *suo Marte* chapters 13 to 16, which completed Ptolemy's thought, if in a different style.⁷²⁶ This scientific thrust, also to be seen in his editions of Ptolemy (Marc. Gr. 312), ancient mathematical works (Marc. Gr. 320), and Metochites' *Elements of Astronomy* (Vat. Gr. 1087, which is also our main witness for several of Eratosthenes' *Catasterisms* and their antique illustrations),⁷²⁷ co-existed with a lively literary sensibility (he commented on Synesius' *On dreams*, adding textual and linguistic notes),⁷²⁸ with grammatical interests,⁷²⁹ and with a first-hand philological practice involving such diverse authors as Plato (Vat. Gr. 1029), Diodorus Siculus (Marc. Gr. 375), and Appian (he supervised ms. Laur. 70.5).⁷³⁰

The range and quality of his readings is well shown by a codex containing his excerpts, Heid. Pal. Gr. 129,⁷³¹ the list of the books he owned, annotated, or contributed to creating in the writing circle of the Chora monastery, is impressive.⁷³² This fusion of literary and scientific interests also emerges in Gregoras' favourite pupil, a monk, scribe and astronomer named Isaac Argyrus: recent research has detected his hand in a very important recension of the triads of Euripides and Aristophanes (Parm. 154 and Par. Gr. 2821 respectively).⁷³³

But there is a further dimension to Gregoras: namely, his activism as a cultural polemist against the South Italian monk Barlaam, one of the pioneers of

725 Tihon [1981]; Fryde [2000] 361–364.

726 Guiland [1926] 272–275 and [1927] 96; Wilson [1996²] 266–267.

727 Guidetti-Santoni [2013].

728 PG 149, 521–642 (see Guiland [1926] 208–226): when commenting in 564B on Synesius' *On dreams* 6.20 ὀστρεῶδες περιβλημα, Gregoras writes that “our wise Synesius appears in many ways a fervent emulator of Plato, not only from his doctrines (for he shares his views) but also from his ideas and methods, and from his very words. The definition of the body as ‘oyster-like garment’ has its root there, for he says in the *Phaedrus* . . .” (there follows a quotation of 250c): πολλαχόθεν δείκνυται ὁ σοφὸς οὗτος Συνέσιος αἰρεσιώτης τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἄκρος. οὐ μόνον γὰρ ἐκ τῆς δόξης ὅτι τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ οὗτος ἐκείνῳ δοξάζει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐννοιῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν μεθόδων καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν λέξεων. τὸ γὰρ λέγειν ὀστρεῶδες περιβλημα τὸ σῶμα ἐκεῖθεν ἔχει τὴν ἀρχήν. φησὶ γὰρ κάκεινος ἐν τῷ Φαίδρῳ . . .

729 Though in this domain some of the works that have been ascribed to Gregoras cannot possibly belong to him: Guiland [1926] 111–122.

730 Clérigues [2007].

731 Biedl [1948].

732 Bianconi [2005b] 410–422 and 426–434; Bianconi [2003].

733 Bianconi [2008c] 355–366; Mergiali [1996] 79–80; Mondrain [2007] 169–170; Bianconi [2010b] 492–494.

the hesychast movement.⁷³⁴ Gregoras' dialogue *Phlorentios or On wisdom*,⁷³⁵ is staged in a fictitious Athens where, with a high number of reminiscences from Plato's dialogues, he depicts a harsh dispute on several topics—from astronomy to theology to politics—between two men called Nicagoras (Gregoras himself) and Xenophanes (Barlaam). An interesting debate addresses the status of grammar, which Nicagoras praises as an essential discipline to prepare for the reading and understanding of all kinds of authors, whereas Xenophanes retorts that it is instead a “slavish and servile art” (τέχνη ἀνδραποδώδης και δούλη).⁷³⁶

Gregoras' opposition to hesychasm—which cost him imprisonment in 1351, distress in his old age, and finally the insult of his corpse being dragged through the streets of the capital upon his death in 1361—rested also on a philological basis: in his still unpublished *Antirrhetica* (1357–1358) Gregoras attempted to unravel the elements of error and falsehood in a Palamite decree of August 1351:⁷³⁷

ἐκείθεν οὖν τὴν τοιαύτην ὁ Παλαμάς ἀνειλημμένος ῥήσιν, οὐκ ἔκρινε δεῖν ὡς εἶχεν ἔχειν οὐδ' αὐτὴ τὸ ὑγιές, ἀλλὰ βραχὺ παρεφθαρκῶς και διασαλεύσας τὰς λέξεις, ὅλον εὐθὺς ἀνετετρόφει τὸν νοῦν. και τελῶς μὲν μίαν συλλαβὴν τῆς ἱερᾶς ἀπῆλειψε βίβλου, λέξιν δ' αὐθις ἄλλην κατόπιν ἀμείψας ἀντεισήνεγκεν ἄλλην, ἀντὶ γὰρ “συνεργίας” “ἐνέργειαν” τῷ οἰκείῳ και παρανόμῳ ἐντέθεικε τόμῳ, τὴν ὁμῶνυμον ταύτην φωνὴν και οὐ μάλα ἀήθη πρὸς πλάνην τάνδρι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ πάλαι βίβλω κείμενον ἦν “τὴν ἀμέριστον ὁμοῦ και ἀσύγχυτον, τὴν θατέραν οὐσίαν συνεπαγομένην συνεργίαν”, ὃ δὲ λέγει τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν: “ἡ ἀμέριστος και ἀσύγχυτος οὐσία τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἡ θεότης δηλαδὴ, συνεπαγομένη και τὴν θατέρας οὐσίας συνεργίαν εἶτουν τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος ἐτέλει τὰ θάυματα”. ὃ δ' ἀναιδῆς οὐτοσί τὸ μὲν ἐν παρυποκλέψας ἄρθρον τὸ “τὴν” και σιγῆς παραπέμψας βυθοῖς θάτερον μόνον τοῖς δυσὶν ἀμαθῶς τε και δυσσεβῶς ἐπεμέρισε κῶλοισ, ὡς ἔστιν ὄραν σοὶ τε και οἷς πρὸς βούλησιν ἄλλοις ἐστί. και ἅμα τὴν ἐξῆς ἀμείψας λέξιν, σύγχυσιν δυσσεβῆ τῇ ἱερᾷ προσετρίψατο ῥήσει και μάλα γε εἰωθυῖαν αὐτῷ. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν ἱερὰν ὁπῶσποτε ῥήσιν τῆς τοῦ καταράτου διαβολῆς ἐξελόντες ἀνεκαθήραμεν, φέρε και τὴν εὐσεβῆ προσαποδῶμεν ἔνοιαν.

734 Tinnfeld [2012]; Bianconi [2008a] 458–459.

735 Leone [1975].

736 Webb [1994] 93.

737 Ms. Laur. 56.14, f. 58v (the text discussed is Sophr. Hier. *expos. fidei*, PG 87/111, 3169D): see Paparozzi [1973].

Palamas took this sentence from here, but he did not believe it carried a correct meaning as it stood: corrupting and partly altering its wording, he transformed radically the whole sense. He omitted altogether one syllable from the holy writ, he changed another syllable and substituted a third one, for in his own, illegal copy instead of “cooperation” (*synergia*) he wrote “act” (*energeia*), an etymologically related word, by no means uncommon for his deceitful games. The original text of the old book went “the indivisible and unmixable substance, invoking the cooperation of the other substance”, and it meant “the indivisible and unmixable substance of Christ (namely his divinity), invoking the cooperation of the other substance (namely of humanity) performed the miracles”. But this shameless man, stealing away one article (*ten*) and concealing it in the abyss of silence, impiously and incorrectly assigned the other article to the two *cola*, as you (and whoever else wishes) can see. Thus, deleting the following word, he brought an impious confusion into the holy sentence, as is customary for him: but now, since we have cleaned the holy sentence of the cursed blasphemy, let us restore the pious meaning.

5 The Last Century of Byzantium

5.1 *The Late 14th Century: Between Hesychasm and Classicism*

By the time of Gregoras' death, the productive phase of the Palaeologan revival had long died out, and political as well as cultural reasons explain this irreversible development. Already in the first decades of the 14th century the defence of Hellenic *paideia* was a difficult challenge, undermined not only by rivalries and personal enmities, but above all by a social environment that tended to confine literary studies to a restricted circle.⁷³⁸ By the 1340s, however, one of the main issues at stake was a religious rather than political factor, namely the development of the mystic spiritual trend known as hesychasm, which preached the total subordination of profane to ecclesiastical culture, and the outspoken prominence of religious authorities over secular ones. Its development and final triumph in Byzantine society, especially after the victory of John VI Cantacuzenus in the civil war of 1341–1347, and after the Church Synod of Constantinople in 1351, entailed a radical change in the extent and practice of education and scholarship throughout the later decades of the century: the

738 Gaul [2011] 272–377.

room left for the study of Hellenic literature and culture suddenly became very narrow.⁷³⁹

This is not to say that hesychasts were necessarily more hostile to pagan learning than their earlier counterparts: according to Gregory Palamas (1296–1359), the coryphaeus and leader of this spiritual movement,

ὡς καὶ παρὰ τῶν ὄφειων ἔστι τι χρήσιμον ἡμῖν, ἀλλ' ἀνελοῦσι καὶ διελούσι καὶ συσκευασαμένοις καὶ χρησαμένοις σὺν λόγῳ κατὰ τῶν ἐκείνων δηγμάτων· εἰς τοῦτο τοίνυν χρήσιμα τὰ κείνων ἡμῖν, ὡς κατ' ἐκείνων χρῆσθαι καθαιρούντας

just as we can gain some utility even from snakes, provided we kill, dissect, prepare and use them reasonably against their very bites, so their (*scil.* the pagans') doctrine is inasmuch useful to us as we may use it in our fight against them.⁷⁴⁰

This implies that Hellenic wisdom could still circulate in schools, but had to be considered as purely subservient to the right religious instruction,⁷⁴¹ and by no means the basis for a philosophical development comparable to the Western scholasticism that had grown out of Aristotle's works.⁷⁴² Hence the slow but inexorable marginalisation of the non-aligned scholars, starting from Nicephorus Gregoras himself, who was satirised by patriarch Philotheus Coccinus (1300–1379) as a sort of Sophoclean Ajax failing to realise that the pagan poets and philosophers were actually dead,⁷⁴³ down to those scholars who eventually converted to Catholicism, first and foremost Demetrius Cydones.

There were partial exceptions: Theodore Meliteniotes († 1393), *didaskalos ton didaskalon* in 1360–1388 and later archdeacon of the Patriarchate, wrote a commentary on the Gospels but also *Three Books of Astronomy* which attempted, decades after Metochites, to reconcile the Hellenic tradition going back to Ptolemy and Theon with the new results of Arab science.⁷⁴⁴ It is interesting to note that Meliteniotes was the owner and annotator of an important

739 Fryde [2000] 376–379; Meyendorff [1975].

740 *Triad.* I.1.11, ed. Meyendorff [1973] 35–37.

741 Bianconi [2005d] and [2008c] 337–367; Tsirpanlis [1997].

742 Podskalsky [1977].

743 Philoth. Cocc. *Antirrheticus* IV, PG 151.827d–828a.

744 Leurquin [1990] 13–26. See also Mergiali [1996] 153–156; Fryde [2000] 350–351.

Iliad (now ms. Genav. Gr. 44):⁷⁴⁵ this seals a link between astronomical and Homeric studies which occurs with other contemporary figures as well, e.g. George Chrysococcas the Elder (the scribe of Vat. Pal. Gr. 7 of the *Odyssey*, and a proficient student of Persian astronomy at Trebizond)⁷⁴⁶ and Constantine Lucites (a pupil of Theodore Hyrtacenus, and the owner of the *Iliad* Ambr. I 58 sup.).⁷⁴⁷ More broadly, although the scholarly interest in science during the later Palaeologan era had deep roots in the polymathy of some outstanding scholars of the Planudean age,⁷⁴⁸ it was also a very important phenomenon as far as the transmission and emendation of prose texts in manuscripts is concerned.⁷⁴⁹ Another example is provided by the astronomer Joseph Bryennios, who had been appointed *didaskalos ton didaskalon* or *didaskalos tes ekklesias* since 1390: an expert in Latin language, grammar, and exact sciences, he spent many years of his life in diplomatic missions to Crete and Cyprus, but was above all a faithful theologian of the Patriarchate, as well as a book collector and an enthusiastic reader of Marcus Aurelius' *Meditations*.⁷⁵⁰

But on the whole the second half of the 14th century was dominated by other concerns, above all by the civil and external wars, the dramatic effects of the plague (1348–1362), and the increasing need for a serious interchange of ideas with the Latin West, connected with the tightening of commercial links, the progressive sense of danger that was seizing the empire (after the unsuccessful Ottoman siege of Constantinople in 1394, emperor Manuel II addressed a petition to Western rulers), and also—on the cultural level—the spreading of Planudes' translations of the masterpieces of Latin literature.

A key moment in this process was the attempt to transplant on Byzantine soil the scholastic philosophy of Thomas Aquinas: this challenge was pursued by Demetrius Cydones (1324/25–1397/98),⁷⁵¹ an intellectual and politician who served as *mesazon* to emperors John VI Cantacuzenus and John V Palaeologus, and became a tutor and later a correspondent of the learned Manuel II, an emperor curiously capable of showing enthusiasm for a manuscript of Plato or Suidas.⁷⁵² The author *inter alia* of a very large epistolary (451 letters) in pure

745 The scholia are edited by Nicole [1891]; on the margins of the Genavensis we also find Moschopoulos' notes: see Browning [1960] 14–15.

746 Fryde [2000] 350; Lampsides [1938]; Pontani [2005b] 329–330.

747 Constantinides [1982] 93–95 and 142.

748 Fryde [2000] 341–343.

749 Mondrain [2012].

750 Rees [2000]; Mergiali [1996] 156–160.

751 Ryder [2010], esp. 5–37; Mergiali [1996] 113–130; Fryde [2000] 381–386.

752 Mergiali [1996] 123–124, with references.

Attic style, abounding in references and allusions to Greek poets, historians and orators, Demetrius was based for several years in Thessalonica, where he entertained one of the rare writing circles of his age.⁷⁵³

Partly helped by his brother Prochorus, he translated into Greek not only works of Augustine, Fulgentius, and Anselm of Canterbury, but above all several of Thomas Aquinas' theological writings, after a felicitous encounter with his *Summa*, which he describes in his *Apology*⁷⁵⁴ as a turning-point in his life. In fact, Demetrius' interest in Thomas and the West, and his dissatisfaction with the Palamist orientation of the Orthodox Church, grew to the point of prompting his conversion to Catholicism in 1357: the ensuing persecution on the part of the Orthodox Church (his brother Prochorus was sentenced to anathema by the 1368 Council promoted by Philotheus Coccinus) also lay at the root of his journeys to Italy, two of which (1390 and then 1396) propitiated his becoming a Venetian citizen, and the appointment of Manuel Chrysoloras as a teacher of Greek in Florence.⁷⁵⁵ Cydones was a man of learning, fully at home in theology as well as in arithmetics: in the process of translation, he proved attentive to the need to collate several copies in order to correct the faulty passages. He once wrote to Maximus Chrysoberga

μόλις γὰρ ἑνὸς εὐποροῦμεν ὅθεν ἐχρῆν μεταφέρειν, ὥστε τὴν ἐκείνου φθορὰν οὐκ ἦν ῥαδίως φωρᾶσαι ἢ διορθώσασθαι, οὐκ ὄντος ἑτέρου ᾧ τὸ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τις παραβάλλων ἠδύνατ' ἂν μᾶλλον τῆς ἀληθείας στοχάσασθαι

I had barely one book from which I had to translate, so that it was not easy to discover a corruption in the text, or to correct it, since there was no other copy to collate with that one text in order to seek the true reading.⁷⁵⁶

The hesychast movement caused a split in the cultural elite of the late 14th century: the anti-Palamites included Cydones' pupil Manuel Calecas (ca. 1360–1410), who in 1390 opened a school of *enkyklios paideia* in Constantinople, and wrote a grammatical work for his teaching activity,⁷⁵⁷ although the comparatively small success of this school was due partly to the difficult political and

753 Bianconi [2005a] 238–239.

754 Ed. Mercati [1931] pp. 361–363; on this extraordinary text arguing the superiority of Western theological tradition see Kianka [1980].

755 Mercati [1931] 111–114.

756 *Epist.* 333.42–45, ed. Loenertz [1960] 266–268. See Kianka [1982] 285; Fryde [2000] 385.

757 Bernardinello [1971–1972]; Botley [2010] 6–7.

economical moment (he had to flee the capital in 1396 upon converting to the Roman faith), and partly to Calecas' own problematic character.⁷⁵⁸ On the side of the admirers of Gregory Palamas one finds a pupil of Thomas Magistros, based in Thessalonica during the third quarter of the 14th century, namely the aforementioned Philotheus Coccinus, later patriarch of Constantinople.⁷⁵⁹ In addition to writing long essays—as we have seen—against Gregoras and pagan wisdom, Coccinus wrote a panegyric for Gregory Palamas phrased in a pure Hellenic style and language, and insisted that Classical learning should be used only as a rhetorical frame and as a help in reading the Scriptures, not for its own sake, much less in the search for truth.⁷⁶⁰

Perhaps the most fervent supporter of Palamas, and the most implacable opponent of Gregoras, the Calabrian monk named Barlaam (†1348), spent most of his life as a scholar and a teacher at the Soter monastery (a *centre de copie* of ecclesiastical as well as of Classical authors),⁷⁶¹ before being appointed bishop of Gerace in 1340.⁷⁶² Barlaam's theological works need not detain our attention here, even if they reveal a close acquaintance with Plato and Aristotle; what is more interesting is the emblematic role of Barlaam as one of the last important figures of Greek culture in Southern Italy during its slow but inexorable decline under the Anjou and Aragonese domination.⁷⁶³ Several decades later, the traveller Athanasios Chalkeopoulos was to describe the sad state of decay of both libraries and linguistic knowledge in Southern Italy.⁷⁶⁴

Barlaam's successor to the see of Gerace in 1348 was another man of letters, later appointed to the diocese of Thebes (1366–1383), called Simon Atumanus:⁷⁶⁵ as well as being a close friend of Cydones, and the first translator of Plutarch in the West (*On controlling anger*; he may also be the translator into Greek of the Hebrew Old Testament in ms. Marc. Gr. 7),⁷⁶⁶ he owned and partly annotated several important manuscripts that were mentioned earlier, such as the 'Planudean' Plato Vind. phil. Gr. 21, the Salentine *Odyssey* Vind. phil. Gr. 56 and the main witness of the alphabetical series of Euripides' tragedies, Laur. 32.2.

758 On Calecas see Mergiali [1996] 134–135 and 163–164; Loenertz [1947].

759 Bianconi [2005a] 227–237.

760 *Life of St. Sabas* 5, in Tsames [1985] 168–169.

761 Bianconi [2005a] 166–167 and [2004b] 350–351.

762 Fyrigos [2001]; Bianconi [2008a] 456–458.

763 See Fyrigos [1997], and—more specifically on manuscripts—Lucà [2006]; Perria [1999]; Cavallo [1982] 581–591.

764 Laurent-Guillou [1960]; Lucà [2007b] 45–46.

765 See on him Fedalto [1968]; Wilson [1996²] 268–269; Mergiali [1996] 140–141; Pertusi [1960].

766 Weiss [1977] 207–210; Mercati [1916].

Perhaps the most iconic link between the late Byzantine age and the roots of Italian humanism is represented by a pupil of Barlaam named Leontius Pilatus. While it is unclear whether he was a Calabrian or a Greek, and whether he attended Barlaam's classes in Italy or in Thessalonica,⁷⁶⁷ Leontius is universally known today as the first translator of Homer into Latin since the age of the Roman empire. This task, which he performed during his stay in Florence in the early 1360s, was entrusted to him by no lesser intellectuals than Francesco Petrarca and Giovanni Boccaccio, who were eventually very unsatisfied with the literary quality of the translation, as well as with the poor outcome of his teaching of Greek in Florence.⁷⁶⁸

If the substantial failure of this attempt delayed the project of restoring Greek as a pivotal part of humanistic curriculum, Leontius' Greek culture in and on itself has been assessed more positively in recent times: his contact with Aristotelian and scholastic philosophy,⁷⁶⁹ his restoration of the Greek passages in the illustrious Florentine codex of the *Pandects*,⁷⁷⁰ his partial translation (in two subsequent redactions) of Euripides' *Hecuba* (on Ioannikios' ms. Laur. 31.10),⁷⁷¹ as well as the painstaking annotations he scattered in the margins of his Homeric versions (partly indebted to glossaries, mythographers, and to the ancient and Byzantine exegesis to Homer, Lycophron and other authors),⁷⁷² show that Leontius must be considered as a scholar conversant with pagan wisdom, and a worthy source of Petrarch's notes in his own Latin copy of the *Iliad* and of Giovanni Boccaccio in his *Genealogiae deorum gentilium*.⁷⁷³ Let us consider for example the following cluster of passages:

Leontius on Euripides *Hecuba* 5 *Hellinica*: "idest 'greca'; nam Hellines Greci dicti ab Hellino quodam rege eorum sic vocato" (see *e.g. sch. D in Il. 1.2* and 16.595; *sch. V in Od. 1.344*)

Leontius on *Odyssey* 1.344 *Helladam*: "Hellada dicta est Grecia tota et specialiter Argon; unde Greci Hellines dicti sunt a rege Hellino dicto".

767 Cortesi [1995] 458–461; Rollo [2007] 7–21 (with earlier bibliography) revises the traditional idea that he should be regarded as a Calabrian, and believes that at least some of his education must have taken place in Crete.

768 Cortesi [1995] 458–461; Pertusi [1964].

769 Harlfinger-Rashed [2002–2003].

770 Di Benedetto [1969]. On the ms. see Baldi [2010].

771 Rollo [2007].

772 We still have the autograph manuscripts (Marc. Gr. IX.2 and 29): see the analysis by Pertusi [1964] and Pontani [2002–2003].

773 Pertusi [1964] 295–380.

Petrarch in his note on *Odyssey* 1.344: “Hellada dicta est Grecia. Greci Hellines ab Hellino rege ut vult Leon. Ego partem Grecie puto circa Athenas, etc.”

Boccaccio, *Genealogies of the Pagan Gods* 4.48 “Ellanum dicit Theodontius filium fuisse Deucalionis et Pyrrae (cf. *schol. D in Il.* 12.117 et alibi), quem ait Barlaam, patre mortuo, adeo nomen suum et imperium ampliasset, ut fere omnis Grecia, que in Egeum mare versa est, a nomine suo Ellada nominata sit, et Ellades Greci”.⁷⁷⁴

5.2 *From Chrysoloras to the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1397–1439)*

1397, the year when the chancellor of Florence Coluccio Salutati appointed Manuel Chrysoloras (ca. 1350–1415) to teach “grecas literas grecamque grammatice”, marked a turning-point in the history of Classical studies in the West. Chrysoloras spent just three years in Florence, and later moved to Lombardy where he taught at the *studium* of Pavia (1400–1403), and—after a series of diplomatic travels that took him to France and England—came back to Rome, where he also gave private lessons to Italian pupils.⁷⁷⁵ The remarkable success of his classes rested *inter alia* on a significant novelty vis-à-vis the more traditional Byzantine didactic methods: his syllabus did not include the usual Christian texts (such as the *Psalms* and some works by Gregory of Nazianzus), but focused primarily on pagan authors, who were functional both to stirring the growing interest of Italian upper classes in Hellenic antiquity and to implementing Chrysoloras’ plan to revive and promote Greek culture and identity even on the political level, at a time when the aid of Western powers was perceived as more and more necessary for the endangered empire.⁷⁷⁶

The potential impact of Chrysoloras’ enterprise is highlighted by the very size and nature of his library, put together over the decades and consisting of an impressive number of Classical poets and prose authors. The recent discovery of Manuel’s *ex-libris* has given an entirely new picture of the written culture in early Graeco-Italian humanism,⁷⁷⁷ and the palaeographic analysis of his hand has demonstrated his role in the restoration of the Greek passages in Suetonius and Cicero,⁷⁷⁸ his interest in ancient Homeric exegesis (the *scholion* to the *Odyssey* in Vind. phil. Gr. 56),⁷⁷⁹ and his philological approach to

774 See Pertusi [1964] 299–300; Pontani [2002–2003] 307; Rollo [2007] 101 and 77.

775 Thorn-Wickert [2006]; Wilson [1992] 8–12.

776 Weiss [1977] 227–254; Mergiali [1996] 137–139; Hankins [2002].

777 A. Pontani [1999]; Rollo [2002b]; Thorn-Wickert [2006] 150–165.

778 Rollo [2002a] 79–80.

779 Pontani [2005b] 209 and 239–242.

the texts he wished to translate (*e.g.* in ms. Vat. Gr. 226 of Plato's *Republic* and Vat. Gr. 191 of Ptolemy's *Geography*).⁷⁸⁰ In this context, it is interesting to note that Chrysoloras' theory of translation, based on a certain degree of liberty though refraining from modifying the *Graeca proprietates*, proved essential for generations of humanists who attended to the painstaking task of Latinising the bulk of ancient Greek literature.⁷⁸¹

In addition to Chrysoloras' charism, spelled out by his pupil Leonardo Bruni, who regarded him as the restorer of Greek letters in Italy after 700 years of silence,⁷⁸² the long-term influence of his teaching consisted above all in the extraordinary tool he fashioned for learning the language, namely a grammar in the traditional question-and-answer form (known already from Moschopoulos), but—for the first time—designed for the needs of a Latin-speaking public.⁷⁸³ Chrysoloras' *Erotemata*, thanks to its multiple and yet coherent structure, enjoyed such widespread success both in the West and in Constantinople and prompted so many abridgments and compendia by the hand of the author's pupils and successors (from Guarino da Verona to Constantine Lascaris), that, in the lack of an autograph, the reconstruction of its original form remains problematic today.⁷⁸⁴ A new critical edition now offers many answers to the open philological issues, and will no doubt be the starting-point for future research in this delicate field.⁷⁸⁵

In a famous letter to emperor Manuel II, Chrysoloras observed in astonishment, in the wake of a similar statement by Cydones,⁷⁸⁶ that

ἄτοπον δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ μὲν, ἴσως δὲ καὶ ἄλλοθι, τινὰς σπουδάζειν περὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους λόγους καὶ νῦν εἶναι τοὺς γινώσκοντας, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἀμελεῖσθαι

780 Gentile [2002] and [1992]. The notes to Lucian in ms. Vat. Urb. Gr. 121 belong to a pupil of Chrysoloras: Berti [1987].

781 See Cencio de Rustici's report of Chrysoloras' views in Cortesi [1995] 470–471 and Wilson [1992] II.

782 Hankins [2007] 322–23.

783 Wilson [1992] 8–12; Pertusi [1962].

784 Ciccolella [2010]; Nuti [2012].

785 Rollo [2012].

786 *Apology* p. 366.95–96 Mercati: the Latins “break much sweat in order to walk in the labyrinths of Aristotle and Plato, for which our people never showed interest” (ἀνδρῶν πολὺν ἰδρώτα περὶ τοὺς Ἀριστοτέλους καὶ Πλάτωνος λαβυρίθους εἰσενεγκόντων, ὧν οὐδὲ πώποτε τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἐμέλησεν).

it is strange that in Italy (and perhaps in other places as well) some people study our culture and are now those who best know it, whereas in Greece and in the capital it is utterly neglected.⁷⁸⁷

It is clear that Chrysoloras' experience could not immediately stimulate the blossoming of philological studies in Italy, but by spreading in the West the first scientific and first-hand knowledge of a lost (and paradigmatic) world, it made a decisive contribution to fostering the *translatio studiorum* that would play a role in shaping the broader phenomenon of Italian humanism.⁷⁸⁸ That this *translatio* relied primarily on linguistic proficiency is shown by the sheer number and importance of the translations of Greek literary works executed by Chrysoloras' pupils:⁷⁸⁹ the aforementioned Leonardo Bruni (1370–1444), chancellor of Florence in 1427, showed his skill and stylistic refinement in his Latin renderings of some books of Homer as well as of several important dialogues of Plato, and also of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* and *Politics*, and the immensely popular protreptic opusculum of St. Basil on the value of Greek literature.⁷⁹⁰

Guarino da Verona (1374–1460), who spent some years in the East (1403–1408) and later taught in Venice and Florence, ending up in Ferrara where he opened a school attended by pupils from all over Europe, assigned a central place to Greek in the framework of his curriculum.⁷⁹¹ The size of Guarino's library, the importance of his elementary grammar (essentially a revision of Chrysoloras'), his still unpublished collection of short philological notes known as *Commentarioli*, his activity of restoring the Greek passages in authors such as Gellius or Servius, and above all the very number and quality of his translations (ranging from Plutarch to Strabo, from Isocrates to Lucian) indicate him as a coryphaeus of Greek studies in early Italian humanism. When writing to duke Leonello d'Este in 1447 on the subject of the Greek Muses to be painted on the walls of his Studiolo at Belfiore (now held in various different museums), Guarino—perhaps with the help of Theodore Gaza—resorted to an etymological and mythographical explanation reminiscent of ancient and Byzantine exegesis on Hesiod's *Works and Days* (see above § 3.6 on Tzetzes):⁷⁹²

787 Patrinelis-Sofianos [2001] 119.11–13.

788 Signes Codoñer [2003], providing a useful synthesis.

789 Cortesi [1995] 470–484.

790 Botley [2004]; Thiermann [1993]; Wilson [1992] 13–16, 19–22, 29–31.

791 Wilson [1992] 16–18 and 42–47; Bonanno [2008]; Rollo [2003]; Sabbadini [1964].

792 Wilson [1991]; the Latin text is reprinted (from epist. II.111–12 Sabbadini) in Baxandall [1971] 89–90 and 158–160.

Sunt qui tres, sunt qui quattuor, sunt qui quinque, sunt qui novem esse contendunt. Omissis reliquis sequamur hos extremos qui novem fuisse dicunt. De ipsis igitur summatim intelligendum est musas notiones quasdam et intelligentias esse, quae humanis studiis et industria varias actiones et opera excogitaverunt, sic dictas quia omnia inquirant vel quia ab omnibus inquirantur, cum ingenita sit hominibus sciendi cupiditas. Μῶσθαι enim graece indagare dicitur; μούσαι igitur indagatrices dicantur.

Some say they are three in number, others four, yet others five or nine. Let us follow straight away the latter, who say they were nine. One has to understand about them that the Muses represent the notions and skills which through human application and hability produced the various works and actions. They are thus named because they investigate everything or are investigated by everyone, for men naturally long for knowledge. *Mosthai* means “to investigate” in Greek; *mousai* thus means “investigators”.

That the translation of ancient Greek works could have a great impact on contemporary *mores* is overtly declared by Guarino’s Venetian pupil Francesco Barbaro (1390–1454), who owned and annotated books of poetry and prose, from Homer to Plato, from Plutarch to Lucian. Precisely Plutarch’s *Lives* represent the favourite work of humanist translators: thus Barbaro himself translated *Aristides* and *Cato the Elder*, while his fellow-countryman Leonardo Giustinian translated the *Lives* of Cimon and Lucullus—two men whose deeds and *ethos*, in Barbaro’s view, provided an excellent model and paradigm for the best energies of the Venetian youth.⁷⁹³

In 1423, Guarino’s other pupil Vittorino da Feltre (1378–1446) was summoned by the Gonzaga family to establish a school near Mantua: the *Ca’ Zoiosa*, one of the milestones in the chain of Western paedagogical thought, focused on humanities, sciences and gymnastics,⁷⁹⁴ and gave pride of place to Greek literature in the original language, with special emphasis on poetry (Homer, Nicander, Oppian, Dionysius the Periegete, Apollonius Rhodius).⁷⁹⁵ The school also gave shelter and an *ubi consistam* to Greek scribes working for Vittorino, such as Petros Kretikos and Girard of Patras, and occasionally hosted outstanding teachers such as George of Trebizond and Theodore Gaza. Although this did not result in the creation of an advanced scholarly circle

793 Wilson [1992] 23–25; F. Barbaro, *epist.* 2 Griggio (to Palla Strozzi).

794 Garin [1958]; Müller [1984]; Cortesi [2010].

795 Cortesi [2000].

nor in a long-term educational institution, it did succeed in promoting linguistic knowledge on a higher level, and in spreading the texts and values of ancient Greece which were to become a common heritage of the ruling elite, from erudites such as Niccolò Perotti to princes and rulers such as Federico da Montefeltro.⁷⁹⁶ In this sense, Vittorino's experience proved a fully humanistic enterprise, turning the mainly grammatical and stylistic interests of Byzantine schooling (Moschopoulos, Suidas, etc. were also widely copied in Mantua) into a stratagem for communicating and transmitting ancient ideals to the younger generations.

We have mentioned that Guarino spent some years in Constantinople: he was not the only humanist to do so. So did Chrysoloras' other pupil Iacopo Angeli da Scarperia (ca. 1360–1410/11), one of the promoters of the 1397 appointment, and the translator (with his master) of Ptolemy's *Geography*;⁷⁹⁷ likewise the Sicilian Giovanni Aurispa (1376–1459), who brought back to Italy a remarkable quantity of pagan manuscripts (238 is the number generally agreed on), among which ms. Laur. 32.9, possibly the Veneti A and B of Homer, and many others.⁷⁹⁸ Similarly, Francesco Filelfo (1398–1481), who remained in the East from 1420 until 1427—marrying a member of the Chrysoloras family—and later taught in various Italian cities, also collected a remarkable library and tried himself at writing epistles and epigrams in Greek.⁷⁹⁹ A further case was that of Giovanni Tortelli (1400–1466), a former pupil of Vittorino, who travelled to the East in 1435–1437, and displayed a remarkable familiarity with ancient Greek and Byzantine texts, including lexica, scholia and grammars, in his pivotal work *On orthography*, a mine of erudition and antiquarian information that still awaits a critical edition.⁸⁰⁰

Perhaps the most eccentric and frequent traveller to the Greek East was Ciriaco de' Pizziccoli d'Ancona, whose interest in ancient inscriptions and manuscripts of Classical authors (Homer, Herodotus, Demosthenes, Strabo, Plutarch, Ptolemy) is testified both by his diaries and by the *marginalia* he left on some codices, as well as by excerpts of various kinds, ranging from short

796 Wilson [1992] 34–41.

797 Weiss [1977] 255–277; Cortesi [2008] 478–480.

798 Wilson [1992] 25–28; Franceschini [1976]. Aurispa's *epist.* 7 to Ambrogio Traversari (27.8.1424), lists among his books (p. 11.28–12.2 Sabbadini) Sophocles, Euripides, Thucydides, Theophrastus, Diogenes Laertius, and above all the mysterious *Καθαροὶ Ἐμπεδοκλέους*.

799 Cortesi [1986]; Eleuteri [1991]; Wilson [1992] 48–53.

800 Donati [2006]; Tomè [forthcoming].

notes on Greek metre to passages of ancient historiographers, from antiquarian details to shaky poetic attempts.⁸⁰¹

The Constantinople these Western travellers found before their eyes was no trifling destination for those in search of Hellenic culture. Under the reign of Manuel II Palaeologus (1395–1421), himself a learned emperor-philosopher who organised and promoted literary salons and *theatra*, and like Metochites had a clear sense that “if one compared the writings of the ancients with contemporary production, he would seem to compare gold with bronze”,⁸⁰² the cultural activity in the capital was dominated by ecclesiastical figures, and above all by John Chortasmenus (ca. 1370–1431), a patriarchal notary, later *katholikos didaskalos*, and since 1425–1430 bishop of Selymbria.⁸⁰³ A poet, a commentator of rhetorical and philosophical texts (Aphthonius’ *Progymnasmata* and Aristotle’s *Organon*), a teacher of grammar (he wrote an essay on word-division at the end of a line), and a bibliophile (he intervened on the glorious Vienna Dioscorides, transcribing into minuscule the uncial text),⁸⁰⁴ Chortasmenus demonstrated an unexpected palaeographical skill when he identified the hand of emperor Theodore Lascaris in the marginalia of ms. Ambr. M 46 sup. (containing Aristotle’s *Physics*): his note (f. Iv) reads as follows:⁸⁰⁵

ἔχει μεταξύ τὸ βιβλίον τοῦτο καὶ γράμματα μικρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως κυροῦ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Λασκάρη, αὐτοῦ γε ὡς ἀληθῶς ὄντα ὡς ἡμεῖς ἰδόντες ἐν ἐτέρῳ βιβλίῳ οἰκειοχείρως αὐτῷ γραφέντι τοῦτο ἔγνωμεν. σῶζουσι δὲ γὰρ πρὸς ἐκεῖνα ταῦτα ἄκραν ὁμοιότητα, οὐ τὰ ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ δὲ τοῦ βιβλίου, ταῦτα γὰρ εἰσιν ἐτέρου Μελισσηνοῦ λεγομένου, ἀλλὰ τὰ περὶ τὰ μέσα, καὶ ἔτι ἐγγυτέρω στρογγύλα μικρά. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦδε βιβλίου κείμενον ὀρδινόπουλον τὸ λέγον Ἀριστοτέλους φυσικῆς ἀκροάσεως πρῶτον ἐκείνου ἐστίν.

This book also carries the small handwriting of emperor Theodore Lascaris, which actually belongs to him, as we have realised by inspecting another book which is certainly his autograph. The writing of that

801 A. Pontani [1994] and more synthetically Cortesi [1995] 487–489.

802 *Epist.* 52, p. 149.25–26 Dennis (letter of 1408–1410) εἰ γὰρ τις τὰ τῶν πάλαι συγγράμματα παραθεῖη τοῖς τοῦ παρόντος καιροῦ, χρύσεια χαλκίοις παραβαλεῖ. On Manuel II see Mergiali [1996] 165–174.

803 Hunger [1969]; Mergiali [1996] 178–183; Cacouros [1997].

804 Gamillscheg [2006]. More broadly on his library Gastgeber [2010].

805 Prato [1981]; Cavallo [2002a] 190–194.

book entertains the utmost similarity with ours, not however with the one at the beginning of the book (for this belongs to another man named Melissenos), but rather with the small, rounded characters to be found in the middle of the codex, and even somewhat before that point. But the title “First book of Aristotle’s *Physics*” at the beginning of this manuscript, is also in Theodore’s hand.

Other teachers in Constantinople, though unrelated to any public institution, were Chortasmenus’ pupil Mark Eugenicus and George Chrysococcas the younger:⁸⁰⁶ the latter was not only the teacher of Bessarion and Filelfo in the early years of the 15th century, but also a prolific scribe working for Western scholars such as Filelfo himself and Aurispa. A recent, penetrating study, has shown in a paradigmatic manner how the remarkable activity of transcription and diorthosis performed by Chrysococcas and his *atelier* on Herodotus’ text in ms. Vat. Urb. Gr. 88 was followed and pursued in the 1440s by the Florentine book-collector and scholar Palla Strozzi (at that time in exile in Padua), who not only bought the manuscript, but intervened on its text by annotating the fruits of the collation with other exemplars and proposing his own restorations and conjectures.⁸⁰⁷ Nor was this an isolated case: we know of several instances of Italian scholars commissioning copies of Greek authors from Byzantine scribes.⁸⁰⁸

By contrast, in the period from 1397 to 1438 the emigration of Greeks from Constantinople to the West involved several scribes but only two important scholars: the Cretan philosopher and scholar George of Trebizond (1396–1472/73) and Theodore Gaza (1400–1475). The former stood out as a defensor and admirer of Aristotle, and as an expert in logic and rhetoric, and primarily in the comparison between Greek and Latin rhetoric:⁸⁰⁹ Trebizond’s interest in strictly philological issues is proved *e.g.* by his controversy with cardinal Bessarion over the Vulgate’s rendering of *John* 21.22 ἐὰν αὐτὸν θέλῃω as *Sic eum volo* rather than *Si eum volo*.⁸¹⁰

Gaza, who taught in several Italian cities (notably in Mantua from 1440 until 1446, then in Ferrara until 1449, later in Naples and Rome), translated and worked on philosophical authors, above all Aristotle and Theophrastus, and

806 Mergiali [1996] 185–86; Wilson [1996²] 271.

807 De Gregorio [2002].

808 De Gregorio [2002]; Cortesi [2008] 475–77.

809 Monfasani [1976] and [1983]; Lamers [2013] 125–51.

810 Monfasani [1976] 90–103; the issue was later picked up by Valla [1540] 846b, see Wilson [1992] 61–62.

produced a bulky and very widespread Greek grammar.⁸¹¹ While in Ferrara he read to his pupils Demosthenes' *On the Crown*, Plato's *Gorgias*, Homer's epics, and works of Aristotle and Xenophon: thanks to the *recollectae* of one of his pupils we are well informed about his course on Pindar's *Olympian Odes*, for which he followed the Moschopoulean recension, offering a running Latin translation (the earliest preserved) and an apparatus of notes based chiefly on the Byzantine scholia, the *Etymologicum Magnum* and a few other grammatical texts (rhetorical and mythographical interests pop up essentially in the introductions to the single odes).⁸¹²

Alongside Constantinople, the only other major cultural centre of the Byzantine East was the Despotate of Morea, a partly independent state of the Peloponnese long ruled by the brother of emperor Manuel II. The Morea, and particularly the city of Mystra (near the site of ancient Sparta), had been a lively place of study and learning since the late 14th century;⁸¹³ in the early 15th, it grew remarkably in this respect both through imperial initiative (from 1400 to 1403 the education of the future emperor John VIII was entrusted to Theodore Antiochites precisely in Mystra) and through the presence and activity of ecclesiastics such as Isidore, the future cardinal of Kiev (1385–1473), who was a bibliophile, a scholar, and a first-rate copyist.⁸¹⁴

The key figure of Peloponnesian learning from about 1409 onwards was the Neoplatonist philosopher George Gemistus Pletho (ca. 1360–1454), the “last of the Hellenes”, who aimed at restoring a sort of pagan religion with new divinities and new cultic practices, and envisaged the study and imitation of the ancients not as a stylistic issue but as a philosophical principle affecting everyone's belief and lifestyle, as well as the state's ethos and shape.⁸¹⁵ Recent studies have shown that Pletho's ideological stance resulted not only in complex and heterodox treatises such as the *Laws* (later to be burnt by patriarch George-Gennadius Scholarius in the final bonfire of pagan wisdom on Greek soil in 1460),⁸¹⁶ but also in selected philological interventions, such as the material erasure and deletion of selected passages in manuscripts of Plato's *Gorgias*, *Symposium* and *Laws*.⁸¹⁷

811 Geanakoplos [1984]; Wilson [1992] 78–80 and *passim*.

812 Tissoni [2009].

813 Mergiali [1996] 142–151 (with special emphasis on the scribe Manuel Tzykandyles) and 193–210.

814 Mercati [1926], esp. 60–101 on Isidore's books.

815 See Mergiali [1996] 211–220; Siniossoglou [2011]; Tambrun [2007]; Woodhouse [1986].

816 Monfasani [2005].

817 F. Pagani [2009]. On Pletho's study of the *Republic* see Martinelli Tempesta [2005].

Greatly interested in ancient Greek history (he compiled summaries and excerpts from Diodorus Siculus and other historians, especially belonging to the Roman period),⁸¹⁸ and so familiar with ancient hexametric poetry as to produce hymns to be sung for his new divinities, Pletho also scribbled short, often unpublished essays on metre, music, myth and various other subjects. His brief essay on Homer's biography and theological tenets, probably conceived for a very personal edition of the *Iliad*, evokes heavy interventions on the text, as the colophon makes clear:⁸¹⁹

Εἰ καὶ διώρθωται ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἢ Ὀμήρου αὐτῆ Ἰλιάς τῶν γε ἀτοπωτάτων μύθων ἐξαιρέσει, ἀλλ' οὖν διὰ τὰ ὑπολελειμμένα ἔτι ἐν αὐτῇ οὐχ ὁμοίως μὲν ἄτοπα, οὐ μέντοι εὐπρεπῶς οὐδ' αὐτὰ ἔχοντα, οὐδὲ πάντα ἐξῆς σπουδῆς χρῆς μετιέναι, ἀλλὰ γνωρίζοντα ἕκαστα τῶν οὕτως ἐχόντων τῷ γε ὀρθῷ λόγῳ, ἀκούειν μὲν καὶ αὐτῶν, ἅτε οὐδ' ἐξελεῖν ῥαδίῳ ὄντων, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὑπολελειμμένων ὑφ' ἡμῶν, οὕτω δ' ἀκούειν ὡς οὐ καλῶς λεγομένων.

Even if we have corrected this *Iliad* of Homer by eliminating the most absurd myths, however, because of the stories that remain in it (forsure not equally unfitting, but not appropriate either), one should not read everything with the same attention, but rather recognise through proper discernment all the dubious stories, and read them anyway (for they were not easy to remove and therefore we were forced to leave them in the text), but in full awareness that they are inappropriate.

One of Pletho's indisputable merits lies in the creation of a school where most of the brightest intellectuals of his time were either trained or hosted for some time: these include Bessarion (who stayed in Mystra between 1431 and 1436, after some philosophical studies in the capital with John Chortasmenus and George Chrysococcas), but also lesser intellectuals or learned scribes such as Nicholas Secundinus, Matthew Camariotes, Constantine Lascaris, John Eugenicus, John Doceianus, Charitonimus Hermonymus, Demetrios Trivolis, Michael Apostolis, Demetrius Raul Cabaces, Demetrius Chalcondylas. Some of them would remain active in the Peloponnese over the following decades, others would move to Constantinople, yet others would flee to Italy and become pioneers of Greek humanism in various European courts or cities.

818 Maltese [1984].

819 Pontani [forthcoming].

5.3 *The Last Years before the Fall*

Whatever his direct influence over the rise of Florentine Neoplatonism,⁸²⁰ Gemistus Pletho was certainly one of the most important personalities of the large Greek contingent at the Council that took place in Ferrara and Florence between 1438 and 1439: other members included George of Trebizond, Mark Eugenicus, Gennadius Scholarius, Nicholas Secundinus, not to mention Bessarion himself, who switched to the Roman side. The Council was particularly important not only for political or ecclesiastical reasons, but also because it became the first official venue of confrontation between the East and the West: no wonder that various humanists tackled issues of the authenticity of Patristic works,⁸²¹ no wonder that Bessarion argued his points by referring to the collation of different copies of St. Basil's treatise *Against Eunomius*,⁸²² no wonder that a scholar like the Camaldolese friar Ambrogio Traversari (1386–1439), *inter alia* the translator of Diogenes Laërtius' *Lives of the philosophers* (for which he claimed three manuscript sources were necessary in order to emend and polish the translation),⁸²³ played an essential role in finding, deciphering and interpreting patristic texts to be quoted in support of the different theses during the debates.⁸²⁴

Either immediately or shortly after the Council, several Greek scholars decided to settle in the West, thus giving rise to a crucial phenomenon in the history of Western culture but also to a vital mechanism in the controversial development of Greek identity.⁸²⁵ One of them was Andronicus Callistus (†1476/84), who reached Padua in 1441 and later taught in Florence, only to conclude his career in Northern Europe (Paris and London). The study of Callistus' activity as a teacher and exegete of relatively uncommon poetic masterpieces (Apollonius Rhodius, Pindar) and copyist of Classical texts, has much to say in favour of his conjectural skill and philological alertness.⁸²⁶ One of Callistus' successors on the Greek chair at Florence was Demetrius

820 Hankins [1991].

821 Speyer [1993] 26–27 and 41–42.

822 For this philological achievement see Wilson [1992] 60–61.

823 Stinger [1977] 54–55.

824 Cortesi [1995] 490–493 and [2008] 486–488. Wilson [1992] 54–57 and 31–33 on Traversari and his role in the Councils of Basle (1434) and Ferrara-Florence, an issue dealt with at length by Stinger [1977], esp. 211–222.

825 Lamers [2013].

826 Wilson [1992] 116–118; Resta [1978]; Fera [1997] 705–717; Pontani [2005b] 367–373, with earlier bibliography.

Chalcondylas (1424–1511), who arrived to Italy in 1449 and was to become the *editor princeps* of Homer's Greek text in 1488.⁸²⁷

Another scholar who came to Italy for the Council and later travelled back and forth before fleeing Constantinople for good just before the Fall of 1453, was the philosopher John Argyropoulos (ca. 1410–1487).⁸²⁸ A professor of rhetoric and philosophy under the patronage of emperor John VIII until 1441, and later at the Xenon of the Kral after obtaining his degree at the University of Padua, Argyropoulos was perhaps the most influential translator and scholar of Aristotle in the Italian Quattrocento, but he also read and copied Plato and Plotinus. His most serious colleague and rival in the Byzantine capital was George Scholarius, the future patriarch Gennadius:⁸²⁹ although a high officer at the court of John VIII, Scholarius organized and ran a school in his house throughout the period from 1430 through 1448, and at the same time wrote both theological works (despite being a Palamist, he taught Western Scholasticism and even translated into Greek Thomas Aquinas' *On being and essence*) and philosophical commentaries on Aristotle and Porphyry, as well as a handbook of grammar not phrased in the current question-and-answer format.

In a letter to his beloved pupils, Scholarius complained that⁸³⁰

καὶ γένη μὲν Ἰταλῶν ταῖς τῶν λόγων ἐπιστήμαις προσέχουσι, τὰ πρότερον ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐν μοίρᾳ τεταγμένα βαρβάρων, μᾶλλον δὲ ταῖς οὐσαις προσεξευρίσκουσιν, ἡμῖν δὲ ἄχθος αἱ βίβλοι, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ταύτας τοῖς χρήσθαι δυναμένοις προῦδῶκαμεν, ὥστ' εἰ μέλλοιμὲν ποτε γενναίως ἄψεσθαι λόγων καὶ πᾶσιν ἐπιχειρήσειν τοῖς τέως ἡμελημένοις, ἐκ τῆς ὑπερορίου ζητεῖν ἀνάγκη τὰς βίβλους, ὡς δεῖ πρὸς τὸν σκοπὸν ἡμῖν ὑπουργήσειν. καὶ οἱ μὲν τῆς ἡμετέρας φωνῆς φροντίζουσιν, καὶ μεγίστων τιμῶν αὐτοῖς ἀφορμὴ τὸ δόξαι γοῦν ἐλληνίζειν, ἡμεῖς δὲ τῆς ἡμετέρας οὐ συνίεμεν γλώττης, καὶ νῦν ἐν Ἰταλοῖς Ἑλληνας τῶν ἐνταῦθα βελτίους.

the Italians—whom we once considered as barbarians—pay attention to the humanistic disciplines and even invent new ones, whereas for us books are a weight, we have even handed them over to those who can read them, so that even if we wished to revert seriously to our studies and resume what we have hitherto neglected, we would have to ask for the suitable books from overseas. They look after our idiom, and the ability to

827 On him see at least Petrucci [1973] and Megna [2007–2008].

828 Mergiali [1996] 227–232; Wilson [1992] 86–90; Cammelli [1941].

829 Blanchet [2008]; Mergiali [1996] 222–227; Botley [2010] 12–13.

830 *Epist.* 2 (IV.405.31–406.1 Petit-Sideridès-Jugie).

speak Greek bestows on them great honours, while we do not understand our own language, so that amongst the Italians there are better Greeks than those who live here.

Scholarius' words tackle a vital issue, namely the fact that the process of *translatio studiorum* revolved around the creation of libraries.⁸³¹ The size of public or institutional collections of Greek manuscripts in Mantua, Rome and Florence, grew dramatically during the second quarter of the century; amongst private libraries mention should be made at least of those of Giovanni Aurispa, of Palla Strozzi, and primarily that of Bessarion, which was enlarged through acquisitions from other scholars' collections (*e.g.* Aurispa's) as well as through book-hunting campaigns in Southern Italy (*e.g.* in Otranto), and finally bequeathed to the Republic of Venice (1468), where it built the core of the newly founded Library of San Marco.⁸³² Bessarion's rationale for the gathering of his library is well explained in his letter to Michael Apostolis, written soon after 1453:⁸³³

Ἰσταμένης μὲν οὖν τῆς κοινῆς Ἑλλήνων καὶ μόνης ἐστίας οὐκ ἐφρόντιζον, πάντα εἰδῶς ἐκεῖ ἀποκείμενα· πεσοῦσης δέ, φεῦ, μεγάλη τις ἐγένετο ἐπιθυμία τῆς πάντων αὐτῶν κτήσεως, οὐκ ἐμοῦ γε ἔνεκα, ὅς γε τῆς ἰδίας ἔνεκα ὠφελείας ἀρκοῦντα κέκτημαι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν, εἴ που νῦν τέ τινες λειφθεῖεν Ἑλληνας, εἴ τέ τι εἰς ἔπειτα βέλτιον πράξαιεν—πολλὰ δ' ἐν τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ γένοιτ' ἂν—, ἔχοιεν ὅπη τὴν αὐτῶν φωνὴν ἄπασαν, τὴν γε νῦν οὐσαν, ἐν τινι ὁμοῦ ἀποκειμένην ἀσφαλεῖ τόπῳ εὐροῖεν καὶ εὐρόντες πολλαπλασιάσαιεν καὶ μὴ πρὸς οἷς πολλοῖς τε καὶ καλοῖς τῶν θεῶν ἐκείνων ἀνδρῶν πάλαι ἀπολωλέκαμεν ὑπομνήμασι καὶ τὰ ὀλίγα ταῦτα νῦν ἀπολέσαντες ἄφωνοι τὸ πάμπαν μένοιεν καὶ βαρβάρων τε καὶ ἀνδραπόδων οὐδὲν διαφέρουεν

as long as the common and single hearth of the Greeks [*scil.* Constantinople] remained standing, I did not concern myself [*scil.* with gathering manuscripts], because I knew that they were to be found there. But when, alas, it fell, I conceived a great desire to acquire all these works, not so much for myself, as I possess enough for my own use, but for the sake of the Greeks who are left now, and who may have better fortune in the future (for many things may happen in the course of the years), so that they may have a place where to find their own entire culture (the culture

831 See *e.g.* Cortesi [1995] 496–503.

832 Labowsky [1979].

833 III.479.11–21 Mohler. See also Wilson [1992] 62; Lamers [2013] 74–76.

preserved down to our own day) intact and safe, and multiply it, and may thus avoid the risk, which would ensue from the loss of what is extant on top of all the many excellent works of the divine ancient authors that are lost since time immemorial, of remaining forever dumb and under all aspects identical to barbarians and slaves.

The development of libraries is of course part and parcel with the development of scholarship. In an age when Greek literature in the East seemed to be on the brink of entirely perishing,⁸³⁴ this massive transfer of books from the Levant to Italy created the indispensable premise for the rise of a new philological activity performed on Greek texts by Western scholars. Bessarion himself (1403–1472),⁸³⁵ becoming in 1440 a cardinal of the Roman Church and almost a pope, insisted on gathering a remarkable cénacle of scribes and scholars (Gaza, Callistus, Giannozzo Manetti, Giorgio Valla etc.) at his house near the old *Forum Augusti*: it cannot be fortuitous that, for instance, the first, brief Western mention of ms. Venetus A of the *Iliad* occurs precisely in a writing of a member of this circle, Martino Filetico.⁸³⁶

A translator of Xenophon and Aristotle, and a philosopher deeply engaged in the Platonic/Aristotelian controversy, Bessarion did not stand out as a first-rate philologist, but he showed a special familiarity with the Classical heritage both in the *marginalia* he left on his books (as when he tried to restore a corrupt text of Aristotle's *On Heavens* in Marc. Gr. 491 by resorting to a medieval Latin translation, or when he detected the hand of Eustathius of Thessalonica in ms. Marc. Gr. 460 of his commentary to the *Odyssey*) and in the preface and notes added to his translation of Demosthenes' *First Olynthiac*, where the patriotic words of the great Athenian orator were interpreted as an exhortation to the Westerners to take action in favour of Byzantium against the Turkish threat—with the pagan, Hellenic past still somewhat opposed to the Christian present.⁸³⁷

The patronage of pope Nicholas v (1448–1455) marked an unprecedented *Aufschwung* in the history of Greek learning in Rome, for it gave a common

834 This is the exclamation of Lauro Quirini in his letter to pope Nicholas v soon after the Fall (Pertusi [1977] 227.97–99): “nomen Graecorum deletum; ultra centum et viginti milia librorum volumina, ut a reverendissimo cardinali Rutheno accepi, devastata. Ergo et lingua et litteratura Graecorum tanto tempore, tanto labore, tanta industria inventa, aucta, perfecta peribit, heu peribit!”.

835 Bianca [1999]; Wilson [1992] 57–67.

836 Pincelli [2000] esp. 85–87.

837 Lamers [2013] 91–124; Wilson [1992] 62–64; Bisaha [2011] 80–81.

network and background to the many brilliant humanists who were living in the city, amongst them Bessarion, George of Trebizond, Theodore Gaza, and the Italian Lorenzo Valla (1407–1457).⁸³⁸ The latter, in particular, was not only a brilliant translator of Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides, and Demosthenes (his devotion to ancient historians was prompted by the commissions of Nicholas V),⁸³⁹ but proved capable of exploiting his philological genius (already at work in his renowned confutation of the *Donation of Constantine*) and his knowledge of Greek both in dealing with ancient inscriptions and in promoting textual analysis in a field which had so far remained almost devoid of systematic treatments.⁸⁴⁰ Valla's *Collation of the New Testament with the Greek Truth* was a *Lebenswerk* that went through at least two redactions in the 1440s and early 1450s:⁸⁴¹ the second version eventually persuaded Erasmus of Rotterdam to publish it in 1505. This displayed to the wider public Valla's unprecedented ability to collate several manuscripts of the same text, to detect or conjecture scribal errors of different kinds behind textual corruptions, to invoke the role of the indirect tradition, to spot interpolations, to blame Jerome for his mistakes, in a word to adopt even for the Holy Writ a sophisticated philological method with a systematic thrust virtually unparalleled in Byzantine quarters, and surpassing the tradition of the 13th-century Latin *correctoria* of the Bible. One example will suffice:⁸⁴²

Matth. 4.6 Quoniam angelis suis mandavit de te] Graece est *mandabit*, quam culpam librarii arbitror, aut alicuius temerarii correctoris tam hic, quam in psalmo: nam e Psalmo [*scil. 90.11*] hic locus est sumptus ὅτι τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ ἐντελεῖται περὶ σου, μή ποτε. . . 4.10 *Et illi soli servies*] λατρεύσεις, hoc Graeco verbo non utuntur nostri, sed nomine quod est *latría*, volentes hunc actum soli Deo deberi: is etsi frequenter Deo exhibetur, non tamen semper. Nam quantum ego sentio, magis ad homines pertinebat; ideoque principes Graecae linguae, quorum autoritate nitimur in verborum significationibus, ita usurpant, ut apud Xenophontem lib.

838 Wilson [1992] 76–80; Vasoli [2002].

839 Chambers [2008] and Pagliaroli [2006] with earlier bibliography. See also the essays collected in Regoliosi [2010].

840 Wilson [1992] 68–75.

841 Perosa [1970] xxiii–xxxvii. See especially the essays by S. Donegà (on Valla's attention to issues of grammar and to translation techniques) and G. Dahan (on the continuity between Valla's approach and the Latin medieval studies on the text of the Vulgate) in Regoliosi [2010] 213–231 and 233–263.

842 Valla [1540] 807b–808a.

3 [3.1.36] in *Cyripaedia*: ἐγὼ μὲν ἔφη ᾧ Κύρε καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς πριαίμην ὥστε μήποτε λατρεῦσαι ταύτην, hoc autem est: “equidem Cyre ego vel anima redimerem nequando ista serviret”. Haec viri sunt verba, tum uxor eadem loquitur alio verbo, ut appareat inter ipsa verba latriam et duliam nihil interesse [3.1.41]: ὡς τῆς αὐτοῦ ψυχῆς ἂν πριαίτο, ὥστε μή με δουλεύειν. Et certe cum priores fuerint autores gentiles quam fideles, sive Graeci sive Latini, nimirum multo plus obtinent autoritatis, quippe cum eos omnis posteritas, tam fidelium quam infidelium, habeat autores, et eatenus recte loquatur, quatenus ab illorum usu non discrepat. Nam consulto quidem et de industria velle ab illis dissentire, nisi vehemens causa coëgerit, insania est, inscientem vero hoc facere, inscitia; quanquam sint qui negent theologiam inservire praeceptis artis grammaticae. At ego dico illam debere servire etiam cuiuslibet linguae usum, qua loquitur, nedum literatae.

Matthew 4.6 *Quoniam angelis suis mandavit de te*] in Greek we have *mandabit*, which I regard as a mistake of the scribe or of some bold corrector both here and in the Psalm (for this passage is taken from the Psalm “he ordered to his angels about you that...”)... 4.10 *Et illi soli servies*] *latreuseis*: the Latins do not use this Greek verb, but the noun *latria*, insisting that this act pertains only to God; now, even though the word appears often in relation to God, this is not always the case. As far as I can judge, it used to pertain to men, which is why the princes of the Greek language, on whose authority we rely in matters of semantics, use it in this sense, as in Xenophon’s *Cyropaedia* book 3: “O Cyrus—he said—I would pay with my life so that she might never be a slave”. These are the man’s words, then the woman says the same with another term, so that it might become apparent that there is no distinction between the words *latreia* and *douleia*: “that he may pay with his life so that I might never be a slave”. And of course pagan authors came earlier than Christian ones, both in Greek and in Latin: which is why they have a greater authority, because later generations (both pagans and Christians) regarded them as models, and used language correctly only insofar as they did not depart from their usage. For anyone who wishes to part with their example on purpose and overtly, without being forced by a strong necessity, is a fool, and to do so by mistake is a sign of ignorance; some, however, deny that theology should follow the rules of grammar. But I argue that theology should follow the usage of any language in which it speaks, all the more so in the written form.

By May 29th, 1453 most Greek scribes and scholars were active in Western Europe, at least some Italian erudites were capable of performing philological activity on ancient Greek texts, and the *translatio* of Greek scholarship to the West was almost complete. In the following year, Angelo Poliziano was born.⁸⁴³

843 Grafton [1977].

PART 2

Disciplinary Profiles



The Sources of our Knowledge of Ancient Scholarship

Eleanor Dickey

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- 2 *Papyri*
- 3 *Extant Lexica*
 - 3.1 *Early Lexica*
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6 *Other Extant Works*

6.1 *Hephaestion*

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8 *Scholia*

8.1 *Homer*

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8.5 *Aristophanes*

8.6 *Prose Writers*

8.7 *Hellenistic Poetry*

1 **Introduction**

Our knowledge of ancient scholarship comes from four types of source. Some material has been recovered on papyrus; this method of learning about ancient scholarship is in some ways preferable to all others, bypassing the medieval manuscript tradition and all the errors and distortions it introduces. But the amount of material that survives on papyrus is tiny compared to that preserved in other ways, it is usually very fragmentary, and (despite what one might expect) it is not always uncorrupt. Moreover most 'scholarly' papyri belong to the school tradition; material from the best ancient scholarly work is far less common in them than basic lexical information. Thus although papyri are an important resource where we have them, they do not significantly reduce our reliance on manuscript sources.

Another type of source is works that have survived through their own manuscript tradition; these are occasionally intact but more often shortened and/or reworked versions of the original texts. Such works are greatly valued and are not uncommon for certain types of material: lexica, Roman-period grammatical treatises, works on style, and commentaries on religious, philosophical, and scientific works stand a reasonable chance of survival either intact or in substantial epitomes (abbreviated versions). Other types of scholarly material, however, are almost never preserved in this fashion: works of the great Alexandrian scholars, commentaries on and discussions of literary works, and early grammatical treatises fall into this category.

For works that are not preserved intact the next best source is fragments quoted in the text of other works. Such fragments are often tantalizingly short and stripped of context, but sometimes they can be substantial. Fragments are usually quoted with attribution to a specific author, and often with the title of the work in which they appeared as well. It is sometimes possible to reconstruct part of a lost work by putting together the preserved fragments, but when using such reconstructions a reader needs to be aware of the extent to which the text at hand is the creation of a modern editor. A wide range of material can appear in fragments, but grammatical treatises and commentaries on works for which other commentaries survive intact are the most common fragmentary material.

The fourth source for ancient scholarship is scholia, that is material that has survived in the margins of literary works transmitted via the manuscript tradition. Scholia are extremely important to the student of ancient scholarship, as they are our main source of knowledge of Alexandrian scholarship and of ancient commentaries on literary works. But they are also highly problematic, as they are severely abbreviated notes, often without attribution to a source, and very prone to corruption. Scholia tend to be published in editions that collect the marginalia to a given work and arrange them in the order of the work on which they comment. Many scholia are unpublished, for marginalia have little value when they were copied from works that have also survived independently, and marginalia of the Byzantine period are often thought to have little value in any case (though this opinion is now declining in popularity). The published scholia are normally those that provide our only witness to scholarship that is, or could be, of the Hellenistic, Roman, or late antique periods.

2 Papyri

Ancient scholarship on papyrus comes in a variety of forms and a wide range of qualities; almost the only common denominator the different works have is that they are all fragmentary. Portions of commentaries, glossaries, anthologies, explanations, paraphrases, and summaries can all be found on their own, and in addition papyri of literary texts sometimes have marginal or interlinear notes. Some types of text are much better represented than others, in part because of the standardized school curriculum in the Greek-speaking world: work on Homer greatly predominates, followed by other difficult poets, but we also have a few papyri on prose authors.

Perhaps the most famous papyrus of ancient scholarship is the fragment of Didymus' commentary on Demosthenes. This papyrus is fifteen columns

long (covering *Philippics* 9, 10, 11, and 13) and thus far longer than the vast majority of surviving scholarly papyri. Didymus is explicitly named as the author of the commentary, and the papyrus dates to the early second century AD, making it relatively close to Didymus' own time (late first century BC and early first century AD), but the work appears nevertheless to have undergone some abbreviation and alteration in the interval; it may even be a set of excerpts from Didymus' commentary rather than the complete work.¹ This find is in many ways very exciting, but in others somewhat disappointing, as the papyrus does not contain quite what modern scholars had expected that an original commentary of Didymus would have. Pearson and Stephens [1983] give a good text, Gibson [2002] a translation and commentary, and Harding [2006] all three.

Another important fragment of commentary explicitly attributed to a famous scholar is the papyrus of Aristarchus' commentary on Herodotus. The attribution to Aristarchus gives this fragment great importance, but it is in many ways less useful to us than the Didymus papyrus. It is short, containing only one legible column (the end of the commentary on book 1), and considerably later than Aristarchus himself, probably from the third century AD. In terms of content it is even more disappointing than the Didymus papyrus and therefore is normally considered to be an abridgement or set of extracts rather than a full version of the original commentary. Paap [1948] gives a text.

Most scholarly papyri,² however, do not carry attributions to named scholars; no doubt many originally had authors' names attached, but they no longer survive. Some of these papyri are nevertheless of considerable significance.

A relatively large group of papyri preserve hypotheses, brief summaries of literary works. In modern times hypotheses of dramatic texts are widely known, as they are often printed in editions of the texts to which they relate. This privileging of hypotheses over other types of ancient scholarship (which are much less likely to be printed in a modern edition of a literary text) occurs in part because some dramatic hypotheses may go back to the work of Aristophanes of Byzantium and preserve crucial information. But the convention also extends to hypotheses that have no scholarly information and simply summarize the plot, a type much commoner than the scholarly hypothesis. Such plot-summary hypotheses, which often have a mythographic slant, were common in antiquity as well as the Byzantine period, and many of them have been found on papyri. In antiquity, moreover, such hypotheses were written not only for dramatic texts but for a wide variety of different genres: there were even hypotheses

1 Differently Luzzatto [2011] and Montana, in this volume.

2 See Montana in this volume and Montana's edition of the papyri of Herodotean scholarship in *CLGP*, forthcoming.

for the individual books of longer works such as the Homeric poems. These hypotheses are often found in groups in papyri, without the original texts they summarize; the most famous example of this phenomenon is the strings of hypotheses of Euripidean tragedies known as the ‘Tales from Euripides’ (see below § 8.4). Such summaries are obviously of considerable value to us where the original texts have been lost, but they are also of great interest for the window on ancient readers’ interests with which they provide us. A collection of these papyri with discussion is provided by Rossum-Steenbeek [1998].

Some papyri dating from the first/second to the fifth century AD contain remains of the ‘Mythographus Homericus’. This term, invented in modern times, is used to refer to the author of a lost work, probably composed in the first century AD, that related the full versions of myths alluded to in the Homeric poems. The work could be called a mythological commentary, for it was arranged in the order in which the allusions occurred in the poems. It tended to give only one particular version of each myth, attributed to a specific source; a number of the attributions can be shown to be genuine, and it seems that the compiler was using important and now lost scholarly commentaries, probably Alexandrian. Although most of this compiler’s work is lost in its original form, a number of papyrus fragments have survived, and much material from the commentary was incorporated into the medieval D scholia (see below § 8.1). For a text and discussion see Rossum-Steenbeek [1998] 278–309.

Of other papyrus material the largest group is the Homeric, a diverse body that in addition to the Mythographus includes commentaries, glossaries, and paraphrases. Some of this material is incorporated into editions of scholia by Erbse [1969–1988], van Thiel [1992], and Pontani [2007–]; guides to the rest can be found e.g. in M. L. West [2001a] 130–136 and Lundon [1999c]. Another important group is the Aristophanes papyri, which are often the focus of debates on the process by which ancient commentaries were turned into medieval scholia; these are collected with translation and discussion by Trojahn [2002] and Montana [2012a]. A number of papyrus commentaries on philosophical works survive, including a long fragment of commentary on Plato’s *Theaetetus* (normally dated to the second century AD, but perhaps as early as the late first century BC) and a fragment of commentary on Aristotle’s *Topica* from the first century AD; these have been collected in CPF [1995].

There is also a substantial body of grammatical papyri, containing doctrine that is often anonymous but usually of considerable antiquity. Many of these papyri have been collected and discussed by Wouters [1979]. Papyrus lexica form another common genre; most of them appear to be focused on the works of a particular author or group of authors, but more general lexica are not unknown. The lexica have no collected edition; Naoumides [1969] offers a list of papyrus lexica with discussion of their characteristics, but more have been

published since. Author-specific lexica are being published by E. Esposito in *CLGP*; an updated list can be found in Esposito [2009].

Papyri containing literary texts with marginal or interlinear annotation tend to preserve only very short notes, and most of the time the notes belong to the school tradition and relate to an elementary understanding of the text. Nonetheless some of these notes are important, and the group of annotated papyri as a whole (amounting to nearly 300 papyri containing c. 2000 separate notes) can tell us much about the reading processes of the ancients. Fortunately annotated papyri are easy to locate, as a complete corpus of annotations with translation, commentary, and excellent discussion is provided by McNamee [2007].

Many other papyri containing ancient scholarship also exist. The new collection *Commentaria et Lexica Graeca in Papyris reperta*, published by de Gruyter, should eventually provide a comprehensive set of texts of papyrus commentaries and lexica with up-to-date discussion, but the work is still ongoing. In the meantime clues to the existence and whereabouts of much of this material can be found in Dickey [2007].

3 Extant Lexica

The lexicon was a popular form for recording knowledge in antiquity; lexica contained a broader range of information about each entry than a modern dictionary and in some respects resembled our encyclopedias. At the same time the older lexica tended to be narrowly focused, concerning topics like names of fishes or Homeric words rather than being general collections like a modern dictionary (cf. Tosi in this volume). The tradition of Greek scholarly lexica dates back at least to Aristophanes of Byzantium and is one in which surviving material is particularly likely to be old; a large number of ancient and Byzantine lexica survive, intact or abbreviated, and fragments of many others can also be found. These lexica are the source for our knowledge of many elements of Greek vocabulary and for much of our information on lost works of literature, and much still remains to be learned from them. They must however be used with care, as they are usually poorly transmitted and often inadequately edited.

3.1 *Early Lexica*

The earliest surviving lexica come from the first century AD and are glossaries of the terminology used by particularly difficult authors, Homer and Hippocrates. In the case of both authors we know that the extant works built

on a lost tradition of lexicography that went back several centuries; interestingly the tradition of Hippocratic lexicography, which can be securely traced to the third century BC, may be older than that of Homeric lexicography.

The primary Homeric lexicon bears the name of Apollonius Sophista and is based (indirectly) on the work of the great Alexandrian scholars. Apollonius' lexicon is one of the most important works of Greek lexicography, for it is a key source of information on ancient understandings of Homer's vocabulary and how Homer was read in antiquity. In addition, the lexicon preserves many fragments of earlier work, including but not limited to that of Aristarchus; for example the obscure Homerist Heliodorus is known primarily from Apollonius. An epitome of Apollonius' work has come down to us in a single manuscript, and we also have several papyrus fragments of fuller versions, ranging in date from the first to the fifth century AD; these differ among themselves to some extent, showing that numerous alterations to the lexicon were made in the late antique period. Apollonius' lexicon was a source for Hesychius and the *Etymologica*, which can also provide some further information on its original state. The work is in approximate alphabetical order; that is, most of the entries are grouped together by their first two or three letters, but the other letters of the words are not usually taken into account in determining their arrangement.

One of the main sources of Apollonius' lexicon was an etymologizing Homeric lexicon entitled Γλῶσσα Ὀμηρικὰ 'Obscure Homeric Words', composed by a scholar named Apion who lived in the late first century BC and the first century AD. We have a surviving work with that title to which Apion's name is attached, but lack of agreement between that work and the quotations of Apion in Apollonius Sophista make it clear that the surviving work cannot be the one Apollonius used. The surviving lexicon is evidently a poorly-made collection of excerpts from a longer work, and is alphabetized by the first letters of the words.

The epitome of Apollonius Sophista can be found in Bekker [1833] and the longest papyrus in Henrichs and Müller [1976]; the lexicon misattributed to Apion can be found in Ludwich [1917–1918], and there are studies by Haslam [1994] and Schenck [1974].

The earliest surviving lexicon of Hippocratic words is attributed to Erotian; it is based on the lost lexicon of Bacchius of Tanagra, who worked in Alexandria in the late third century BC (cf. Manetti in this volume). Erotian's work was originally a large lexicon of obscure words found in 37 Hippocratic treatises, arranged in the order of their occurrence in the texts; now we have an abridged version, rearranged in partial alphabetical order, and a collection of fragments. The material in Erotian's glossary overlaps to some extent with that found in literary glossaries and scholia on several poetic works, suggesting that his

sources included scholarship on literary texts. The preface, in which Erotian discusses earlier Hippocratic glossography, is particularly valuable. A text can be found in Nachmanson [1918] and further information in Wellmann [1931] and von Staden [1992].

3.2 *Atticist Lexica*

The Atticist lexica come primarily from the second century AD, a period when the revival of fifth-century Attic as a literary medium created a demand for prescriptive works clarifying which words were acceptable for use in Atticizing writing. Such prescriptions were normally based on a canon of authors: any words found in authors belonging to the accepted canon could be used, and other words could not. But there were differences as to which authors belonged in the canon: fourth-century authors such as Plato could be excluded on the grounds that only fifth-century ones had pure Attic, and tragedians could be excluded on the grounds that tragic language is very different from the prose the users of these lexica were trying to produce. Conversely authors that we would not consider Attic at all, such as Homer, could be included on the grounds that they wrote good Greek worthy of imitation. There was additional disagreement about whether, if one had a choice between an Attic word that was still in common use and one that had become completely obscure, it was preferable to use the intelligible or the impressively archaic form.

Phrynichus Arabius, a rhetorician and lexicographer of the later second century, represents one extreme of the Atticist spectrum (for Atticism in the Imperial Age see Matthaïos in this volume); his name became a byword for strictness. He rejected words attested in mainstream fourth-century Attic prose on the grounds that only fifth-century authors qualified for canonical status, but accepted words found in tragedy and Old Comedy. Two of his works survive, both concerned with the nuances of correct Attic usage. The *Σοφιστικὴ προπαρασκευή* or *Praeparatio sophistica* ‘Sophistic preparation’ was a lexicon of Attic words originally in 37 books but now surviving only in a substantial epitome and a collection of fragments. The entries, which are alphabetized by first letters only, consist of obscure words, often collected from lost tragedies or comedies, with definitions and sometimes specific attributions to classical authors.

Phrynichus’ *Ἐκλογὴ Ἀττικῶν ῥημάτων καὶ ὀνομάτων* ‘Selection of Attic Verbs and Nouns’ (or *Ecloga* ‘Selection’) used to be considered an epitome but is now thought to be more or less complete; it is in two books, with a certain amount of repetition between them, and two short epitomes are also preserved. The work consists of a series of pronouncements on different aspects of Attic and non-Attic usage, arranged in the form of a lexicon (but not in alphabetical order,

except for a few sets of entries taken over from alphabetizing sources). Many entries consist of a non-Attic word, usually but not always from the koiné (e.g. *δυσί* ‘two’), an injunction against using it, and the appropriate Attic replacement (e.g. *δυσὶν* ‘two’), while others give the proper Attic syntax of the lemma (e.g. *τυγχάνω* ‘happen’ must be accompanied by *ὄν* ‘being’ when it means ‘happen to be’) or the difference between easily confused words (e.g. a *μείραξ* ‘girl’ is female, but a *μειράκιον* ‘youth’ is male). Phrynichus’ sources include several lost works of ancient scholarship, and his work is valuable both for preserving such fragments and for the light it sheds on the way the Atticists worked and on the type of mistakes that Greek speakers trying to write classical Attic were likely to make in the second century. For texts see de Borries [1911] and Fischer [1974].

Phrynichus’ opposite on the Atticist spectrum was another second-century lexicographer now known as the Antiatticist or *Antiatticista*—a misleading name since this scholar (whose real name has been lost) was clearly an Atticist in principle but differed from Phrynichus in having a different canon. The Antiatticist admitted a larger group of authors into his canon and apparently held that the use of a word by any Attic author made it acceptable as Attic, even if a more *recherché* alternative existed. Until recently it was believed that the Antiatticist was a contemporary of Phrynichus who wrote in response to the first book of Phrynichus’ *Ecloga* and against whom the second book of the *Ecloga* was then directed, but now some hold that Phrynichus attacked the Antiatticist throughout the *Ecloga*, and others that Phrynichus used the Antiatticist’s work rather than attacking it, suggesting that the Antiatticist may have been a predecessor rather than a contemporary.

The lexicon seems to have originally consisted of a list of Attic words, with definitions and references to the words’ occurrences in classical texts; many of the words listed were ones whose claim to be considered properly Attic had been disputed by the stricter Atticists, and the Antiatticist seems to have made a point of showing that those words were indeed attested, often by quoting the relevant passage. Unfortunately the work survives only in the form of a drastically reduced epitome from which most of the quotations have been excised, leaving only tantalizing references to lost works. Enough remains, however, that the work is useful for information on lost literary works, historical details about classical Athens, and fragments of Hellenistic scholarship, as well as for understanding the controversies of the Second Sophistic period (cf. Matthaios in this volume). There is a text in Bekker [1814–1821] vol. I, 75–116.

A work in iambics from around 200 AD entitled *Περὶ Ἀττικῆς ἀντιλογίας τῆς ἐν ταῖς λέξεσιν* ‘On Attic Controversy about Words’ is attributed to the glossographer Philemon; this Philemon is not to be confused with a much earlier

glossographer of the same name who composed a lost work entitled *Περὶ Ἀττικῶν ὀνομάτων ἢ γλωσσῶν* ‘On Attic Nouns or Obscure Words’. The later work survives only in two brief extracts, both of which are essentially alphabetic lists of non-Attic words and their Attic equivalents. One covers the whole alphabet and has been published by Reitzenstein [1897] 392–396, while the other, which has more entries beginning with each letter and gives more detail on each entry, covers only the first four letters of the alphabet; this one has been edited by Osann [1821]. For discussion see Cohn [1898].

The latest of the preserved Atticist lexica is the intact *Λέξεις Ἀττικῶν καὶ Ἑλλήνων κατὰ στοιχεῖον* ‘Word-list of Attic and Greek Speakers in Order’ or *Ἀττικιστῆς* ‘Atticist’ of Moeris, which is likely to come from the third century AD. The lexicon consists of almost a thousand entries, alphabetized by their first letters, most of which involve Attic / non-Attic pairs. Many appear in a formula that juxtaposes *Ἀττικοί* ‘Attic speakers’ and *Ἕλληνες* ‘Greeks’ (i.e. speakers of koiné). Moeris’ Attic canon excluded tragedy and new comedy but included, in addition to prose and old comedy, Homer and Herodotus. There is a good text and study in D. Hansen [1998].

3.3 *Pollux*

Julius Pollux (or Polydeukes) of Naucratis, a rhetorician of the latter part of the second century AD, was the author of the *Onomasticon*, a wide-ranging lexicon in ten books. The work now survives only in the form of an epitome that has suffered interpolation as well as abridgement, but it is still of considerable bulk and primarily Pollux’s own work. It is based on works of classical literature and Alexandrian scholarship, including many no longer extant; among these sources are Aristophanes of Byzantium and Eratosthenes.

The *Onomasticon* is organized not in alphabetical order like other surviving ancient lexica, but by topic; in this it preserves a very early method of organization that originally predominated in Greek scholarship and was only gradually replaced by alphabetical ordering (cf. Matthaios and Tosi in this volume). Some entries are very brief, but others are complex and detailed, offering much more than a simple definition. Perhaps the most famous section is Pollux’s discussion of the classical theater and its paraphernalia, including a description of 76 different types of mask for different characters in tragedies, comedies, and satyr plays, which is an invaluable source of information on the ancient stage. Much other historical information can also be found in the *Onomasticon*, as can fragments of lost works, better readings of extant works, and definitions (including some earliest attestations) of obscure words.

The standard edition of the *Onomasticon* is that of Bethe [1900–1937], and some useful discussion is provided by Tosi [1988] 87–113; see now also Bearzot et al. [2007] and Matthaios [2013a].

3.4 *Ammonius*

A lexicon entitled *Περὶ ὁμοίων καὶ διαφόρων λέξεων* 'On Similar and Different Words' or *De adfinium vocabulorum differentia* 'On the Differences between Related Words' is preserved in late manuscripts under the name of Ammonius, but it is generally agreed not to have been composed by any of the known bearers of that name. The work is closely related to a number of other lexica that survive only as epitomes, of which the most significant are the *Περὶ διαφορᾶς λέξεων* 'On the Differentiation of Words' attributed to an unidentified Ptolemaeus and the *Περὶ διαφόρου σημασίας* 'On Different Meanings' or *De diversis verborum significationibus* 'On the Different Meanings of Words' of Herennius (or Erennius) Philo. It is thought that the ancestor of all these works was probably a lexicon composed by Herennius Philo in the second century AD, which was severely epitomized both with and without its author's name and preserved (probably still in a reduced form, but one of substantial size) with the substitution of Ammonius' name.

The lexicon consists primarily of pairs of words that are similar or identical in some way, with an explanation of the difference between them. It is often called a lexicon of synonyms, and in the majority of cases the paired words are in fact synonyms (e.g. πόλις 'city' and ἄστυ 'city', or εὖ 'well' and καλῶς 'well'), but in other cases they are homonyms, similar or identical in form but different in meaning (e.g. ἐκεῖ 'there' and ἐκεῖσε 'thither', or δῆμος 'populace' and δημός 'fat'). Some are similar in both form and meaning, and occasionally an entry consists of a single word followed by a list of synonyms. The sources include classical literature, Alexandrian scholarship, and scholarship of the early Roman period, most now lost; sometimes literary quotations are included to exemplify the meaning or usage of a particular word. While the vast majority of the entries contain information that is correct by the standards of classical usage, and some of them preserve really valuable scholarly information, there are also a few mistakes and a certain amount of banality. For text and discussion see Nickau [1966] and [2000].

3.5 *Author-Specific Lexica*

The boom in Atticist lexicography in the second century did not eliminate the earlier tradition (see above § 3.1) of lexica designed to elucidate particular authors, a considerable number of which were produced in this period. The most important of these is Valerius Harpocration's glossary to the Attic orators, *Λέξεις τῶν δέκα ῥητόρων* 'Word-list of the Ten Orators', composed in the later second century AD; this work has some characteristics of the earlier author-specific lexica and some of the Atticist lexica. The glossary is particularly important as a source of fragments of lost works and of historical information on classical Athens; the information it contains is notably more accurate

than the average of ancient scholarship. Unusually for a work of this period, Harpocration's glossary follows complete alphabetical order (i.e. words are not merely grouped together by their first letters, or by their first two or three letters, but fully alphabetized as in a modern dictionary); there is however some debate about whether this feature can be traced to Harpocration himself or was added at a later stage of transmission.

Harpocration's work survives, in a contaminated and somewhat abridged form, in a number of late manuscripts; this version is known as the 'full version' in contrast to our other main witness to the text, an epitome dating probably to the early ninth century. There is also an early papyrus fragment of the glossary, from the second or third century AD, as well as extracts from Harpocration preserved in Photius and in scholia to the orators. All texts of Harpocration are unsatisfactory; one edition, and references to the others, can be found in Keaney [1991], on which see Otranto [1993].

From the same century comes a Hippocratic glossary by Galen, which was based heavily on earlier glossaries; unlike Galen's Hippocratic commentaries it is largely scholarly rather than scientific in orientation, and the preface contains much useful information on the work of earlier scholars. Galen's glossary also employs complete alphabetical order, though this feature may not be due to Galen himself. A poor text of the glossary can be found in Kühn [1821–1833] vol. XIX.

Of uncertain date is a lexicon to Plato attributed to an otherwise unknown Timaeus the Sophist, which survives in a single manuscript. The work has clearly suffered significant additions and subtractions at later periods, leading to the inclusion of many non-Platonic words and to non-Platonic definitions of words that do occur in Plato. It is nevertheless important as the sole surviving witness to a genre: two other Platonic lexica, by Boethus and Clement, are known only from insubstantial fragments. Timaeus seems to have used earlier commentaries on Plato that are now lost, and his lexicon also appears to be one of the sources of our extant scholia. Bonelli [2007] and Valente [2012] provide editions.

An anonymous glossary of Herodotean words known as the Λέξεις 'Word-list' survives in two versions; version A is arranged in the order of the words' appearance in Herodotus' text and version B in alphabetical order. Sometimes the title Λέξεις Ἡροδότου 'Word-list of Herodotus' is reserved for version A, while version B is called the Λεξικὸν τῶν Ἡροδοτεῶν λέξεων 'Lexicon of Herodotean Words'. Version A is older; its date is unknown, but it was clearly written to accompany an unaccented version of the text (i.e. before c. 900 AD). It seems to be based (at least in part) on a commentary, for it sometimes offers definitions intended to clarify the interpretation, in a specific context, of common words easily con-

fused with homonyms. Version B appears in several manuscripts and differs from one to another; it seems to consist primarily of rearrangements of the older version into alphabetical order but also contains some additions (including words that do not occur in the text of Herodotus as we have it), subtractions, and other modifications. Rosén [1962] 222–231 provides a text and discussion. Cf. Montana [forthcoming].

3.6 *Hesychius*

Hesychius of Alexandria composed in the fifth or sixth century AD a lexicon of obscure words that survives in an abridged and interpolated version (cf. Matthaios in this volume). Hesychius based his work on a lost lexicon composed by Diogenianus in the second century AD, which he claims to have supplemented from the works of Aristarchus, Heliodorus, Apion, and Herodian. Such claims are now difficult to verify or refute, but the work clearly contains material from lost sources much earlier than Hesychius himself. The lexicon consists of a list of poetic and dialectal words, phrases, and short proverbs. The words are often in inflected forms (as they appeared in the original texts from which Hesychius' predecessors extracted them) rather than the dictionary forms used today, and they are alphabetized usually by the first three letters.

Hesychius' lexicon is useful for several reasons. It is the only source for a large number of rare words that occur nowhere else in extant literature (particularly dialect forms). It also preserves, and provides information on, many words that would be omitted from a modern dictionary for being proper names (thus for example it is one of our main sources for the names of Attic clans). In some cases Hesychius' entries can be used as independent witnesses to the texts of extant authors and can supply correct readings of words corrupted in the transmission of those texts. Hesychius also tells us what ancient scholars thought his obscure words meant; this information can be useful both as a guide to the actual meanings of the words and as a source of insight into the ways that ancient scholars understood and interpreted literature.

The lexicon in its current form is substantially different from the one Hesychius wrote. Not only was his work severely abridged in transmission (a process that eliminated, among other things, most of Hesychius' indications of his sources for the various words), but it has been heavily interpolated as well. About a third of the entries are Biblical glosses from Cyrillus' lexicon, and material from other sources has also been added to Hesychius' original core. The interpolations must have occurred rather early, for material from Cyrillus was already in Hesychius's work by the eighth century.

A further complication is the state of the text. Only one manuscript of Hesychius survives, and it is late (fifteenth century), damaged, and seriously

corrupt. The best edition is that of Latte [1953–1966], P. A. Hansen [2005], and Hansen-Cunningham [2009].

3.7 *Etymologica*

A number of enormous, anonymous Byzantine etymological lexica have survived more or less intact and preserve much valuable ancient scholarship. Though traditionally referred to as etymologica because of the attention they pay to etymology, they contain much other information as well. The oldest and most important of these is the *Etymologicum genuinum* ‘True Etymological Dictionary’, which was compiled in the ninth century, though our only witnesses to it are two tenth-century manuscripts of unusually poor quality. From the original version of this work, with various excisions and additions, are descended almost all the other etymologica, of which the most important are the *Etymologicum magnum* ‘Great Etymological Dictionary’ from the twelfth century, the *Etymologicum Gudianum* ‘Gudian Etymological Dictionary’ from the eleventh century, and the *Etymologicum Symeonis* ‘Etymological Dictionary of Symeon’ from the twelfth century. The *Etymologicum (Florentinum) parvum* ‘Little (Florentine) Etymological Dictionary’, for which we have only entries from the first half of the alphabet, is somewhat older but much less useful because of its small scale and lack of quotations.

The sources of the etymologica vary but generally date to the second century AD and later; major sources include Herodian, Orus, Orion, Theognostus, Choeroboscus, scholia, and the *Epimerismi Homerici*. But since these works were themselves usually based on earlier scholarship, the etymologica are indirect witnesses to a considerable amount of Hellenistic scholarly work, as well as preserving numerous fragments of classical literature otherwise lost.

Texts of these works are incomplete, scattered, and often unsatisfactory; for a complete list see Dickey [2007] 91–92.

3.8 *Suda*

The *Suda* is a huge dictionary / encyclopedia compiled in the late tenth century. From the twelfth until the mid-twentieth century the work was referred to as *Suidae lexicon* ‘lexicon of Suidas’, but now it is generally thought that the Σοῦδα ‘Suda’ in manuscripts is the work’s title, not the author’s name, and in consequence the work is usually called the *Suda* and considered to be anonymous. The *Suda* may have been compiled by a group of scholars, but authorship by an individual cannot be ruled out.

The work consists of c. 30,000 entries of varying types; some lemmata are followed by short definitions as in a lexicon, and others by detailed articles resembling those in a modern encyclopedia. They are arranged in a form of alphabetical order adapted to Byzantine Greek pronunciation (i.e. vowels not

distinguished in pronunciation are alphabetized together). Sources are transcribed largely intact and are usually identifiable. The work is obviously related to Photius' *Lexicon*, and there has been much debate over the nature of the relationship, but the latest evidence suggests that the compiler of the *Suda* simply drew directly on Photius' work.

Despite its late date, the *Suda* is of great importance for our knowledge of antiquity, since it is based to a large extent on lost sources. Most of the immediate sources were lexica and other scholarly compilations of the Roman and late antique periods, such as Harpocration, Diogenianus, and scholia (though some pieces of classical literature, particularly the plays of Aristophanes, seem to have been consulted directly), but as these compilations were based on earlier work, the ultimate sources of the *Suda* include a significant amount of Alexandrian scholarship and historical material reaching back to the classical period. The plays of Aristophanes and scholia to them are particularly well represented, appearing in more than 5,000 entries. The *Suda* is especially useful for information about classical and later writers (indeed it is our main source for the titles of lost literary works and the original extent of each author's output) because it includes material from a lost dictionary of literary biography composed by Hesychius of Miletus. It is also the source of important poetic and historical fragments, not to mention countless fragments of ancient scholarship.

A good text is given by Adler [1928–1938], and discussion can be found in Zecchini [1999].

3.9 *Other Lexica*

Numerous other lexica survive from the late antique and Byzantine periods, though they tend to contain less ancient scholarship than those already discussed. Notable among them is the lexicon of Photius, patriarch of Constantinople in the ninth century and often better known for his *Bibliotheca* (see below § 6.2). This work is huge and concerned chiefly with prose words, though a number of items from Old Comedy also appear. Most entries are short, consisting only of the lemma and a one- or two-word definition, but some are substantial paragraphs with citations of authors who use a word, and sometimes with quotations. The lexicon's immediate sources are other late lexica, particularly Cyrillus, but it indirectly preserves much earlier scholarship (particularly material from the lost lexica of Diogenianus, Aelius Dionysius, and Pausanias) and is a source of fragments of lost literary works. For text and discussion see Theodoridis [1982–].

The fifth-century lexicon attributed to Cyrillus (or Cyril) is a substantial work that consists primarily of Biblical glosses, though it also contains some material from the ancient scholarly tradition, including Atticist writings and scholia.

The lexicon exists, in somewhat different form, in numerous manuscripts, and partly for this reason has never been completely published. For discussion see Drachmann [1936] and Cunningham [2003] esp. 43–49; the text of one manuscript has been published online by Hagedorn [2005].

The Ἑτυμολογικόν ‘Etymological Dictionary’ or Περί ἐτυμολογίας ‘On Etymology’ by Orio(n) of Egyptian Thebes is an etymological lexicon, composed in the fifth century, that combines material from other scholars in alphabetical order and so preserves much earlier scholarship, including portions of Aristonicus’ work on Homer. Orion’s work survives in three abbreviated versions, one of which is still of considerable bulk; the smaller versions are known as the Werfer excerpts and the Koës excerpts after their first transcribers. All three versions have been published by Sturz [1818] 611–617 and [1820], and one of them re-edited by Micciarelli Collesi [1970].

Stephanus of Byzantium, a grammarian who taught in Constantinople in the sixth century AD, composed a gigantic geographical lexicon in more than 50 books (cf. Matthaios in this volume). The work, called *Ethnica*, originally contained detailed linguistic, geographical, historical, and mythological information about hundreds of place-names and the ethnic adjectives corresponding to them. Its sources included Herodian, Orus, Pausanias, Strabo, and some ancestors of the Homer scholia, as well as many lost works of scholarship. We now have an epitome, in which the amount of information given about each entry is drastically reduced (in many cases to a mere listing of place-names and their adjectives); eight pages of the original that survive in a separate manuscript; and several fragments preserved in the work of later Byzantines, notably Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Though these remains are only a fraction of the original work, their bulk is still impressive. Billerbeck [2006–] and Meinecke [1849] provide texts.

An enormous lexicon compiled in the first half of the thirteenth century carries the name of Zonaras, a historian who lived in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and so cannot have written it. The lexicon draws freely on the works of a wide variety of earlier (late antique and early Byzantine) scholars and so preserves much scholarship that is otherwise lost, including many of the fragments of Orus’ lexicon. It is organized first alphabetically (to two letters) and then by grammatical category. Entries range in length from two words (lemma and definition) to long paragraphs including quotations from ancient literature. The only edition of the lexicon is that of Tittmann [1808], whence it is sometimes called the *Lexicon Tittmannianum*; for discussion see Alpers [1972] and [1981] 3–55.

From the late eighth or early ninth century comes a work known variously as the Συναγωγὴ λέξεων χρησίμων ‘Collection of Useful Words’, *Lexicon*

Bachmannianum ‘Bachmann’s Lexicon’, and *Lexicon Bekkeri VI* ‘Bekker’s Sixth Lexicon’; a substantial body of material was also added later. Its original basis was the lexicon of Cyrillus, and many of the other sources are also extant. It is therefore often ignored, but the fact that we can trace the growth of the work over several centuries and know its contents at each point makes it useful for understanding Byzantine lexicography. The best text of and source of information on the *Συναγωγή* is Cunningham’s edition [2003].

There are also some other surviving lexica of lesser importance; see Dickey [2007] 102–103 and Degani [1995].

4 Grammatical Works

The date of the origin of the Greek grammatical tradition is hotly debated (cf. Montana and Matthaios in this volume), and as with the lexica, the very earliest works have not survived. But we have surviving works from three ancient grammarians, Dionysius Thrax, Apollonius Dyscolus, and Herodian, as well as a number from the late antique and Byzantine periods; portions of numerous other grammatical works survive as fragments and will be discussed in section 6 (for typology of grammatical treatises and the definitions of *technē grammatike* see Valente and Swiggers-Wouters in this volume).

4.1 *Dionysius Thrax*

The oldest surviving Greek grammatical treatise is the *Τέχνη Γραμματική* ‘Grammatical Art’ attributed to Dionysius Thrax (c. 170–c. 90 BC), a pupil of Aristarchus. The *Τέχνη* is a short, simple grammatical introduction that was enormously influential from late antiquity onwards. If the attribution to Dionysius can be trusted, the handbook is also the only Hellenistic grammatical treatise to survive to modern times. Dionysius’ authorship, however, has been doubted since antiquity and has recently been the focus of considerable discussion; some scholars maintain that the entire treatise is a compilation of the third or fourth century AD, while others defend its complete authenticity and date it to the end of the second century BC. There is also a range of intermediate positions, which in recent years have gained much ground against both the more extreme views: some portion of the beginning of the work could go back to Dionysius, while the rest was written later, or the entire work (or sections of it) could be originally Dionysius’ but seriously altered (and perhaps abridged) by later writers. Some argue that if the *Τέχνη* is spurious, we must revise our whole view of the development of Greek grammatical thought, to put the creation of fully developed grammatical analysis in the first century

BC. Others maintain that Aristarchus and his followers already possessed an advanced grammatical system and that the date of the *Τέχνη* therefore makes little difference to our view of the evolution of grammar.

The *Τέχνη* itself is relatively straightforward; it consists of a concise explanation of the divisions of grammar and definitions of the main grammatical terminology. Because of its extreme brevity, it accumulated a large body of explanatory commentary (this material is all traditionally known as ‘scholia’, but it includes continuous commentaries as well as marginal scholia), which are in many ways more interesting and informative than the text itself, though clearly later. The *Τέχνη* is also traditionally accompanied by four supplements, which are probably old but later than the text itself: *Περὶ Προσῳδιῶν* or *De Prosodiis* ‘On Prosody’, *Περὶ Τέχνης* ‘On the (Grammatical) Art’ or *Definitio Artis* ‘Definition of the (Grammatical) Art’, *Περὶ ποδῶν καὶ Περὶ τοῦ Ἡρωϊκοῦ Μήτρου* or *De Pedibus et de Metro Heroico* ‘On (Metrical) Feet and the Heroic Meter’, and a paradigm of the declension of *τύπτω* ‘beat’ derived from the *Κανόνες* ‘Canons’ of Theodosius. Some of these supplements are the subjects of additional commentaries. Both ‘scholia’ and supplements contain valuable information about other ancient grammatical writings, particularly the lost works of Apollonius Dyscolus, and cover a wide variety of topics.

Good texts of the *Τέχνη* can be found in Lallot [1998²], with translation and excellent discussion, and Uhlig [1883]. The supplements and ‘scholia’ are best consulted in Uhlig [1883] 103–132 and Hilgard [1901].

4.2 *Apollonius Dyscolus*

The works of Apollonius Dyscolus are the most important and influential of surviving grammatical treatises (cf. Matthaios in this volume). In antiquity and the Byzantine world Apollonius was often considered the greatest grammarian, and it is no coincidence that far more remains of his work than of any other Greek grammarian before the Byzantine period. Apollonius, who lived in Alexandria in the mid-second century AD, wrote numerous treatises, of which four survive: the *Syntax* (a major work in four books) and shorter treatises on pronouns, adverbs, and conjunctions.

Apollonius may have invented syntax as a grammatical discipline; even if he did not, his works are the earliest substantial discussions of the topic to survive and represent an important and original contribution that laid the foundations for future discussion. His analyses are theoretical rather than didactic and are concerned with discovering the underlying rules that govern the regularities of language; his goal is the construction of a theoretical framework that accounts for all the observed facts about the aspects of the Greek language he

considers. Although his works are primarily important for their portrayal of Apollonius' own ideas, they are also useful as sources of information on the lost writings of earlier scholars, since they include numerous references to Zenodotus, Aristarchus, and others. Apollonius seems to have been particularly indebted to Trypho, though (perhaps because the latter was a scholarly 'grandchild' of Aristarchus) Aristarchus' direct and indirect influence is also considerable. Apollonius' style is notoriously opaque and elliptical, and his terminology is idiosyncratic; indeed since antiquity one of the explanations offered for his nickname *δύσκολος* 'troublesome' has been a reference to the sufferings he inflicted on his readers.

Good texts of the *Syntax* can be found in Uhlig [1910] and Lallot [1997] with translation and discussion; the minor works can all be found in Schneider [1878–1902], and individually with translation and discussion in Dalimier [2001] for *Conjunctions* and Brandenburg [2005] for *Pronouns*. Glossaries and other aids to understanding Apollonius' difficult Greek can be found in most of these works and in Schneider [1910], and there are additional useful discussions in Blank [1982] and [1993].

4.3 *Herodian*

Aelius Herodianus (2nd cent. AD), son of Apollonius Dyscolus, is responsible for most of our knowledge of ancient accentuation (cf. Matthaios in this volume). His main work, the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* 'On Prosody in General', is said originally to have been an enormous work giving the rules for attaching accents and breathings to Greek words, with explanations based on their terminations, number of syllables, gender, and other qualities; it now survives in several epitomes (most notably those of 'Arcadius' and Joannes Philoponus of Alexandria) and is one of the major extant grammatical works despite being considerably reduced in size. The only one of Herodian's works to survive intact, however, is the *Περὶ μονήρους λέξεως* 'On the Anomalous Word', a treatise on anomalous words.

Many of Herodian's rules were meant to apply to classical and Homeric words, i.e. to words from six centuries and more before his own time. Alexandrian scholars from Aristophanes of Byzantium (c. 257–c. 180 BC) onward worked on accentuation, and Herodian built on a tradition going back to these scholars. Even the Alexandrians were too distanced from classical and Homeric Greek to possess any native-speaker knowledge of those dialects; yet their pronouncements can sometimes be proven right by modern techniques of comparative philology, to which they did not have access. Many modern scholars believe that the Alexandrians drew on a living tradition of accentuation going back to

the classical period and perhaps beyond, but there is some debate as to the form and extent of that tradition. For discussion see Probert [2006] 25–45.

Numerous works of Herodian survive as fragments (see below § 7.2). There are also a number of surviving works doubtfully or spuriously attributed to Herodian, most of which were composed considerably after his day. There are no good texts of Herodian's genuine works; for explanation of the options available and their pitfalls see Dickey [2014] and [2007] 75–77, and Dyck [1993a].

4.4 *Theodosius*

Theodosius of Alexandria, who lived probably in the 4th and 5th centuries AD, was the author of the *Κανόνες* 'Canons', a set of rules and paradigms for declensions and conjugations (cf. Matthaïos in this volume). This long and detailed work was a teaching tool intended to supplement the *Τέχνη* of (ps-) Dionysius Thrax (see above § 4.1) and appears to be the ancestor of the fourth supplement to that work. It gives all theoretically possible forms of the words it illustrates (most famously in an ultra-complete paradigm of *τύπτω* 'beat'), thus producing a large number of forms unattested in actual usage. Partly as a result of this inclusiveness, the *Κανόνες* are not highly respected today, but for many centuries they exerted an important influence on Greek textbooks. Two lengthy commentaries on the *Κανόνες* survive; that of Choeroboscus (8th–9th cent.) is intact, and that of Joannes Charax (6th–8th cent.) is preserved in an excerpted version by Sophronius (9th cent.). These commentaries, particularly that of Choeroboscus, are now considered more important than the *Κανόνες* themselves.

Theodosius is also credited with short treatises entitled *Περὶ κλίσεως τῶν εἰς -ων βαρυτόνων* 'On the Declension of Barytone Words Ending in -ων' and *Περὶ κλίσεως τῶν εἰς -ων ὀξύτόνων* 'On the Declension of Oxytone Words Ending in -ων', and he may be responsible for the *Περὶ προσωδιῶν* 'On Prosody' supplement to (ps-) Dionysius Thrax's *Τέχνη*. Spurious works include a long *Περὶ γραμματικῆς* 'On Grammar' and shorter works entitled *Περὶ διαλέκτων* 'On Dialects' and *Περὶ τόνου* 'On the Accent'.

The best text of the *Κανόνες* and its commentaries is that of Hilgard [1889–1894], which also provides a good introduction to the works; for further information see Dickey [2007] 83–84 and Kaster [1988] 366–367.

4.5 *Philoponus*

The sixth-century philosopher Ioannes Philoponus of Alexandria (cf. Matthaïos in this volume), who is known primarily for his heretical Christian theology and his commentaries on Aristotle, is also credited with several grammatical works, three of which survive. One, the *Τονικά παραγγέλματα* 'Rules for Accentuation',

was originally an epitome of Herodian's *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* 'On Prosody in General'. The surviving work is very brief and seems to be an epitome of Philoponus' epitome, which was used in a fuller form by Eustathius. It is useful because Herodian's original work has been lost.

Philoponus also produced a treatise on homonyms that are distinguished only by their accents, which survives (probably in abbreviated form) in many manuscripts but for which there is no established title. The work is probably based to some extent on Herodian, but the extent of its dependence on Herodian and the degree of interpolation it underwent between Philoponus' time and our earliest manuscripts are both matters of debate. The treatise consists of pairs of words with a short definition of each; some pairs, such as βίος 'life' and βίός 'bow', are genuinely homonyms apart from the accent, but others, such as ἕτερος 'other' and ἑταῖρος 'comrade', are spelled very differently and were homophonous only in postclassical Greek pronunciation.

Philoponus is also credited with a *Περὶ διαλέκτων* 'On Dialects', which was an important source for Gregory of Corinth and of which some abbreviated extracts survive directly. The remains are short and basic and rarely considered useful today, though they have some value for the history of the Greek perception of dialects.

The grammatical works of Philoponus are not easy to consult. The only edition of the *Τονικά παραγγέλματα* is the very rare text of W. Dindorf [1825], and the *Περὶ διαλέκτων* was last edited by Hoffmann [1893] 204–222. But the work on homonyms has recently been edited by Daly [1983].

4.6 *Choeroboscus*

George Choeroboscus, who lived in the eighth and ninth centuries AD, was a Byzantine teacher and author of a number of grammatical works (cf. Pontani in this volume). Choeroboscus' works were not intended as contributions to the advancement of grammatical theory; they are clearly part of his teaching materials and were often intended for fairly elementary students. Their significance lies in three areas: the light they shed on grammatical teaching in the 9th century, the influence they exerted on later scholars (including Eustathius and the compiler of the *Etymologicum Genuinum*), and their extensive use of earlier grammatical treatises (Choeroboscus is for example responsible for much of the preservation of Herodian's fragmentary *Περὶ κλίσεως ὀνομάτων* 'On the Declension of Nouns').

The longest and most important of Choeroboscus' works is a gigantic commentary on the *Κανόνες* of Theodosius, evidently composed as a teaching tool, which survives both intact and drastically excerpted in a short collection of extracts on accents entitled *Περὶ τόνων* 'On Accents'. Choeroboscus also

produced a commentary on the Τέχνη of (ps-) Dionysius Thrax that is preserved in extracts under the name of Heliodorus. Closely related is Περί προσωδίας ‘On Prosody’, a commentary on the Περί προσωδιῶν ‘On Prosody’ supplement to the Τέχνη, which survives both under Choeroboscus’ own name and in a longer version rewritten by an otherwise obscure Porphyry. From a discussion of correct spelling, Περί ὀρθογραφίας ‘On Orthography’, we have both an epitome under that name, in which difficult words are listed and their correct spellings explained and justified, and an extract Περί ποσότητος ‘On Quantity’. Choeroboscus also left us a commentary on the *Encheiridion* ‘Handbook’ of Hephaestion (discussing Greek meter) and a set of epimerismi on the Psalms that contain both religious and scholarly information, and his work is one of the sources of the Περί πνευμάτων ‘On Breathings’, a Byzantine collection of extracts on this topic.

There are also a number of extant works of uncertain authorship that are sometimes attributed to Choeroboscus. These include the *Epimerismi Homeric* and a short work entitled Περί τρόπων ποιητικῶν ‘On Poetic Figures of Speech’.

Texts of Choeroboscus’ most important grammatical works can be found in Hilgard [1889–1894]. Other works are scattered through older publications; see Dickey [2007] 80–81 and Kaster [1988] 394–396.

4.7 *Gregory of Corinth*

Gregorios (or Georgios) Pardos, bishop of Corinth probably in the 11th–12th century, was the author of a number of extant scholarly works, as well as some religious and rhetorical writings (cf. Pontani in this volume). His most famous work is the Περί διαλέκτων ‘On Dialects’, which discusses the Greek literary dialects (Attic, Doric, Ionic, and Aeolic). Although this treatise is not very accurate, it is useful for understanding the Greeks’ perception of their own dialect situation, and it preserves some earlier scholarship, for it is based on lost dialectological works of Trypho and Philoponus. Gregory’s other productions include the Περί συντάξεως λόγου ‘On the Syntax of the Sentence’, a work of less than the highest quality that is the third oldest Greek syntactic work we possess (after those of Apollonius Dyscolus and Michael Syncellus); its attribution to Gregory has been questioned but is now accepted as correct. A short treatise Περί τρόπων ‘On Figures of Speech’ has been attributed to Gregory but certainly predates him; it may have been written by Trypho. Gregory’s long commentary on the Περί μεθόδου δεινότητος ‘On the Method of Forcefulness’ attributed to Hermogenes is a teaching tool and discusses various passages in classical literature as well as rhetorical issues; this work may be based partly on lost ancient sources, but it is now generally neglected.

A text of the Περί διαλέκτων can be found in Schaefer [1811]; the other works are given in Donnet [1967a], M. L. West [1965], and Walz [1832–1836]

VII 1088–1352. Only the *Περὶ συντάξεως λόγου* has been translated, into French by Donnet [1967a]. There are discussions of Gregory's work by Kominis [1960] and Donnet [1966].

4.8 *Other Grammarians*

Many other grammatical works now survive only in fragments. Of those that have a more solid existence, Orus and Theognostus are most noteworthy. Orus, who worked in Constantinople in the fifth century AD, has left us numerous fragments and two partially preserved works. One is a manual entitled *Ὄρθογραφία* 'Orthography', from which we have only a substantial excerpt concerning the use of the iota subscript. This consists of a list of words in alphabetical order (only entries from the second half of the alphabet are preserved), with indication of whether or not each is written with the iota. Entries are often accompanied by evidence in the form of quotations from classical literature, thus sometimes preserving fragments of lost works, and some fragments of earlier scholarship can be found as well. The other work is a treatise *Περὶ πολυσημάντων λέξεων* 'On Words with Multiple Meanings', from which we have a number of substantial excerpts.

Theognostus, a Byzantine grammarian of the ninth century AD, has left us a work on correct spelling entitled *Περὶ ὀρθογραφίας* 'On Orthography' or *Κανόνες* 'Canons'. This treatise consists of more than a thousand rules for producing the correct ancient spellings of sounds that had merged in Byzantine Greek, with lists of words illustrating each rule. It is useful today not only for an understanding of Byzantine scholarship but also because it preserves elements of the ancient Greek vocabulary not attested in earlier works. Theognostus' sources were earlier works of scholarship, including Cyrillus and lost works of Herodian.

For editions of these works, and those of other minor grammarians, see Dickey [2007] 86–87, 99–100.

5 *Extant Commentaries*

The vast majority of intact commentaries (and other exegetical works focusing on particular authors or texts, which are grouped here with commentaries for organizational convenience) discuss religious, philosophical and scientific texts and concern their philosophical or scientific aspects. They are usually omitted in discussions of ancient scholarship because the questions with which they are concerned are not normally considered to be within the bounds of 'scholarship', and because they were often composed at a late period with little or no reference to Alexandrian or other early work. But it is important to

be aware of their existence, as such commentaries are in some ways our best evidence for what was going on in the world of late antique scholarship. We have only recently come to appreciate the extent to which scientific and even Biblical scholarship influenced the development of work on, and the transmission of work on, pagan literary texts (cf. McNamee [2007] 79–92).

5.1 *Early Commentaries*

The earliest preserved commentaries date from the Hellenistic period. The earliest commentary, by Hipparchus of Nicaea on Aratus' astronomical poem *Phaenomena* (cf. Montana in this volume), is the earliest piece of intact ancient scholarship of any sort and therefore of immense value for understanding the Hellenistic scholarly milieu. It is however often ignored in discussions of ancient scholarship because its orientation is largely scientific; it is of course precisely this orientation that caused its preservation in centuries with little interest in ancient scholarship.

Hipparchus' commentary is entitled Ἰππάρχου τῶν Ἀράτου καὶ Εὐδόξου Φαινομένων ἐξηγήσεως βιβλία τρία 'Three Books of Hipparchus' Exegesis of the *Phaenomena* of Aratus and Eudoxus' and was composed in the later second century BC. The commentary is concerned principally with correcting Aratus' astronomy—Hipparchus was a noted astronomer in his own right—but also discusses textual issues to some extent. Hipparchus' textual comments give us an insight into the early period of transmission, before a canonical text of Aratus had been established. He also serves as one of our major sources of information on Eudoxus of Cnidus, on whose lost astronomical writings Aratus (himself more a poet than an astronomer) is said to have based the *Phaenomena*; Hipparchus compares Aratus' work to Eudoxus' own writings and quotes the latter at length. Hipparchus also preserves substantial remnants of an even earlier commentary on Aratus by Attalus of Rhodes (earlier second century BC). This work was also heavily astronomical in content, but it differed from Hipparchus' in that Attalus tended to justify Aratus' astronomy rather than to correct it; Hipparchus thus quotes Attalus in order to disagree with him. Manitius [1894] provides a text and translation, and Martin [1956] 22–29 and [1998] vol. I, xxxvi–xcvii and 124–131 useful discussion.

The second earliest surviving commentary, that of Apollonius of Citium (cf. Montana in this volume) to Hippocrates' *On Joints* (a treatise on reducing dislocations), dates to the first century BC. It is however a simplified retelling rather than a commentary in the strict sense of the word and is concerned with medical rather than scholarly questions. The work is accompanied in one manuscript by a set of illustrations thought to descend directly from ones designed by Apollonius himself. Kollesch-Kudlien [1965] provide a text and translation.

5.2 *Galen and Medical Commentaries*

Apollonius of Citium's work is only the earliest survival of a large and important body of Hippocratic commentary, much of it written by Galen, himself a famous physician and intellectual of the second century AD (cf. Matthaios and Manetti in this volume). Galen has left us an enormous body of works, including some that are clearly commentaries on works attributed to Hippocrates (much of the Hippocratic corpus was probably not written by Hippocrates himself), some that are not really commentaries in form but nevertheless are devoted primarily to exegesis of Hippocratic writings, and a large number that have little reference to Hippocrates.

Thirteen of Galen's commentaries on Hippocrates survive, as well as some commentaries falsely attributed to Galen. Not all are intact, but some commentaries and portions of commentaries that do not survive in Greek are preserved in Arabic translations, or occasionally in Latin or Hebrew. Though primarily concerned with medical questions, Galen's work is of particular interest to students of ancient scholarship because of his occasional discussions of the authenticity of specific works and passages, textual corruption, and proposed emendations. Galen brings linguistic, historical, and medical arguments to bear on such questions; sometimes he summarizes the views of earlier scholars on a given point, thereby providing us with most of our information about their methods and opinions and revealing much about ancient editorial theory and practice that we cannot learn from the scholia's abbreviated and mutilated fragments of similar debates over the text of literary works. In discussion of textual variants Galen even distinguishes between older and newer manuscripts. The extended quotations in the lemmata to the commentaries also provide a crucial source for the text of Hippocrates. Galen's non-commentary writings include *De Captionibus*, a discussion of linguistic ambiguity and interpretation that offers intriguing insights into second-century views of a number of linguistic and textual issues, including the role of accentuation.

Late antique and Byzantine writers produced numerous commentaries on both Hippocrates and Galen; many of these works survive at least partially, but they are less respected and less exciting than Galen's commentaries, and not all have been edited. Most were not written for publication but are students' transcripts of the 'author's' lectures. The most important late commentators are Palladius (6th century), from whom we have works on Hippocrates' *On fractures* and book six of his *Epidemics*, as well as on Galen's *De Sectis*; Stephanus of Athens (6th–7th century AD), to whom are attributed extant commentaries on Hippocrates' *Aphorisms*, *Prognostic*, and *On fractures* (this last actually belongs to an unknown earlier commentator) and one on Galen's *Therapeutics*; and John of Alexandria, of whose commentaries on Hippocrates' *Epidemics* book

six and *On the nature of the child* only fragments survive in Greek (though more exists in Latin). For editions and further bibliography see Ihm [2002a].

5.3 *Philosophical Commentaries*

Apart from Biblical and other Judaeo-Christian religious commentary, which is outside the purview of this volume, by far the largest group of surviving commentaries is concerned with the works of ancient philosophers: above all Aristotle but also Plato and a variety of other philosophers.

The amount of surviving ancient commentary on Aristotle is vast, more than double that on any other ancient writer, and this bulk comes from the number of commentaries involved, their length, and their generally excellent state of preservation (cf. Lapini in this volume). Many of these commentaries are works of philosophy in their own right, but in some cases they are heavily derivative from each other (as well as from lost commentaries). The earliest of the commentators, Aspasius of Athens, was an Aristotelian of the second century AD; the prolific and original Alexander of Aphrodisias (2nd–3rd century) and the paraphraser Themistius (4th century) were also Aristotelians. Most Aristotle commentators, however, were Neoplatonists, whose commentaries can be divided into two types: the works of Porphyry (3rd century), Dexippus (4th century), Syrianus (5th century), and Simplicius (6th century) were written for publication like the commentaries of the Aristotelians, and the same is true of Ammonius' (5th–6th century) commentary on the *De interpretatione*, but Ammonius' other commentaries, and those of his followers Ioannes Philoponus (6th century), Olympiodorus (6th century), Asclepius of Tralles (6th century), Elias (6th century), David (6th century), and Stephanus (6th–7th century) are transcripts of lectures (sometimes Ammonius' lectures rather than those of the philosophers whose names they bear) rather than written commentaries. There is much overlap in content among the works of this latter group. After the Neoplatonists, there is a hiatus of several centuries followed by numerous later Byzantine commentaries. In addition, there are anonymous commentaries of each type (Aristotelian, Neoplatonist, and Byzantine), and the fragments of numerous lost commentaries can be extracted from the surviving material. Most of the Aristotle commentaries have been edited as part of the massive 23-volume *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* collection, but some are published elsewhere or remain unpublished. Much of this collection is currently being translated into English in the 'Ancient Commentators on Aristotle' series; see Sorabji [1990] for discussion.

Surviving commentaries on Plato, like those on Aristotle, are often works of Neoplatonic philosophy; they are important for the study of Neoplatonism but of little significance for the study of Plato. Many of the surviving Neoplatonic

commentaries were composed by Proclus Diadochus (cf. Matthaïos in this volume), head of the Neoplatonist school at Athens in the fifth century AD and a prolific scholar: his surviving works include lengthy commentaries on the *Republic*, *Parmenides*, *Timaeus*, and *Alcibiades I*, as well as excerpts from a commentary on the *Cratylus*. Another major commentator was Olympiodorus, a member of the Neoplatonist school at Alexandria in the sixth century AD. His surviving commentaries on the *Gorgias*, *Phaedo*, and *Alcibiades I*, which are based on lost commentaries by Ammonius, were not composed for publication but are transcripts of his lectures on Plato's dialogues. Additional sixth-century commentaries on the *Philebus*, *Phaedo*, and *Parmenides* were formerly attributed to Olympiodorus but are now believed to be the work of Damascius. We also have a commentary on the *Phaedrus* by the fifth-century Hermeias of Alexandria that largely reproduces the views of Hermeias' teacher Syrianus, and anonymous prolegomena to Platonic philosophy derived from sixth-century lecture notes from the Neoplatonist school at Alexandria.

Of earlier work on Plato we have two works by Plutarch, the Πλατωνικά ζητήματα 'Platonic Questions' and a treatise on the generation of the soul in the *Timaeus* (*Mor.* 999c–1011e and 1012b–1032f). A short prologue by the second-century (AD) philosopher Albinus, discussing the genre of the philosophical dialog, is preserved intact, as is a work by an otherwise unknown Alcinous entitled Διδασκαλικός or 'Handbook of Platonism'. Until very recently it was believed that Alcinous was the same person as Albinus, but now that identity is often rejected, though a second-century date for Alcinous is still likely. From Galen (also second century AD) we have a treatise *On the doctrines of Plato and Hippocrates* as well as fragments of a commentary on the *Timaeus*. A partially preserved anonymous commentary on the *Parmenides* is sometimes attributed to Porphyry, an important Neoplatonist who was head of the school at Rome in the third century AD, but the work has also been dated to both earlier and later periods. For editions and translations of Platonic commentaries see Dickey [2007] 46–49.

Philosophical works outside the Platonic and Aristotelian traditions are rarely the subject of surviving commentary, but we have a Neoplatonist commentary on the *Encheiridion* 'Handbook' of the Stoic Epictetus, composed by Simplicius in the sixth century. Hadot [1996] provides a text and discussion, and Brittain-Brennan [2002] a translation.

5.4 *Mathematical Commentaries*

Euclid, Archimedes, and Apollonius of Perga all wrote important mathematical works in the Hellenistic period; in the Roman period they were joined by Ptolemy of Alexandria and Nicomachus. Considerable commentary on all

these authors survives, almost all from the late antique and Byzantine periods but sometimes incorporating earlier work.

The earliest commentaries come from the third century AD. The philosopher Porphyry has left us two works: a commentary on Ptolemy's *Harmonica* (text in Düring [1932] updated by Alexanderson [1969]) and an introduction and explanation of Ptolemy's Ἀποτελεσματικά or Τετράβιβλος, which concerned astrology (text in Boer-Weinstock [1940]). From Iamblichus we have a commentary on the *Introductio arithmetica* 'Introduction to Arithmetic' of Nicomachus of Gerasa; Pistelli [1894] provides a text. There is also a portion of an elementary commentary on Ptolemy's Πρόχειροι Κανόνες 'Handy Tables' surviving from the early third century; text and translation in Jones [1990].

From the fourth century we have more material. Of a commentary by Pappus on the first six books of Ptolemy's *Almagest* we now have the portion on books five and six; text in Rome [1931–1943] vol. I. Pappus' commentary on Euclid's *Elements* has fared less well: two books on book ten of the *Elements* survive, but only in Arabic translation. They include a philosophical introduction to book ten as well as detailed mathematical discussion. There is a good edition with translation in Junge-Thomson [1930].

The works of Theon of Alexandria (cf. Matthaïos in this volume), who also lived in the fourth century, slightly later than Pappus, are better preserved. Theon's commentary on books one to thirteen of Ptolemy's *Almagest* survives apart from the section on book 11 and portions of the section on book 5. The commentary on book three provides a rare glimpse of ancient scholarship produced by a woman, for it was based on a text edited by Theon's daughter Hypatia, who was an important Neoplatonist teacher until lynched by Christian monks; she also wrote her own commentaries, which unfortunately do not survive. For a text of the commentary on the first four books of the *Almagest* see Rome [1931–1943] vols. II–III; for the rest one must resort to Grynaeus-Camerarius [1538]. On Hypatia see Dzielska [1995].

Theon also composed two works on Ptolemy's Πρόχειροι Κανόνες 'Handy Tables'. Both are self-standing treatises rather than commentaries in the strict sense of the word. The 'Great Commentary' originally comprised five books, of which the first four are still extant, and the 'Little Commentary', which has survived intact, is in one book. For text and translation see Tihon [1978], [1991], and [1999] and Mogenet-Tihon [1985]. We also have an introduction to Euclid's *Optica* attributed to Theon; text and translation in Heiberg [1882] 139–145.

Proclus, a Neoplatonist of the fifth century AD, has left us an intact four-book commentary on the first book of Euclid's *Elements*. The commentary is based on a number of earlier works, including Eudemus of Rhodes' lost *History of Geometry* (c. 330 BC), lost works of Porphyry (3rd century AD), and commen-

taries on Euclid from the Roman period. The commentary is oriented toward the curriculum of the Neoplatonist school and has philosophical and historical as well as mathematical value; it is frequently cited by modern scholars in discussions of philosophy, mathematics, Euclid, and its lost sources. Friedlein [1873] provides a text and Morrow [1992²] a translation. Also attributed to Proclus, but probably incorrectly, is a paraphrase/commentary on Ptolemy's Ἀποτελεσματικά 'Astrological Matters' (text in Allatius [1635]).

Eutocius of Ascalon, who lived in the fifth and sixth centuries, has left us three commentaries on works of Archimedes. They are important mathematical works in their own right and significant for our understanding of Greek mathematics and its history. For text and translation see Mugler [1972] and Netz [2004–]. We also have a commentary by Eutocius on the surviving half of the *Conica* of Apollonius of Perga (c. 200 BC). Though not as famous as Eutocius' commentary on Archimedes, this work has some philosophical and mathematical value. For text and translation see Heiberg [1891–1893] vol. II.

Other surviving work includes an introduction to Euclid's *Data* by Marinus of Neapolis, a pupil of Proclus who lived in the fifth and sixth centuries (text in Oikonomides [1977]). There is a long anonymous commentary from sometime in the late antique period on Ptolemy's Ἀποτελεσματικά that has no modern edition (text in Wolf [1559]). Later commentaries on most of the mathematical writers also exist. For further information on many of the works mentioned here see Knorr [1989] and Mansfeld [1998].

5.5 *Ancient Work on Literature*

In comparison with the wealth of commentary in other areas, the lack of surviving ancient commentary on literature is striking; this is particularly the case given the large amount of such commentary that once existed and the importance placed on classical literature by so many generations of Greek speakers. In fact the earliest intact literary commentaries come from the Byzantine period, and not even early in that period. But this does not mean that we do not have any surviving work on literature.

Ancient works on literary criticism, of course, survive rather well. From an early period (cf. Novokhatko in this volume) we have, in addition to Aristotle's 'Poetics' and 'Rhetoric', the 'Rhetorica ad Alexandrum' attributed to Anaximenes of Lampsacus (the only surviving pre-Aristotelian rhetorical treatise) and the 'On the Sophists' of Alcidamas, a fourth-century work praising the merits of spontaneous speeches in comparison to those written in advance. Demetrius' 'On Style' (a discussion of style in a variety of genres in poetry and prose) perhaps dates to the first century BC, a period from which we also have the remains of treatises on poetry and rhetoric by the Epicurean Philodemus.

From the Roman period there are also a variety of surviving works of literary criticism. The literary works of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, from the late first century BC, include critiques of Plato, Thucydides, and the major Attic orators, a treatise 'On Literary Composition' concerning word order and euphony in both poetry and prose, and letters on various questions of literary history and stylistic criticism. The treatise 'On the Sublime' attributed to Longinus is probably from the first century AD and covers both poetry and prose from a wide variety of genres and periods. Treatises surviving from the second century AD and later are less important, but the rhetorical textbooks of Hermogenes of Tarsus (cf. Matthaïos in this volume), who was admired by the emperor Marcus Aurelius, are particularly notable. Of the large corpus attributed to Hermogenes only two works are clearly genuine, but the spurious works are also useful, as are commentaries on the corpus by the fifth-century Neoplatonist Syrianus. For more information on these works see Russell [1995²].

We also have some surviving exegetical work on individual texts, particularly the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The earliest of these is the 'Ὀμηρικὰ προβλήματα' 'Homeric Problems' (also known as *Allegoriae Homericae* 'Homeric Allegories') attributed to Heraclitus and written in the first century AD (cf. Matthaïos in this volume); this work offers allegorical interpretations and defenses of Homer's treatments of the gods. Heraclitus' sources included Apollodorus and Crates of Mallos, and there is some debate about whether his work can be considered particularly Stoic in orientation. Buffière [1962] provides a text and translation and Bernard [1990] a discussion; cf. also Konstan-Russell [2005] and Pontani [2005a].

Plutarch has left us several works on particular authors (cf. Matthaïos in this volume): Συγκρίσις Ἀριστοφάνους καὶ Μενάνδρου ἐπιτομή 'Comparison of Aristophanes and Menander, epitome' (*Mor.* 853a–854d) and Περί τῆς Ἡροδότου κακοηθείας 'On the Malice of Herodotus' (*Mor.* 854e–874c), in addition to his works on Plato mentioned above. A substantial essay entitled Περί τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς ποιήσεως τοῦ Ὀμήρου 'On the Life and Poetry of Homer' is attributed to him but probably dates to the second or third century AD; the first part contains a short biography of Homer, and the second part discusses interpretation. There is a text in Kindstrand [1990] and discussion in Hillgruber [1994–1999].

The third-century Neoplatonic philosopher Porphyry has left us two works on Homer (cf. Matthaïos in this volume). One is an extended allegory on *Odyssey* 13.102–112, the cave of the nymphs; this piece is crucial for understanding the Neoplatonic interpretation of Homer. For discussion of its various editions see Alt [1998] 466. Porphyry also composed a treatise entitled 'Ὀμηρικὰ ζητήματα' 'Homeric Questions', which is believed to be based in part on Aristotle's six-book Ἀπορήματα Ὀμηρικὰ 'Homeric Questions' (now lost except for a few fragments). Porphyry's work is exegetical in nature and consists not of a linear

commentary but of a series of essays that use discussion of specific passages to make larger points about Homeric interpretation. Only the first book survives in its original form, in a single fourteenth-century manuscript, but much of the later books can be recovered from the scholia to Homer. Sodano [1970] and MacPhail [2011] provide a text and Schlunk [1993] a translation.

Other surviving works of literary exegesis, of which the most important are discussed below, come from the Byzantine period.

5.6 *Epimerismi Homerici*

The *Epimerismi Homerici* (cf. Pontani in this volume) are a commentary to the *Iliad* consisting of grammatical explanations and definitions of Homeric words; the ἐπιμερισμός format was an instructional method of the Byzantine school tradition (rather like sentence-parsing in English several generations ago), so most of the explanations in the *Epimerismi Homerici* are elementary. The work was based on a wide range of sources, including Herodian, Apion, the scholia, and several lost works of ancient scholarship. Though anonymously transmitted, the *Epimerismi* are likely to have been composed by Choeroboscus in the ninth century. They are useful not only for what they tell us about the Byzantine reading of Homer, but also because they preserve ancient scholarship that is lost in its original form.

The *Epimerismi* were originally arranged in the order in which the words treated appeared in the poems, but at a later stage the entries pertaining to the first three books of the *Iliad* were reorganized in approximate alphabetical order. We have several manuscripts of this later version, known as the ‘alphabetical epimerismi’, as well as a few texts of the entries for the first book of the *Iliad* in their original order, known as the ‘scholia-epimerismi’. Thus entries for the first book of the *Iliad* are preserved in both versions (though each version contains some entries that do not appear in the other), those for books two and three are preserved only in the alphabetical version, and those after *Iliad* III are lost altogether. Additional material that originally belonged to the *Epimerismi* can be found in the *Etymologicum Gudianum*, which can be used to reconstruct the archetype. The standard edition and discussion of the *Epimerismi* is that of Dyck [1983–1995].

5.7 *Eustathius*

Eustathius, archbishop of Thessalonica, wrote a number of commentaries on ancient authors in the twelfth century AD (cf. Pontani in this volume). The most important of these are his massive works on Homer, but we also possess several others. Eustathius based his commentaries on an impressive range of ancient sources, many of which are now lost to us in their original form. He consulted different manuscripts of the texts with which he worked and recorded variant

readings, thus preserving for us the readings of manuscripts that have since disappeared. He also made extensive use of scholia, lexica, and other scholarly works, some of which no longer exist. In addition, he used works of ancient literature other than the ones upon which he commented and thus sometimes preserves fragments of those texts and variants otherwise lost.

The longest and most important of Eustathius' works is his commentary on the *Iliad*. This was written for students and educated general readers, rather than for scholars, and is designed to be read with or without the text of the *Iliad*. The author provided it with a marginal index, which appears to be an invention of his own. The main source is the Homeric scholia (both those we possess and others now lost), but many other works are also used. The commentary on the *Odyssey* is similar but much shorter and less important. For the *Iliad* commentary, of which we are fortunate enough to possess Eustathius' own autograph manuscript, the best text and discussion is that of van der Valk [1971–1987]; for the *Odyssey* commentary see Stallbaum [1825–1826].

Eustathius' other surviving commentary concerns a second-century didactic poem by Dionysius Periegeta that describes the world. Though the poem itself is not highly regarded today, the commentary (which is far longer than the poem) is important for its preservation of portions of Strabo and of Stephanus of Byzantium that do not survive elsewhere. Müller [1861] gives a text that has been corrected by Ludwich [1884–1885] 11.553–597. Eustathius also wrote a commentary on Pindar, of which we now have only the introduction. This is useful primarily for quotations from odes that have since disappeared. For text and discussion see Kambylis [1991a] and [1991b].

5.8 *Other Byzantine Works*

In the twelfth century Isaac Tzetzes, brother of the more famous John Tzetzes, composed a verse treatise on the metres of Pindar. This work contains a considerable amount of ancient material and is important for reconstructions of the original text of our metrical scholia to Pindar, as well as for an understanding of the revival of metrical study in the Byzantine period. Drachman [1925] gives a text, and Günther [1998] has edited another similar treatise.

Manuel Moschopolus, who lived at the end of the thirteenth century, has left us a description of the Ionic dialect with special reference to Herodotus, Περὶ Ἰάδος 'On Ionic'. It is of interest primarily for the history of the text of Herodotus and for the insight it offers into Byzantine views of dialectology; there is an edition in Rosén [1987–1997] vol. I, LXVIII–LXXXVIII. There are also Byzantine commentaries on a number of authors from the Roman period and later, including Hermogenes, Gregory of Nazianzus, Oribasius, Diophantus, and Aphthonius; see Hunger [1978] vol. II, 55–77. For this period, cf. Pontani in this volume.

6 Other Extant Works

6.1 *Hephaestion*

Hephaestion of Alexandria, who lived in the second century AD, was the author of the most important ancient metrical treatise and is now our main source for ancient metrical theory, analysis, and terminology (cf. Matthaios in this volume). His treatise originally comprised 48 books, but after repeated epitomizing, much of it conducted by the author himself, we now have an epitome in one book, known as the *Encheiridion* 'Handbook'. There are also some fragments of disputed authorship that could be excerpts from fuller versions of the work, entitled Περὶ ποιήματος 'On the Poem', Περὶ ποιημάτων 'On Poems', and Περὶ σημείων 'On Diacritical Marks'.

The most important of these survivals is the *Encheiridion*, which discusses and explains different metrical structures, illustrating them with extensive quotations from ancient poetry. The two fragments on poems, the contents of which overlap to a great extent, concern the analysis of poetic texts by metrical structure, and the Περὶ σημείων discusses the use of the coronis, diple, asteriskos, and other diacritic marks in different types of meter. Though not designed as an introduction to the field, the *Encheiridion* soon became a textbook because of its straightforward, systematic presentation and was used as such for much of the Byzantine period. In consequence it accumulated an extensive body of scholia and commentary, including a detailed and informative commentary by Choeroboscus (early 9th century). A reworking in verse by John Tzetzes is also extant. Hephaestion continued to be the basis of metrical theory until the 19th century, and while modern work on meter has tended to move away from Hephaestion's theories, his terminology is still standard in the field.

Recently Hephaestion has been used chiefly in work on ancient metrical theory, for which Hephaestion's own work is crucial and the ancient commentary on it is also valuable. The collection is however also very important as a source of fragments of lost poetry, and for our understanding of Byzantine classical scholarship. The standard text of all Hephaestion's surviving work, Choeroboscus' commentary, and the scholia is that of Consbruch [1906]; Ophuijsen [1987] gives a translation and commentary.

6.2 *Photius*

Photius, patriarch of Constantinople in the ninth century, was the most important of the Byzantine scholars (cf. Pontani in this volume). His influence was responsible for the preservation of many ancient texts that would otherwise have been lost, and his own work drew on, and thus preserves fragments from, many other works that subsequently disappeared. For his *Lexicon* see above

§ 3.9. His *Bibliotheca* 'Library', sometimes called the *Myriobiblos*, is an enormous literary encyclopedia covering a wide range of authors from the classical to the early Byzantine periods. It contains summaries and discussions of the books Photius had read, ostensibly prepared for his brother's use when Photius was departing on an embassy. The *Bibliotheca* consists of 280 entries, known as *codices* 'books', each of which is concerned with a different work or set of works; some are only a few lines in length, but others stretch to many pages. The works discussed come from many different subjects and genres, both Christian and pagan, with two major restrictions: technical scientific works and poetry are both excluded.

The entries contain not only summaries but also critical commentary of various types, with an emphasis on style. From Photius' perspective one of the main reasons for reading ancient literature was the improvement of one's own prose style, so he frequently offered stylistic judgements of the works included; interestingly, his highest praise was reserved not for any of the classical writers, but for Atticists of the Roman period. He also discussed textual issues and questions of authenticity, using both his own judgement and ancient scholarly materials.

Many of the works Photius discussed are now lost, so his summaries provide all or most of what we know about them. Even when the originals have survived, Photius' comments can be very useful to modern scholars, for apart from the fact that he was an intelligent and perceptive scholar, he often had access to better or more complete texts than we do, and he sometimes provides information on the age of the manuscript he used or on how many manuscripts of a work he found. In addition, his discussions tell us much about the history of the transmission of ancient literature by indicating how much survived into the ninth century and was then lost. Henry [1959–1977] provides a text and translation, and Wilson [1994] a good introduction.

7 Fragments

The works discussed so far are all exceptional in that they survive as independent entities; the vast majority of ancient scholars' work is now either lost or preserved only in fragmentary condition. The fragments may come from extant works of ancient scholarship (thus Hipparchus' commentary on Aratus preserves fragments of Attalus' commentary on the same subject, and the etymologica preserve many fragments of Aristarchus), from scholia (see below § 8), or from extant non-scholarly literature. Strictly speaking only the third category really counts as a source of our knowledge about ancient scholarship

distinct from other sources discussed in this chapter, but for convenience a number of important fragmentary authors will be grouped here even if some or all their fragments come from sources discussed elsewhere in this chapter.

When working with fragmentary authors it is often convenient to use a collected edition of the fragments, where they can be easily located and compared with one another and where an editor has usually provided some information about their probable original context. For this reason I refer to such collected editions frequently in this section. However, many collections of fragments are woefully out of date, relying on grossly inadequate editions of the texts in which the fragments occur, and some of them were inadequate to begin with owing to reliance on fanciful hypotheses about the nature of the original work. So when using a collection of fragments it is important to pay attention to the editions of source texts that were available to its compiler: when the source text has received a better edition since the publication of the collection it is *essential* to consult that edition as well as the collection. For example, if one were to use Lentz's edition of Herodian's fragmentary *Περὶ Ὀδυσσειακῆς προσωδίας* 'On the Prosody of the *Odyssey*' without consulting Pontani's edition of the scholia to the *Odyssey* [2007–], one would be relying on a text a century and a half out of date and wholly unreliable.

7.1 *Fragmentary Lexica*

The most famous fragmentary lexicon is that of Aristophanes of Byzantium (c. 257–c. 180 BC), one of the most important Alexandrian scholars and the teacher of Aristarchus (cf. Montana in this volume). Among Aristophanes' many works was a glossary entitled *Λέξεις* 'Word-list', which contained sections such as *Περὶ τῶν ὑποπτευομένων μὴ εἰρήσθαι τοῖς παλαιοῖς* 'On words suspected of not having been said by the ancients' (i.e. allegedly post-classical words), *Περὶ ὀνομασίας ἡλικιῶν* 'On the names of ages' (i.e. terms used to designate men, women, and animals of different ages), and *Περὶ συγγενικῶν ὀνομάτων* 'On kinship terms' (a few scholars think that these sections were separate works and maintain that the overall title *Λέξεις* is a fiction). Hundreds of fragments of the *Λέξεις* exist, most gathered from sources such as Eustathius, Erotian, Pollux, and the scholia to Lucian but some also surviving in a direct manuscript tradition. Slater [1986] provides a text and discussion; see also Callanan [1987].

Apion's Homeric lexicon survives primarily via fragments preserved in the lexicon of Apollonius Sophista, but there are also some fragments from other sources. They have all been collected and discussed by Neitzel [1977], with an addendum by Theodoridis [1989a].

The founders of Attic lexicography were Aelius Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Pausanias, both from the early second century AD (cf. Matthaios in this

volume). Both produced lexica of Attic words and phrases in alphabetical order, respectively entitled Ἀττικὰ ὀνόματα 'Attic Words' and Ἀττικῶν ὀνομάτων συναγωγή 'Collection of Attic Words', that had a great influence on later lexicographers and survived at least until the twelfth century. Their sources included Alexandrian scholarship such as the works of Aristophanes of Byzantium. Both lexica are now lost, but a substantial body of fragments can be recovered from the works of later scholars, particularly Eustathius; these have been collected with excellent discussion by Erbse [1950].

Orus, who lived in the fifth century AD, composed among other works an Attic lexicon entitled Ἀττικῶν λέξεων συναγωγή 'Collection of Attic Words'. The work, which is concerned more with distinguishing classical from *koiné* Greek than with identifying peculiarities of the Attic dialect, was written in opposition to Phrynichus and is based on classical sources. We have a large group of its fragments, collected primarily from the lexicon of Zonaras. There is a good edition with discussion by Alpers [1981].

Many other fragmentary lexica are known, such as the lexicon of Diogenianus that formed the basis of Hesychius' work, but it is not usually productive to attempt to reconstruct them because of the uncertainty surrounding the attribution of individual entries.

7.2 *Fragmentary Grammatical Works*

Dionysius Thrax (for whom see also § 4.1 and Montana in this volume) wrote a number of grammatical works that survive only in fragments. Because the authenticity of the extant Τέχνη is so hotly debated, these 59 short fragments (47 of them on Homer) are very important as unquestioned testimonia to Dionysius' grammatical ideas and have been so used at least since the Byzantine period; indeed some of them are preserved in the 'scholia' to the Τέχνη in the context of discussion of the work's authenticity. They are also useful for studies of Hellenistic grammatical thought. Linke [1977] gives a good text and discussion of the fragments.

Despite the bulk of the surviving writings of Apollonius Dyscolus (see § 4.2 and Matthaïos in this volume), many of his works are preserved only in fragments; these come not only from scholia and commentaries (especially the 'scholia' to Dionysius Thrax), but also from the Latin grammarian Priscian, who translated much of Apollonius' work into Latin. Many fragments are expressly attributed to Apollonius, but many others are assumed to be his on the principle that when the 'scholia' to Dionysius Thrax agree with Priscian, the source is Apollonius. Schneider [1910] provides a text and discussion.

Several works of Herodian (see § 4.3 and Matthaïos in this volume) now consist only of fragments; the main source of these fragments is the Homeric

scholia. The fragmentary works include *Περὶ Ἰλιακῆς προσωδίας* ‘On the Accentuation of the *Iliad*’, *Περὶ Ὀδυσσειακῆς προσωδίας* ‘On the Accentuation of the *Odyssey*’, *Περὶ παθῶν* ‘On Modifications of Words’, *Περὶ ὀρθογραφίας* ‘On Orthography’, and *Περὶ κλίσεως ὀνομάτων* ‘On the declension of nouns’. The only collected edition is that of Lentz [1867–1870], which is very problematic and should be used only in consultation with Dyck [1993a] and Dickey [2014].

Trypho(n) son of Ammonius, a scholarly ‘grandchild’ of Aristarchus who worked in Rome in the second half of the first century BC, is a somewhat elusive figure who probably made crucial contributions to the development of Greek grammatical thought but whose work is now very poorly preserved (cf. Montana in this volume). Trypho’s name carried great authority for later writers, especially Apollonius Dyscolus, and much of what we know about him comes from their citations. The surviving portions of Trypho’s work amount to just over a hundred fragments, most of them short, and several extant treatises; all the latter are of doubtful authenticity and, if descended from Trypho’s own work at all, were probably severely altered in transmission. A treatise on rhetorical figures entitled *Περὶ τρόπων* ‘On Figures’ is preserved under Trypho’s name, and another treatise of the same name, misattributed in modern times to Gregory of Corinth, is ascribed to Trypho in the manuscripts and may in fact descend (with alterations) from his work. The *Περὶ παθῶν τῆς λέξεως* ‘On Modifications of the Word’, which classifies linguistic changes, irregularities, and dialect forms, probably contains at least some authentic work of Trypho and could be simply an abridgement of his work on that topic. A Byzantine collection of excerpts entitled *Περὶ πνευμάτων* ‘On Breathings’ claims Trypho’s treatise of that name as one of its sources. A substantial fragment of a *Τέχνη γραμματική* ‘Grammatical Art’, attributed to Trypho in a papyrus of c. 300 AD, is probably not the work of this grammarian but could be by a later scholar of the same name, and the *Περὶ μέτρων* ‘On Meters’ and *Περὶ τοῦ ὤς* ‘On the Particle ὤς’ are not by Trypho. For text and discussion see Matthaios [forthcoming].

The fragments of Tyrannio belong to two different grammarians. Tyrannio the Elder was a pupil of Dionysius Thrax and lived from c. 100–c. 25 BC, first in Pontus and then in Rome, where he had a distinguished career that included tutoring Cicero’s son and (at least according to some sources) discovering the manuscripts from which our texts of Aristotle ultimately descend. Tyrannio the Younger (1st. cent. BC–1st. cent. AD) was a pupil of Tyrannio the Elder, whose name he thoughtfully adopted; he is also known by his original name, Diocles (cf. Montana in this volume). To make matters worse, it is possible that there was also another scholar named Diocles. The works of both Tyrannios are largely lost; we have a total of 67 fragments of their works, of which 55 come from Tyrannio the Elder’s *Περὶ τῆς Ὀμηρικῆς προσωδίας* ‘On Homeric

Accentuation', and the rest come from a wide variety of other works of both authors; predictably, the main source of the fragments is the Homer scholia. Haas [1977] provides a text and discussion.

Philoxenus of Alexandria, a grammarian who worked in Rome in the first century BC, wrote a variety of works that now exist only in fragments (cf. Montana in this volume). His main work, Περὶ μονοσυλλάβων ῥημάτων 'On Monosyllabic Verbs', was etymological (probably in the synchronic rather than the historical sense) and concerned with deriving the Greek vocabulary from a core of monosyllabic verbs (as opposed to the Stoic view that the base words were nouns). The surviving fragments therefore come principally from Orion and the etymologica, though scholia are also a major source. Theodoridis [1976] gives a good text; see also Dyck [1982c], Koniaris [1980], Lallot [1991b], and Pagani [forthcoming].

From Orus, who lived in the fifth century AD, we have a fragmentary treatise on ethnics entitled Περὶ ἐθνικῶν 'On Ethnics' or Ὅπως τὰ ἐθνικά λεκτέον 'How Ethnics Should be Spoken'; the fragments come from Stephanus and the *Etymologicum genuinum*, and Reitzenstein [1897] provides a text and discussion; cf. also Billerbeck [2011].

There are numerous other fragmentary grammarians, most notably Lesbos (see Blank [1988]), Comanus of Naucratis (see Dyck [1988b]), Epaphroditus (see Braswell-Billerbeck [2008]), Agathocles, Hellanicus, Ptolemaeus Epithetes, Theophilus, Anaxagoras, and Xenon (see F. Montanari [1988]). There is good information on late antique and Byzantine grammarians and their editions in Hunger [1978] II 3–83.

7.3 *Fragmentary Commentaries*

A great many ancient commentaries exist only in fragments, but they are not normally reconstructed and should rarely be consulted in collected editions. This is because the process by which commentaries were turned into scholia (see below § 8) altered them so much that we know little about their original state; the best we can do is to look directly at the evidence we have by using the scholia. Nevertheless some collections of fragments are useful, either because they gather material that is very scattered or because they rely on sources other than the scholia.

The ultimate fragmentary commentator is of course Aristarchus, the greatest of all ancient scholars; he is cited by name more than a thousand times in the scholia to the *Iliad*, but none of his works survives intact. Because many notes that do not cite him explicitly nevertheless appear to derive ultimately from his works, and because attribution to Aristarchus carries such heavy weight, collecting and analysing fragments of Aristarchus is a difficult task and

has been done in a scattered range of works. See especially Matthaïos [1999], Schironi [2004], Ludwich [1884–1885], and van Thiel [2014].

Other early scholars that can usefully be consulted in collections of fragments include Crates of Mallos (Broggiato [2001] and [2013]), the Homerist Heliodorus (Dyck [1993b]), and Theon (Guhl [1969]). There are elderly collections of fragments of Zenodotus, Aristonicus, Didymus, and Nicanor, but it is not advisable to use them.

Larger commentary fragments tend to come from the same type of commentary that is most often preserved intact, those on philosophical or scientific works. Attalus of Rhodes produced an astronomical commentary on Aratus' *Phaenomena* in the early second century BC, and considerable fragments of it survive via Hipparchus' commentary on the same work (text in Maass [1898] 1–24). Extensive fragments of a commentary to books one through nine of Euclid's *Elements* by Heron of Alexandria (1st century AD) are preserved in Proclus' commentary on the *Elements* and in a tenth-century commentary by Anaritius (Al-Nayrizi), which was originally written in Arabic and translated into Latin. (For editions and translations see Mansfeld [1998] 26 n. 90.) Anaritius' commentary also preserves fragments of a commentary by Simplicius (6th century) on book one of the *Elements*.

The third-century Neoplatonist Porphyry has left, in addition to surviving works on Homer, Aristotle, and Ptolemy, fragments of commentaries on several of Plato's dialogues (texts in A. Smith [1993] and Sodano [1964]). From the same century we have a substantial volume of fragments of commentaries on the dialogues by Iamblichus (Dillon [1973]).

8 Scholia

The term 'scholia' is a complex one. Its primary usage today, and the only one normally employed by those working on literature, is for explanatory notes written in the margins of medieval manuscripts. In some contexts, however (chiefly works on medical and philosophical writers, works written in modern Greek, and some older work), 'scholia' is simply a synonym for 'commentary' and says nothing about the way the material referred to has been transmitted. Scholars differ about whether to call marginal notes in papyri 'scholia', as such notes tend to be different in character and origin from those in medieval manuscripts. Here I use the term only for marginalia in medieval manuscripts; annotations in papyri are discussed above (see § 2).

Scholia are of crucial importance to the study of ancient scholarship, as they provide most of the information we have about Alexandrian scholarship

and ancient commentaries on literary works: nearly all those commentaries are lost in their original form and are now known only from the extracts that were copied into the margins of the texts to which they applied. At the same time scholia are difficult to use, as they consist of compilations of severely abbreviated notes, frequently mixing material from Hellenistic, Roman, and late antique sources with little or no distinction of sources. They are also particularly subject to textual corruption, so that a scholion that appears to be complete nonsense could be either the garbled remains of a precious piece of ancient insight or simply the comment of an ignoramus.

Modern marginalia tend to be written casually by readers, and such scholia are also found in manuscripts, but the scholia on which modern scholarship concentrates are very different from such casual jottings. They are systematic transfers of material from commentaries; in some cases it is clear that the writer was able to fit the entire commentary into the margins of his text, though abbreviated versions are of course common. Sometimes the amount of commentary on a given page greatly exceeds the amount of text, for some texts were designed with specially large margins specifically to accommodate scholia. The scholia were then copied along with the text (often in a different, smaller script, but still by the same hand) to the extent that future copyists had the patience to do so. This patience tended to be limited in the case of longer corpora, so that relatively short bodies of work, such as the speeches of Aeschines, often have much richer scholia than longer works; also, scholia are often much fuller at the beginning of a long work than towards the end.

The transmission process from Alexandrian commentary to medieval scholia was a long and complex one. The original Alexandrian commentaries did not last long in their original format; they were abbreviated, excerpted, and made into composite commentaries by scholars of the later Hellenistic and Roman periods. These reworkings were often later reworked themselves, sometimes with and sometimes without the substitution of a later revisor's name for that of the earlier author. The scholia in our manuscripts often come from several such composite commentaries; thus there may be a series of notes on the same word, perhaps separated by expressions such as ἄλλως 'otherwise' and perhaps not separated at all. Sometimes it is clear that such a series includes different versions of what must originally have been the same note.

There has been a long debate about the date at which the transition from hypomnemata (the ancient self-standing commentaries) to scholia occurred, with proposed dates ranging from the fourth to the tenth century; in recent years there has been an increasing accumulation of evidence in favour of the late antique period as the point at which systematic compilations of scholia were first produced. This evidence, however, does not date the final loss of

the hypomnemata themselves, which is likely to have occurred considerably later in many cases: the works of Photius and other Byzantine scholars make it clear that they had access to much ancient scholarship that has since been lost (that is why their works are valuable as sources of ancient scholarship), and hypomnemata were almost certainly among the works to which they had access. The process of transition was probably a gradual one, with material flowing from independent works to marginalia (and in some cases in the other direction as well: see on the Homeric D scholia, § 8.1 below) over a period of several centuries.

For further information on scholia in general see Nünlist [2009a], McNamee [2007] esp. 79–92 and [1998], Avezzù-Scattolin [2006], Geerlings-Schulze [2002], Goulet-Cazé [2000], Wilson [1967] and [2007], Dickey [2007], Montana [2011a] and Montana-Porro [2014].

8.1 *Homer*

The scholia to the Homeric poems are the largest and most important group of Greek scholia, containing a significant amount of Alexandrian material. They are traditionally divided into three different groups (excluding the Byzantine scholia, which form several groups of their own but are often disregarded as they do not transmit a significant amount of ancient scholarship); the division is based on the history of the *Iliad* scholia, which is much clearer than that of the *Odyssey* scholia, but it is generally considered to apply to both sets of scholia.

The three groups are known as the D scholia, the A scholia, and the bT scholia, classified according to the manuscripts in which they are found. As some scholia are found in several different types of manuscript and therefore fulfill the criteria for more than one group, the classification is hierarchical: identification as a D scholion takes precedence over either of the others, and identification as an A scholion takes precedence over identification as a bT scholion.

The D scholia are unfortunately named after Didymus, with whom they are now known to have no connection; they are also known as ‘scholia minora’ or ‘scholia vulgata’, and from the latter name they can be called V scholia. They are the largest group of Homeric scholia, and our earliest manuscript evidence for them is older than that for the other types of scholia, for the chief witnesses to the D scholia are manuscripts Z and Q, which date to the ninth and eleventh centuries respectively. D scholia are also found in a wide range of other manuscripts; many are very short and can appear as interlinear glosses, but others are more substantial.

The D scholia represent the ancient vulgate tradition of interpretation, the explanations familiar to laymen and used in elementary instruction rather

than an academic, scholarly tradition. (Greek-speaking children learned to read on texts of Homer throughout antiquity, and by the time the living language had been evolving for a thousand years or more since those texts were written this practice meant that considerable explanation was necessary at the elementary level.) They have diverse origins and form a heterogeneous group, but there is no doubt that much of the material in them is very old, for there are remarkable similarities between the D scholia and Homeric scholarship found on papyri; such similarities are much more frequent with the D scholia than with A or bT scholia. One major component of the D scholia is lexicographical, consisting of short definitions or explanations of difficult words. Many of these definitions can also be found in papyrus glossaries and/or as marginalia or interlinear glosses in papyrus texts of Homer, for they come from the ancient vulgate tradition of interpretation. The basis of this tradition goes back to the schoolrooms of the classical period, so that it predates the Alexandrians and represents the oldest surviving stratum of Homeric scholarship. Other components of the D scholia include mythological explanations, plot summaries, and prose paraphrases; these too are paralleled in the papyri and must be ancient, though they probably do not go back as far as the lexicographical element.

The D scholia have the distinction of existing in a number of medieval manuscripts as a self-standing commentary, without the text of Homer; they have thus reversed the path usually taken by scholia, since a self-standing work has been created out of notes from different sources, rather than a commentary being broken down into separate notes. Partly as a result of their unusual manuscript position, and partly because of their inherent usefulness for those who need help to read Homer, they were the first Homeric scholia to be published in printed form (in 1517) and remained pre-eminent until superseded by the A scholia in the eighteenth century. Subsequently they have been much neglected—until a few years ago the 1517 edition was the standard text—and it is only very recently that modern scholars have begun to pay them serious attention. Now, however, it is recognized that D-scholia lemmata sometimes preserve variant readings of the text that are not otherwise attested, that their definitions can provide important evidence for the meaning of Homeric words, and that they contain crucial information about the history and evolution of ancient scholarship, the ancient education system, and the way Homer was read and understood in antiquity.

The A scholia come from the margins of the most famous *Iliad* manuscript, Venetus A (10th century), where they were entered systematically by a single scribe. (A scholia are also found in other manuscripts, including those whose scholia fall primarily into one of the other categories, for they contain material that was widespread long before the writing of Venetus A.) The origins of the A

scholia are clearer than is the case with most scholia, for at the end of almost every book the scribe added a subscription indicating their source: παράκειται τὰ Ἀριστονίκου Σημεῖα καὶ τὰ Διδύμου Περὶ τῆς Ἀρισταρχείου διορθώσεως, τινὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἰλιακῆς προσωδίας Ἡρωδιανοῦ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Νικάνορος Περὶ στιγμῆς “Written beside (the text) are Aristonicus’ ‘Signs’ and Didymus’ ‘On the Aristarchean edition’, and also some extracts from Herodian’s ‘Iliadic prosody’ and from Nicanor’s ‘On punctuation’”. The principal basis of the A scholia is therefore the four works cited in this subscription (all of which are now lost except insofar as they are preserved in the scholia), but it is unlikely that the scribe who wrote it was actually copying from the works themselves. Rather his source, or more likely his source’s source, was a compilation of these four works (and some other material) probably made around the fourth century AD and known today as the *Viermännerkommentar* ‘four men’s commentary’ or VMK.

All four elements of the *Viermännerkommentar* represent Alexandrian scholarship to a significant extent. Aristonicus’ treatise on signs, composed in the Augustan period, was a compilation of excerpts from one of Aristarchus’ commentaries and from other works, focusing on critical signs. Didymus’ work, probably also from the Augustan period but later than that of Aristonicus (which Didymus probably used), was a compilation based primarily on Aristarchus’ commentaries, though his focus was on textual variants. Herodian’s treatise on Homeric accentuation, from the late second century AD, also drew heavily on Aristarchus’ commentaries, and Nicanor’s work on punctuation, from the first half of the second century AD, was based on earlier works including those of the Alexandrians. The A scholia are thus a major source of information about the opinions of Aristarchus and, to a lesser extent, other Alexandrian scholars; they contain more than a thousand explicit references to Aristarchus. They are of crucial importance for our knowledge of the text of Homer, the goals and methods of Alexandrian scholarship, and ancient systems of accentuation, punctuation, etc. (cf. Montana in this volume).

The A scholia also contain material that probably does not derive from the *Viermännerkommentar*. This information is more interpretive in nature and is related to material found in the bT scholia; A scholia of this type are also called exegetical scholia and as such are grouped with the bT scholia.

The bT scholia are so called because they are found in manuscript T (11th century) and in the descendants of the lost manuscript b (6th century). They contain some Alexandrian material (much of it attributable to Didymus) but seem to come more immediately from a commentary of the late antique period (known as ‘c’), of which b produced a popular and T a more scholarly version. These scholia are also known as the exegetical scholia, because they

are concerned primarily with exegesis rather than textual criticism. They include extensive extracts from the 'Ὅμηρικὰ ζητήματα 'Homeric Questions' of Porphyry and the 'Ὅμηρικὰ προβλήματα 'Homeric Problems' of Heraclitus (see § 5.5 and Matthaios in this volume). Until recently the bT scholia were thought to be much less valuable than the A scholia (whose worth has been recognized since the eighteenth century), because of the limited extent to which they can aid in establishing the text of the Homeric poems. In the past few decades, however, an increasing interest in ancient literary criticism has brought these scholia into new prominence, and they are currently at the center of modern work on ancient Homeric scholarship.

The scholia to the *Odyssey* are much fewer and less well preserved than those to the *Iliad*. This distinction goes back to antiquity, when the *Iliad* was considered the superior work and so was read and copied much more often than the *Odyssey*. Nevertheless it is clear that the Alexandrians produced texts and commentaries on both poems, and that ancient scholars discussed the interpretation of the *Odyssey* as well as that of the *Iliad*. Thus equivalents of all three groups of *Iliad* scholia can be found for the *Odyssey* scholia: there are Alexandrian text-critical scholia, exegetical scholia of the bT type, and D scholia (often called V scholia in this context). However, because there is no equivalent of Venetus A among the *Odyssey* manuscripts the different types are not so easily separable by manuscript source.

In addition to the uses of the Homer scholia already mentioned, they are important for the understanding of post-Homeric literature. Much of this literature, both Greek and Latin, was based to some extent on the Homeric poems, but not on the Homeric poems as we read them: rather on the Homer of the scholiasts. Authors such as Apollonius Rhodius and Virgil drew on and alluded to Homer based on the readings and interpretations current in their own time, and therefore the scholia provide us with information crucial for understanding their poems.

Most of the A and bT scholia to the *Iliad* are best consulted in the superb edition of Erbse [1969–1988]. This edition is highly selective and tries to represent an early stage of the A and bT traditions, a feature that makes the most famous scholia readily available and easy to consult but also results in the omission of many scholia from different traditions, some of which are important. The omitted material includes all the D scholia, the bT scholia derived from Porphyry and Heraclitus, and some other material that cannot easily be assigned to any of the three main groups of scholia, not to mention all the Byzantine scholia. The seven volumes of Erbse's edition thus represent only a small fraction of all the preserved scholia, and since many scholia appearing in codex A are omitted from the edition because they belong to the D family,

while others appearing in manuscripts of the b family are ignored because they come from Porphyry or Heraclitus, the edition is not even a complete collection of the scholia appearing in the manuscripts included. The D scholia can be found in van Thiel's edition [2000], and the Porphyry and Heraclitus scholia can be found in Sodano [1970] and Buffière [1962] respectively; for Porphyrius cf. MacPhail [2011]. These last two groups have been translated (Buffière [1962] and Schlunk [1993]), but the rest of the *Iliad* scholia, like nearly all extant scholia, have never been translated into any language.

A comprehensive edition of the *Odyssey* scholia is in progress (Pontani [2007–]), but so far it covers only scholia to the first four books of the poem. For the rest of the poem one can use Ernst [2006] for the D/V scholia and the inadequate work of W. Dindorf [1855] for the others. Of the enormous literature on these scholia some important works are those of Erbsé [1960], van der Valk [1963–1964], Montanari [1979], Schmidt [1976], Meijering [1987], Schmit-Neuerburg [1999], Schlunk [1974], and Rengakos [1993] and [1994].

8.2 *Hesiod*

The scholia to Hesiod are voluminous, useful, and of impressive antiquity. Ancient scholarship on Hesiod began early, for lost interpretive works appear to date at least as early as Aristotle, and the first critical text was produced by Zenodotus. Zenodotus, Apollonius Rhodius, Aristophanes of Byzantium, Aristarchus, Crates, Aristonicus, and Didymus all left textual or interpretive comments on Hesiod that are still preserved under their names, though they did not all write full commentaries on the poems (cf. Montana in this volume).

The oldest portion of our surviving scholia comprises the remains of a composite commentary of uncertain authorship (Choeroboscus and Dionysius of Corinth have both been suggested, but the author could be completely unknown). This commentary was a compilation of earlier writings, including both grammatical and critical notes from Alexandrian and other scholars and paraphrases from school texts; an important source seems to be the commentaries of Seleucus (1st century AD). In general, the material seems mostly to come from before AD 100.

In addition to the direct transmission of this commentary as scholia attached to the text of Hesiod, there is an indirect transmission via several etymological works, particularly the *Etymologicum Genuinum*. The authors of these etymologica quoted extensively from the scholia to Hesiod, and the scholia to which they had access were better preserved than those in the manuscripts we possess, as well as being unmixed with any later commentaries.

In the fifth century AD the Neoplatonist Proclus wrote a philosophical commentary on the *Works and Days*. Proclus made extensive use of the earlier

composite commentary, of which he had a fuller version than that now preserved in the scholia, and he also drew heavily on a commentary by Plutarch on the *Works and Days*. Plutarch's commentary is now lost in its original form, but Proclus' survives largely intact in the scholia and preserves significant portions of Plutarch's work. In our manuscript scholia to the *Works and Days* Proclus' commentary has been mixed with the scholia derived from the earlier composite commentary, but a few manuscripts mark the notes from Proclus' commentary with special symbols, so they are relatively easy to separate. There is also a substantial amount of Byzantine commentary on Hesiod.

The most important editions of Hesiod scholia are Di Gregorio's [1975] for the *Theogony* and Pertusi's [1955] for the *Works and Days*. For an overview of discussion see M. L. West [1978] 63–75, with bibliography p. 91, and Montanari [2009a].

8.3 *Pindar*

The voluminous scholia to Pindar offer abundant ancient material remarkably unmixed with later additions and are useful for a number of different purposes. Because of the extent to which these purposes diverge, discussions and even editions of Pindar scholia often cover only one type of material. The main divisions are between metrical and non-metrical and between old and Byzantine scholia.

There is a large body of old metrical scholia, compiled probably in the fifth century AD and based on a metrical analysis of the *Odes* written in the second century AD. This analysis incorporated a commentary by Didymus that transmitted the work of Alexandrian scholars and was based on the text and metrical divisions established by Aristophanes of Byzantium (cf. Montana in this volume); its medieval transmission was in part separate from that of the text of the *Odes* and their non-metrical scholia. Scholars now generally agree that Aristophanes' colometry and the Alexandrian metrical analysis do not go back to Pindar himself and that in consequence the metrical scholia are of little use for understanding Pindar's own metrical intentions. They are however very important for our understanding of ancient metrical theory, since their detailed, line-by-line analysis (with continuous texts often resembling a treatise rather than traditional scholia) offers one of the few surviving examples of the practical application of the theories preserved in Hephaestion's manual (see § 6.1 above).

The exegetical scholia to Pindar are more numerous than the metrical scholia and have an equally impressive pedigree, since they preserve the remains of commentaries by Aristarchus and several of his successors, incorporated into a comprehensive work by Didymus and then epitomized in the second

century AD. Like the old metrical scholia, they are virtually free of late interpolations, so that almost any piece of information found in them can be assumed to come from the Alexandrians (though not necessarily without abridgement and alteration). These scholia attempt to explain the difficulties of the odes and offer an interpretation of the poet's meaning. In doing so they invoke historical, biographical, and mythological data, some of which appear to derive from accurate transmission of information going back to Pindar's own time, though parts seem to be simply Alexandrian conjecture based on the poems themselves. The proportions in which these two types of material occur, and therefore the extent to which one can rely on information provided by the scholia but not otherwise verifiable, are the subject of debate. It is however clear that the interpretations found in the scholia were widely accepted in antiquity, for they are reflected in later poetry influenced by Pindar, such as that of Theocritus, Callimachus, and Horace.

The scholia to Pindar are frequently cited by modern scholars, most often in discussions of Pindaric interpretation, for which they remain crucial, but also for historical and mythological information that can be used for other purposes; they are of course also very useful for work on ancient metrical theory and on the evolution of scholia. Their value for establishing the text of Pindar is high, as they sometimes preserve the correct reading for passages that have been corrupted in all extant manuscripts of the text.

The best text of the Pindar scholia is that of Drachmann [1903–1927], but for the metrical scholia it is better to use Tessier [1989]; Arrighetti et al. [1991] provide a concordance. Discussions include those of Irigoin [1958a], Deas [1931], and Lefkowitz [1991].

8.4 *Tragedy*

Scholia to Euripides, Sophocles, and Aeschylus generally seem to have similar origins and history, but as work on Euripides is better preserved than that on the other two tragedians extrapolations need to be made from Euripides scholia to those on Sophocles and especially Aeschylus.

Only nine of the nineteen surviving plays of Euripides have preserved scholia: a large amount of annotation exists for the Byzantine triad (the texts usually read in the later Byzantine period) of *Orestes*, *Hecuba*, and *Phoenissae*, and less extensive but still substantial notes survive on the *Medea*, *Hippolytus*, *Alcestis*, *Andromache*, *Rhesus*, and *Troades*. For most plays the scholia are easily divisible into old and Byzantine scholia, though in the case of *Rhesus* and *Troades* the two types are more difficult to separate.

The oldest Euripides scholia go back to the work of Aristophanes of Byzantium, who established the Alexandrian text and colometry of Euripides'

plays, wrote introductions to them, and passed on a number of additional pieces of scholarly information (probably via notes or lectures rather than a complete commentary). Aristophanes' textual resources included the official Athenian copy of the tragedies, established less than a century after Euripides' death and purloined by the library at Alexandria, and he also had detailed historical information going back to Euripides' own time, since he provided information on the original productions of the plays. Other Alexandrians subsequently wrote commentaries on the plays, and these were combined into a composite commentary by Didymus around the end of the first century BC. The scholia have a note stating that they were taken from the commentaries of Didymus and Dionysius, but we have no idea who or when Dionysius was. However, there do not seem to have been significant additions to the old scholia after the mid-third century AD.

The old scholia to Euripides are very important for establishing the text of the plays, not only because their evidence for textual transmission makes it possible to sort out the intricate manuscript tradition of the plays, but also because their lemmata and commentary often preserve correct readings that have been lost from the text itself in all branches of the tradition. They also contain much valuable information from the Alexandrian commentators, on the productions, the staging, the poet's sources, textual variants, etc.; this is mixed with lexicographical and mythological information dating to the early Roman period, and with paraphrases from school editions. There are also Byzantine scholia to Euripides; these are most numerous for the Byzantine triad but also found with other plays.

Most of the plays, including a number for which there are no surviving scholia, are accompanied by hypotheses. There are three types of hypotheses: one group descends from the introductions written by Aristophanes of Byzantium (though the degree to which the surviving versions resemble his originals is a matter of dispute), a second set was composed by Byzantine scholars using earlier material, and a third group descends from plot summaries originally intended as substitutes for the plays rather than introductions to them. None of the sets is extant for all the plays; for some plays only one type of hypothesis is preserved, but for others multiple surviving hypotheses allow direct comparison between the different groups. The ancestor of the third group of hypotheses was a complete set of epitomes of Euripides' plays, arranged in alphabetical order. This work, now known as the 'Tales from Euripides', circulated widely in the Roman period, quite independently of the tragedies themselves, and we have substantial fragments of it on a number of papyri from the first to third centuries AD, including the epitomes of many lost plays. The 'Tales from Euripides' are often attributed to Aristotle's pupil Dicaearchus of Messene, though many scholars consider the attribution spurious or sus-

pect that only some material from Dicaearchus' epitomes survived as part of a collection compiled in the first century BC or AD; cf. now the edition by Meccariello [2014].

Scholia to Sophocles are less numerous than those to Euripides but more evenly distributed among the different surviving plays. The old scholia are based on a composite commentary by Didymus (drawing on Alexandrian sources), along with material from the Roman-period scholars Pius, Sal(l)ustius, Herodian, Diogenianus, and others. For reasons that are not quite clear, the *Oedipus at Colonus* has the most useful and informative old scholia. The most important manuscript of Sophocles, the tenth-century L, has only old scholia and is our primary source for the ancient material. However, some other manuscripts also contain old scholia, which they sometimes report more fully than does L, and the *Suda* and the *Etymologicum Genuinum* contain remnants of more old scholia in a fuller form than that found in L. The old scholia are frequently used for historical, textual, lexical, and interpretive information. There is also a large body of Byzantine scholia, attached primarily to the Byzantine Triad of *Ajax*, *Electra*, and *Oedipus Rex*.

The hypotheses to Sophocles' plays show many similarities to those of Euripides. As in the case of Euripides, multiple hypotheses to individual plays have been preserved via the manuscript tradition, and it is clear that several different types of hypothesis existed already in antiquity, with the oldest being based on the introductions written by Aristophanes of Byzantium. Papyri of non-Aristophanic hypotheses without the plays themselves exist, indicating a phenomenon like that of the 'Tales from Euripides', but because these papyri are fewer and differ in some important respects from the 'Tales from Euripides' papyri, the nature and purpose of these hypotheses is less well understood than that of their Euripidean equivalents.

The old scholia to Aeschylus are found primarily in the tenth-century manuscript M. They contain material from the Hellenistic and Roman periods, including some that is almost certainly Alexandrian; it is sometimes argued that these scholia derive from a commentary by Didymus, but this theory remains unproven. Also of considerable antiquity, but more altered in transmission, is the material in the A or F scholia, which derive from a commentary ascribed (probably falsely) to John Tzetzes. These scholia are sometimes nearly valueless, but at other times they provide ancient material omitted or abridged in M; it is clear that their author was using a manuscript with ancient scholia very similar to those in M but without some of M's errors and omissions. The F scholia are much longer and more numerous than the other classes of scholia but exist only for the Byzantine triad (*Prometheus*, *Persae*, and *Septem*, the plays normally read in the later Byzantine period). In addition, there are many Byzantine scholia to Aeschylus.

Texts of the scholia to the tragedians are scattered and in some areas incomplete. The most important editions are Schwartz's text [1887–1891] of the old scholia to Euripides; texts by Christodoulou [1977], De Marco [1952], Longo [1971], Papageorgius [1888], Xenis [2010a] and [2010b] of scholia to Sophocles; and texts by O. L. Smith [1976b] and [1982] and Herington [1972] of scholia to Aeschylus. On editions of scholia not covered by these texts see Dickey [2007] 31–38. Hypotheses are normally printed with editions of the plays rather than with the scholia. The hypothesiseis on papyri are now edited in *CLGP* I 1.1. Important discussions include Günther [1995] on Euripides and O. L. Smith [1975] on Aeschylus.

8.5 *Aristophanes*

The scholia to Aristophanes are among the most important sets of scholia, in part because they provide background information without which many of the jokes and allusions in the comedies would be incomprehensible. They are relatively well preserved, and most of them can be found in a sound and reliable modern edition, making them easier to use than many scholia.

The old scholia to Aristophanes are derived from a variety of sources going back to the beginning of Alexandrian scholarship. Callimachus, Eratosthenes, and Lycophron (a contemporary of Zenodotus) all worked on Aristophanes to some extent, and the first continuous commentary on his plays was produced by Euphronius, the teacher of Aristophanes of Byzantium. Aristophanes of Byzantium himself produced an edition of the plays, providing an introduction to each (the extant verse hypotheses of the plays are thought to be distant descendants of these introductions) and may also have written a commentary; Callistratus and Aristarchus probably wrote commentaries on the plays, and Timachidas of Rhodes wrote one on the *Frogs* (for Alexandrian works on Aristophanes' plays see Montana in this volume).

The work of these and other scholars was combined into a single commentary by Didymus in the late first century BC or early first century AD, and sometime in the first two centuries AD Symmachus compiled another commentary, using Didymus as his main source but also consulting other works. At a later date Symmachus' commentary or one of its descendants, along with some other material, was copied into the generous margins of a book of the plays of Aristophanes and formed the archetype of our extant scholia.

Perhaps the most important of the additional sources of our scholia is the metrical commentary on Aristophanes written by Heliodorus around AD 100. This commentary is often studied apart from the other scholia, for it is crucial for our understanding of ancient metrical theory but of limited use in understanding Aristophanes. Heliodorus' work has been preserved to varying extents

for the different plays; one can reconstruct from the scholia nearly all of it for the *Peace*, as well as substantial sections of it for the *Acharnians* and *Knights* and some fragments for the *Clouds* and *Wasps*, but little else.

In addition to the direct tradition of the scholia, which is well attested in several manuscripts, there is an indirect tradition via the *Suda*, whose writer had access to the same body of material when it was more complete and therefore often preserves scholia that did not survive in the direct tradition. There are also a number of papyri and ancient parchment fragments with commentaries or scholia on Aristophanes; on the whole, those of the fourth century and later seem to reflect a body of material very similar to the ancestor of our scholia (though in some places more complete), while the earlier ones, which are much rarer, apparently belong to different traditions. There are also Byzantine scholia to Aristophanes, especially on the triad of plays made up of the *Plutus*, *Clouds*, and *Frogs*.

The best edition of the scholia is a multivolume work edited first by Koster and later by Holwerda [Koster-Holwerda 1960–], which includes both old and Byzantine scholia, usually in separate volumes. Rutherford [1896–1905] provides translation and commentary for many scholia (cf. also Chantry [2009]), and White [1912] 384–421 extracts the Heliodorus fragments from the scholia and groups them together with a good discussion. For further discussion see Montana [2006a].

8.6 *Prose Writers*

The most important scholia to prose authors are those to the orators, particularly Demosthenes and Aeschines. The Demosthenes scholia, which are voluminous, survive in two versions: the majority come from manuscripts of Demosthenes' orations, as is usual for scholia, but a second group of scholia has been found without the text in a tenth-century manuscript from Patmos. Both sets of scholia are important for establishing the text of Demosthenes, but the Patmos ones are particularly useful in this regard because they were separately transmitted from an early date. The scholia to Demosthenes are also helpful in terms of the historical details they transmit and the evidence they give for the practical application of ancient rhetorical theory. Unfortunately, they rarely identify the sources of their information, and so although it is known that many important figures worked on Demosthenes, it is not always clear what these scholars contributed to our extant scholia.

The primary basis of the scholia is a detailed commentary by Didymus (Augustan age), which in turn drew on earlier scholarly works, including a lexicon of Demosthenic words and a commentary from the second century BC. Didymus' work was primarily historical, biographical, and lexicographical

in nature, but rhetorical and stylistic commentary on Demothenes was also practiced from an early period, beginning with Peripatetics who wrote soon after Demosthenes' own time. In the early Roman period this type of material was merged with Didymus' commentary, and as time went on the elements of rhetorical exegesis and elementary grammatical explanation seem to have increased at the expense of the historical material, which forms a relatively small part of the manuscript scholia. Dilts [1983–1986] gives a good text of the main body of the scholia, and the Patmos material can be found in Sakkelion [1877].

The scholia to Aeschines are of unusually high quality; it is thought that this feature is due at least in part to the short length of the preserved works of Aeschines, which did not tempt later copyists to shorten the speeches or commentary by epitomizing. The scholia clearly derive from a commentary by an ancient scholar, probably Didymus, who had access to a considerable amount of information now lost to us. They are particularly useful for explanations of the orator's allusions to contemporary events, but they also provide quotations from lost works of literature and valuable information on language and Athenian history. Dilts [1992] provides a text.

The surviving scholia to Isocrates are meager, but they too appear to derive in part from a commentary by Didymus; it seems that ancient scholars devoted considerable efforts to the elucidation of Isocrates, but almost all their work has perished. An inadequate text can be found in W. Dindorf [1852a].

Of scholia to the historians by far the most important are the Thucydides scholia; these are substantial and based in part on ancient sources, but generally neglected today. Scholia to Herodotus are few and mostly late, but they contain some remnants of early work. The scholia to Xenophon are very meager but contain some scraps of ancient material; they have not all been published. For texts see Hude [1927] for Thucydides, Rosén [1987–1997] for Herodotus, and L. A. Dindorf [1855] 381–396 and Lundström [1913] for Xenophon; for discussion Luschnat [1954] on Thucydides.

Scholia to philosophical texts are also of some importance, particularly the scholia to Plato. There are two sets of Platonic scholia, the *scholia vetera* and the *scholia Arethae*. The latter are so called because they were added to manuscript B, in which they first appear, by Arethas of Caesarea in his own hand around 900 AD. The *scholia Arethae* are primarily exegetical and seem to be derived from lost Neoplatonic commentaries.

The *scholia vetera* also have a large exegetical component derived from Neoplatonic commentaries (though apparently not the same commentaries), but they also preserve some earlier material. This consists of lexicographical notes that because of their similarity to Hesychius' entries probably come from the second-century lexicon of Diogenianus, Hesychius' main source; notes on

Atticisms that probably derive from second-century lexica by Aelius Dionysius and Pausanias; and notes on proverbs that appear to come directly from the collection of Lucillus Tarrhaeus (first century AD and thus the earliest significant source for the scholia). The scholia have no transmitted lemmata (those now found with the scholia are modern additions) and so are of little use for establishing the text of Plato, and their exegetical components are less interesting than they would be if we did not have so many intact Neoplatonic commentaries. The lexical material, however, is valuable, and the scholia are useful for their preservation of quotations from lost works of literature and for information on Greek religion and culture, the history of Greek literature, biography, and mythology. It is notable that the scholia contain no certain remains of Alexandrian or other Hellenistic scholarship; it is debated whether there was an Alexandrian edition of Plato at all, and we have very little surviving material on textual or linguistic questions. Both groups of scholia can be found in Greene [1938]; see also Cufalo [2007].

As Aristotle was one of the most widely-read Greek authors in the medieval period, there are more than a thousand extant manuscripts of his works, many of which contain scholia. Because of the sheer bulk of these scholia they have never been systematically studied, and most remain unpublished. The scholia consist primarily of extracts from the extant commentaries, usually transmitted in poorer condition than in the self-standing versions of those commentaries, and this duplication is one of the reasons for the lack of attention to the scholia. But there is also some Byzantine material, largely unexplored and perhaps interesting for the history of Byzantine thought, as well as a few old manuscripts whose scholia contain fragments of lost Neoplatonic or Aristotelian commentaries; a number of collections of newly-discovered fragments have been published in the past several decades on the basis of these scholia. The scholia can also give us hints as to how Aristotle was read and understood at different periods. For guidance on editions see Dickey [2007] 49–51.

Scholia to mathematical writers are often derived from late antique commentaries, but as the commentaries themselves do not always survive these scholia receive some attention. There is an extensive body of scholia to Euclid; their oldest sources seem to be Pappus' commentary from the fourth century AD. Heiberg and Menge [1883–1916: vols V–VII] provide a text, and Heiberg [1888] and Knorr [1989] discussion. Some scholia to Archimedes (those that appear to go back to the archetype of the Greek manuscripts) have been published by Heiberg [1915] 321–329, but others, probably of more recent origin, remain unpublished.

There are also scholia to many later prose writers, though these are usually less important; for more information see Dickey [2007] 69–71.

8.7 *Hellenistic Poetry*

Since the major Hellenistic poets were contemporaries of the Alexandrian scholars (or, in the case of Callimachus and Apollonius Rhodius, were Alexandrian scholars themselves), one might expect that their work would have attracted less ancient scholarly attention than the works that were already archaic and corrupt in the Alexandrians' day (cf. Montana in this volume). But this is hardly the case, and some of the scholia to Hellenistic poets, particularly Apollonius Rhodius and Theocritus, are of high quality and impressive antiquity.

There is a large body of scholia on Apollonius' *Argonautica*, including much ancient material and going back at least to the first century BC. While not as useful to us as the scholia on Aristophanes or Euripides, the Apollonius scholia contain much information that is still valuable, particularly when they shed light on how Apollonius used Homer, on how ancient authors who imitated Apollonius understood his text, and on the details of Greek mythology; they are of course also of use for establishing the text of the *Argonautica*. The scholia state (at the end of book IV) that they are derived from the commentaries of Theon (first century BC), Lucillus Tarrhaeus (mid-first century AD), and Sophocles (second century AD). The last of these commentaries was also used (perhaps indirectly) by Stephanus of Byzantium, and the scholia themselves, in a state of preservation better than that of the present day, were used extensively by the compilers of the *Etymologicum Genuinum* and more sparingly by Eustathius and John Tzetzes. The transmission is thus double, 'direct' in manuscripts of Apollonius and 'indirect' in the other sources, and quotations from the *Etymologicum* and other indirect sources are considered to be (and in editions printed as) part of the corpus of scholia to Apollonius. The direct transmission of the scholia has several distinct branches, L, P, and A (this last being closely related to, but not directly descended from, L); these are reproduced to varying degrees in different publications. Wendel [1935] provides an unsatisfactory text.

The scholia to Theocritus are useful and relatively unproblematic. The old scholia, which fill a volume much thicker than that of Theocritus' own work, derive from a massive composite commentary assembled from at least two earlier works. One was a scholarly commentary dating to the Augustan period, composed primarily by Theon but also incorporating the work of Asclepiades of Myrlea (1st century BC); in addition to many of the scholia, the surviving prolegomena and hypotheses have their bases in this commentary. The second major source of the composite commentary appears to be a work independently composed by Munatius of Tralles in the second century AD and containing a number of gross errors. It is thought that Munatius, who clearly had little interest in achieving high standards of scholarship, produced primar-

ily paraphrases of the poems and identifications of the people mentioned in them. These two commentaries were later combined, along with the work of the second-century commentators Theaetetus and Amarantus; it is likely but not certain that the compilation was done by Theaetetus in the second century.

From the fourth to sixth centuries a revival of Theocritan studies resulted in some further alterations to the commentaries, but since no scholars later than the second century are named in the old scholia it is likely that no significant additions were made at that period. The scholia as they have come down to us represent a severely abridged version of the original commentaries, which were used by a number of early scholars in their fuller forms. There is thus a significant indirect tradition for the Theocritus scholia, involving Eustathius, Hesychius, various etymological works, and especially the scholia to Virgil. The scholia are useful particularly for the interpretation of Theocritus, but also for establishing the text. They can also aid in the interpretation of other ancient poetry, for later poets, particularly Virgil, made use of Theocritus and understood his poems in the light of ancient commentaries. Ancient scholars' discussions of Theocritus' literary Doric dialect are also important for our understanding of the history of Greek dialectology. Wendel provides a text [1914] and discussion [1920] of the Theocritus scholia.

The scholia to Aratus also go back to the first century BC, when the definitive edition of the *Phaenomena* was produced; this edition included an introduction with a life of Aratus, extensive commentary, and a corrected text of the *Phaenomena*. The remains of this work form the core of our preserved scholia, though not all of it survives. Other important sources are a lost work by Plutarch, the Περὶ τοῦ παντός 'On the Universe' of the grammarian Achilles (third century AD), work of the astronomer Apollinarius (probably first or second century AD), a commentary written at an unknown date by one Sporus, and three anonymous commentaries.

The most interesting of these additional sources is the work known as 'Anonymus II'. This extensive body of explanatory material goes back to the second edition of the *Phaenomena*, known as Φ, and is witness to an intriguing development in the history of the text. In the second or third century AD, when the old scholarly edition had been widely accepted for centuries, another editor decided to create a new and more popular version of the poem. To do so he took the earlier edition's text and removed most of the commentary (which was often difficult and technical), keeping only the biography of Aratus and extracts from the preface and commentary. He then replaced the omitted notes with a new and more attractive body of explanatory material. This new material was drawn from a range of sources, including extracts from commentaries and works on Aratus and from other astronomical and mythological works that had not been intended as commentaries; in addition, an

appealing series of illustrations was provided. Most of the new material came from a work known as the *Catasterismi* of Eratosthenes, which appears to be the late epitome of a lost astronomical treatise probably written (by the third-century BC scholar and mathematician Eratosthenes) as an elementary and literary astronomy manual designed to complete and explain Aratus. The editor of Φ apparently took extracts from this original work and re-arranged them in the order of Aratus' poem to enhance the appeal of his new edition.

The Φ edition proved wildly popular and soon replaced the scholarly edition entirely in the West; in the Byzantine world both editions existed side by side, resulting in extensive cross-fertilization of the explanatory material. As a result, while some surviving manuscripts (most notably M) contain scholia largely derived from the earlier edition and others (notably S and Q) contain substantial amounts of explanatory material from the Φ edition, manuscripts of the earlier edition generally show at least some influence from Φ . Much of the Φ commentary has however been lost in Greek; the 'Anonymus II' consists primarily of a Latin translation of the Φ edition made in the seventh or eighth century and known as the *Aratus Latinus*. There is also a third-century Latin translation of Φ preserved as scholia to the first-century Latin translation of Aratus attributed to Germanicus Caesar. For texts and discussions see Jean Martin [1974] and [1998] and Maass [1892] and [1898].

There is a considerable body of scholia to the *Alexandra* of Lycophron, in fact much larger than the poem itself. It is divided into two groups: old scholia, which go back to Theon, and Tzetzes' scholia. The scholia are rich in mythographical information and also useful as evidence in the debate as to whether the author of the *Alexandra* can be identified with the Lycophron who was a tragedian of the third century BC or whether the poem was composed by another Lycophron in the second century BC. Scheer [1908] vol. II provides a text and discussion. There is a new edition by Leone [2002].

The *Theriaca* and *Alexipharmaca* of Nicander both have large bodies of scholia, with sources including Theon and Plutarch. They cover a wide variety of topics; while much of this material is late, some of it preserves valuable ancient commentary. The scholia are used particularly for the information they provide on the history of the poems and Nicander's other writings. Crugnola [1971] and Geymonat [1974] provide texts.

The scholia to the *Batrachomyomachia* are mostly Byzantine and have attracted little attention in recent years; for text and discussion see Ludwig [1896] 117–135 and 198–318.

Definitions of Grammar

Alfons Wouters and Pierre Swiggers

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1 Introduction

Grammar as a discipline in the Western world is the result of a long process of autonomisation and specialisation: grammatical topics were discussed by philosophers, rhetoricians and literary scholars long before 'technical' grammar received its institutional foundation by the Alexandrian philologists.¹ As is the case with most disciplines, the study of grammar started well before the field received its name and was recognised as an autonomous domain of study.

As a consequence, explicit definitions of the object, function and status of grammar date only from the period when grammar had already received its institutionalized disciplinary form; in addition, most of these definitions are attested only indirectly, *i.e.* in reports of authors who synthesize or criticize doctrines held by their predecessors. The ancient definitions of grammar that are attested thus require a detailed critical-historiographical analysis.

2 Eratosthenes of Cyrene's Definition of Grammar

The first definition of 'grammar' in Greek antiquity transmitted to us is the one attributed to Eratosthenes of Cyrene, head of the Alexandrian library under

1 See for more details Swiggers-Wouters [1995a], [1995b], and [2004], and Montana in this volume.

Ptolemy III Euergetes (cf. Fraser [1970]; Geus [2002]; Matthaios [2008] 556–569 and Montana in this volume). This definition, which would reach back to the 3rd century BC, has been transmitted, indirectly, in the scholia (*Sch.* Dion. T. 160.10–12) to Dionysius Thrax' grammar manual. The definition, also briefly explicated by the scholiast, runs as follows: Γραμματική ἐστὶν ἕξις παντελῆς ἐν γράμμασι. The immediately subsequent explication concerns the last word (γράμμασι) of the definition: γράμματα καλῶν τὰ συγγράμματα, “by ‘letters’ (Eratosthenes was) intending ‘written texts’ / ‘writings’”.

Taken on itself the definition looks straightforward, given its limpid structure: it consists of the *definiendum* followed by the copula introducing the *definiens*. However, the definition raises various problems of different nature. Matthaios [2011a], in a foundation-laying study, analysed Eratosthenes' definition from a threefold point of view: historical, theoretical and ‘ideological’. We will focus here on the linguistic-historiographical aspects, but two preliminary remarks are in order:

(a) Eratosthenes uses *γραμματική* as a *definiendum*, and its use as a substantive term calling for a definition seems to suggest that *γραμματική* served to designate ‘a thing’ (discipline / science / technique / art [...]); it should, however, be recalled that *γραμματική* is, in origin, a substantivation of the adjective *γραμματικός*, -ή, -όν, and that its use as the designation of the discipline ‘grammar’ precisely goes back to the substantival use of the adjective. Also, one cannot exclude the possibility that in the transmitted definition of Eratosthenes the term *γραμματική* can be read as proleptically referring to *ἕξις*, so that we could possibly deal with a definition of grammatical *ἕξις*.

(b) The other remark is of a more fundamental nature: it concerns our ‘cultural distance’ with respect to the Classical world. Many of the terms we now consider to be ‘technical’ and ‘univocal’, were terms with a rather indeterminate grammatical and semantic value: grammatically indeterminate because they at times vacillate between substantival and adjectival status (e.g. *γραμματικός* or *φιλόσοφος*), semantically indeterminate, not only because of differences in semantic-referential classification and cultural embedding, but also because of inherent polysemy (a very illustrative case being the term *λόγος*). This situation entails that translating a term such as *γραμματική* with *grammar* is valid as a single-term approximation with respect to a complex historical reality, which in fact would need a very nuanced circumscription.²

As a matter of fact, we are faced with this problem not only on the definitional (intensional) level, but also on the encyclopedic-extensional level:

² Cf. Swiggers-Wouters [1996b].

the extant testimonies on Eratosthenes' scholarly activity (cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 152–170; Geus [2002]) record a number of lexicographical works, a study on the *Iliad* and two books titled Γραμματικά. The existence of the latter work (in which the adjective is used as a collective neuter plural) seems to have been the reason for which Clement of Alexandria (2nd cent. AD)—in retrospect—mentions Eratosthenes in relation with the replacement of the term κριτικός with the term γραμματικός as a designation for a 'scholar'. But on this ground we have to assume that the *adjective* (and substantive?) included, in Eratosthenes' view, the full range of 'text study / analysis', and thus involved much more than a grammatical study.

This is the passage from Clemens, *Strom.*, 1.16.79.3:

Ἀπολλόδωρος (l. Ἀντίδωρος)³ δὲ ὁ Κυμαῖος πρῶτος < τοῦ γραμματικοῦ ἀντί > τοῦ κριτικοῦ εἰσηγήσατο τοῦνομα καὶ γραμματικός προσηγορεύθη, ἔνιοι δὲ Ἐρατοσθένη τὸν Κυρηναῖόν φασιν, ἐπειδὴ Γραμματικά ἐπιγράψας. ὠνομάσθη δὲ γραμματικός, ὡς νῦν ὀνομάζομεν, πρῶτος Πραξιφάνης Διονυσοφάνους Μιτυληναῖος.

Antidorus of Cyme was the first to introduce the term *grammatikós* instead of *kritikós* and he was called *grammatikós*. Some, however, pretend that Eratosthenes of Cyrene was the first (to introduce the term *grammatikós*), as he gave the title *Grammatiká* to one of his works. But the first to be called *grammatikós* as we use the term today, was Praxiphanes,⁴ the son of Dionysophanes, from Mytilene.

The passage raises many textual, and even more exegetical problems, not only for the identification of the exact source responsible for the change κριτικός⁵ → γραμματικός, but also for the identification of the subsequent defenders of the views involved. A text-external complication comes from the fact that in Suetonius' *De grammaticis* 10.4 Eratosthenes is said to have claimed the title *philologus* for himself:

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- 3 As it appears from *Sch. Dion. T.* 3.24–26; 7. 24–25 (cf. *infra*) and 448.6, Ἀπολλόδωρος must be a mistake for Ἀντίδωρος. The grammarian Antidorus is otherwise unknown, but lived very probably in the first half of the 3rd cent. BC. Cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 157–158.
 - 4 See Pfeiffer [1968] 158: "The literary work of Praxiphanes (the Peripatetic scholar of the 4th–3rd cent. BC) is here regarded as foreshadowing the work of the Alexandrian γραμματικοί".
 - 5 The Alexandrian poet and philologist Philetas of Cos (4th–3rd cent. BC) appears to be the first who adopted this title. Cf. Strabo XIV 657: ποιητῆς ἅμα καὶ κριτικός.

philologi appellationem adsumpsisse videtur (sc. L. Ateius) quia—sic ut Eratosthenes, qui primus hoc cognomen sibi vindicavit—multiplici variaeque doctrina censebatur.

He took on the name *Philologus* apparently because—just like Eratosthenes, who first claimed the sobriquet for himself—he was judged to be a man of manifold and wide-ranging erudition (transl. Kaster [1995] 15).

Suetonius' testimony is not in full contradiction with Clemens' passage (cf. Matthaios [2011a] 63), but rather suggests that Clemens made an unwarranted inference from the title Γραμματικά attributed to one of Eratosthenes' works; we can reconcile the two testimonies if we admit that Eratosthenes considered himself a φιλόλογος, and that within his philological activity he assigned a crucial role to γραμματική (or to 'grammatical ἔξις'), in the sense he gave to the latter.⁶ This 'reconciling' interpretation yields further support from the fact

(a) that Suetonius speaks of *multiplex variaeque doctrina*, a formulation which can be linked with the epithet παντελής attributed to grammatical ἔξις in the definition attributed to Eratosthenes;

(b) that in other testimonies⁷ Eratosthenes is labelled a γραμματικός on the basis of his philological works;

(c) that the term γραμματικός is attested in the third century BC with the meaning 'specialist in textual analysis / criticism', i.e. a meaning almost identical with that of φιλόλογος.⁸

We can therefore conclude that in Eratosthenes' times the terms γραμματικός and γραμματική had received, maybe first through the efforts of Antidorus of Cyme, a 'text-oriented' meaning, in close relationship with the activity of the φιλόλογος: γραμματική was no longer the mastery of writing and reading taught in the elementary school, but was a field of specialisation related to the study of (literary) texts. As such, γραμματική refers to a scholarly activity (and competence), while the elementary teaching was indicated as γραμματιστική (cf. Kaster [1983]).

6 See also Dihle [1998] 89: "Eratosthenes' Anspruch auf die Bezeichnung φιλόλογος könnte [...] bedeuten, dass er es ablehnte, auf Dichterexegese festgelegt und eingeschränkt zu werden, und dass er auf die Vielseitigkeit seiner wissenschaftlichen Tätigkeit verweisen wollte".

7 See the references in Matthaios [2011a] 64, n. 34.

8 Cf. Matthaios [2011a] 65, who cites a fragment of Philicus of Corcyra (dated to 275/4 BC).

The genesis of the name for this activity—and the institutional achievement of establishing such a field of scholarly study—can be traced back to the early stages of Alexandrian philological activity. Our sources on this, viz. Sextus Empiricus (cf. *infra*) and the *scholia* on Dionysius Thrax, seem to have derived their information from Asclepiades of Myrlea's work *Περὶ γραμματικῆς* (2nd–1st cent. BC; cf. Pagani [2007a] 31–34). It was probably through Asclepiades' report on the evolution of the discipline and of its name, that in the *scholia* on Dionysius Thrax we read that it was Antidorus who gave the name *γραμματικῆ* to the discipline 'consisting in (having / producing / showing) knowledge about written texts': Ἀντίδωρος δὲ τις γραμματικὸς γραμματικὴν αὐτὴν ὠνόμασε παρὰ τὴν γνῶσιν τῶν γραμμάτων (*Sch. Dion. T.* 7.24–25).

In Antidorus' view 'grammar' was thus defined in relation to a (further unspecified) knowledge / knowing of writings. Although we cannot be sure whether this was indeed Antidorus' authentic wording, the account of the *scholia* conforms to what we may reasonably expect: an initially broad and 'open' conception of a field constituting itself, and primarily defined by its material object (viz. texts). Eratosthenes was to provide a further specification of the discipline with his (more) explicit definition, which we will now comment upon.

Eratosthenes' definition, as transmitted by the *scholia* on Dionysius, contains three components calling for an analysis: the substantive *ἔξις*, the qualifying adjective *παντελής* and the adverbial syntagm *ἐν γράμμασι*. As we have seen, the *scholia* explicate *ἐν γράμμασι* as referring to writings (*συγγράμματα*), an equation which is attributed to Eratosthenes himself (although we have no further textual evidence for such an equation).

The two other components require a close analysis. The term *ἔξις*, which is used as the *definiens* (at least if we read the passage as a definition of the form 'x is (a) y of such and such nature'), should be interpreted as designating the *genus* under which the *γραμματικῆ* falls. This interpretation also holds when we read the passage as 'the *γραμματικῆ* (*ἔξις*) is the *ἔξις* that ...'. The term *ἔξις* has a wide range of meanings, which can be reduced to two major semantic fields: (a) 'experience, habit, customized behavior', (b) 'skill, faculty, capacity'. It is especially the latter semantic field that occurs in the syntactic combination *ἔξις* + *ἐν* followed by the complement of the preposition. The matter has, however, to be considered in the context of ancient theory of knowledge and philosophy of science. The term *ἔξις* has a long-standing history in philosophical discussions concerning the nature and the various types of knowing. The following chronological sequence may serve as an illustration (for a more detailed analysis, see Matthaïos [2011a] 70–76):

(1) Plato used *ἕξις* in his *Cratylus* 414b6–c3 in order to explain (‘etymologically’) the word *τέχνη* (< **ἐχονόη* < *ἕξις νοῦ*); while the ‘etymological’ connection posited here is hardly interesting, the fact that *τέχνη* and *ἕξις* are linked (as cognitive properties / faculties / capacities) is of high importance, since

(2) in his *Nicomachean Ethics* (VI 4, 1140a9–10) Aristotle defines *τέχνη* as *ἕξις μετὰ λόγου ἀληθοῦς ποιητική*, ‘a productive, on reason based possessing of the truth’ / ‘the through reason guided experience of the true that brings about something’. Aristotle’s use of *ἕξις* as a *definiens* should be seen in the light of his distinction between *ἐπιστήμη* and *τέχνη* (cf. Prencipe [2002] 37–40); both are species of the genus *ἕξις*, but whereas *ἐπιστήμη*, ‘knowledge’ is a *ἕξις ἀποδεικτική* (‘demonstrative / cognitive property or state’), *τέχνη* is defined as a *ἕξις ποιητική* (‘productive, creative, effective’) cognitive property or state (see *Eth. Nic.* VI 3, 1139b31–32).

(3) The third stage is represented by the Stoics who also used the term *ἕξις* in their theory of knowledge:

(3a) Cleanthes (331–232 BC) is said to have defined *τέχνη* as ‘a property / capacity that establishes everything with (a) method’ (‘through a followed track’): Κλεάνθης τοῖνον λέγει ὅτι τέχνη ἐστὶν ἕξις ὁδῶ πάντα ἀνούουσα (Olympiod., *In Plat. Gorg.* 12.1 (= 42A Long—Sedley).

(3b) Zeno of Citium (335–263 BC) seems to have formulated the core definition of *τέχνη*, as ‘a track-making capacity / experience, following a way and a method’ (the latter explicative part may be a later addition): ὡς δηλοῖ καὶ ὁ Ζήνων, λέγων ‘τέχνη ἐστὶν ἕξις ὁδοποιητική’, τουτέστιν δι’ ὁδοῦ καὶ μεθόδου ποιούσά τι (*Sch. Dion. T.* 118. 14–16 = *SVF* I 72).

(4) The term *ἕξις*, used to define *τέχνη* or used in relation with *τέχνη*, can still be found in the context of epistemologically based discussions on the status of grammar, as we find them in the works of Sextus Empiricus (cf. *infra*) and in the scholia on Dionysius Thrax. The scholia provide us with the following definitions, the first of which may be more or less contemporary of Sextus’ times (or simply a rewording of Sextus’ definition), the latter two being distinctly later:

(4a) γραμματική ἐστὶν ἕξις ἀπὸ τέχνης καὶ ἱστορίας διαγνωστικὴ τῶν παρ’ Ἑλλησι λεκτῶν (*Sch. Dion. T.* 118. 10–12).

Grammar is a skill which on the base of expertise and research diagnoses the things said by the Greeks.

(4b) γραμματική ἐστὶν τέχνη ἕξις θεωρητικὴ καὶ πρακτικὴ τῶν παρὰ ποιηταῖς καὶ συγγραφεύσι, δι' ἧς ἐκάστω τὸ οἰκείον ἀποδιδόντες ἐξ ἀπείρου καταληπτέον ποιούμεθα (*ibid.* 3. 11–13).

Grammar is a contemplative and practical skill in the things said by poets and prose writers, by means of which we make each (word / expression) from indefinite to understandable by indicating its specific meaning.

(4c) γραμματικὴ ἐστὶν τέχνη ἕξις θεωρητικὴ καὶ καταληπτικὴ τῶν κατὰ πλείστον παρὰ ποιηταῖς τε καὶ συγγραφεύσι λεγομένων, δι' ἧς ἐκάστην λέξιν τῷ οἰκείῳ κόσμῳ ἀποδιδόντες εὐκατάληπτον ἐξ ἀπείρου κατασκευάζουσιν. (*ibid.* 164.5–8).

Grammar is a contemplative and comprehensive skill in the things said by poets and prose writers, by means of which one makes each word / expression from indefinite to easily understandable by assigning it to its specific category.

While the definitions under (4) postdate the one attributed to Eratosthenes, it is clear from the preceding list that there was, specifically since Aristotle,⁹ a tradition of defining cognitive aptitudes and habits in terms of ἕξις, and that the latter term occurred in relation with an appraisal of the status of γραμματικὴ. Eratosthenes' use of the term ἕξις was thus a deliberate epistemological choice, and a clear indication of the recognition of γραμματικὴ (or of the γραμματικὴ ἕξις) as belonging to the realm of sciences. Eratosthenes seems to have understood γραμματικὴ as that property (or skilled experience) of the one who possesses it, which deals with writings. Now, this property / skilled experience / habitual capacity is said to be παντελής. This qualifying adjective is not functioning as a *differentia specifica* here, and for this reason we cannot take the phrase attributed to Eratosthenes as a definition that would be fully in line with the ordering of concepts in a Porphyrean hierarchical structure. The term παντελής is not a subspecifying term, but rather a laudatory epithet, highlighting the value or importance of the ἕξις in question. The problem then is to properly understand what Eratosthenes may have meant with παντελής. Since later definitions of grammar (cf. *infra*) do not contain the word παντελής,

9 As noted by Matthaios [2011a] 75, in his *De partibus animalium*, Aristotle distinguishes two types of ἕξις: one that exists in the knowledge (ἐπιστήμη) of an object, the other being acquired through education.

and are more explicit on the material object of the grammarian's knowledge or capacity, we may infer that the evolutionary line in the definitions of grammar was one of narrowing down the scope of the grammarian's field of knowledge / experience / capacity. Since Eratosthenes, following shortly after Antidorus, stands at the beginning of a process in which the general knowledge and know-how of the φιλόσοφος was first narrowed down to skillful knowledge and handling of writings, and was later reduced to literary writings (and to what is mostly found in the writings of poets and prose-writers; cf. *infra*), we may read into Eratosthenes' phrase a global and holistic valuation of the ἔξις of the grammarian: the latter is credited—in an absolute¹⁰ way—with a full-fledged skill / property, with respect to the object of his study, viz. writings. The object itself is left in its full generality: ἐν γράμμασι, without further determination or specification.

In his definition of γραμματική (or of ἔξις γραμματική), Eratosthenes thus propounded a very large view of the field of 'grammar', invested with encompassing cognitive aims. As Matthaïos [2011a] 79 judiciously points out, "Eratosthenes connected the potential of the philological discipline with a demand for universal knowledge [...]. His 'grammar' definition goes along with the universality of knowledge that Eratosthenes claimed for himself with the title φιλόλογος. The phrase ἐν γράμμασι merely serves to specialise the field of universal knowledge, which 'grammar' covers".

3 Dionysius Thrax' Definition of Grammar

The *Technê Grammatikê*¹¹ of Dionysius Thrax (see Montana in this volume) provides us with the most explicit definition of 'grammar' (defined as a field of study, and not simply as a product), specifying its parts and indicating the relevant objects of study.

10 Matthaïos [2011a] 78 speaks of the "intensification of the term ἔξις with the attribute παντελής".

11 Dionysius Thrax' *Technê* has been transmitted to us in medieval and Renaissance manuscripts dated between the 10th and 18th century. The text was translated, somewhere in the fifth century, into Syriac and Armenian. The manuscript tradition of the Syriac and Armenian translations extends between the 7th and 9th century (for the Syriac manuscripts), and between the 14th and the 17th century (for the Armenian manuscripts).

Starting with the oldest manuscript testimonies the transmitted text of the *Technê* is accompanied by four supplements (cf. *G. G.* I 1, 105–132): (1) on diacritic signs for accents, quantity, aspiration; (2) on the definition of *technê*; (3) on metrical feet; (4) a paradigm list of verb forms for *tuptô* 'to beat/hit' (see Dickey in this volume).

Although the authenticity of the *Techné* has been questioned—an issue which would deserve a separate treatment¹²—, two facts of crucial importance for the present contribution stand out:

(a) the main gist of Dionysius' *Techné* reflects the state of grammatical knowledge attained in the first centuries BC

(b) whatever the relationships that can be established between Dionysius' *Techné* and the grammatical contents of later Greek and Latin manuals, the initial sections of the *Techné*—which include the definition of 'grammar'—should be considered authentic, *i.e.* dating back to the 2nd–1st century BC.

It is at the beginning of the *Techné*, in the first section, that we find a definition of grammar. The Greek text reads as follows:

Γραμματική ἐστὶν ἐμπειρία τῶν παρὰ ποιηταῖς τε καὶ συγγραφεύσιν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ λεγομένων.

Μέρη δὲ αὐτῆς ἐστὶν ἕξ· πρῶτον ἀνάγνωσις ἐντριβῆς κατὰ προσωδίαν, δεύτερον ἐξήγησις κατὰ τοὺς ἐνυπάρχοντας ποιητικοὺς τρόπους, τρίτον γλωσσῶν τε καὶ ἱστοριῶν πρόχειρος ἀπόδοσις, τέταρτον ἐτυμολογίας εὔρεσις, πέμπτον ἀναλογίας ἐκλογισμὸς, ἕκτον κρίσις ποιημάτων, ὃ δὴ κάλλιστόν ἐστι πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ (G.G. I 1, 5–6.3).

Grammar is the empirical knowledge of the expressions commonly used among poets and prose-writers. Its parts are six [in number]: first, the skillful reading in conformity with the prosody; second, the exegesis of the occurring poetic phrases; third, the straightforward account of rare words and realia; fourth, the discovery of the etymology; fifth, the establishing of analogical patterning; and sixth, the judgement on poems, which is the finest part of all those [contained] in the art [of grammar].

This passage contains (a) the *definition* of grammar, properly speaking; (b) a *division* of grammar into six parts, which are successively enumerated. The definition is philologically oriented, and refers to the didactic practice of transmitting philological expertise and the relevant theoretical and terminological foundations. The components of the “art of grammar” are defined with reference to the classroom-situation of text reading and explanation. In the description of the parts of grammar almost nothing is said about language structure,

12 See the most recent surveys of the discussion by Matthaios [2009a], Callipo [2011] 28–34, and Pagani [2010b] 393–409; [2011] 30–37.

except for the subdivision dealing with analogy; an important role is attributed to the reading (aloud) of texts, and to the appreciation of poems.

The definition of grammar given in the *Technê* reflects the activity of the γραμματικός or teacher of literature which included the following parts (cf. *Sch. Dion. T.* 453. 19–23): the reading of the text, the indication of the poetical figures of expression, the explanation of problematic words and historical references, the analysis of the origin of lexical items, the indication of (certain) grammatical regularities and finally a judgement of the literary work.

These components are said to constitute the *empeiria* of the grammarian. As noted above, the notion *empeiria* refers to a particular skill, based on acquaintance or familiarity (in this case, without theoretical knowledge). Through its occurrence in the title of the treatise *technê* has a twofold meaning: it refers to (the) ‘art’ (of grammar), but it also designates a treatise in which the principles of the art in question are expounded.¹³ The sixth part of the grammarian’s *empeiria*, viz. the judgement on poems, is called “the finest part of all those [contained] in the *technê*”. Although one might be tempted to consider this a slight inconsistency in the (original?) text, one could also view this passage as reflecting an attempt on Dionysius’ part to overcome the tension between the concepts *empeiria* and *technê* in the definition of grammar, by interpreting *technê* as the systematization (also for didactic reasons) of the practical expertise (*i.e. empeiria*).¹⁴

In Dionysius Thrax’ view, this *empeiria* concerns τὰ παρὰ ποιηταῖς τε καὶ συγγραφεῦσιν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ λεγόμενα. Traditionally the passage is understood as ‘the expressions used for the most part among poets and prose-writers’: the

13 Cf. Fuhrmann [1960]. See *e.g.* the end-title (Τρύφωνος τέχνη γραμματική) of the manual (partially) preserved in *P. Lit. Lond.* 182 (= Wouters 1979, n. 2) (ca. 300 AD).

14 The concept of *technê* is frequently dealt with in the scholia on Dionysius’ *Technê*; the most elaborate discussion is the one offered in the second supplement (cf. *supra*, n. 11). The scholiasts base themselves on the (Stoic) definition of “*technê*” as a ‘system’ of conceptions put to the test of experience, and oriented towards a fruitful goal in life (τέχνη ἐστὶ σύστημα ἐκ καταλήψεων ἐγγεγυμνασμένων πρὸς τι τέλος εὐχρηστον τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ). In the opinion of the scholiasts the principal characteristics of a *technê* are (a) its organic, ‘systemic’ composition (it involves various skills), (b) its experience-based evolution over generations of skill-developers; (c) the fact that it is oriented towards a specific goal in function of which it is ‘useful’.

Given that the term ‘grammar’ refers to either the object (= the grammatical structure of a language, or ‘grammaticality’) or the description/teaching of it (= grammatical analysis), there is a finality on the object level, viz. clarity and correctness of the expression (cf. *Sch. Dion. T.* 113.25) and a finality on the methodological level, viz. to teach the nature, function and organization of the *logos* (cf. *Sch. Dion. T.* 115.5).

phrase *ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ* is thus interpreted as a restriction of the domain of grammar, which would have as its object only the current, normal usage of Greek authors. The definition was understood in that sense by ancient scholiasts on the *Technê*, e.g., *Sch. Dion. T.* 301. 10–15: τῶν γὰρ πολιτευομένων λέξεων ἐπιστήμων ἔσται ὁ γραμματικός, οὐ μὴν τῶν καθάπαξ καὶ κατὰ μίαν χρῆσιν εἰρημένων. “The grammarian has to be acquainted with the usual words, not with expressions that have been used only once and in a pregnant meaning”. This interpretation is also generally accepted by modern authors as is clear from their translations.¹⁵ But according to Patillon [1990] 694, who proposes the translation ‘la grammaire est une science des textes, ceux des poètes et des prosateurs le plus souvent’, the phrase *ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ* has to be related to *ἐμπειρία*. He adduces two arguments (cf. already Di Benedetto [1958] 196–199). First, he refers to Sextus Empiricus (*Math.* 1, § 57), who quotes Dionysius’ definition in a different way, viz. γραμματικὴ ἔστιν ἐμπειρία ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον τῶν παρὰ ποιηταῖς τε καὶ συγγραφεῦσι λεγομένων. “Grammar is an experience for the most part / as far as possible of what is said in poets and prosewriters.” The syntagm *ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον*—instead of *ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ*¹⁶—is here related to *ἐμπειρία* instead of to the object of grammar. But, as Uhlig (*G.G.* 1 1, 5, *annot.*) already observed, Sextus’ quotation seems an inaccurate rendering of the text of the *Technê*, a fact which ties up with the basic intent of Sextus, viz. to show that *γραμματικὴ* taking as its object *all* texts is impossible as a science.¹⁷ Patillon’s second

15 See for example the following translations: Steinthal [1890–1891] 11, 174: “Grammatik ist die Kunde der bei Dichtern und Prosaikern durchschnittlich vorkommenden Redeformen”; Kemp [1987] 169: “grammar is the practical study of the normal usage of poets and prose writers”; Lallot [1989] 41: “La grammaire est la connaissance empirique de ce qui se dit couramment chez les poètes et les prosateurs”; Robins [1996] 10: “γραμματικὴ is the ἐμπειρία of the general usage of poets and prose writers”; Bécares Botas [2002] 35: “La gramática es el conocimiento de lo dicho sobre todo por poetas y prosistas”; Callipo [2011] 57: “La grammatica è la conoscenza empirica delle cose dette per lo più da poeti e prosatori”.

16 Whereas some modern commentators have made a strong case of the difference between the two adverbial phrases *ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ* and *ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον*, others (e.g. Lallot [1989] = [1998²] 69 and Sluiter [2001] 310 n. 46, with some reservation) are inclined to consider the two formulations as equivalent. In fact, the scholiasts on the *Technê* tend to treat the two formulations as equivalent. The long and complex transmission history of the *Technê*, and of commentaries on the text, may also have led to the non-distinctive use of the two formulations.

17 A strong additional argument for relating *ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ* in the text of the *Technê* to τῶν παρὰ ποιηταῖς τε καὶ συγγραφεῦσι λεγομένων, is offered by the definition of the *ars grammatica* given by Varro (fr. 234 Funaioli), viz. “ars grammatica [...] scientia est <eorum> quae a poetis historicis oratoribusque dicuntur ex parte maiore” (“grammar is the knowledge

argument is that the translation (as given by Lallot) “*ce qui se dit couramment chez les poètes*” would be contradicted by the third of the ‘parts’ of grammar (cf. *infra*) that are listed immediately after the definition, viz. the ἀπόδοσις γλωσσῶν or “Élucidation des mots rares” (Lallot [1989] = [1998²] 69). But this argument does not seem valid. Lallot [1989] = [1998²] 77–78 has convincingly demonstrated that for the ancient grammarians the term γλώσσαι indicates those words that were unusual in the grammarian’s own language, *i.e.* obsolete words or words from the various Greek dialects, which over centuries were used in poetry and prose. The term γλώσσαι therefore should not be taken to imply that the words in question were unusual in the language of the authors explained by the grammarian.

In short, as we have already argued elsewhere in more detail (cf. Swiggers – Wouters [1994] 532–534), Patillon’s counterarguments to the traditional interpretation and translation of Dionysius’ definition are not acceptable. It is furthermore unclear what other texts than those of poets and prose-writers would constitute an object of study for the grammarian. However, the debate clearly is not finished. Ventrella [2004] 110 prefers for the *Techné* the text reading ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον (cf. the passage in Sextus) instead of ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ and considers it a qualification (‘che venga più volte ripetuta, spesso esercitata’) of ἐμπειρία, which explains his translation: “la grammatica è pratica ripetuta / esercitata di ciò che si dice presso poeti e prosatori”.

We will now briefly comment upon the division of grammar as specified in Dionysius Thrax’ definition.

(a) The ἀνάγνωσις is the reading aloud by the grammarian to his students of the text he will be explaining. This reading has to conform with the προσῳδία, a term that covers not only accent¹⁸ and intonation, but all the features that were not indicated by the letters of the alphabet (στοιχεῖα), such as text-critical marks, aspiration, vowel length and possibly even some phenomena of syntactic phonetics (*i.e.* for all suprasegmental features). According to Allen [1973] 3,

of what is said by poets, historians and orators for the most part’). This definition is generally considered to be a literal translation of Dionysius’ definition, although prose-writers have been divided into historians and orators. There can be no doubt that in Varro’s text too the qualification “ex parte maiore”, which is the counterpart of Dionysius’ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ, has to be understood as a restriction of the empirical domain of grammar.

18 According to Di Benedetto [2000] 396, on the contrary, the ἀνάγνωσις has nothing to do with the reading of the text, but refers only to the determination of the correct accent of a word.

this extension, well established by the time of the grammarian Herodian in the second century AD, may have been the achievement of Dionysius Thrax.

(b) The second part of grammar is the exegesis of the ποιητικοὶ τρόποι or ‘poetical phrases’ which may ‘obscure’ the meaning of the text (cf. Schenkeveld [1991] 153–156). In case of a hyperbaton for example, the grammarian will indicate the ‘normal’ word order (*Sch. Dion. T.* 455. 24–30); he will also explain metaphors in the text (*ibid.* 457. 22–29), allegories (*ibid.* 456. 8–14) etc.

(c) The third part of grammar deals with γλῶσσαι, *i.e.* foreign or obsolete words, and with ἱστορίαι, a term covering the domain of realia (persons, geographical data, myths etc.), as commonly assumed by most ancient scholiasts (cf. *Sch. Dion. T.* 303. 4: “*Historía* is the narration of ancient facts”). As to the term πρόχειρος which qualifies ἀπόδοσις [‘rendering’], according to the scholiasts (*Sch. Dion. T.* 14. 19; 169. 15; 567. 41) it has the meaning here of ἔτοιμος [‘ready’], an interpretation which inspired the translations of Kemp ([1987] 172: ‘ready explanation’) and Lallot ([1989] 41 = [1998²] 43: ‘la prompte élucidation’). To this, however, Patillon [1990] 694 objected: “La promptitude n’a rien à faire ici; il s’agit de l’explication *claire*”. The term πρόχειρος can indeed also mean “obvious, readily accessible, easy” (see LSJ 1541), and within a didactic context a ‘readily understandable rendering’¹⁹ probably makes more sense than a ‘prompt explanation’.

(d) The inclusion of *etymologia* (in its ancient conception and practice; cf. Lallot [1991a] and Sluiter in this volume) within the grammatical expertise of the philologist should be seen in the light of establishing, by means of ‘etymological’ reasoning, the correct *meaning* and/or *form* of rare and unusual words occurring in older poetry. But *etymologia* also served as a tool for establishing the correct pronunciation of words (cf. *Sch. Dion. T.* 454. 21–29).

(e) The fifth part of *grammatikê* is what we, from our modern point of view, would consider the properly ‘structural’ one. The key term here is “analogy”, a term which in a grammatical context refers to a patterning recurrent throughout series within the language system. The concept seems to have been already extensively used by Dionysius’ teacher Aristarchus (cf. Ax [1982] and Matthaios [1999] 400 sqq.), and maybe also by Aristophanes of Byzantium before him (cf. Callanan [1987] 107–122). It is probable that already at a rather early stage lists of rules of nominal and verbal inflection (*kanónes*; cf. *Sch. Dion. T.* 309.9) had been set up; it is also likely that, in order to determine or explain unknown or uncertain inflectional forms, grammarians and grammar teachers referred to words displaying a similar inflectional pattern (cf. Lallot [1989] = [1998²] 80). This assumption is supported by ancient scholiasts like *Sch. Dion. T.* 15. 14–23:

19 Callipo [2011] 57 translates: “la spiegazione accessibile delle parole rare e dei contenuti”.

“The comparison of similar things is called analogy, the accuracy *eklogismós*. The fifth part is therefore the accurate comparison of similar things, through which the rules of the grammarians are composed, *e.g.*, when we examine why we have ὁ Ὅμηρος, τοῦ Ὁμήρου and ὁ φίλος τοῦ φίλου, but τὸ βέλος, τοῦ βέλους. When I had examined this accurately, I discovered the following rule, that all masculine and feminine nouns in *-o* have their genitive in *-ου*, such as Ἀλέξανδρος, Ἀλεξάνδρου, καλός, καλοῦ [...], and that the neuter nouns ending in *-os* have the genitive in *-ους*, such as μέρος, μέροςους [...]. and likewise βέλος, βέλους. When, therefore, we examine in this way accurately all nouns and verbs and other parts of speech, and when we put similar nouns next to similar ones, then we formulate the rules (and paradigms) in an impeccable way”.

(f) As the final (and finest) part of grammar Dionysius mentions the judgement on *poems*. This is somewhat strange, since in his definitions he had stated that grammar studies the expressions used among *poets and prose-writers*. A likely explanation for this incongruity is that poetry, and especially the Homeric poems, always remained the main concern of grammatical teaching. The key problem of this passage is the fact that it is not immediately clear what precisely he means by “judgement on poems”. Some scholiasts take the passage to refer to a literary-aesthetic evaluation (cf. *Sch. Dion. T.* 15. 26–29). But others object that a grammarian can only make such aesthetic judgements if he is a poet himself (cf. *Sch. Dion. T.* 471. 26–472. 34). Accordingly, the investigation into the grammatical correctness and stylistic adequacy of literary works in order to determine their authenticity would be meant here (cf. *Sch. Dion. T.* 304. 3–4).

Modern commentators are uncertain about this sixth part of the *grammatikê* as much as their ancient predecessors have been. While Pfeiffer [1968] 269 thought of ‘literary criticism’, Di Benedetto [1958] 179, who translated the expression *krísis poiêmatôn* by “giudizio critico delle opere poetiche”, believed that this *krísis* as philological-exegetical activity also included textual criticism (*dióρθôsis*). This was, however, rejected by Pfeiffer (*l.c.*) and Lallot ([1989] 73–75 = [1998²] 74–75) for the simple reason that there is no reference at all in the manual to the constitution of a reliable text edition by the grammarian. Also the scholiast’s idea of authenticity criticism has been taken up again (cf. Wilson [2007] 63–65). And, finally, Callipo [2011] 98 proves with many references that in the later Latin grammarians the *iudicium*, which corresponds to the Greek *κρίσις*, was clearly a literary evaluation of the texts studied by the grammarian, suggesting implicitly that aesthetic appreciation can have been a task of the Alexandrian grammarian.²⁰

20 See also Morocho Gayo [1999] 356. Morgan [1995] 88–89 on the other hand believes that the judgement could bear on the educational or moral value of the literary works. For

4 From Dionysius Thrax to Sextus Empiricus: Ptolemy the Peripatetic, Asclepiades of Myrlea, Chaeris and Demetrius Chlorus

Subsequently to Dionysius Thrax' definition, a number of authors tried to rephrase or refine the concept of γραμματική. We find their attempts summarized in Sextus Empiricus' *Against the grammarians* (2nd cent. AD). The sequence in which he relates these attempts is as follows:

(I) He first mentions Ptolemy the Peripatetic's objection against the *definiens* ἐμπειρία in Dionysius Thrax' definition of grammar, without quoting Ptolemy's own definition (provided he gave one); anyhow, it is clear that Ptolemy favored a definition of grammar as a τέχνη. On this point, he is immediately corrected by Sextus:

Διὰ γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα εἶρηται ἡ γραμματικὴ ἐμπειρία τῶν παρὰ ποιηταῖς τε καὶ συγγραφεύσι λεγομένων.

Οὗτος μὲν οὖν οὕτως, ἐγκαλεῖ δὲ αὐτῷ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Περιπατητικὸς ὅτι οὐκ ἐχρῆν ἐμπειρίαν εἰρηκέναι τὴν γραμματικὴν (αὐτὴ μὲν γὰρ ἡ ἐμπειρία τριβὴ τίς ἐστι καὶ ἐργάτις ἄτεχνός τε καὶ ἄλογος, ἐν ψιλῇ παρατηρήσει καὶ συγγυμνασίᾳ κειμένη, ἡ δὲ γραμματικὴ τέχνη καθέστηκεν), οὐ συνορῶν ὅτι τάττεται μὲν καὶ ἐπὶ τέχνης τοῦνομα, καθὼς ἐν τοῖς ἐμπειρικοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν ἐδιδάξαμεν, ἀδιαφόρως τοῦ βίου τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐμπείρους τε καὶ τεχνίτας καλοῦντος [...] (*Math.* I 60–61).

[For these reasons grammar is called 'experience of what is said in poets and writers.'] That is Dionysius' definition, but Ptolemy the Peripatetic objects to him that it was not right to call grammar an 'experience', since experience itself is a kind of knack and is a non-expert, irrational worker which consists in mere observation and joint exercise, while grammar is an expertise. Thereby Ptolemy overlooked the fact that 'experience' is a name also applied to expertise, as we showed in our *Empirical Commentaries*, since life calls the same people both 'experienced' and 'experts' (transl. Blank [1998] 14–15).

(II) After an attack on Dionysius' conception of grammar as the "experience for the most part of the things said in poets and writers", Sextus mentions

Irvine [1994] 45 the *krísis* embraced all the aspects mentioned: "Criticism involved textual criticism and judgment on the authenticity of works as well as literary, esthetic, and ideological criticism".

Asclepiades of Myrlea's attack on Dionysius' definition.²¹ In this passage Asclepiades' own definition of grammar is mentioned, and this definition is also rejected by Sextus.

Εἰ μή τι δέδοικε, φησί, τὴν ὀλιγότητα τοῦ βίου ὡς οὐκ οὔσαν ἱκανὴν πρὸς τὸ πάντα περιλαβεῖν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἄτοπον, <ὡς> γραμματικοῦ ἀλλ' οὐ γραμματικῆς ποιήσεται τὸν ὄρον, ἐπεὶπερ οὗτος μὲν τυχὸν ἴσως ἐπιστήμων ἐστὶ τῶν <πλείστων τῶν> παρὰ ποιηταῖς τε καὶ συγγραφεύσι λεγομένων, ὀλιγόβιον καθεστῶς ζῶν, ἡ δὲ γραμματικὴ πάντων εἴδησις. ὅθεν τὸ μὲν ἀλλάξας τοῦ ὄρου τούτου τὸ δ' ἀνελὼν, οὕτως ἀποδίδωσι τῆς γραμματικῆς τὴν ἔννοιαν "γραμματικὴ ἐστὶ τέχνη τῶν παρὰ ποιηταῖς καὶ συγγραφεύσι λεγομένων". Οὐκ ἀνεῖλε δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ τὰς ἀπορίας ἀλλ' ἐπέτεινε. Καὶ ἐν οἷς θέλει τὴν γραμματικὴν αὐξῆν, ἐν τούτοις ἀφείλεν [...]. (*Math.* I 73–74).

Asclepiades says: 'Unless he was afraid of the brevity of life—that it is not long enough for the comprehension of everything—which is absurd, he will produce the definition not of grammar but of a grammarian, since in fact he is the one who may happen to be knowledgeable of most of the things said in poets and writers, being a short-lived creature, while grammar is the knowledge of all such things'. Hence he changes part of this definition, removes part of it, and renders the conception of grammar thus: 'grammar is an expertise of what is said in poets and writers'. However, the man did not remove the difficulties, but increased them; and by the very words with which he wanted to glorify grammar he destroyed it (transl. Blank [1998] 17).

(III) Immediately after his discussion of Asclepiades' definition, Sextus mentions the definition of grammar by 'Chaeris',²² author of a commentary on grammar; Sextus' quotation of Chaeris' definition is then followed, first, by a positive remark (noting that this definition has the merit of separating grammar from objects that are irrelevant for the grammarian), but, subsequently, by a skeptical dismissal of its possibility.

21 For Asclepiades of Myrlea see Montana in this volume.

22 As *Sch. Dion. T.* 118.9–11 assigns the same definition to the first century BC grammarian Chaeris, already Blau [1883] 56–57 assumed a mistake in the spelling of the name by Sextus, which is now generally accepted. Cf. Blank [1998] 137–138. Only Slater [1972] 318, n. 7 still expresses some doubts.

Χάρης δὲ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ γραμματικῆς τὴν τελείαν φησὶ γραμματικὴν ἕξιν εἶναι ἀπὸ τέχνης < καὶ ἱστορίας > διαγνωστικὴν τῶν παρ' Ἑλλησι λεκτῶν καὶ νοητῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀκριβέστατον, πλὴν τῶν ὑπ' ἄλλαις τέχναις, τὸ τελευταῖον προσθεὶς οὐ παρέργως. ἐπεὶ γὰρ τῶν παρ' Ἑλλησι λεκτῶν καὶ νοητῶν τὰ μὲν ἐστὶν ὑπὸ τέχναις τὰ δ' οὐ, τῶν μὲν ὑπὸ τέχναις οὐκ οἶεται τέχνην εἶναι καὶ ἕξιν τὴν γραμματικὴν [...]

ὅτι μὲν γὰρ τῆς σωρικῆς ἀπορίας ἐξέλυσε τὴν γραμματικὴν καὶ τῶν ἀλλοτριῶν κειώρικε θεωρημάτων, μουσικῆς τε καὶ μαθηματικῆς, ὡς μὴ προσηκόντων, αὐτόθεν συμφανές. Τοῦ δὲ μὴ ἀνυπόστατον ὑπάρχειν οὐδαμῶς αὐτὴν ἐρρύσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸ εἶναι τοιαύτην μᾶλλον συνηγωνίσαστο. (*Math.* I 77–80)

In the first book of his *On Grammar* Chaeris says that complete grammar “is a skill which diagnoses from expertise <and research> the things said and thought by the Greeks as accurately as possible, except those things which come under other kinds of expertise”. This last he did not add idly, since of the things said and thought by the Greeks some come under various kinds of expertise and others do not, and he does not think that grammar is the expertise or skill of those which come under other kinds of expertise [...]. For it is immediately obvious that he freed grammar from the sorites puzzle and separated it from alien precepts, those of music and mathematics, inasmuch as they are not relevant. However, he by no means saved it from being non-existent, but rather he actually helped to establish that it was just so (transl. Blank [1998] 17–18).

(iv) Finally, Sextus Empiricus mentions Demetrius Chlorus and “certain other grammarians”, who offered a different definition of grammar—one which Sextus also attacks—and this rebuttal rounds off his discussion of the concept(ions) of grammar.

Δημήτριος δὲ ὁ ἐπικαλούμενος Χλωρός καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν γραμματικῶν οὕτως ὠρίσαντο “γραμματικὴ ἐστὶ τέχνη τῶν παρὰ ποιηταῖς τε καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν κοινὴν λέξεων εἰδησις”.²³ μένουσι δὲ καὶ τούτους αἱ αὐταὶ ἀπορίαι. οὐτε γὰρ πάντων τῶν παρὰ ποιηταῖς λεγομένων δύναται εἶναι τέχνη γραμματικὴ οὔτε τινῶν (*Math.* I 84).

23 Di Benedetto [1966] 32 suspected that the original definition was: γραμματικὴ ἐστὶ τέχνη τῶν παρὰ ποιηταῖς τε καὶ < συγγραφεῦσι καὶ > τῶν κατὰ τὴν κοινὴν λέξεων εἰδησις. “Grammar is an expertise of what is in poets < and prose writers > and a knowledge of the words in common usage”. He is followed by Lallot [1995b] 79, but not by Blank [1994] 156, n. 23.

Demetrius, who is known as Chlorus, and certain other grammarians defined grammar as follows: ‘grammar is an expertise of what is in poets and a knowledge of the words in common usage’. The same problems remain for them too. For grammar can be an expertise neither of all the things in poets nor of some of them (transl. Blank [1998] 19).

Sextus’ account calls for a synthetic commentary (for analytical comments on separate sections, see the highly valuable study of Blank [1998]).²⁴

(1) First, concerning matters of chronology:

At the outset it can be noted that, *pace* a number of readings of Sextus’ text (such as that of Di Benedetto [1966]), we should not take Sextus’ overview as a chronologically ordered digest of grammar definitions. As a matter of fact, while Ptolemy the Peripatetic’s activity can most probably be dated²⁵ to the second century BC, and thus is anterior to, *e.g.* Asclepiades, the chronological placing of the definitions of the three first century BC Alexandrian philologists—Asclepiades, Demetrius Chlorus, and Chaeris—is a matter of dispute. Whereas Barwick [1922] 219, 284–285 claims that Chaeris’ definition would be more recent than Asclepiades’, basing himself on the argument that Chaeris’ exclusion of “those things which come under other kinds of expertise [than grammatical expertise]” has to be interpreted as a correction to Asclepiades’ definition, Chaeris’ correction (or restriction) can also be explained as a direct reaction to Dionysius Thrax’ definition. And, regarding the relationship between Asclepiades and Demetrius Chlorus, Blank [1998] 144, n. 112 convincingly argues against Di Benedetto’s [1966] 392 assumption that Demetrius’ definition would be a response to Asclepiades’, and thus would be more recent. Again, Demetrius’ definition can be interpreted as a refinement of Dionysius’ definition.

(2) Second, on Sextus’ documentation, in its relationship to distinct phases in the general approach of grammar. It is important to recognize that Sextus Empiricus was not writing his attack on the grammarians on the basis of first-hand materials gathered by himself. For his overview of definitions of grammar and of the subdivision of grammar, Sextus based himself upon extant syntheses and criticisms. As shown by Gigante [1981a], Rispoli [1992] and Blank [1998] XLIV–L Sextus heavily relied on Epicurean sources, and we know that the Epicureans attacked grammar and, in general, the liberal arts (cf. *Math.*, I 41: “grammar . . . the boldest of the sciences, practically promising the Sirens’ promise”). Given the Epicureans’ disdain for grammar, and in

24 See also Dalimier [2006], according to whom Sextus was attacking a type of (school) grammar that was no longer in use at his time.

25 Siebenborn [1976] 105, n. 1 dates him immediately after Dionysius Thrax (c. 170–90 BC).

view of Sextus' frequent use of Epicurean *reductiones ad absurdum* in the face of principles, education and technical expertise, one can surmise that Sextus made use of an Epicurean critical work on a grammatical synthesis. The latter may have been the synthesis on grammar compiled by Asclepiades of Myrlea, who may thus have been the last link in the chain of definitions listed by Sextus. This would point to Asclepiades as a key figure in the history of definitions of grammar, and maybe as the author of a doxographical corpus of such definitions. Asclepiades of Myrlea (Blank [1998] XLV–XLVI; Pagani [2007a] 12–16) seems to have studied in Alexandria, before going to Rome, and later to Southern Spain as a grammarian and teacher. Next to astronomical and geographical works, he wrote literary commentaries, and works on grammar, among which a book on the lives of grammarians (cf. *FGHist* 697 F9–11), and a work *On Grammar*. The latter is cited by Sextus (1, 252) and was probably used by Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Quintilian.

Given (a) the density of information in Sextus' sections on definitions of grammar and on the parts of grammar, and given (b) the fact that doxographical information is generally followed by a destructive criticism framed in a typically Epicurean fashion, viz. showing the uselessness or superfluity of principles and rationalized procedures, Sextus' information has to be properly contextualized. According to Blank [1998] XLVII, Sextus took as his primary source "an Epicurean treatise in which Asclepiades' work *On Grammar* was demolished. On each topic in turn it will have contained more or less extensive excerpts from Asclepiades followed, either immediately or after the exposition of Asclepiades' whole system has been completed, by a refutation aimed at showing that grammar is not a *technê* and is not useful. The technique of excerpt and criticism is familiar from Philodemus of Gadara's works on *Poems*, *Music*, and *Rhetoric*. We know of no such work by Philodemus (c. 110–30 BC) on grammar, but it is clear that Sextus' source was someone like Philodemus or his teacher Zenon of Sidon (c. 160–79 BC), who is known to have used a similar format in some of his works".

The following line of evolution might be suggested for definitions of 'grammar' in Greek antiquity.

INITIAL PHASE (Antidorus) – Eratosthenes : grammar as ἔξις

SECOND PHASE (Aristarchus) – Dionysius Thrax : grammar as ἐμπειρία

THIRD PHASE refinements / criticisms of the Alexandrian definition(s) of grammar

Ptolemy the Peripatetic → correction to Dionysius' definition; Chaeris → refinement / explicitation based on Eratosthenes' and (to a lesser extent) Dionysius' definition; Demetrius Chlorus → refinement of Dionysius' definition

FOURTH PHASE critical synthesis

Asclepiades of Myrlea → overview of, and corrections to the definitions of Dionysius, Ptolemy, Chaeris, Demetrius

FIFTH PHASE Epicurean attacks on the claimed scientific nature of grammar:

unattested definitions: (Zeno of Sidon) + (Philodemus) → attack based on Asclepiades' synthesis

SIXTH PHASE sceptical reduction of the status and existential grounds of grammar: Sextus Empiricus, basing himself on the Epicurean attacks.

(3) In the third place, we should consider the doctrinal content of Sextus' documentation.

The definitions commented upon by Sextus Empiricus are those of Dionysius and subsequent scholars. Dionysius' definition has already been analysed (cf. *supra*) and we can now take a closer look at those of his successors.²⁶ From Sextus' text it does not appear whether Ptolemy the Peripatetic proposed a definition of his own: if he did, it seems that his definition of γραμματική did not contain the term ἐμπειρία as a *definiens*, but rather the term τέχνη. We cannot exclude the possibility that Ptolemy defined γραμματική as a "knowledge" dealing with writings (γράμματα), or something similar (e.g., writings in poetry and prose), but it is also possible that he merely replaced ἐμπειρία in Dionysius' definition with τέχνη. Anyhow, the crucial element in Ptolemy's deviation from Dionysius was the insistence on the nature of grammar / grammatical knowledge as being an art, a practical skill, acquired by *study and training*, the latter combined aspect being the distinctive feature with respect to παρατήρησις ('observation'), on the one hand, and συγγυμνασία ('joint exercise') on the other. Clearly, Ptolemy also wanted to define the status of grammar with reference to Plato's and, especially, Aristotle's theory of knowledge and philosophy of science.

The two remaining authors in what we have labeled the 'third phase' (cf. *supra*), viz. Chaeris and Demetrius, clearly follow in the steps of Dionysius, while correcting his definition. Interestingly, Chaeris takes up again (deliberately?) the term ἔξις which we encountered in Eratosthenes' definition of 'grammar', although he links ἔξις to τέχνη: as a matter of fact, he defines grammar as a skill / aptitude / condition (ἔξις) derived from art / expertise (τέχνη) or making use of τέχνη. The syntagm ἀπὸ τέχνης (which Barwick, followed by Blank [1998] 18, n. 23, restores as ἀπὸ τέχνης καὶ ἱστορίας, on the basis of *Sch. Dion. T.* 118.11) can be read as indicating an absolute origin or as indicating an

26 Blank [1994] 155–157 and [1998], Lallot [1995b] 78–81, and Prencipe [2002] 56–59.

‘intermediate’ origin in the process of grammar’s specific activity, viz. that of distinguishing / diagnosing; these are the two possible readings of the sequence (φησι) γραμματικὴν ἕξιν εἶναι ἀπὸ τέχνης διαγνωστικὴν. Chaeris’ definition is also interesting because it speaks of τελεία γραμματική: while the term might be a reminder—and a narrowing down—of Eratosthenes’ term παντελής, we must ask whether Chaeris understood by τελεία γραμματική, either ‘complete grammar’ (cf. Blank) or ‘perfect grammar’ (cf. Bury) or, maybe, ‘goal-oriented / well-focused grammar’. The latter meaning would fit well with the adverbial restriction applying to the act of distinguishing / diagnosing and its object: viz. grammar as a skill which distinguishes / diagnoses Greek language and thought (or: the contents said and thought by the Greeks, τῶν παρ’ Ἑλλησι λεκτῶν καὶ νοητῶν) “in the most precise way / as accurately as possible (ἐπὶ τὸ ἀκριβέστατον)”. This would imply that in Chaeris’ view grammar indeed cannot be more than an art-based property or capacity, never attaining an absolute ending-point.

A further interesting feature—and one that lines up again Chaeris more with Eratosthenes than with Dionysius—is the explicit denial of grammar as being ‘universal’ in scope: the field of grammar extends as far as the τέχνη of grammar extends, and the grammarian’s domain is that of the λεκτά and νοητά of the Greeks about which he can speak with competence. Chaeris thus imposes limits on the grammarian’s ‘knowledgeability’: in other words, his ἕξις is *not* παντελής. By this final addition (πλὴν τῶν ὑπ’ ἄλλαις τέχναις), Chaeris seems to blur his initial distinction between ἕξις and τέχνη, since grammar is so defined, limitatively, with respect to other τέχναι.

In how far did Chaeris take into account the previous definition of grammar by Dionysius Thrax? This is not clear from Sextus’ account; as we have pointed out, Chaeris’ definition reported by Sextus is more reminiscent of Eratosthenes’, although the fact that to Dionysius Thrax a τέχνη γραμματική was attributed, may have been (partly) responsible for Chaeris’ use of the term τέχνη and for his concern in delimiting the τέχνη γραμματική of other τέχναι. It is also possible that Chaeris’ adverbial syntagm ἐπὶ τὸ ἀκριβέστατον was, to some extent, inspired by Dionysius’ ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ (although the latter adverbial phrase does not qualify a specific procedure of distinguishing / diagnosing).

With Demetrius Chlorus we find ourselves much closer to Dionysius’ definition. As a matter of fact, Demetrius’ definition reported by Sextus follows the definitional structure of the one given at the beginning of Dionysius’ *Techné Grammatiké*, but there are a number of differences:

(a) The *definiens* of γραμματική in Demetrius’ definition is τέχνη, not ἐμπειρία, but there is a second *definiens* in the latter part of the definition: εἰδησις.

(b) The definition of γραμματικὴ is not a simple proposition, but a combination of two propositions introduced by the copula ἐστι.²⁷

(c) Demetrius' text does not contain an adverbial phrase of the type ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ / ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον.

(d) Demetrius does not use a general term such as γράμματα or λεγόμενα (or λεκτά), but speaks of λέξεις 'words / word forms / expressions', a term favored by Aristotle in his *Poetics*,²⁸ but occurring also—in the singular—in the transmitted text of Dionysius' *Technê Grammatikê*,²⁹ clearly as an equivalent for μέρος τοῦ λόγου ('part of speech').

(e) Possibly the most innovating feature of Demetrius' definition is the reference to, and the use of the terms, κοινὴ συνήθεια, 'common usage'.

The wording of Demetrius' definition seems to suggest that he saw grammar as a unitary, though twofold domain (and competence): on the one hand, as the 'technically' acquired expertise in dealing with poetic texts, and, on the other hand, as the knowledge-by-acquaintance (or customarily developed mastery) of the language as commonly used.

While Demetrius' definition of grammar comes close to Dionysius', it contains a number of interesting deviations, most of which can be read as refinements.

With Asclepiades we reach the stage of critical synthesis: on the one hand, Asclepiades seems to have had at his disposal the alternative definitions (or refinements) proposed with respect to Dionysius' definition, and, on the other hand, he seems to have received his education when Dionysius' *Technê* (in the form it had in the first century BC) had already obtained the status of a reference text (a fact that should not be interpreted as if the *Technê* were an absolutely authoritative text: Asclepiades' criticism precisely demonstrates that such was not the case). Asclepiades' lost work *Peri grammatikês* seems to have been concerned with a theoretical evaluation, and criticism, of Dionysius' *Technê*. The work probably derived its inspiration from Stoic reflections on grammar, and on fields of study in general, and its principal sources then may have been Diogenes of Babylon (3rd–2nd cent. BC) and Crates of Mallos (2nd cent. BC). According to Sextus Empiricus (I, 79) it was Crates who, taking up the terminological discussion concerning the qualities of *kritikos*

27 This is the interpretation of Blank, which we follow: "grammar is an expertise (τέχνη) of what is in poets and a knowledge (εἰδησις) of the words in common usage". However, Bury [1949] 51 reads the sentence in a different way, taking γραμματικὴ τέχνη as the *definiendum*, and εἰδησις as the *definiens*, with a coordinated genitival complement: "The Art of Grammar is knowledge of the forms of speech in the poets and also in common usage".

28 Cf. Swiggers-Wouters [2002b] 102–105.

29 *E.g.* G.G. I 1, 46.3: ῥήμά ἐστι λέξις [...], "a verb is a part of speech [...]."

and *grammatikos* (cf. *supra*), distinguished between their respective roles, and who placed the grammarian on an inferior level: for Crates, the grammarian dealt with linguistic forms (*i.e.* their phonetic, prosodic, and morphological aspects), whereas the ‘critic’ was required to possess an overall knowledge. Of course, philological activity, when viewed in its most extensive conception, had to go beyond the competence of the grammarian. Sextus (I, 248–249) also reports that a pupil of Crates, Tauriscus, proposed a tripartition of the field of *kritikê*, dividing it into a rational (*logikon*), empirical (*tribikon*) and historical (*historikon*) part. In this tripartition³⁰ the subject matters dealt with by the grammarian are redistributed over the three parts of the *kritikê*, and are thus not assigned to a single subdivision. As pointed out by Blank [2000] 406, Tauriscus’ division of *kritikê* parallels ancient debates concerning levels of knowledge and types of approaches in medical practice:

The salient feature of Tauriscus’ catalogue of the ‘parts’ subservient to *kritikê* is their division according to epistemological factors: each ‘part’ must have included or comprised rules belonging to one of these three modes of understanding or inquiry, ‘rational, empirical, historical’, which the critic must apply in order to ‘judge’ literary works. Each of the three labels, ‘rational’, ‘empirical’, ‘historical’, is familiar from the debates surrounding medical empiricism. In empiricist medicine *logikos* is of course the name given to the opposition ‘rationalists’, while ‘practice’ (*tribe*) is the practical exercise of experience” (Gal. *Subf.* 48.25). ‘Practiced’ (*tribikê*) experience is that which results from the use of ‘transition to the similar’ or analogy; it is so called because it takes much practice and cannot be used by just anybody (Gal. *Sect.* I, 69.1; cf. *Subf.* 45.20; 49.17). Finally, ‘history’ (*historia*) was the second pillar of empirical medicine, comprising the detailed record of the personal experience (*autopsia*) of other physicians (cf. Gal. *Subf.* 67.4).

Asclepiades’ division of grammar, with reference to Dionysius Thrax’ work, should also be related to (Stoic) attempts at dividing scholarly activities into distinct ‘parts’ or ‘tasks’. According to Sextus’ account, Asclepiades’ contribution on this issue consisted in (a) subdividing grammar (*grammatikê*) into three parts (Sext. *Emp.* I, 252: “Asclepiades in his *On Grammar* said the first parts of grammar were three: the expert, the historical, and the grammatical”), and (b) in arguing that Dionysius’ partition into six parts (cf. *supra*)

30 The *logikon* part covers phonetics, orthography, morphology, and syntax; the *tribikon* part the analysis of dialects and styles/registers; the *historikon* part deals with glosses, rare words and realia.

was philosophically flawed, because it involved a confusion between parts of a field, subparts and results (Sext. Emp. I, 250–251). Asclepiades' three parts corresponded to the following division: the expert (*technikon*) dealt with the systematization of grammatical knowledge, the grammatical part (*grammatikon*) with the interpretation of literary texts, including reading, explanation of figures, discussion of styles and dialects, and literary judgement; and the historical part (*historikon*) was concerned with glosses and 'histories' (explanation of realia). It thus seems that Asclepiades reorganized Dionysius' sextuple division as follows:

Dionysius		Asclepiades
reading aloud	→	<i>grammatikon</i> part
interpretation according to figures	→	<i>grammatikon</i> part
explanation of glosses/histories	→	<i>historikon</i> part
etymologies	→	<i>technikon</i> part
analogy	→	<i>technikon</i> part
literary judgement	→	<i>grammatikon</i> part

The division of grammar into parts was to become a prominent topic in the scholia on Dionysius Thrax (cf. *infra*).

It is clear that Asclepiades in some sense aspired to be 'master above master', improving upon a text and an author commonly used in philological circles: his emendation of Dionysius' definition of grammar is based on a very subtle argument, making a distinction between grammar and the grammarian. The latter distinction could hardly have been acceptable to authors like Eratosthenes (and maybe also Dionysius), but it allows Asclepiades to show his acquaintance with Plato's theory of knowledge (cf. *Grg.* 464c–465a and *Phlb.* 55e–56d), through the distinction between 'firm' or 'fixed' (πάγια) τέχναι, i.e. the non-mathematical kinds of expertise, and the 'conjunctural' (στοχαστικά) τέχναι, which are subject to chance, such as navigation and medicine. Asclepiades assigns grammar (not the short-lived activity of the grammarian) to the domain of firm arts, just like 'music and philosophy'. He then qualifies grammar, just like Demetrius, as an εἰδησις, but a knowledge embracing *all* the things said in poets and writers: while the grammarian, in view of his short-livedness, will be acquainted only with most of the speech of the poets and writers, grammar is the knowledge of all that (ἐπεὶπερ οὗτος [sc. γραμματικός] μὲν τυχὸν ἴσως ἐπιστήμων ἐστὶ τῶν <πλείστων τῶν> παρὰ ποιηταῖς τε καὶ συγγραφεύσι λεγομένων, ὀλιγόβιον καθεστῶς ζῶον, ἢ δὲ γραμματικὴ πάντων εἰδησις) (*Math.* I 73). From this argumentation two facts follow, which appear in Asclepiades' definition:

(a) grammar cannot be defined as an ἐμπειρία, since it extends beyond the ‘empirically’ acquired knowledge of individuals; hence, it must be defined as a τέχνη, and more particularly as a ‘firm’ art.

(b) grammar cannot be said to be a limited or limitative knowledge; hence it cannot be defined with a restrictive clause (ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ / πλείστον), but should be circumscribed in absolute terms: “grammar is (the) expertise of what is said in poets and prose writers” (γραμματική ἐστι τέχνη τῶν παρὰ ποιηταῖς καὶ συγγραφεύσι λεγομένων). Evidently, such a definition lent itself to skeptical attacks.

5 Sextus Empiricus: The Deconstruction of (the Definitions of) Grammar

As will be clear from the preceding analyses, our main source for the ancient Greek definitions of grammar is Sextus Empiricus. As a matter of fact, in his *Against the grammarians* Sextus deals explicitly with the status of grammar as a discipline. His examination is especially interesting for two reasons:

(a) on the one hand, Sextus wants to document his *critical* examination through a scrutiny of definitions of grammar available to him;

(b) on the other hand, since his aim is to assess the status of grammar, he specifically pays attention to the way in which the authors *define the nature and function of grammar*.

At the beginning of the third section of his treatise Sextus explicates his approach, with reference to Epicurus’ methodological principle:

Ἐπεὶ οὐτε ζητεῖν οὐτε ἀπορεῖν ἔστι κατὰ τὸν σοφὸν Ἐπίκουρον ἄνευ προλήψεως, εὖ ἂν ἔχοι πρὸ τῶν ὄλων σκέψασθαι τί δ’ ἔστι ἡ γραμματική, καὶ εἰ κατὰ τὴν ἀποδεδομένην ὑπὸ τῶν γραμματικῶν ἔννοιαν δύναται συστατὸν τι καὶ ὑπαρκτὸν νοεῖσθαι μάθημα (*Math.* I 57).

Since according to the wise Epicurus it is neither possible to investigate nor to come to an impasse without a preconception,³¹ we would do well first of all to examine what grammar is and whether a coherent and real study can be conceived according to the idea of it handed down by the grammarians. (transl. Blank [1998] 14).

31 Sextus’ term *prolepsis* is generally translated as ‘preconception’, but this term should not be taken in its present-day acception: it refers to a basic, first-hand idea that we have of a particular (type of) object. It is therefore not a preconceived idea, but an empirically based apprehension.

The key terms here are (a) μάθημα, and (b) συστατόν / ύπαρκτόν. The term μάθημα refers to a rational, principle-based study (which can be either an art or a science) of an object (or, rather, a domain of objects). The two qualifying adjectives συστατόν and ύπαρκτόν more precisely define the nature of the μάθημα aimed at: it should be systematic / coherent (συστατόν) and real(istic) (ύπαρκτόν).

Now, Sextus' examination will consist in showing that the definitions of 'grammar' given by grammarians are incoherent and that they entail that their object cannot be real. Let us have a look at how Sextus proceeds.

(1) He first deals with Dionysius Thrax' definition, as expertness regarding most of the speech of poets and prose writers. Sextus applies to it a *reductio ad absurdum*: Dionysius and his followers must mean an expertness in either 'all' of speech, or some of it. But if it is 'all', then the object of grammar is endless (speech being endless). But of the endless, there is no έμπειρία. If it is 'some' of the speech, either this amount is too insignificant in order to speak of 'expertise', or it refers to a large amount of factual knowledge, but then we are confronted with the problem of defining a critical threshold (Sextus appeals to the sorites argument or argument of the 'heap': if we diminish a heap, say of straw, by taking out, successively, pieces of straw, at what time is the heap still a 'heap', and at what time is it no longer a heap?).

(2) Asclepiades' definition of grammar as 'all embracing' is then critically examined by Sextus, who concludes that such a definition entails the non-reality of grammar: either because the possessor of such a general, universal knowledge cannot exist (as commonly recognised), either because grammar as a 'system' of the conceptions concerning grammar cannot exist, since it would be a system of necessarily incomplete cognitions (held by individuals).

(3) Chaeris' definition of grammar as a diagnostic skill, while being more coherent than Dionysius' definition, precisely leads to the non-existence of grammar, in Sextus' view. As a matter of fact, in assigning to grammar the task of accounting for all the things said and thought by the Greeks, Chaeris posited an unlimited domain of study (for human beings). In addition, Sextus criticises Chaeris' attempt at demarcating grammar from other arts, since this leaves us with a dilemma, lending itself to a *reductio ad absurdum*:

άλλως τε ήτοι τεχνικήν οίεται είναι την έξιν ή άτεχνον και ει μέν τεχνικήν, πώς ούκ αύτην ειπε τέχνην αλλά τó άφ' ού έστιν; ει δέ άτεχνον, έπει ού δυνατόν δια του άτέχνου τó τεχνικόν όράσθαι, ούδδ συστήσεται τις γραμματική έξις τεχνικώς διαγινώσκουσα τά παρ' Έλλησι σημαίνοντά τε και σημαίνόμενα. (*Math.* I 83).

And furthermore, Chaeris either thinks the skill is expert or non-expert. If it is expert, why did he not call it itself an expertise, instead of that form which it arises? But if it is non-expert, since it is not possible to observe the expert by means of the non-expert, neither will any grammar exist as a skill expertly diagnosing the signifiers and signifieds of Greeks (transl. Blank [1998] 19).

(4) Finally, there is Demetrius Chlorus' definition of grammar as the expertise of what is in poets and knowledge of the words in common usage. The first part entails a non-realistic object: the grammarian cannot have the expertise of all that is spoken about by poets, and if the extension of his competence is lowered, it becomes impossible to distinguish it definitely from the expertise of philosophers, physicians etc. The second part of the definition shows similar difficulties: common usage is unlimited, and of unlimited things there is no knowledge. And, once again, if the extension of knowledge of common usage is diminished, the 'expert knowledge' falls short of generality.

Sextus' critical examination of the definitions of grammar provided by these authors thus leads to the conclusion that grammar, defined in these ways, lacks any realistic foundation:

Δείγματα μὲν οὖν χάριν ταῦτ' εἰρήσθω εἰς τὸ ἀνυπόστατον εἶναι τὴν γραμματικὴν ὅσον ἐπὶ τῇ παρὰ τοῖς γραμματικοῖς αὐτῆς ἐπινοία (*Math.* I 90).

So let this stand to show the non-existence of grammar, at least on the grammarians' conception of it (transl. Blank [1998] 20).

The poignancy of Sextus' conclusion of course lies in the suggestion that precisely the definitions of grammar given by grammarians show that there cannot be a domain of study that corresponds to the defining characteristics mentioned by these authors. In a further stage Sextus then shows the lack of method and coherence of the parts of grammar as distinguished by the grammarians.

6 Dionysius Thrax' Definition of Grammar and Its Afterlife

Of all the definitions of grammar that are attested before Sextus Empiricus only one seems to have enjoyed lasting continuity. Whatever may be the reasons for the 'eclipse' of other definitions, the one proposed by Dionysius was perpetuated in the training of philologists and in school room practice.

It is likely that in its original form Dionysius Thrax' *Technê* covered the six parts of grammar specified at the beginning of the work; subsequently, the work may have undergone a condensation, with a focus on the 'technical' part of grammar, a part for which specialized terminology as well as basic distinctions were already in place in the 2nd/1st c. BC (cf. Matthaios [1999]). We lack precise information about the evolution of the organization and doctrinal refinement of Dionysius' *Technê*, but one cannot dispute the fact (a) that the work was already an important reference for Asclepiades and, later, Sextus Empiricus, and (b) that in the course of time, the work developed into a manual for the instruction of grammar, as is clear from the papyrological tradition (cf. Swiggers–Wouters [1995a] 96–97) and from the Byzantine scholia on the *Technê*.

In the papyrological documentation (published by Wouters [1979]) we find confirmation of the process of doctrinal uniformization—allowing for some fluctuation and variation (cf. Swiggers–Wouters [1995a])—, but the papyri contain little information on the definition of grammar and on the status of grammar as a discipline. Only in *P.S.I.* 1.18 (5th c. AD; Wouters [1979] n. 5), which contains the opening paragraph of the *Technê* and Supplement 3 (cf. *supra*, note 11) on metrical feet, do we find the almost literal reproduction of the definition and division of grammar as found in the transmitted text of the *Technê*. In the definition of grammar given in *P.S.I.* 1.18, ll. 9–14 there is only a slight variation with respect to that of the *Technê* as transmitted by the medieval manuscripts (cf. *supra*, § 3): γραμματική ἐστὶν ἐμπειρία τῶν παρὰ ποιηταῖς τε καὶ συγγραφεύσιν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ λεγομένων (Wouters [1979] 122 and 124), whereas the medieval manuscripts read ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ. Together with *P. Hal* 55A (5th c. AD; Wouters [1979] n. 4)—a fragmentarily preserved parchment text, with parts of §§ 12 and 20 of Dionysius' manual—*P.S.I.* 1.18 should be considered the first direct copy of the *Technê*.

As to definitions of grammar, the Byzantine commentaries precisely focus on the one given by Dionysius, and only offer scant information on other definitions, which seem to have been marginalized by the focal interest on the *Technê*. A divergent definition³² mentioned in the scholia is the one attributed to Tyrannio of Amisos (2nd/1st c. BC), a pupil of Dionysius Thrax: his definition

32 Another definition of a first century BC author is preserved only in a Latin source (and in a Latin translation), viz. Aristo of Alexandria's definition quoted by Marius Victorinus: *Grammatica est scientia poetarum et historicorum intellegere, formam loquendi ad rationem et consuetudinem dirigens* (*G.L.* VI, 4.7–8). This definition reflects the view of grammar as dealing with poetry and prose writings, but in addition it seems to apply a larger formative, ethical role of the grammarian (*ad rationem et consuetudinem dirigens*).

(γραμματική ἐστὶ θεωρία μιμήσεως, ‘grammar is the theoretical/philosophical knowledge of *mimesis*’), is remarkable in view of the use of the terms θεωρία and, especially, μίμησις. Since Tyrannio’s definition is quoted in isolation from its original context, it is hard to interpret it. Clearly, it involves a more extensive conception of grammar, in relation to the analysis of literary works: the term *mimesis* may be a reference to Aristotle’s view of (literary) language as a representation (or ‘simulation’) of reality. ‘Grammar’ would then be the knowledge required to explain the process and product of literary expression and ‘representation’.

In the scholia much more attention is given to the division of grammar. It is, however, extremely difficult to obtain a clear evolutionary picture of the discussion, since the internal chronology of the scholia is unclear and, in addition, we cannot determine precisely on which stage of the textual transmission of the *Technê* the scholiasts’ commentaries are based. In general, the scholiasts³³ seem to assume (1) a distinction between parts (*merê*), subparts (*moria*) and tools (*organa*) of grammar—often Dionysius Thrax is criticized by his scholiasts for not having made such a distinction—, and (2) a quadripartite³⁴ distinction for both the parts and the tools: the four parts are *diorthôtikon* (establishing the correct text wording; this part is lacking in the *Technê* of Dionysius), *anagnôstikon* (reading aloud), *exêgêtikon* (interpretation of the text), and *kritikon* (literary and text-historical judgement), and the four tools are *glôssêmatikon*, *historikon*, *metrikon* and *technikon*. Of course, in practice, the tools cannot be uniquely correlated with distinct parts, but nor can they be strictly separated from each other: e.g., the *glôssêmatikon* tool occurs in the *diorthôtikon* and *exêgêtikon* parts, and it overlaps with the *historikon* tool.

7 Conclusion

The above survey and analysis of definitions of grammar in ancient Greece has shown:

(a) that, following a period of philosophical interest in the study of language, grammar became an autonomous field of study, which received its definition as a discipline on its own;

33 For a very useful tabulation of the contents of the scholia dealing with the division of grammar (*Sch. Dion. T.* 10.8ff, 12.3ff, 13.7ff, 115.8ff, 168.19ff, 170.17ff, 452.34ff, 471.8ff), see Blank [2000] 412–413.

34 See Usener [1892], who attributes the quadripartition of grammar to Tyrannio.

(b) that the definitions given of grammar testify to an explicit concern with assessing the epistemological status of grammar, in its relation to the various degrees of knowledge; as such, the definitions of grammar transmitted to us should be contextualized in the larger frame of ancient philosophy of science;

(c) that all the extant definitions reflect a conception, and a practice, of grammar as a (literary) text-based discipline, with only a sporadic integration of the study of 'common speech';

(d) that, through the tradition of philosophical training and of grammar teaching in schools, the definition of grammar as the (propaedeutic) discipline preparing students for dealing with literary texts seems to have imposed itself in ancient Greek culture and in Byzantine times. This evolution cannot be separated from a 'factual' development: the creation of didactic tools for the teaching of grammar—manuals, paradigm tables, lists of exercises—, a process in which grammar became an object, and a primordial condition of education in general and thus a cornerstone of 'cultural capital'. In the course of this process grammar became, next to an object of study, an instrument of knowledge.

Typology of Philological Writings

Markus Dubischar

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1 Introduction

A categorical warning was given in a recently edited volume that we should “resist a single definition” of the term philology,¹ and the evidence and reflections presented in that volume’s contributions makes this advice compelling. However, a typology of philological writings, as will be undertaken here, has to be based at least on a working definition of what we mean by ‘philology’ and, by extension, what we mean by ‘philological writings’.

Three main conceptualizations of philology—all have found proponents from the nineteenth century until today—can be distinguished. In its narrowest sense, philology is roughly synonymous with textual criticism and refers to everything that goes into producing critical editions. The broadest understanding, on the other hand, takes philology to comprise every kind of literary

1 Gurd [2010] 8. See also Ziolkowski [1990]; Schwindt [2002].

or text-based scholarship, extending the term's range to include also studies of linguistic, historical, or cultural nature. Finally, there is a middle position between these two extremes. It represents what seems to be to most common understanding, sometimes made explicit, sometimes only implied, and it will be adopted in this contribution: according to this understanding, philology has two main purposes: first, to restore, preserve, and transmit important texts from the past; and, second, to understand and interpret these texts adequately.² The two core areas of philology are therefore textual criticism, which aims at establishing a sound text, and textual exegesis or interpretation, which aspires to arrive at and adequately bring out a text's meaning. In its dual nature, philology is scholarly *Textpflege*, the competent, considerate, and caring reception, cultivation, and appropriation of texts that are considered important and valuable enough to deserve, and difficult enough to require, such privileged treatment. Whenever scholarly *Textpflege* manifests itself in the production of new writings,³ we can speak of philological writings. For additional terminological clarity, the original important texts that have become objects of philological work may be referred to as 'primary texts', to be distinguished here from the philological writings that they elicit.⁴

The extent to which and the state in which ancient philological writings have survived is dishearteningly poor.⁵ It may be for this reason that specifically typological studies of ancient philological writings are rare. Pfeiffer's and Pöhlmann's accounts of ancient philological scholarship and its development are fundamentally historical.⁶ Dickey, on the other hand, has largely structured the longest and most substantial chapter⁷ of her rich guide to ancient Greek scholarship by individual primary authors, in the order of their relative importance within ancient literary and philological scholarship (*i.e.*, a section on ancient Homeric scholarship, followed by a section on ancient scholarship on the comic poet Aristophanes, followed by a section on Euripides, and so forth).

2 Cf., *e.g.*, Pfeiffer [1968] 3 and 134; Bühler [1977] 44; Wilson [1997a] 87; Dickey [2007] 3.

3 Cf. Montanari [2011a] 15 with a general definition of philological-scholarly works as "text on a text" or 'text about a text'.

4 For 'primary texts' in a related context (and for the term's origin in Michel Foucault's *L'ordre du discours*, 1970), see Dubischar [2010] 41–42.

5 The philological works of the discipline's truly foundational figures (Zenodotus, Callimachus, Aristophanes of Byzantium, or Aristarchus) are all lost. The survey by Wilson [1997a] 94–95 of what little has survived intact lists only five titles.

6 Cf. Pfeiffer [1968] on beginnings to the end of the Hellenistic period; Pöhlmann [1994] on beginnings to the time of Septimius Severus. Other concise historical overviews include Montanari [1993b] 259–281; Wilson [1997a]; [1997b]; Kaster [1997]; Dickey [2007] 3–17.

7 'Scholia, Commentaries, and Lexica on Specific Literary Works' in Dickey [2007] 18–71.

So far only Montanari has given classificatory overviews of ancient philological writings. In the more comprehensive of the two publications, the large field of Greek erudite literature is divided thematically and typologically. With regard to theme (and function), Montanari distinguishes 1) philology, 2) grammar, and 3) tradition and interpretation of texts,⁸ of which the first and the third groups fall into the realm of this contribution. Even more important for the purposes of this study are Montanari's typological distinctions, which are the following:⁹

- Editions, commentaries, scholiography: within this section, in addition, commentaries (*hypomnemata*) are set apart from monographs (*syggrammata*).
- Lexicography, with the further distinction between *glossai* and *lexeis*
- Grammar
- Paremiography

Montanari's earlier typological study concentrates on the narrower field of Homeric philology preserved on papyri. But due to Homer's central position in ancient scholarship and ancient education, the distinctions that Montanari establishes here also have general relevance:¹⁰

- *Hypomnemata* (commentaries)
- Alphabetical lexica
- Anthologies
- Mythographical *historiai*
- *Hypotheseis*, with further distinctions between reworkings and summaries on the one hand and real *hypotheseis*, which come in two subtypes, on the other
- The so called *Scholia minora*, with further distinctions between the *Scholia minora* proper and two variants, namely, paraphrases and lexica

Montanari's helpful and admirably documented overviews represent the current state of research in this area, and it already gives a good indication of the formal variety of ancient writings of literary scholarship. There are points, however, that call for closer investigation. As will be seen in the course of this contribution, some types mentioned by Montanari may be differentiated further to bring out more fully the typological variance of ancient philological

8 Cf. Montanari [1993b] 235–240.

9 Cf. Montanari [1993b] 240–259.

10 Cf. Montanari [1984].

writings. In addition, Montanari's synopses are mainly descriptive and enumerative. While this is the best approach for his heuristic goals, it leaves only limited room for the pursuit of analytical or theoretical questions that might lead to a more systemically developed typology.¹¹ For this reason, the overall guiding questions for this contribution will be not only "which types of philological writings did exist?" But also: "why these types?" And: "how are they related to one another?"¹²

This study's goals and aspirations, however, come with some limitations that should also be addressed at this point. The main focus will be on charting and to some extent explaining typological diversity. This has consequences. First, a synchronistic rather than diachronistic perspective will dominate. The history of philological writings and their types will not be explored systematically. Only select developments will be addressed when and in so far as they reveal characteristic underlying systemic processes. Second, the Hellenistic period, and the Library and Mouseion in Ptolemaic Alexandria in particular, will receive the most attention in the course of the following explorations. This Alexandrocentrism is owed to the fact that, by leading ancient scholarship to its height, this historical period and these institutions also brought about the greatest and most richly developed typological diversity of philological writings. Other periods or contexts of scholarship, about which we are also less well informed than about Alexandria, will be brought into play only on certain occasions. In particular, scholia and scholiography will be considered as phenomena of reception and transmission, not as original philological production. They will therefore be briefly mentioned on two occasions but not closely studied in this contribution.

Third, and finally, systematizations or categorizations of complex fields and processes are always imperfect and tentative.¹³ Whatever order they provide comes at the price of reducing certain empirical complexities when, for instance, categorizations seem to suggest clear-cut internal or external

11 Cf. Asper [2007] 46 on the difference between mere '*Textklassenbenennungen*' and more developed '*Gattungssysteme*.'

12 Gansel [2011] 13–14 emphatically suggests that text-linguistic studies move from 'what-questions' ('*Was-Fragen*') to 'how-questions' ('*Wie-Fragen*'). Examples of comparable approaches in neighboring ancient intellectual or literary areas include Ax [2005] on Roman grammar; Asper [2007] on ancient scientific literature texts; Dubischar [2010] on mostly popularizing auxiliary texts. Ancient philological writings with their own, specific functions remain yet to be more fully explored.

13 This *caveat*, commonly made by scholars who propose new classifications, has perhaps never been expressed more directly than by Genette [1997a] 1: "At the time of writing (13 October 1981), I am inclined to recognize five types of transtextual relationships".

divisions and boundaries where there are really gradual transitions.¹⁴ In addition, classifications are always contingent on the choice of the distinguishing criterion. Any one classification or system will highlight certain differences and establish certain relations among the studied objects but *eo ipso* eclipse others. Different distinguishing criteria produce different results.¹⁵ Therefore, what will be presented here, in spite of its at times systematized appearance, makes no claim to being definitive. If the following typology of philological writings serves as a preliminary base for further discussion and exploration of this overall not yet sufficiently studied topic, it will have served its purpose.

2 Typology

The following typology will observe both the various formal structures and the functions of philological writings. This essentially text-pragmatic approach acknowledges that philological writings, in this respect like other scientific or technical texts, are essentially functional writings. They are each composed for a specific purpose, and their function largely determines their formal structure.¹⁶

The most fundamental distinction for the following typology of philological writings is that between broad-band and special-purpose types of writings.

2.1 *Broad-Band Types: Annotations, Commentaries, Monographs*

Philological scholarship, as conceived of in this study as *Textpflege*, is concerned with textual criticism and exegesis, that is, with a text's words in its meaning. Several types of writings have a functional range that is broad enough, and come in a formal structure that is open enough, to encompass both of these aspects. They may therefore be characterized as broad-band types of writings. These are marginal and interlinear annotations, commentaries, and monographs. Taking into account their different degrees of textual independence and autonomy, these types can be seen as forming a sequence, from textually least to most independent and autonomous.

At this point, however, we should remind ourselves that while philology relies on primary texts as its objects, it does not always take on the form of writing itself. Matters related to the constitution of a text or its meaning can also be

14 See also Montanari [2011a] 17.

15 Instructively demonstrated by Ax [2005].

16 For technical-scientific literature, cf. Asper [2007] 13–14, 371, and elsewhere; Göpferich [1995] 4, 66, and elsewhere. For relevant text-linguistic background see, *e.g.*, Heinemann [2008] 123–125, 136–138, and elsewhere; Gansel [2011] 67–68 and elsewhere.

discussed and taught orally. Typologically, this would constitute the zero-level, so to speak, at which no textualization of philological efforts takes place. Our testimonies for such oral philological instruction and discussion are naturally scarce. But even in the absence of any reliable information, we would have to assume the existence of oral venues of philological activity wherever philology was practiced.¹⁷ In fact, however, there is some evidence for oral (ἀπὸ φωνῆς) teaching and discussion at Alexandria's Museion.¹⁸ Timon of Phlius' satirizing image of the Museion as a cage of squabbling birds points to a strong oral (and of course contentious and competitive) element in the discourse cultivated at this famous institution.¹⁹ More specifically, Pfeiffer plausibly assumes that Zenodotus' interpretations were transmitted orally because the written commentary had not yet been 'invented'.²⁰ In addition, *Suda* (s.v. Ἀριστοφάνης Βυζάντιος) tells us that in his early years Aristophanes of Byzantium heard (ἤκουσε) Zenodotus and Callimachus.²¹ And Aristophanes himself, as Pfeiffer again assumes, "may have talked more fully to his pupils" about lexical issues that would have come up as he was compiling material for the various sections of his Λέξεις.²²

2.1.1 Annotations

With brief annotations, placed in the interlinear or marginal spaces directly on a given copy of the primary text, we enter the realm of writing. Annotations can address issues of textual constitution as well basic aspects of understanding. Before the advent of the codex, marginal or interlinear annotations had to be short. They were thus most suitable for commenting on specific points concerning individual lines or even individual words in a line of the primary text. But since annotations are written, they share the characteristic advantage of all writing: the addresser and the addressee no longer have to be in the same place at the same time because the acts of writing and reading, that is, of sending and receiving, can be, and usually are, temporally and/or spatially separated.²³ Marginal or interlinear annotations thus give the philo-

17 On the predominance of oral teaching and training in other technical areas see Meißner [1999] 139–141; Meißner [2003]; also van der Eijk [1997] 96.

18 For an overview of the first Alexandrian scholarship see also Montana in this volume.

19 Cf. Lloyd-Jones – Parsons [1983] 372–373 (*fr.* 786); Pfeiffer [1968] 97–98, but also Cameron [1995] 31–32; Long [1978] 74 *et passim*.

20 Cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 108 with n. 1.

21 Cf. Slater [1986] 1 (T 1, 1–3); Pfeiffer [1968] 172.

22 Cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 202.

23 For analyses, informed by and contributing to general communications theory, of the transition from oral to written communication and some of its consequences see Ehlich [1983]; Luhmann [1997] 249–290.

logical scholar the opportunity to add his own comments to an existing primary text, by fixating them permanently onto the very same scroll that already contains the primary text. The range of potential reception, that is, of the number of people who can be reached at present or in the future, is thus at once greatly expanded.

From this point on, the original *Textträger* ('text carrier') holds two kinds of texts: the primary text that elicited the scholar's annotations as well as the added philological paratext.²⁴ Even so, paratextual annotations are a rather elementary, if not rudimentary, form of writing. They are still far cry from exploring more fully the formal, dispositional, intellectual, and stylistic features or strategies that characterize more developed technical or scientific written discourse.²⁵ Instead, the annotations' contents are, by necessity, not only directly tied to specific points of the primary text; what is more, they also lack physical autonomy since they are written on an already existing text copy.

Annotations are nevertheless philological-scholarly tools of great practical value and—as the first manifestation of serious philological efforts in writing—even of historical importance. Two main types can be distinguished: signs and explicit notes. The first philological sign (σημείον), famously 'invented' already by the first head of the Alexandrian Library, Zenodotus of Ephesus, in his edition of Homer, is the ὀβελός, a short horizontal dash ('-'), which Zenodotus used to mark spurious lines.²⁶ Considering the obvious practicality and efficiency of the *obelos*, its 'invention' may have been only a small and obvious step to take for Zenodotus. But it was a giant leap for the history of philology. Inaugurating a method of "non-destructive criticism";²⁷ Zenodotus marked the lines that he believed to be not genuine, but he did not delete them. For the first time, "an editor had provided the serious reader and scholar with an opportunity of appraising his critical judgment".²⁸

It was not until several generations later that Aristophanes of Byzantium, fourth head of the Library,²⁹ seems to have added other critical signs to the *obelos*, such as the ἀστερίσκος (asterisk: *), to mark lines that are duplicated from another place, as well as the σίγμα (*sigma*: ⊃) and the ἀντίσιγμα

24 Cf. Genette [1997b] in particular 319–343 on "notes" and 337–339 on "allographic notes". See also Moennighoff [2008]; on related topics also Barney [1991] and Grafton [1999].

25 Cf. Asper [2007] 27–35.

26 See Montana in this volume.

27 Jacob [1999] 13.

28 Cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 115; also, e.g., Pöhlmann [1994] 27–28.

29 See Montana in this volume.

(inverted *sigma*: \supset) for two consecutive and interchangeable lines of the same content.³⁰ The number of philological signs and in some cases their meanings were modified and further developed by Aristarchus of Samothrace, sixth head of the Library. While there is uncertainty about some details, it seems that he used both critical and exegetical marginal signs in his editions of the Homeric poems. Critical signs were the *obelos* (–) as used by Zenodotus and Aristophanes; the διπλή περιεστειγμένη (dotted *diple*, \supset) to point to a verse in which Aristarchus' text differs from that of Zenodotus;³¹ the asterisk (*) for lines that are wrongly repeated elsewhere in the text; the *obelos* added to the asterisk (*–) where the repeated line is out of place; the *στιγμή* (·) indicating suspected spuriousness; the *antisigma* (\supset) to indicate lines in disturbed order, with the *stigma* (·) denoting the line that should immediately follow the line marked with the *antisigma*. The famous *diple* (>), widely applicable and frequently used,³² was of a different nature. It marked lines whose language or content was perhaps also exegetically noteworthy (not only with regard to textual criticism) and pointed to a corresponding explanation in a commentary (see below § 2.1.2).³³

Aristarchus' *semeia* became the standard philological signs for centuries to follow, also adopted early on by scholars in Rome,³⁴ even if a certain diversity and flexibility in the signs' uses must be accounted for.³⁵ Some papyrus fragments in fact contain un-Aristarchan signs whose use was fairly consistent nevertheless. For instance, the so-called *ancora*, an anchor-shaped diagonal upward or downward pointer often marks places where text had been omitted or draws attention to text-critical restoration in the top or bottom margin; and there were other lunate signs whose roughly moon-shaped form and meaning are related to the *antisigma*.³⁶ The meanings of other signs surviving on papyrus are less clear or vary more strongly, as those of the

30 Cf. Nauck [1848a] 15–18; Pfeiffer [1968] 178, also Slater [1986] 210.

31 See also Ludwich [1884–1885] II 58–64.

32 Gudeman [1922b] 1918.

33 Examples of Homeric lines to which Aristarchus applied his symbols in Ludwich [1884–1885] I 22; cf. also McNamee [1992] 28 (Table 1); Pfeiffer [1968] 218.

34 Cf. Pöhlmann [1994] 47.

35 Cf. Ludwich [1884–1885] I 20–21 and elsewhere; Gudeman [1922b] 1916–1917; McNamee [1992] 11. Cf. Hephaestion's dictum in *Περὶ σημείων* (*On Signs*): Τὰ σημεία τὰ παρὰ τοῖς ποιηταῖς ἄλλως παρ' ἄλλοις κέεται ('The signs for the poets are used differently for different poets', p. 73 ed. Conbruch [1904]).

36 Cf. McNamee [1992] 11–5.

diple (>) in non-Homeric texts, the simple diagonal stroke, the dotted *obelos*, or the letter X (*chi*).³⁷

Other kinds of signs facilitate a text's reading or understanding. Even though they are generally thought of as less 'philological' than especially the critical σημεῖα, they too deserve to be mentioned. They include diacritical signs (accents and breathings), metrical or colometrical signs, lectional signs (indicating, for instance, speaker change or word separation), and various kinds of punctuation.³⁸ Some papyri also bear marginal signs that give practical rather than critical or exegetical aid, as they indicate how certain texts were used, for instance, again the letter X (*chi*) or the monogram *chi-rho*, likely symbols for the words χρῆσις ('passage') or χρηστόν ('useful').³⁹

Philological signs are one kind of paratextual annotation. Marginal or inter-linear notes, written not as symbols but as explicit words, are the second type. To be sure, these are not the scholia, that is, not the Late Antique or Byzantine excerpts from earlier, usually Alexandrian scholarly writings (commentaries, but also monographs or lexica) that the 'scholiast' adds in the margins or inter-linear spaces of a papyrus or later, more typically and with more space, in the wider margins of a page of a codex. Instead, the marginal or interlinear notes to be discussed here are direct manifestations of productive philological work and are in this regard not all that different from philological signs. They, too, can be associated with the ancient practice of producing a 'critical edition', an obviously important process about which, however, we have less reliable information than we would like.⁴⁰ The uncertainties result from the scantiness of our evidence as well as from the fact that text-editing is itself a complex process that means partly different things in different times and contexts.⁴¹ The meanings of two key terms, διόρθωσις and ἔκδοσις,⁴² however, seem to be relatively stable. The former comprises the steps of manuscript collation and text emendation (with or without conjectures); the latter refers to the releasing of a text which could then be read or copied by others.

37 Cf. McNamee [1992] 15–21; also McNamee [1992] 29–48 (Tables 2 and 3); Montanari [201b] 11 and elsewhere.

38 For papyrus evidence of the *paragraphus* (horizontal stroke), double dot, various kinds of punctuation, lectional signs, accents, hyphens, breathings, *coronis*, and others see Turner [1971] 10–18.

39 Cf. McNamee [1992] 20–22.

40 Cf. van Groningen [1963]; Irigoin [1994]; Montanari [201b]. Galen's *œuvre* is a storehouse of relevant information that still awaits full exploitation; cf. Hanson [1998].

41 Cf. Most [1998] x.

42 See Montana and Montanari in this volume.

In this context it is important to note that the famous Alexandrian ‘critical editions’ of the classical Greek authors were probably not always, if ever, entirely newly-written texts that would resemble the scholar’s preferred constitution of the text, with only *semeia* added in the margins as appropriate. More likely, an Alexandrian philologist would work with an already existing good copy—determined through *παράνάλγησις*, *i.e.*, manuscript collation and evaluation—⁴³ of the text to be ‘edited’. Onto this very *Textträger* that contained the primary text, Zenodotus, as his successors in their ‘editions’, would then likely add not only philological *semeia* but also short marginal notes that were in effect marginal commentaries (‘Randkommentar[e]’) or interlinear notes when this was more practical.⁴⁴ In this way, textual variants, parallels, and even very short explanations or arguments could be provided. This procedure can plausibly be assumed not only for Zenodotus and Aristophanes of Byzantium but even for Aristarchus, whose case is more complicated because he is said to have produced more than one Homeric ‘edition’ and because he also wrote commentaries in which fuller and more systematic elucidations could be given (see below § 2.1.2, Montana, and Montanari in this volume). The simple practice of adding helpful, explicitly spelled-out interlinear or marginal notes—in its essence it certainly predates Alexandrian scholarship—⁴⁵ is so obviously practical that it would be surprising had the Alexandrian ‘editors’ not adopted it for their philological purposes.⁴⁶

2.1.2 Commentaries

The commentary (*ὑπόμνημα*)⁴⁷ is typologically situated on the next higher level of textual autonomy. But there are functional similarities to the manifestations of philology mentioned thus far. Like oral explanations and marginal or interlinear annotations, philological commentaries can aim at elucidating a primary text with regards to textual criticism and exegesis. The new and defining feature of the commentary is that it is a physically independent, “self-standing”⁴⁸ text. Written on a separate *Textträger*, the commentary still has a primary text as its object but is no longer physically attached to it.

43 Cf. Jones [1999] 171.

44 For the following cf. van Thiel [1992], quotation on p. 4, 14, and 25; van Thiel [1997] in response to criticism by Schmidt [1997]; Montanari [1998d]; Montanari [201b] 2–3.

45 Montanari [201b] 3 *et passim*.

46 On the other hand, if ‘edited’ texts were released for reading or copying, there is no reason why in fact there could not soon thereafter be an entirely newly written text—or rather, text copy—resembling the scholar’s preferred textual constitution of a given text.

47 On the terminological developments of *ὑπόμνημα* and ‘*commentarius*’ see Bömer [1953].

48 A well-chosen attribute consistently used in this context by Dickey [2007]; for “text and commentary [...] written on separate rolls” see also Pfeiffer [1968] 218.

The communicative advantages of this mode of philological explanation are obvious. First and foremost, the strengths of the medium of writing for the sake of dissemination of information,⁴⁹ in this case of philological information, are now more fully exploited. A paratext written onto a primary *Textträger* allowed for the separation between the philologist and his potential readers; a self-standing commentary, in addition, physically separates and thus emancipates the philological explanations from any particular copy of the primary text. The range of potential reception is thus vastly expanded as the commentary can be used in connection with any copy of the primary text (as long as it reasonably resembles the commentator's primary copy). Second, a physically independent commentary provides more space for the individual comments and elucidations. Paratextual annotations must be brief enough to fit in the primary *Textträger's* interlinear or marginal spaces, which are especially narrow on a papyrus. By contrast, the commentary provides more room for both text-critical and exegetical explanations and arguments concerning any number of individual words, lines, or passages. This increase in available space has qualitative rather than simply quantitative effects because self-standing *hypomnemata* allow not only for extensiveness but also greater depth in the primary text's treatment. The form of the commentary may thus be said to have a truly liberating effect on philological writing.

The commentary's main purpose determines its typical structure. Primary texts chosen for treatment usually require continual passage-after-passage explanations, possibly down to the level of individual words in the primary text. Writers of *hypomnemata* thus typically proceed from one *explicandum* to the next, even if in practice the degrees of evenness and comprehensiveness in coverage and depth may vary.⁵⁰ The result of this procedure is the commentary's markedly segmented and almost 'discrete' text structure.⁵¹ But while for several other 'discrete' text types, presenting their material in a self-evident and immediately transparent order requires additional structuring measures (*e.g.*, alphabetization or section headings), the commentary rather conveniently treats the individual *explicanda* in the order in which they occur in the primary text.⁵²

49 Cf., *e.g.*, Ehlich [1983]; Luhmann [1997] 249–290.

50 Cf. Lunden [2011a] 166–168.

51 For the distinction between 'discrete' ("*diskrete*") and 'continuous' ("*kontinuierliche*") texts see Asper [2007] 57. The discrete texts treated by Asper are sentence collections, which are obviously even more rigidly discrete than lemmatized commentaries.

52 Cf. Montanari [1993b] 240, 243; Gibson [2002] 14. This solves the question of how best to arrange the material, which typically arises with more discrete texts; cf. Asper [2007] 58–61.

However, the commentary's physical independence, while beneficial in important ways, also creates a new problem. Its solution also partly shapes the typical presentation of the commentary's material. The problem is that with the self-standing *hypomnemata* the link between the *explicandum* and its explanation, which was immediately clear in the case of paratextual annotations, is severely weakened and less obvious (despite the predictable relative order in which the commentary proceeds). Once the elucidations are relegated to a *Textträger* separate from that of the primary text, it is no longer instantly clear whether a particular lemma of the primary text has received treatment in the commentary or not, or also to which word or passage in the primary text an individual explanation refers. This link must therefore be reestablished through other measures. This additional effort is the cost, so to speak, of wanting to enjoy the benefits of the commentary's physical emancipation from the primary text.

The most practical and most common solution to this problem, not only in antiquity, is the primary text's lemmatized (re)appearance in the commentary. The word, line, or passage to be explained is replicated in the commentary either fully or, if a longer section receives a comment, in part and oftentimes visually marked so that the primary text's lemmata are easily distinguished from the commentator's explanations.⁵³ But not only must the comment be linked back to the relevant passage of the primary text; the primary text's reader may also appreciate hints in the primary text to see which passages have received a philological comment. This adds an important new function to the marginal signs. They can now also be used in a primary text to direct the reader to the commentary for relevant critical or exegetical information.⁵⁴ While various *semeia* can be used in this way, the most common and likely the earliest example is the already mentioned marginal *diple* (>), famously introduced in this function by Aristarchus, the 'inventor' of the commentary.⁵⁵ The sign could be repeated in the commentary to guide its users even more easily to the beginning of an explanation.

The self-standing commentary, once established, became an extremely successful, that is, widely used philological genre. Nevertheless, the physical separation of the explanation from the *explicandum* seems to have remained potentially problematic and in some situations inconvenient, despite the mentioned textual counter-strategies and despite the genre's overall benefits. For not only must we assume that for their own use readers of a commentary—

53 Cf. Luppe [2002] 57–58; Gibson [2002] 14–15; Ludson [2011a] 162–163 and 171.

54 Cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 218; McNamee [1992] 11; Montanari [1993b] 242.

55 For Aristarchus as 'inventor' of the commentary cf. Montana in this volume.

most of us do it on occasion—will jot down information taken from the commentary onto their copy of the primary text. More importantly, this tendency is also largely responsible for the later production of scholia, which spectacularly reverse the earlier separation of primary text and commentary—aided, of course, by the transition from scroll to codex (the latter providing larger margins on its pages). It should be noted, however, that both practices, private excerpting from a commentary and scholiography, are actually encouraged by the inherently segmented organization of commentary's material.⁵⁶

Already the poet-grammarians Euphronius (3rd century BC), a teacher of Aristophanes of Byzantium, is said to have written explanatory *hypomnemata*, that is, independent commentaries on comedies by Aristophanes.⁵⁷ But the regular production of self-standing philological commentaries, and thus their full establishment as an important type of philological writing, sets in surprisingly late in Alexandrian scholarship. Aristarchus of Samothrace (ca. 216–144 BC), born more than a century after Zenodotus and, as was already mentioned, sixth head of the Library, was the first scholar to compose, systematically and in large numbers, lemmatized commentaries that proceed from one *explicandum* to the next.⁵⁸

On account of its mentioned strengths, this philological genre soon became widely used.⁵⁹ Not only the preeminent classical poets and the Attic prose writers from the 5th and 4th centuries BC are among the 'treated' authors (the *πραττόμενοι*).⁶⁰ Lemma-by-lemma commentaries have been identified as a common type of scholarly writing in many other literary and intellectual areas as well. What is more, while the Alexandrian philological *hypomnemata* have not survived, several ancient commentaries in other disciplines have. Their acquired (whether intended or not) authoritative status and their continued use secured their direct transmissions. Still extant, for instance, are numerous

56 The occasional affinity between commentary and lexicon, pointed out by Gibson [2002] 17–18, 20, and 172–174, has the same reason. With some typological irony, the production of scholia recreates the paratextual problem of annotations that are tied *materialiter* to a specific primary-text copy, now a codex. In response, modern scholia editions again separate these annotations from their particular copies of the primary text.

57 Cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 160–161; Dickey [2007] 29.

58 Pfeiffer [1968] 212–3.

59 Cf. Dickey [2007] 18–71 and in this volume for an impressive and instructive parade of Greek primary authors who became subjects of ancient commentaries.

60 Pfeiffer [1968] 208. Cf., e.g., Luppe [1978]; [2002] 58–63; Montanari [1993b] 243–281; London [2011a]. For ancient commentaries on Demosthenes (on papyrus) see Gibson [2002]; Harding [2006]; Montana and Dickey in this volume.

lemmatized medical commentaries,⁶¹ philosophical commentaries,⁶² patristic biblical commentaries,⁶³ or Hebrew commentaries on Hebrew liturgical poetry.⁶⁴

A comprehensive study of the ancient commentary, as it was eight decades ago,⁶⁵ is still a *desideratum*. In the past ten years, however, important publications have improved the situation for such an undertaking.⁶⁶ Based on these advances (and true to this contribution's aim), some possible criteria for the classification of commentaries will be considered. They are intended to be no more than possible leads for further investigation.

The easiest criterion for a distinction among commentaries would be the intellectual discipline to which they belong along with their primary texts. There is then, first (and already mentioned), the large group of commentaries on literary texts, that is, on the works of the preeminent classical poets and prose writers. Other primary texts elicited commentaries because they were regarded as authoritative and fundamental to particular scholarly, philosophical, scientific, or technical fields, such as medicine (commentaries on Hippocrates or Galen), philosophy (commentaries on Plato, Aristotle, or Epicurus), mathematics (commentaries on Euclid, Archimedes, or Apollonius of Perga), astronomy (commentaries on Ptolemy), rhetoric (commentaries on Hermogenes or Aelius Theon), or grammar (commentaries on Dionysius Thrax).⁶⁷ This distinction, however, is only of limited heuristic value because it does little more than map the already existing divisions between disciplines onto the body of *hypomnema*-literature.

61 Cf. Ihm [2002b] 316, 318, 321–322, 326, 329.

62 Cf. Hadot [2002] 184–185.

63 Cf. Geerlings [2002] 2–6; Müller [2002] 16–18 and 18–31, with good observations on Augustine's attempts to work against the inherently fragmentizing tendencies of the genre.

64 Cf. Hollender [2002] 164.

65 “Eine wirkliche Geschichte des antiken Kommentars scheint auch mir unbedingt notwendig” Geffcken [1932] 412.

66 Of general relevance is Dickey [2007] 18–71. Important branches of the commentary tradition have been investigated, *e.g.*, by Manetti-Roselli [1994]; Ihm [2001]; [2002a]; [2002b]; and Trojahn [2002]; see also the works cited shortly above. Edited volumes on the genre of the commentary include Most [1999]; Gibson-Shuttleworth [2002]; and Geerlings-Schulze [2002]; [2004].

67 For ancient, and occasionally Byzantine, commentaries on the mentioned primary authors, with ample references, see the appropriate sections in Dickey [2007] 18–71 and 77–80, and in this volume. On Epicurus as a primary author, see also Erler [1993].

Other criteria may allow for more instructive typological observations. For this purpose it will be helpful to postulate the lemmatized commentary described above as the commentary's 'normal' type. Proceeding from one lemma to the next, it offers explanations on a broad range of issues concerning textual criticism and various areas and levels of understanding. Against this background, we can first identify some theme-specific commentaries.⁶⁸ The explanations they provide concern relatively narrow and clearly delineated aspects. For instance, the work written by an unknown author commonly referred to as the *Mythographus Homericus* (likely 1st century AD) represents a kind of mythological commentary on the Homeric poems;⁶⁹ metrics are the focal point of a commentary by Heliodorus (1st century AD) on Aristophanes;⁷⁰ a Byzantine example that continues a tradition that goes back at least to the Imperial period are the *Epimerismi Homerici*, giving basic grammatical or linguistic classifications, explanations, or definitions of Homeric words or phrases, in their original form in the order in which the lemmata appear in the primary text.⁷¹

Another possible criterion on which a typology of commentaries can be based is the degree of the commentator's intellectual closeness to or independence from the primary text. This produces a wide spectrum of commentary types, whose extremes at both ends stretch the very definition of the term 'commentary'.⁷² Particularly dependent are texts that can be characterized as paraphrastic commentaries. Presenting little factual or interpretive substance of their own, they elucidate philosophical, scientific, and occasionally even poetical texts by extensively paraphrasing and thus simplifying them⁷³ for less knowledgeable audiences of non-specialists or students.⁷⁴ Apollonius of Citium's (1st century BC) commentary on the Hippocratic treatise *On Joints* has come down to us as an early extant example of a paraphrastic commentary.⁷⁵

68 Cf. also Sluiter [1999] 188 in the context of commentaries on Hermogenes and Aphthonius.

69 Cf. Montanari [1984] 130–132; Haslam [1990]; Montanari [1995c]; Dickey [2007] 26 and in this volume; Rossum-Steenbeek [1998] 85–118.

70 Cf. Holwerda [1964]; [1967]; Dickey [2007] 29.

71 Cf. Dyck [1983–1995]; Dickey [2007] 27–28; Pontani in this volume.

72 The distinctions made here and in the following paragraphs have similarities but are not congruent with the tension between "charity" and "criticism", discussed by Sluiter [2000a] 187 and 189–190 as one of four "dialectics" characteristic of commentaries.

73 Paraphrastic commentaries may thus be the fullest embodiments of some commentators' tendency to focus on content more than on form; cf. Sluiter [2000a] 190.

74 On the inherently close ties between written commentaries and teaching see Sluiter [1999]; [2000a] 190–192.

75 Cf. Ihm [2002a] 64–65; Dickey [2007] 44.

Later paraphrasing commentators are Themistius (4th century AD) on Aristotle, Proclus (or, more likely, Ps.-Proclus) on Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos*, Munatius of Tralles (2nd century AD) on Theocritus, and Eutecnius (perhaps 4th century AD) on the poems of Nicander and Oppian, whose didactic and quasi-technical nature invites such treatment.⁷⁶

At the other end of the spectrum are commentaries of substantial independence if not originality. Many of these works are apparently written for the sake of the advancement of the commentator's own ideas or arguments rather than in the service of the towering authority of the primary author. The drastic attribute "non-submissive"⁷⁷ thus appropriately characterizes these commentaries, of which there exist at least two subtypes. For lack of other established expressions, they may be called the 'creative' commentary and the 'agonistic' commentary. Example of the former can be found in philosophical school traditions, for instance in the truly original works by Neoplatonic commentators of Plato, such as Proclus (5th century AD), Hermeias of Alexandria (5th century AD), or Olympiodorus (6th century AD), but also in commentators of Aristotle, such as Alexander of Aphrodisias (2nd/3rd centuries AD). Even though these philosopher-commentators present their thoughts (even when influenced considerably by their more immediate teachers) as results of an exegesis of Plato's or Aristotle's works, they are studied today as philosophers in their own right rather than merely as commentators.⁷⁸

Even less submissive are the agonistic commentaries. Their authors openly challenge the primary text's validity (often also that of other commentaries that may have been written in the meantime) and the primary writer's authority.⁷⁹ Such contentious interpretation is today perhaps not readily associated with the seemingly conservative and positivistic genre of the commentary.⁸⁰ It is exemplified by the early (extant!)⁸¹ commentary by Hipparchus of Nicaea (2nd century BC) on Aratus' *Phaenomena*. Hipparchus here attempts to correct astronomical information given both by the authoritative primary author

76 For Themistius see Dickey [2007] 49–50; for (Ps.-)Proclus see Dickey [2007] 68; for Munatius see Dickey [2007] 63–65; for Eutecnius see Dickey [2007] 65–66 and 70.

77 Cf. Vallance [1999] 223–228.

78 Cf. Dickey [2007] 48–50; also Vallance [1999] 228–242 and 242–244 on "non-submissive" medical and mathematical commentaries by Galen and Proclus.

79 Cf. also Sluiter [2000a] 189–190; Asper [2007] 35–42. More generally, Lloyd [1996] 20–46; [1987] 101–108.

80 Cf. Fowler [1999] 427, but see also 430; Shuttleworth Krauss [2002] 2; Montanari [2011a] 16.

81 Cf. Manitius [1894].

Aratus and by the more ‘submissive’ commentator Attalus of Rhodes (earlier 2nd century BC).⁸²

Finally, a special type of commentary can be singled out based on the criterion of their possible dependence on other, earlier commentaries. This constitutes what can be called the ‘secondary commentary’, with its two subtypes, namely, the “composite commentary”⁸³ and the meta-commentary. Composite commentaries are of mainly compilatory nature. In ancient philological scholarship, its prime representative is Didymus (1st centuries BC and AD). In a time when the intellectual productivity in scholarship and science shifted from Alexandria to Rome, a new and very different center of learning, the Alexandrian scholar Didymus is reported to have composed 3,500 or even 4,000 books. Among them were extensive commentaries on more than twenty primary authors, the majority of whom were poets.⁸⁴ To a great extent—just how great precisely is difficult for us to assess—Didymus’ commentaries consisted of compiled (and then discussed) excerpts from commentaries as well as from other scholarly works from the golden age of Alexandrian philology from Zenodotus to Aristarchus. The value of Didymus’ commentaries—or rather, what has survived of them mostly through scholia transmission—⁸⁵ lies less in this scholar’s own intellectual contributions and more in the fact that his works contain much invaluable information about earlier literary scholarship at Alexandria.⁸⁶

The meta-commentary’s relationship to earlier commentaries is different: it is a commentary written on an already existing earlier commentary. In these cases then, the earlier commentary has itself become an authoritative primary text that, typically due to its subject matter’s difficulty, invites additional scholarly elucidation. For instance, Ptolemy’s (2nd century AD) handbook, the *Πρόχειροι κανόνες* (*Handy Tables*), was commented on by Theon of Alexandria (4th century AD) in two commentaries. The shorter of these, the so called *Little Commentary*, then became itself a primary text for Marinus of Neapolis

82 Cf. Dickey [2007] 56.

83 Another term well chosen by Dickey [2007] 7 *et passim*.

84 Cf. Schmidt [1854] 11–14; Pfeiffer [1968] 274–279; Harding [2006] 1–4.

85 Apart from the famous Didymus papyrus on Demosthenes (Harding [2006]), scholia are our main source for this scholar’s commentaries.

86 Cf. Braswell [2011] 197, in agreement with the long-held *communis opinio*; Harding [2006] 31–39 argues for a greater original component in Didymus’ work. The importance of Didymus for our knowledge about earlier Alexandrian scholarship becomes quickly apparent from Dickey [2007] 342 s.v. Didymus.

(5th/6th centuries AD), who wrote a commentary, that is, a meta-commentary, on Theon's commentary.⁸⁷

2.1.3 Monographs

Possessing the greatest degree of textual autonomy, monographs (συγγράμματα) conclude this sequence of broad-band types of philological writings.⁸⁸ Like the *hypomnema*, the monograph is a self-standing text. Unlike the *hypomnema*, however, it can be independent from any particular primary text not only physically but also in terms of its contents. While commentaries are devoted to specific primary texts that they set out to explain, monographs—even philological monographs—are freer in their choice of subject and contents. If commentaries were said to have a liberating effect on philological efforts in writing, monographs provide an even greater freedom as they are convenient vessels for any topic's discursive, extensive, and fully in-depth treatment.⁸⁹

Scholarship on ancient *syggrammata*, whether philological or other, is still in its early stages. The largest surviving distinct corpora of ancient *Fachtexte* (technical literature in the broadest sense) are those of Hippocrates, Aristotle, Galen, and, to a certain extent, Plutarch. Each of them has its own character and typological profile, so that the results achieved about any one of them cannot easily be generalized or applied to the study of monographs in another thematic field, such as philological scholarship.⁹⁰ In their surveys of the discipline—each valuable and still essential for certain aspects of ancient scholarship—Pfeiffer, Montanari, and Dickey do not systematically differentiate further between subtypes of philological monographs. And while Markus Asper's typological study of Greek scientific texts (*Wissenschaftstexte* in a narrower sense, excluding philological scholarship) is rich in important insights, the classification established there does not fit the realm of philological *syggrammata* well.⁹¹

The following observations will thus propose some more finely-tuned typological distinctions within the field of philological monographs. Based on

87 Cf. Jones [1999] 167–168 on the different intended audiences for Theon's *Little Commentary* and the *Great Commentary*; Dickey [2007] 67–68.

88 Historically, of course, monographs existed long before *hypomnemata*. The sequence presented here is typological, not chronological.

89 Cf. Shuttleworth Kraus [2002] 2–3; Asper [2007] 213 and 57 with n. 1.

90 See also van der Eijk [1997] 89–91.

91 This text-typological incompatibility points to traits that set philology apart from other intellectual-scientific disciplines; see below, *Outlook: Philology, Philological Writings, Systems Theory*.

criteria of both form and content, it is possible to identify and differentiate between four philological monograph types, namely, commentary-like monographs, Ζητήματα-type studies, Περί-writings, and Ἀντιγραφαί.

The first two of these forms of monographic writings, the commentary-like monographs and the studies of the *Zetemata*-type, do not fully exploit the thematic and presentational freedom that comes with the text form of the monograph. Commentary-like *syggrammata* still focus on a specific primary text. They are thus similar to and in certain cases indistinguishable from commentaries. In this context, it is not surprising then to read of Galen's explicit indecisiveness about the nature of his work *Περὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸν Ἱπποκράτην διαίτης ἐπὶ τῶν ὀξέων νοσημάτων* (i.e., *De diaeta in morbis acutis secundum Hippocratem*). In his autobiographical *De libris propriis*, Galen lists this work among his therapeutic monographs, but he notes that it could also be regarded as a Hippocratic commentary (cf. *Libr. Propr.* 4 on Galen's monographs and *Libr. Propr.* 6 on his commentaries).⁹² The same question of genre attribution has arisen concerning both the Didymus papyrus on Demosthenes (or *On Demosthenes?*)⁹³ and a philological-exegetical papyrus on the *Iliad* from Milan (*P.Med.* inv. 71.82).⁹⁴ The fact that the papyri are of course fragments that do not show us the entire outline of the work makes the question even more difficult.

The second monograph form, studies of the *Zetemata* ('Inquiries')-type,⁹⁵ is similar in that these texts, too, usually deal with one specific primary text only. Moreover, since these writings are by nature segmented, as they proceed from one *zetema* to the next, their appearance can in some aspects resemble a passage-by-passage commentary. However, it is justified to follow the common terminological tradition that assigns *Zetemata*, along with their almost indistinguishable siblings, *Aporemata*, *Problemata*, *Quaestiones*, and *Lyseis* ('Solutions'), to a category of their own. First, while *hypomnemata* in their fullest form elucidate as densely composed running commentaries primary texts in their entirety, *Zetemata*-type studies are more selective but also more effective in targeting specific questions with great precision. This method and its corresponding textual genre can of course be applied and used in many fields

92 Cf. Ihm [2002b] 316–317, with more examples. The situation is complicated even further by the fact that Galen also wrote unmistakable passage-by-passage commentaries on some of the Hippocratic primary texts in question; see Ihm [2002a] 88–89. On Galen as commentator see Flemming [2008].

93 Cf. Harding [2006] 13–20.

94 Cf. Lundon [2011a] 163–166.

95 Cf. Novokhatko in this volume.

of intellectual inquiry, including technical and scientific disciplines.⁹⁶ But it can serve exegetical *Textpflege* as well. In this case, the writer of a *Zetemata*-work may conveniently choose for his discussion only those aspects and those passages of the primary text that immediately pertain to his interest or his agenda. Second, writings of the *Zetemata* type show a remarkable combination of rugged segmentation, reminiscent of commentaries, and extended discursiveness, a general characteristic of monographic text types. The segmentation obviously results from the successive treatment of individual points of inquiry. This treatment, however, is usually also markedly discursive because in this type of study the investigated passages tend to be the ones that are particularly difficult or problematic, which makes more elaborate argumentation or interpretation necessary.

Thus, *Zetemata* works treat a primary text more freely and less evenly than a running philological commentary. This is probably why we find many philosophers among the writers of *Zetemata*-type studies, who are less philologically obliged, so to speak, to the primary text in its entirety as a document of literary merits. Aristotle wrote several literary-exegetical studies of this type, such as the *Ἀπορήματα Ἡσιόδου* or *Ἀπορήματα Ἀρχιλόχου Εὐριπίδου Χοιρίλου* and his influential *Ἀπορήματα Ὀμηρικά* in six-books, with their explicit problem-solution pattern of “διὰ τί . . . ἔστι δὲ λύσις . . .” (“Why . . . The solution is . . .”); the *Ὀμηρικά ζητήματα* by the Neoplatonist Porphyry (3rd century AD) incorporate a substantial amount of material from this Aristotelian work.⁹⁷

Since the *Zetemata* form of investigation isolates and targets passages that are particularly troublesome, this approach lends itself well to apologetic purposes, when certain features of the primary text must be not merely explained but in fact justified against substantial criticism. This was already the tendency in Aristotle's *Ἀπορήματα Ὀμηρικά*, in which Homer was defended against detractors such as Zoilos. The *Λύσεις Ὀμηρικαί* by Heraclides Ponticus (also 4th century BC),⁹⁸ a prominent member of Plato's Academy, are of apologetic character as well, and it fits this picture that Plutarch, propagator and defender of Platonism, is the author of *Πλατωνικά ζητήματα*. Heraclitus (probably late 1st century AD), in his *Ὀμηρικά προβλήματα*, adheres to an even more radical apologetic strategy, that of allegorical interpretation. This conscious approach allows him to explain, or rather, justify Homeric passages that, if they were understood literally and taken at face-value, would render a philosophically

96 Cf. Asper [2007] 71–75 with n. 102; see also Gudeman [1927c].

97 Cf. MacPhail [2011].

98 Cf. Wehrli [1953] 51–54.

questionable if not unacceptable meaning.⁹⁹ This particular type of exegesis, organized as pointed questions and answers, was also adopted by Jewish scholars of Alexandria and applied to biblical writings.¹⁰⁰

A third form of ancient philological *syggrammata*—this subtype, however, is also widespread in other branches of technical literature—is commonly referred to as *Περί*-literature.¹⁰¹ Unlike the monographic forms discussed so far, there is no restriction for *Peri*-writings regarding theme, topic, scope, or approach. This freedom makes them the quintessential *syggrammata*-type. Already their name (*Peri*...), derived from the characteristic form of their titles, links this mode of writing to the most characteristic communicative strength of monographs in general: their open form lends itself to an extensive treatment of any topic; they can be written ‘about’ or ‘on’ just about anything.

However, this considerable conceptual overlap between *syggrammata* in general and their widespread subtype of *Peri*-writings may cause some typological difficulties. Making the explicit preposition ‘Περί’ a main typological criterion eclipses in some cases other relevant aspects. The distinction of *syggrammata* whose titles begin with this preposition from those whose titles do not—and in the domain of philological monographs, an attested title is usually all the information we have—seems not always to correlate with a deeper difference in the nature of the works. For instance, Callimachus’ erudite and oftentimes *Realien*-oriented literary scholarship¹⁰² comprises works titled *Νόμιμα βαρβαρικά* (*Non-Greek Customs*) but also *Περί ἀγώνων* (*On Contests*), or *Περί ἀνέμων* (*On Winds*) and *Περί ὀρνέων* (*On Birds*) but also *Μηνῶν προσηγορίαι κατὰ ἔθνος καὶ πόλεις* (*Names of Months among Different Peoples and Cities*). Other works were apparently referred to in either variant, with or without *Περί*.¹⁰³ Thus the treatise by Apollodorus of Athens (2nd century BC) on the Iliadic Catalog of Ships carried the original title *Περί τοῦ τῶν νεῶν καταλόγου*, but Stephanus of Byzantium (6th century AD), perhaps reflecting common practice, refers to it simply in the form “ἐν τῷ Νεῶν καταλόγῳ”.¹⁰⁴ This suggests that in the area particularly of *Realien*-oriented research (e.g., antiquarian or ethnographic studies), where the productive scholarly achievements consist of gathering, presenting, and perhaps commenting on largely factual information,

99 Cf. Konstan-Russell [2005] XIII–XXIX and 8–13.

100 Cf. Niehoff [2011] 38–74 and 152–168.

101 Thus Pfeiffer [1968] 218 (or 264 “Περί-style”); also Dickey [2007] 129–130.

102 Cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 134–135.

103 On ancient monograph titles see also Dickey [2007] 129–130.

104 Cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 257–259 with 259 n. 3.

there is a strong affinity between monographs with and monographs without the preposition *Peri* in their titles.

In addition, a closer inspection even of only the attested titles of philological *Peri*-monographs invites further typological distinctions. It appears that *syggrammata* of this type were written about three kinds of subjects: texts, authors, or other topics. Texts as subjects of monographs can vary in length, ranging from primary-text corpora representing entire literary genres down to a select passage from a specific primary text. Thus two Alexandrian scholars of the 3rd century BC wrote *syggrammata* on Old Comedy.¹⁰⁵ Lycophron, a tragedian in his poetical work but a specialist of comedy in his scholarship, composed *Περὶ κωμωδίας* in at least nine books, which seems to have dealt mainly with issues of language and the meanings of rare words.¹⁰⁶ The philological *opus magnum* of the universally learned Eratosthenes was the monograph *Περὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμωδίας* in twelve or more books addressing, as Lycophron, questions of language but also other topics.¹⁰⁷ On the other end of the spectrum are specialized studies like Aristophanes of Byzantium's monograph *Περὶ τῆς ἀχνυμένης σκυτάλης*, a monograph devoted solely to this difficult and at the time heavily discussed phrase in Archilochus.¹⁰⁸ Between these extremes one can situate works like Aristarchus' *Περὶ Ἰλιάδος καὶ Ὀδυσσείας* or, by the same scholar, a monograph of even smaller textual scope, *Περὶ τοῦ ναυστάθμου* (*On the Camp of the Ships*), a reconstruction of the order in which the Greek ships camped at Troy that was based on an interpretation of the relevant Iliadic passages,¹⁰⁹ and Apollodorus' already mentioned *Περὶ τοῦ τῶν νεῶν καταλόγου* (*On the Catalog of Ships*), a work more interested in antiquities and geography.¹¹⁰

Peri-literature focusing on particular primary authors was identified as a distinct group by Friedrich Leo, who coined the term *Περὶ τοῦ δεῖνα* ("About Such and Such") to characterize these works.¹¹¹ This type of literary-scholarly writings may have been developed already in the Peripatetic school,¹¹² as exemplified by Chamaeleo's "*Dichtermonographien*,"¹¹³ that is, monographs on individual poets, such as *Περὶ Σαπφούς*, *Περὶ Στησιχόρου*, *Περὶ Πινδάρου*,

105 Cf. Strecker [1884], but also Pfeiffer [1968] 159 n. 8.

106 Cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 120 and Montana in this volume.

107 Cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 159–160 and Montana in this volume.

108 Cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 181 and 144; Slater [1986] 132–133.

109 Cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 213 and 258.

110 Cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 257–259.

111 Cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 146 [with n. 2] and 222.

112 Cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 146.

113 Term used by Wehrli [1957] 52.

and others.¹¹⁴ Information in Athenaeus (10, 451 D) leads us to Alexandria, testifying that Apollonius Rhodius wrote a monograph *Περὶ Ἀρχιλόχου*,¹¹⁵ the *hypomnema*'s inventor Aristarchus seems also to have written *Peri tou deina* monographs on various poets,¹¹⁶ Apollodorus produced among other works author-centered studies like *Περὶ Ἐπιχάρμου* in at least six and *Περὶ Σώφρονος* in at least four books.¹¹⁷

Leo's concept of *Περὶ τοῦ δεῖνα* literature should be extended to include monographs dealing with several authors as well. Already Plato's and Aristotle's student Heraclides Ponticus wrote a two-book *syggramma* *Περὶ Ἀρχιλόχου καὶ Ὁμήρου*.¹¹⁸ Other works deal with writers representing particular poetical genres. While Aristotle composed a dialogue with the general title *Περὶ ποιητῶν*,¹¹⁹ later scholars devoted monographs to more narrowly defined groups of writers: the Hellenistic poet-scholar Istros, a student of Callimachus, and Euphorion of Chalcis (both 3rd century BC)¹²⁰ wrote works titled *Περὶ μελοποιῶν*,¹²¹ Didymus composed *Περὶ λυρικῶν ποιητῶν*,¹²² the Cyrenean grammarian Lysianas (date unknown) is the author of a monograph *Περὶ ἰαμβοποιῶν*.¹²³ Primary authors of a different kind are treated by Asclepiades of Myrleia (1st century BC), who belongs to a small group of scholars that for us represent the transition from the era of Hellenistic to Augustan scholarship.¹²⁴ His biographical work *Περὶ γραμματικῶν* is devoted not to the great poets but instead to the great scholars of the past. Thus, not only *hypomnemata* but also *Peri tou deina* monographs have brought forth meta-scholarship, that is, scholarly writing about earlier scholarly writing.

Finally, the group of *syggrammata* on specific topics other than authors or works is diverse in itself. There are first distinctly literary topics, in the following examples related again to comedy: the Alexandrian poet-scholar Dionysiades of Mallos (3rd century BC) tried to distinguish the styles of individual Athenian comic poets in his monograph *Χαρακτῆρες ἢ Φιλοκώμωδοι*,¹²⁵

114 Cf. Wehrli [1957] 52–63 and 75–88.

115 Cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 144.

116 Cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 222 with nn. 4 and 7.

117 Cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 264–265.

118 Cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 145.

119 Cf. Janko [1987] 56–65 with 175–195.

120 See Montana in this volume.

121 Cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 183.

122 Cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 182.

123 Cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 146 n. 1.

124 Cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 272–273 and Montana in this volume.

125 Cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 160.

these efforts were to be continued much later by Platonius (date unknown) in his works *Περὶ διαφορᾶς κωμωδιῶν* and *Περὶ διαφορᾶς χαρακτῆρων*.¹²⁶ Second, some *syggrammata* are devoted to antiquities and *Realien* that form the background to important primary texts: thus, the impressively broad philological output of Aristophanes of Byzantium includes, among his studies of Athenian comedy, monographs on comic masks (*Περὶ προσώπων*) and on Athenian courtesans (*Περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησιν ἑταιρίδων*),¹²⁷ the latter topic of which was later also treated in a *syggramma* by Apollodorus.¹²⁸

Third, there is yet again an area of meta-philological writing, as certain *Peri*-works concern topics related to earlier phases of philology. Ammonius (2nd century BC), Aristarchus' student and successor, is the author of a *syggramma* devoted to the question of how many 'editions' of Homeric texts Aristarchus produced: *Περὶ τοῦ μὴ γεγενῆσθαι πλείονας ἐκδόσεις τῆς Ἀρισταρχείου διορθώσεως* ('On that there are not more editions of Aristarchus' recension').¹²⁹ Two scholars from the Augustan period also wrote about the work of Aristarchus: Didymus composed a *syggramma* about the Aristarchean recension of Homer, titled *Περὶ τῆς Ἀρισταρχείου διορθώσεως*,¹³⁰ and Aristonicus is the author of treatises dealing with Aristarchus' text-critical signs, *Περὶ σημείων* (*Ἰλιάδος καὶ Ὀδυσσεΐας*) and *Περὶ τῶν σημείων τῶν ἐν τῇ Θεογονίᾳ Ἡσιόδου*.¹³¹

The fourth and final group of philological *syggrammata* has aptly been called *ἀντιγραφαί*¹³² or 'polemics'.¹³³ They are writings 'against' someone, in this context, against an earlier scholar.¹³⁴ In light of what was written earlier about the agonistic commentaries, these monographs too can be characterized as 'agonistic'; in analogy to the well established category 'Περὶ-literature', they might also be subsumed under the name 'Πρὸς-literature', as this preposition, followed by the targeted scholar's name, frequently appears in the titles of these works. Like *Peri*-monographs, *antigraphai* are not limited to the realm of literary scholarship. They also emerged in other intellectual disciplines,

126 Cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 160; Nesselrath [1990] 30–34.

127 Cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 208.

128 Cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 264.

129 Cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 216–217.

130 Cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 275, also 214 and 216–217; see Ludwich [1884–1885] I 175–631; also Lehrs [1882³] 16–32.

131 Cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 214, 218 and 220 with n. 3; Erbse [1960] 174–183.

132 For the term *ἀντιγραφαί* see Preller [1838] 69; also, e.g., Didymus' work titled *Περὶ τῶν ἀξόνων τῶν Σόλωνος ἀντιγραφῆ πρὸς Ἀσκληπιάδην*, cf. Schmidt [1854] 399.

133 Cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 213 and elsewhere.

134 In this sense, they are meta-scholarship as well. But their distinctly polemical character makes it appropriate to regard them as a separate group.

such as philosophy, medicine, and astronomy. Even so, there is no shortage of testimonies—many of them mentioned in Pfeiffer’s *History of Classical Scholarship*—for specifically philological polemical works. They too confirm that “[t]he venerable members of the Museum were, from the beginning, not a very peaceful community”.¹³⁵ The very men that would later be looked upon as revered figures of philological authority were engaged during their lifetimes in fierce debates and competition, reflecting once more the Greek ‘agonistic’ spirit. Parallels can be drawn to Galen who, an unquestioned authority for later centuries, occupied a determinedly contentious position among his contemporary colleagues or, rather, competitors,¹³⁶ or—to cite but one modern example—to the elevated German *Dichterfürsten* Schiller and Goethe, who in 1797 felt compelled jointly to compose the aggressive *Xenien* in order to strike back at their many critics and detractors. In Bourdieuan terminology, fields of high social relevance and (therefore) prestige tend to be highly competitive, as the potential rewards attract many aspiring contenders. Future authoritative or even ‘canonical’ status is not gained or awarded easily; it must be fiercely negotiated. Our evidence suggests that these processes of competition and selection were also taking place during the most formative period of Greek philological scholarship at Alexandria and beyond.

Thus Callimachus wrote *Πρὸς Πραξιφάνην*, a polemic against the Peripatetic Praxiphanes (4th/3rd centuries BC) and his (Peripatetic) approach to literary theory and criticism;¹³⁷ Apollonius Rhodius is the author of *Πρὸς Ζηνόδοτον*, criticizing Zenodotus’ (also his predecessor as head of the Library) edition of Homer;¹³⁸ even among the monographs of the towering figure of Aristarchus we find several polemics:¹³⁹ *Πρὸς Φιλίταν*, against the then still authoritative glossographical studies of the poet-scholar Philitas from the Mouseion’s founding generation;¹⁴⁰ *Πρὸς Κομανόν*, against the grammarian Comanus of Naucratis,¹⁴¹ and *Πρὸς τὸ Ξένωνος παράδοξον*, against the belief held by the grammarian Xenon—his contemporary and a prominent representative of the *χωρίζοντες*, i.e. ‘separators’—that *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were composed by

135 Pfeiffer [1968] 143; specimens also in Slater [1976] e.g. 241. See also above § 2.1, and Montana in this volume, on Timon of Phlius’ bird-cage fragment.

136 Cf. Bowersock [1969] 59–75 and 89–100; von Staden [1997b] 33–37. Fichtner [1985] 170 lists titles of nine polemical works by (or attributed to) Galen, and even his ‘non-polemical’ writings contain frequent attacks against poorly trained or poorly performing colleagues.

137 Pfeiffer [1949] 351–352 (fr. 460); cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 95 with n. 4, 125 n. 1, 135–136.

138 Cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 141, 146–147.

139 For the following titles see Pfeiffer [1968] 213.

140 Cf. also Pfeiffer [1968] 91.

141 Cf. also Pfeiffer [1968] 289; Dyck [1988b] 221–265.

different poets.¹⁴² The works of Aristarchus' pupil Dionysius Thrax (2nd/early 1st cent. BC) include the *antigraphē* Πρὸς Κράτητα, against the Homeric interpretations of the Pergamene scholar Crates of Mallos.¹⁴³

While this evidence justifies it to conceive of *antigraphai*, that is, of polemical *Pros*-writings as a distinct type of *syggramma*, it should not be overlooked that, as usually in literary practice and reality, the typological delineations are not always perfectly clear. For instance, of the two polemics by Polemon (3rd/2nd centuries BC) against Eratosthenes and Timaeus—they were written in Alexandria but are based on his earlier extensive travels and pursue autonomous antiquarian rather than philological interests—¹⁴⁴ the one against Timaeus (in 12 books) has the expected title, Πρὸς Τιμαίον, but the title of the other polemic is Περὶ τῆς Ἀθήνησιν Ἐρατοσθένους ἐπιδημίας. The more characteristic preposition πρὸς, however, appears in outside references to this work, "... ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Ἐρατοσθένην",¹⁴⁵ suggesting that the work was also known simply as Τὰ πρὸς Ἐρατοσθένην. On the other hand, Aristophanes of Byzantium's monograph Πρὸς τοὺς Καλλιμάχου Πίνακας, even if it did contain corrections,¹⁴⁶ was probably less 'against' Callimachus than a supplement to the considerably earlier Callimachean *Pinakes*.¹⁴⁷ It may be worth noting in this context that the title of Aristophanes' monograph, unlike those of the agonistic writings mentioned above, is not phrased *ad personam* (not Πρὸς Καλλιμάχον).¹⁴⁸

2.2 *Special-Purpose Types: Catalogs and Lists, Scholarly Introductions to Literary Works, Dictionaries*

Besides the broad-band types discussed so far, a second class of philological writings can be characterized as special-purpose writings. They represent effective responses to distinct and well-definable philological needs. As such, the special-purpose writings do not align themselves in a continual typological sequence. Instead, as their functions and, correspondingly, their textual forms are highly specialized, they are best treated separately from one another.

Surprisingly perhaps, at first sight, these texts' functional specialization goes hand in hand with a broad range of applicability. The reason behind this

142 Cf. also F. Montanari [1988] 119–121.

143 Cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 267.

144 Cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 248–249; for more polemical writings see Preller [1838] 19 (listing additional polemical writings by Polemon).

145 Cf. Preller [1838] 87 (*fr.* 48.2) and 91 (*fr.* 49.4); Pfeiffer [1968] 248.

146 Cf. Slater [1976].

147 Cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 133.

148 Cf. Nickau [1967] 346 with n. 3; Pfeiffer [1968] 133; Slater [1986] 134–136 (*fr.* 368 and 369).

paradox seems to be that the special-purpose writings meet very basic philological needs. They arise in many situations, in connection with many texts, and they concern, first, identification and classification of texts, second, overview and contextualization, and, third, semantic understanding. To be sure, such issues can also be addressed, along with many others, in the broad-band types of philological writings. Special-purpose genres, however, are devoted solely to one select aspect, to which they are perfectly tailored. This single-purpose orientation gives each of these text types its unique character, function, and form.

2.2.1 Catalogs and Lists

Catalogs and lists serve purposes of identification and classification of texts. Literary scholars are surrounded by and regularly work with a great number of texts. Therefore, identification and classification of important primary texts are basic and widespread philological needs. The types of writing that have emerged to meet this demand are, first, library catalogs that reflect the holdings of actual collections of texts and, second, bibliographical lists (*Werkverzeichnisse*) that give titles of works of a particular author or of a corpus conceived of in another way. Both catalogs and lists may or may not be annotated. Even though they are basic philological tools that typically come at the beginning of a serious engagement with a primary text, their production too can be a demanding philological process itself as it may include dealing with questions of authorship and authenticity (*Echtheitskritik*) or of genre classification and attribution (*eidographia*).

Library catalogs and bibliographical lists share basic functions with other kinds of list- and catalog-writing, functions that are reflected in the highly ‘discrete’¹⁴⁹ manner and in the order in which the material is presented.¹⁵⁰ For catalogs and lists in general serve as inventories of either physically existing objects, of which texts are but one (if common) example,¹⁵¹ or, more abstractly, of elements of knowledge, for instance in mathematical or philosophical sentence collections (*Satzsammlungen*).¹⁵² If the quantity of what is collected exceeds a certain minimal level—below which the demand for catalogs or lists tends to be less pressing anyway—lists and catalogs must also present their items or information in a reasonably transparent and self-explanatory order, perhaps even hierarchical systematization.

149 See above, § 2.1.2 with n. 51.

150 Cf. Asper [2007] 57–61.

151 Cf. Regenbogen [1950] 1412–1418.

152 But see Asper [2007] 62–63 on unordered and unhierarchized lists.

In the realm of ancient philology, the most ambitious and most influential philological catalog is Callimachus' *Tablets* or *Tables*, the famous Πίνακες that comprised more than 120 books (*i.e.*, papyrus scrolls).¹⁵³ They served as an annotated library catalog representing and classifying the Alexandrian library's astounding holdings of Greek literature. Only the first generation of philologists in Alexandria worked without the aid of the *Pinakes*.¹⁵⁴ But in the longer run, it is clear that "to amass hundreds of thousands of rolls in the library would have been of little use without a sensible classification that enabled the prospective reader to find the books he needed".¹⁵⁵ Once again, in theory the 'invention' of a new type of philological writing, in this case the systematized annotated library catalog, appears as a necessary and quite obvious practical step to be taken; however, in light of this undertaking's huge dimensions at Alexandria, it undoubtedly qualifies as yet another giant leap for ancient literary scholarship.

In producing his *Pinakes*, Callimachus seems to have adhered to certain principles of method and systematization: Authors and their works were grouped according to genres of poetry (epic, lyric, tragic, comic) and prose writing (rhetoric, laws, philosophy, historiography, medicine, miscellaneous). Within each group, individual authors were presented in alphabetical order, which was likely also the case, wherever feasible, for titles of works by one author. The opening words of a work also seem to have been part of the standard *Pinax* entry because they were a means of identifying texts that had no explicit titles or multiple texts that had the same title. To add to the *Pinakes*' philological practicality and usefulness, short author biographies were included as additional basic contextual information.¹⁵⁶

Considering the very basic nature of the need for identification, classification, and orientation, it is not surprising that we also know of several other ancient book catalogs or lists, even if—this, too, is no surprise—none of them matched the monumental Callimachean *Pinakes* in scope or in philological rigor. Callimachus himself also wrote two special lists. One of them contained the names of dramatic poets (διδάσκαλοι) "in chronological order and from the beginning" (Πίναξ καὶ ἀναγραφή τῶν κατὰ χρόνους καὶ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς γενομένων διδασκάλων).¹⁵⁷ The nature of the other special *Pinax* cannot be determined

153 Cf. Pfeiffer [1949] *fr.* 429–453; cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 127–133; Regenbogen [1950] 1419–1424; Blum [1977] 223–243; Montana, this volume.

154 Cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 128.

155 Pfeiffer [1968] 133.

156 Cf. Blum [1977] 11–12 on "Bibliographien".

157 Cf. Pfeiffer [1949] 349–350 (*fr.* 454–6); Blum [1977] 198–207.

with certainty, but it may have been a bibliographical list as well.¹⁵⁸ Alexandria's rival institution, the library of Pergamon, had its own *Pinakes*, known as the Περγαμηνοί πίνακες.¹⁵⁹ Furthermore, fragments of book lists of various kinds and relatively simple organization have survived on papyri. They reflect the holdings of libraries or of private collections of differing sizes, and their character ranges from the expected lists of prominent and well-known classical authors to lists that reflect highly specialized or professional interests and collections.¹⁶⁰ Finally, genre-specific or discipline-specific *Werkverzeichnisse* (e.g., of orators or of medical writings) have even come down to us through direct transmission,¹⁶¹ of which Diogenes Laertius' extensive lists of philosophers' works are the richest surviving specimen. Also preserved, on account of their obvious practicality, are Galen's two annotated auto-bibliographies, *De libris propriis* and *De ordine librorum suorum*.¹⁶²

2.2.2 Scholarly Introductions to Literary Works

Scholarly introductions provide overviews and contextualizing information for specific works of literature. The Greek term most readily associated with such introductions is ὑπόθεσις, a word that presents some difficulties. No single lexicon entry or study gives a comprehensive account of the various meanings of 'hypothesis' and their development.¹⁶³ The term's origins, as far as it is relevant in the present context, lie in the realms of rhetoric and, even earlier, philosophy, where *hypothesis* means 'topic' or 'theme' to be treated or discussed.¹⁶⁴ From there, it seems to have developed and acquired its more prominent and more specific meanings as a literary technical term, meaning either 'summary' of plot or content or 'scholarly introduction' to a work of literature. The differences between these two types of *hypothesis* are obvious. Only one of them, the scholarly introduction, may truly deserve the attribute 'philological', whereas plot or content summaries are more adequately characterized as popularizing efforts. However, the following discussion will have to consider *hypotheseis* of both kinds.

There are both genealogical and practical reasons for this terminological blurriness. Genealogically the term seems to connect the 4th- and 3rd-century

158 Cf. Blum [1977] 208–223; but also Pfeiffer [1968] 132.

159 Cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 133 and 236; Regenbogen [1950] 1423; Blum [1977] 246.

160 Cf. Otranto [2000]; Houston [2009] 234–247.

161 Cf. Regenbogen [1950] 1426–1438; Blum [1977] 246–299.

162 Kühn [1830] XIX 8–48 and 49–61; Singer [1997] 3–22 and 23–29; Boudon-Millot [2000].

163 Important are Holwerda [1976] 178–198; Budé [1977] 29–33; Meijering [1987] 107–133.

164 Cf. Mossmann [2010] 249 with notes 10 through 13.

BC Peripatos in Athens, specifically Aristotle's widely learned and prolific student Dicaearchus, to the Museion in Alexandria roughly of the late 3rd century BC, specifically Aristophanes of Byzantium.¹⁶⁵ Among Dicaearchus' many writings were also mythologically focused content summaries of plays by Sophocles and Euripides that were called *hypotheseis*.¹⁶⁶ Several generations later, as Alexandrian philology had already entered its most developed phase, this work became but one of the sources for Aristophanes of Byzantium's *hypotheseis*, this time truly sophisticated and scholarly introductions to works by the Athenian playwrights. Practically, there is common ground as well between the two types of *hypotheseis*. On the one hand, even a scholarly introduction may—and in the case of Aristophanes of Byzantium did—contain short plot summaries.¹⁶⁷ On the other hand, short summaries—whether by Dicaearchus or another writer, whether of Greek drama or other literature, and whether originally intended to or not—can be easily prefixed each to its primary text as an introduction, or it can at least be read as such.¹⁶⁸ Things are made even more complicated by two additional facts. Not only does Greek also offer other technical terms for short summaries of content or plot, *διήγησις* and *περιοχή*, which add synonymity (different terms meaning 'summary') to the already existing homonymity ('introduction' and 'summary' both called *hypothesis*), but some summaries that are customarily referred to as *hypotheseis* today also seem to owe this name to the medieval manuscript tradition rather than to ancient terminological practice.¹⁶⁹

These complications notwithstanding, a simple summary of plot or content is essentially different from a serious scholarly introduction. The latter's 'invention' is ascribed to Aristophanes of Byzantium, who already seems to have perfected this type of philological writing and established an influential model that in the future would be copied, excerpted, imitated (including pseudepigraphs), modified for other purposes and contexts, and even parodied.¹⁷⁰ While textual criticism, *hypomnemata*, and dictionaries were to a considerable extent concerned with Homeric epic initially, the stimulus for scholarly *hypotheseis*

165 See Montana in this volume.

166 Cf. Wehrli [1967²] 30–31; Pfeiffer [1968] 193; Budé [1977] 25.

167 Brown [1987] 427 with n. 3 fittingly refers to them as "synopses" in order to distinguish them from the *hypotheseis*' other elements.

168 Cf. Bing [2011] 202–206.

169 Cf. Rossum-Steenbeek [1998] 52 about the so-called Homeric *hypotheseis*.

170 See Montana in this volume; cf. Mastronarde [2002] 168 n. 2 on expansions; Budé [1977] 40–44; Brown [1987] 427–8 on false attributions; Mossman [2010] 263–265 on the parody in Ps.-Lucian's *Swift-foot*.

came from another genre: 5th-century Athenian drama, that is, tragedy and to a lesser extent comedy.

Aristophanes' learned introductions were intended "to be a necessary help for the scholarly reader",¹⁷¹ of these plays. Their function is to provide—in concise and systematic form and based on thorough erudition—contextualizing and other orienting information concerning a given play. No scholarly *hypothesis* by Aristophanes has survived intact, but several preserved introductions clearly originate from Aristophanic *hypotheses*,¹⁷² whose organization has thus been reconstructed, of course with some uncertainty, as consisting of the following elements:¹⁷³

- (1) A concise summary of the play's plot, in one or two sentences, often beginning with the main character's name.
- (2) The so-called *μυθοποιία*, *i.e.*, brief information whether the same mythological subject was treated by the other two famous tragedians: ἡ μυθοποιία κείται παρὰ... [name of the playwright] ἐν... [title of the tragedy], possibly followed by καὶ παρὰ... ἐν... or instead, when appropriate, παρ' οὐδετέρῳ κείται ἢ μυθοποιία.
- (3) Brief information about the place of the action and the identities of the chorus and the prolog speaker: ἡ μὲν σκηνή (τοῦ δράματος) (ὑπόκειται) ἐν (or ἐπί or παρὰ)... [name of the place], ὁ δὲ χορὸς (συνέστηκεν) ἐκ... [identity of the chorus], προλογίζει δὲ... [name or identity of the prolog speaker].
- (4) The *κεφάλαιον*,¹⁷⁴ *i.e.*, an enumeration of the play's main events: τὸ δὲ κεφάλαιόν ἐστι, followed by a string of nouns; *e.g.*, Soph. *Ant.* (hypoth. 1): τὸ δὲ κεφάλαιόν ἐστι τάφος Πολυνείκους, Ἀντιγόνης ἀναίρεσις, θάνατος Αἴμονος καὶ μόρος Εὐρυδίκης τῆς Αἴμονος μητρὸς.
- (5) The *διδασκαλικά*, including the year of the original performance: ἐδιδάχθη ἐπί... [name of the eponymous *archon*] ἄρχοντος;¹⁷⁵ the result of that year's tragic contest: πρῶτος... [name of the winning poet], δεύτερος...

171 Cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 194.

172 Cf. Budé [1977] 37; Brown [1987] 428 and *passim*; for the 'best' and the best-preserved specimens see Zuntz [1955] 131 and 139–140.

173 Cf. Budé [1977] 33–9; Rossum-Steenbeek [1998] 32–34.

174 On the related term *σκοπός*, used in connection with comedies, and on the similarities between the *κεφάλαιον* and element (1), see Rossum-Steenbeek [1998] 33–4; also Budé [1977] 34.

175 For possible additional information in this section see Budé [1977] 34.

- τρίτος . . .; the title and the number of the play in the Alexandrian library or the remark οὐ σώζεται.
- (6) A judgment concerning the quality of the play as a whole, as first-rate or only second-rate: τὸ δὲ δράμα τῶν πρώτων, or: . . . τῶν δευτέρων), as well as of individual parts of the play.

Aristophanes' *hypotheses* are rich and dense in information. As can be observed for professionally and serially produced functional writings of any kind,¹⁷⁶ they adhere to an effective standardized pattern, down to the level of certain fixed phrases.¹⁷⁷ The μυθοποιία (2) and the διδασκαλικά (5) provide basic mythological, literary, and institutional context; the concise plot summary (1), the specifications concerning the place of the action and the chorus' and prolog speaker's identities (3), the κεφάλαιον (4), and the aesthetic evaluation (6), on the other hand, give information that orients the reader about the play itself.

Interestingly, Athenian drama did not only provide the first occasion for the emergence of scholarly *hypotheses*, it just about monopolized, as it were, this sector of philological writings. Aristophanes' learned *hypotheses* concern only Athenian dramatic production while surviving *hypotheses* to other authors are mostly mere content summaries. The glaring dominance of drama in this particular area thus calls for an explanation.

The predominantly systemical and functional approach pursued in this contribution suggests seeking this explanation in the nature of Athenian drama. It will be argued here that this literary genre poses a combination of problems for the later philologist (as for any serious reader) that other Greek literature does not, and that these problems are best remedied through Aristophanes' erudite *hypotheses*. To be sure, individually the obstacles that will be mentioned in a moment may also arise in connection with other kinds of literature. In Greek drama, however, they are combined in a way most harmful to informed and competent reception. The first problem is decontextualization: preserved or archived texts are inevitably stripped of their original contexts of production and reception. The resulting loss of information is particularly detrimental when a genre, such as Athenian drama, is originally tied firmly to specific local, historical, institutional, and literary circumstances and traditions. The second difficulty is formal uniformity: the institutional and generic rules and conventions that influence or even regulate the composition of trag-

176 Cf. Asper [2007] 29–30, 116–125, and elsewhere.

177 Zuntz [1955] praises Aristophanes' "style [...] of unsurpassable condensation" (131) and the "concentrated Alexandrian erudition" (134).

edies and comedies in classical Athens are remarkably stable; in addition, that very institutional framework also required that new plays be produced at a continuously high rate. This leads to oppressively large corpora of plays that are thematically and structurally relatively uniform—the individual poets’ theatrical and poetical innovations notwithstanding—and whose differences and individual characteristics become visible only after closer inspection. The third problem is the plays’ lengths: Dramatic texts—each play usually taking up one papyrus scroll—are too long to allow for quick and convenient overview and orientation. Thus, to summarize the difficulties: the textual corpora of the great Athenian playwrights are, in and for themselves, far from user-friendly. Each consists of an unwieldily large number of decontextualized dramatic texts (papyrus scrolls) that to the hasty beholder look very much alike and whose individual lengths make quick identification and grasping of other essential information impossible.

Aristophanes’ *hypotheses* are a straightforward means by which this extraordinarily difficult situation for these extraordinarily valuable texts is improved. The urgency of the outlined problems and, correspondingly, the importance of the service rendered by scholarly *hypotheses* are confirmed by the fact that Aristophanes seems to have produced his *hypotheses* right along with his first philological edition of dramatic texts. Aristophanes’ introductions are in fact seen as “the most substantial remains of Aristophanes’ editions of tragedies and in a lesser degree of the comedies”.¹⁷⁸ This means that the competent edition and reception of Athenian drama is practically impossible without immediately supplementing it with additional orienting and contextualizing information for each play. Aristophanes’ introductions do precisely that.¹⁷⁹

Hypotheses, now also including simple summaries, have emerged in many fields of Greek literature. However, a coherent comprehensive typology has not yet been achieved. At this point, no more is possible than to present some typologies that cover different sectors of Greek literature: first, Greek tragedy, second, Greek drama including comedies, third, Greek poetical works in general, and finally, other Greek literature.

The most fundamental classification of tragic *hypotheses* was formulated around the middle of the last century by Zuntz, who distinguished the following three types:

178 Pfeiffer [1968] 192.

179 The first scholarly Homeric dictionary by Zenodotus seems to be owed to similar circumstances; see below, § 2.2.3.

- (1) *Hypotheseis* that can be “traced back to Aristophanes of Byzantium”¹⁸⁰
- (2) The “elaborations of Byzantine grammarians” (characterized also as “verbose Byzantine pedantry”) that sometimes merely summarize, sometimes offer additional information, but do not presuppose much mythological knowledge¹⁸¹
- (3) An “intermediate type of hypothesis, peculiar to the Euripidean manuscripts”, which Zuntz on account of their narrative nature famously calls “the ‘Tales from Euripides’ ”.¹⁸² Unlike the erudite *hypotheseis* by Aristophanes, these summaries seem to have been intended originally not to serve as introductions to the individual plays but rather to replace them, that is, to make reading them unnecessary or at least optional (but no longer necessary). Originally composed as one work, the unity of the ‘Tales’ was later dissolved, and they were individually prefixed each to ‘its’ play. Other questions concerning this work are still debated: for instance, what the origins of the ‘Tales’ may be and whether or to what extent they go back to Dicaearchus’ *hypotheseis*,¹⁸³ as well as their relationship to the later mythological compendia composed by Ps.-Apollodorus and Hyginus.¹⁸⁴

Zuntz’ important classification has generally been adopted,¹⁸⁵ but it was also partly refined some twenty years later by Budé. Basing his analyses on both external and internal textual criteria, Budé suggests that there is a second type of learned *hypothesis*, which does not go back to Aristophanes of Byzantium and which he calls ‘*saga-hypothesis*’.¹⁸⁶ This result has been accepted by Rossum-Steenbeek and, earlier, Holwerda (while Budé’s further conclusion, that the *saga-hypotheseis* resemble Dicaearchus’ *hypotheseis*, is generally rejected).¹⁸⁷ Rossum-Steenbeek herself, on the other hand, replaces Zuntz’

180 Zuntz [1955] 131.

181 Zuntz [1955] 131–134 and 141–143, quotations 131 and 134.

182 Zuntz [1955] 134–139 and 143–146, quotations 134, 135, also 143; cf. also Dickey in this volume. ‘Tales from Euripides’ coined after Charles and Mary Lamb’s famous *Tales from Shakespeare* (orig. 1807).

183 Cf. the opposing views of Luppe [2001] and Diggle [2005]. For the earlier discussion see Rossum-Steenbeek [1998] 3 nn. 11 and 13.

184 Cf. Rossum-Steenbeek [1998] 25–30 with more references.

185 Cf., e.g., Allan [2008] 142; Dickey [2007] 32; Mossman [2010] 247; Bing [2011] 201.

186 Budé [1977] 175–187 (“*sage-hypotheseis*” in the Dutch origina).

187 Cf. Holwerda [1983]; Rossum-Steenbeek [1998] 32 with nn. 77 and 78. On the other hand, Rusten [1982a] 364 with n. 35, rejects the new type of *saga-hypothesis* altogether.

expression ‘Tales from Euripides’, because it is somewhat misleading, with “narrative hypotheses”.¹⁸⁸

Second, dramatic *hypotheses*, including those to Old and New Comedy, have been investigated by Budé. Already Zuntz’ ‘Tales’ and Byzantine *hypotheses* show less scholarly rigor and ambition than Aristophanes’ introductions. This tendency becomes even more prominent among the additional *hypotheses* that Budé has studied and among which plot summaries dominate: in addition to the obvious type (1), only types (4) and (6) bear signs of erudition in so far as they apply external information to the primary texts in question. The classification of *hypotheses* proposed by Budé is as follows:¹⁸⁹

- (1) *Hypotheses* by Aristophanes of Byzantium (cf. Zuntz)
- (2) Metrical *hypotheses* transmitted under the name of Aristophanes of Byzantium: they are plot summaries, preserved for ten comedies by Aristophanes,¹⁹⁰ three Sophoclean tragedies (*OT, Phil., OC*), and two plays by Menander (*Her., Dys.*); these introductions, comprising between ten and sixteen iambic lines, contain—as has long been noticed—some inaccuracies, but also reveal an interesting narrative profile that may reflect a deliberate narrative strategy on their author’s part.¹⁹¹
- (3) ‘Tales from Euripides’ (cf. Zuntz)
- (4) Περιοχὰὶ τῶν Μενάνδρου δραμάτων: these summaries of Menander’s plays, preserved on papyrus, can be situated in terms of their contents and character between the ‘Tales’ and Aristophanes of Byzantium’s *hypotheses* and may have been written by the grammarian Homerus Sellius (probably 1st century AD)
- (5) Narrative *hypotheses* to comedies: these texts, preserved for plays by Aristophanes and (on papyrus) Cratinus, are similar to but longer than the ‘Tales’; written no later than the 2nd century BC, their author may be the grammarian Symmachus (around 100 AD)
- (6) Historical *hypotheses* to comedies: these introductions provide historical background to Aristophanic comedies
- (7) Byzantine recensions of ancient hypotheses: they are occasionally closer to the ancient original than what has been preserved through the manuscript tradition
- (8) Byzantine *hypotheses* (cf. Zuntz).

188 Cf. Rossum-Steenbeek [1998] 1–2 with n. 4; Mossman [2010] 251; Bing [2011] 205 with n. 19.

189 Cf. Budé [1977] 29–84.

190 Cf. Möllendorff [2010].

191 Cf. Möllendorff [2010] 275–277.

There are, third, also ancient *hypotheses* to non-dramatic texts, an area carefully charted by Rossum-Steenbeek, whose results are of general relevance even though—and partly because—she focuses on fragments of *hypotheses* preserved on papyri. Rossum-Steenbeek's classification, which of course also includes dramatic *hypotheses*, is the following:

- (1) *Hypotheses* to tragedies and comedies:¹⁹²
 - (a) Narrative *hypotheses*: cf. Zuntz' (and Budé's) 'Tales of Euripides' type
 - (b) Learned *hypotheses*: *hypotheses* of Aristophanes of Byzantium (cf. Zuntz and Budé), Budé's saga-*hypotheses*
 - (c) Descriptive *hypotheses* (cf. Budé's narrative *hypotheses* to comedies)
 - (d) Menandrian *hypotheses*: prose *hypotheses* (cf. Budé's Περιοχαὶ τῶν Μενάνδρου δραμάτων), metrical *hypotheses* (cf. Budé).
- (2) Homeric hypotheses of which Rossum-Steenbeek distinguishes three subtypes:¹⁹³
 - (a) Discourse *hypotheses*
 - (b) Nominal *hypotheses*
 - (c) Hybrid *hypotheses*
 - (d) Other Homeric summaries are to be found in Ps.-Dositheus (in *Interpretamenta*), Ps.-Ausonius *Periochae Homeri Iliadis et Odysssiae*, Ps.-Apollodorus (*Epit.* 4), *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina*, and Hyginus (*Fab.* 106).¹⁹⁴
- (3) Callimachean *diegeseis*¹⁹⁵
- (4) The *Mythographus Homericus*¹⁹⁶
- (5) Catalogs.

Finally, further *hypotheses*—they are, again, mostly summaries but occasionally also provide learned contextual information—survive to works of other ancient primary authors, including another Hellenistic poet, Theocritus, but

192 Cf. Rossum-Steenbeek [1998] 1–52.

193 Cf. Rossum-Steenbeek [1998] 53–74; Dickey [2007] 26; Reitz [2010] 296–300.

194 Cf. Rossum-Steenbeek [1998] 69–72; Reitz [2010] 301–304 with brief references also to Aelian (*VH* 13, 14, which lists title-like headings to particular Homeric episodes) and Procopius of Gaza with other paraphrases linked to rhetorical training.

195 Cf. Rossum-Steenbeek [1998] 74–84; Cameron [1995] 124–127 and elsewhere; Dickey [2007] 66.

196 Cf. Rossum-Steenbeek [1998] 86–118; see above, § 2.1.2.

also prose writers such as the Attic orators Demosthenes and Isocrates.¹⁹⁷ Not to be confused with these introductory or quasi-introductory *hypotheses* are the self-standing summaries and abridgments that were widely produced and used in antiquity from the Hellenistic period onward. Usually referred to, individually, as an ἐπιτομή (or, in Latin, *epitoma*),¹⁹⁸ these texts differ fundamentally from the *hypotheses* discussed here in that they are long enough to have been written and transmitted as independent texts. As such self-standing abridgments and summaries, however, they already lie outside of what can still be conceived of as philological writings and will therefore not be investigated further at this point.¹⁹⁹

2.2.3 Dictionaries: Glossaries, Lexica, Thematic Dictionaries²⁰⁰

Finally, an area where a philologist's need for quick and effective help can be particularly pressing is semantics, that is, the meanings of words. This issue does not only concern novices or amateurs. It is in the nature of their profession that literary scholars are likely to engage with old or difficult primary texts. Inevitably, the language of those texts will pose not only occasional but systematic difficulties down to the level of the meanings of individual words. These semantic problems usually result from the primary text's poetical language, or from the (Greek) dialect in which it is written, or from the technical nature of its topic that requires specialized vocabulary. It is thus not an exception but rather the rule that, in their endeavors to secure a well-informed and adequate transmission and understanding of important primary texts, philologists must confront a text's semantics.

To be sure, semantic aid can also be provided through marginal or inter-linear annotations or through commentaries.²⁰¹ However, as was seen earlier, these two types of philological writings come with serious communicative limitations; in addition, as broad-band types of writings they usually also address issues other than just semantics. The recurrence of identical semantic difficulties, within longer texts as well as across texts, has therefore led to an efficient type of philological writing, the dictionary, more specifically, dictionaries of the Γλῶσσαι-type, named after Zenodotus' Homeric glossary titled Γλῶσσαι

197 References in Dickey [2007] 63–65, 52, and 55, respectively. For the somewhat special case of Libanius' *hypotheses* to Demosthenes, see Gibson [1999]; [2003].

198 Other similarly used terms are σύνοψις or *breviarium*; cf. Opelt [1962] 944–946.

199 On *epitomai* see Opelt [1962]; Dubischar [2010]; Mülke [2010].

200 See Tosi in this volume.

201 Cf. Tosi [1994b] 172–174; also Pfeiffer [1968] 197; Gibson [2002] 20.

(roughly meaning: *Difficult Words*).²⁰² Serving as a semantic toolbox, glossaries make essential semantic information readily available in condensed form and in a predictable order. It could be the order in which the individual *glossai* appear in the primary text or, more strongly abstracting from the primary text or texts, and therefore more widely applicable, the alphabetical order ('alphabetical' in the ancient sense).²⁰³ To name but a few examples: the preserved Λέξεις Ἡροδότου (date unknown) and the original version of Erotian's Hippocratic lexicon (1st century BC) are of the first kind, as both dictionaries present their *glossai* in the order of the words' appearances in the relevant primary texts.²⁰⁴ Preserved examples, on the other hand, of later alphabetical arrangements—but one should keep in mind that the Homeric glossary of Zenodotus was already arranged alphabetically—²⁰⁵ are the Λεξικὸν τῶν Ἡροδοτείων λέξεων, which is based largely on the mentioned Λέξεις Ἡροδότου, a later abridgement of Erotian's mentioned glossary, and Galen's Hippocratic glossary Τῶν Ἱπποκράτους γλωσσῶν ἐξήγησις.²⁰⁶

The practical importance of *glossai* and of the help they provide is attested by their continuous and widespread production and use. Glossography for exegetical purposes, that is, to help understand and interpret a text, is the earliest Greek dictionary type. Its beginnings date back to the 6th century BC,²⁰⁷ and its roots may reach back even farther.²⁰⁸ In addition, the first philological editor of Homer, Zenodotus, already saw fit to produce also a scholarly Homeric dictionary (the mentioned *Glossai*), apparently convinced that Homer could not be edited or understood adequately without such assistance.²⁰⁹ Finally, like a *basso continuo*, glossaries are the one dictionary type that, ever since

202 Cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 115. On the term γλῶσσαί for rare, difficult, or obsolete words, especially in Homeric poetry, see Pfeiffer [1968] 78–79; cf. also Montana in this volume.

203 On alphabetization see Tosi [1994b] 151–155, and in this volume.

204 Cf. Dickey [2007] 53–54 and 45–46.

205 Pfeiffer [1968] 115 for this reason calls it “a model for the future”.

206 Cf. again Dickey [2007] 45–46 and 53–54.

207 Cf. Degani [1988] 1169–1170; Matthaios [2010a] 166 with n. 3. See also the similar later publication Degani [1995] here 505–507.

208 Pfeiffer [1968] 3–6.

209 There is an analogy to the first scholarly *hypothesis* produced by Aristophanes of Byzantium in connection with his first edition of dramatic texts (see above, § 2.2.2). Zenodotus and Aristarchus are responding to different but in both cases fundamental philological needs that arise immediately from their primary texts.

it had emerged in the archaic period, was continually used and produced for more than one thousand years, into late antiquity and beyond.²¹⁰

While Greek glossography's initial—and never ceasing—concern was Homeric language (cf. Ps.-Apion), beginning in Hellenistic times glossaries were also devoted to other individual authors such as Herodotus (cf. the mentioned Λέξεις Ἡροδότου and Λεξικὸν τῶν Ἡροδοτείων λέξεων), Plato (cf. Timaeus the Sophist), or Hippocrates (cf. Erotian or Galen)²¹¹ as well as to other literary genres such as tragedy, comedy, or oratory.²¹² Thus, glossaries have passed many tests of time and have proved to be functionally optimized text types that provide indispensable semantic aid regarding specific primary texts, authors, or text corpora. The ancient glossaries' efficiency is owed also to the fact that their entries were limited to rare and difficult words but did not include, as is common practice today for the sake of completeness, basic everyday words that no one would have trouble understanding.²¹³

In the Hellenistic period, the focus of scholarly dictionaries also expanded beyond mainly glossographical interest. To be sure, to a considerable extent Hellenistic grammarians and scholars still collected their lexicographical material from the primary texts themselves.²¹⁴ But the purposes for which words were collected by scholars became more manifold. Correspondingly, two new types of dictionaries emerged. One of them can be called the Λέξεις-type, after Aristophanes of Byzantium's famous Λέξεις (roughly meaning: *Interesting Words*).²¹⁵ *Lexeis* reflect the emergence of the study of words as a component of grammar understood as an autonomous discipline that no longer needs to serve the ends of exegetical philological *Textpflege*. This type of dictionary is dominated by a linguistic (including stylistic) interest in words, word meanings, and word usage. Their various specific points of focus lead to

210 Cf. Degani [1988] 1170–1172, 1174–1175, 1177–1179, 1185, 1187–1188; Gibson [2002] 19 notes that certain lexicographical branches underwent no “evolution”. In other words, their stable function resulted in a stable form.

211 In addition to Degani [1988], cf. Dickey [2007] 24–25 on Homer, 53–54 on Herodotus, 47 on Plato, 45 on Hippocrates; also Dickey [2010] 13–15, and in this volume.

212 Cf. Degani [1988] 1174–1175 on tragedy, 1175 on comedy, 1178–1179 on orators; on Demosthenes see Gibson [2002] 18–19, 157–171, and 190–199.

213 Cf. Dickey [2010] 21–23.

214 Cf. Matthaios [2010a] 169–170 *et passim*; but see also Pfeiffer [1968] 197.

215 Cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 197–203; Dickey [2007] 93. Against the common opinion, however, Slater believes that what most take to be individual thematic sections of the Λέξεις were in fact independent lexicographical works and that the Λέξεις never existed as one big work; cf. Slater [1976] 237 n. 11; [1986].

further typological distinctions. There are lexica devoted to particular dialects, to synonyms, to etymology,²¹⁶ or to rare Greek words in general (hence, not restricted to a specific primary text).²¹⁷ Atticistic lexica form a special group among the *lexeis*. Produced mostly in the 2nd and even 3rd centuries AD, many of them were intended as normative and prescriptive dictionaries. Their purpose was to aid their users in their own literary production, more specifically, in the writing of prose in the Attic dialect of the classical period.²¹⁸

The other new kind of dictionary is the theme-specific *Sachwörterbuch*, that is, dictionaries of the *ὀνομαστικόν*-type (after Pollux' *Ὀνομαστικόν*, 2nd century AD).²¹⁹ *Onomastika* have a thematic focus and may be concerned, for instance, with particular historical, antiquarian, or geographical topics. Their essential purpose is to provide their users with the meanings of certain technical or other theme-related vocabulary.²²⁰

It must be noted, however, that in practice these three main lexicon types—*glossai*, *lexeis*, and *onomastikon*—cannot always be cleanly separated. This is already evident from the dictionary titles mentioned above. Existing lexicographical works can be, and were, used for more than just one (their originally intended) purpose. This became especially prevalent in post-Hellenistic lexicography, when dictionaries were no longer compiled by extracting words directly from the actual primary texts themselves (e.g. Homer or Hippocrates). Instead, lexicography had formed into a more autonomous philological sub-discipline as the material for new dictionaries was taken—selected, compiled, and possibly refunctionalized—primarily from other, earlier dictionaries.²²¹ In this process, works of one lexicographical branch often fed into new works

216 E.g., Aristophanes of Byzantium, Ammonius/Herrenius Philo, Orus, Photius (cf. Dickey [2007] 92–94, 94–95, 99, 101–102 respectively, and in this volume).

217 E.g., Pamphilus (cf. Matthaios [2010a] 175 with n. 24).

218 Cf. Degani [1995] 519–521; [1988] 1179–1181. Examples are Phrynichus, the *Antiatticista*, Moeris, Philemon, Aelius Dionysius and Pausanias, Orus and Orion (Dickey [2007] 96–100, and in this volume). However, behind the lexicographical work already conducted by Alexandrian *poetae docti* on Homer and other early poets there is a double purpose of both semantic-exegetical help and aid for their own literary production; cf. Tosi [1994b] 145 and Matthaios [2010a] 168 with n. 10. On the transmission and appropriation of atticistic lexicographical material in the late antique and Byzantine periods see Matthaios [2010a] 186–197.

219 See also Matthaios [2010a] 167 n. 4.

220 E.g. Pollux and Stephanus of Byzantium (cf. Dickey [2007] 99 and 101 respectively, and in this volume).

221 Cf. again cf. Matthaios [2010a] 169–170 *et passim*, with Pfeiffer [1968] 197.

of another branch. However, these practical affinities between *glossai*-, *lexeis*-, and *onomastikon*-dictionaries should not detract from the fact that, in their pure forms, the functions of these three variants of dictionaries do differ substantially.²²²

A final, and special, group of dictionaries that can in fact be clearly delineated is bilingual dictionaries.²²³ The main Greek dictionary types mentioned so far are all monolingual in that they explain Greek words in terms of other Greek words. The small and poorly preserved group of bilingual dictionaries (Greek-Latin or Latin-Greek), for historical reasons, appeared relatively late in the history of ancient lexicography and was generally not part of the late antique and medieval manuscript tradition. It is, however, typologically interesting that even the meager papyrus evidence indicates that the same lexicographical subtypes emerged among bilingual dictionaries as had been the case for their monolingual counterparts.²²⁴

3 Typological Synopsis

A synopsis of the typology of philological writings will summarize what has been laid out so far. It will be followed by a separate outlook concluding the contribution. At this point, the introduction's *caveat* regarding all categorizations and systematizations must be emphasized again. The abstract and hierarchic nature of the following synopsis may seem to suggest definitiveness, order, and completeness, but as was frequently seen above, conceptualizations of specific types of writings and the delineations between them are less clear in reality than our notion of 'typology' might tempt us to expect. Therefore, this synopsis should be taken *cum grano salis*. The literary space's dynamics and complexities cannot be captured in any single classificatory system. The aim here is simply to provide greater differentiation than had been achieved previously.

222 For the distinction between *glossai* and *lexeis* see Degani [1988] 1169; [1995] 505–506 and 508; also Pfeiffer [1968] 198; Montanari [1993b] 250–251. For Tosi [1994b] 144, however, the main conceptual distinction is between "*lessicografia*" (which includes, however, what is commonly, and here, referred to as glossography) and "*onomastica*".

223 Cf. Dickey [2010] 19–21.

224 Cf. Dickey [2010] 20.

Broad-Band Types

1. Marginal or interlinear annotations
 - Signs (*semeia*)
 - Written notes
2. Commentaries (*hypomnemata*)

Various categorizations are possible, according to

 - The intellectual discipline (literary, philosophical, astronomical, and so forth)
 - The commentary's form: lemmatized commentaries vs. other types
 - The thematic range: broad-band vs. theme-specific commentaries
 - The commentator's intellectual independence: paraphrastic vs. non-submissive commentaries, the latter divided further into creative and agonistic commentaries
 - Possible strong dependence on earlier commentaries: secondary commentaries, divided further into compilatory commentaries and meta-commentaries
3. Monographs (*syggrammata*)
 - Commentary-like monographs
 - *Zetemata*-type monographs, including *Aporemata*, *Problemata*, *Quaestiones*, *Lyseis*
 - *Περί*-literature: (1) about earlier primary texts or entire literary genres, (2) about earlier authors: *Περί τοῦ δεῖνα* ("About Such and Such"), (3) About other topics: literary topics, antiquities and *Realien*, earlier Alexandrian philology (meta-philology)
 - *Ἀντιγραφαί* (*i.e.*, polemics, *Πρός*-literature, agonistic monographs)

Special-purpose types

1. Catalogs and lists: library catalogs or lists of works, with or without annotations
2. Scholarly introductions to literary works (*hypotheseis*)
 - Distinction: scholarly *hypotheseis* vs. content/plot summaries (occasionally also called *diegeseis* or *periochai*)
 - Classification of tragic *hypotheseis* by Zuntz [1955]: (1) *hypotheseis* that go back to Aristophanes of Byzantium, (2) Byzantine introductions, (3) 'Tales from Euripides'
 - Classification of dramatic *hypotheseis* by Budé [1977]: (1) *hypotheseis* by Aristophanes of Byzantium (cf. Zuntz), (2) metrical *hypotheseis* transmitted under the name of Aristophanes of Byzantium, (3) 'Tales

- from Euripides', (4) Περιοχαὶ τῶν Μενάνδρου δραμάτων, (5) narrative *hypotheses* to comedies, (6) historical *hypotheses* to comedies, (7) Byzantine recensions of ancient hypotheses, (8) Byzantine *hypotheses*
- Classification of *hypotheses* on papyri by Rossum-Steenbeek [1998]: (1) *Hypotheses* to tragedies and comedies: narrative *hypotheses*, learned *hypotheses* (*hypotheses* of Aristophanes of Byzantium and Budé's saga-*hypotheses*), descriptive *hypotheses*, Menandrian *hypotheses* (prose *hypotheses* and metrical *hypotheses*), (2) Homeric *hypotheses*: discourse *hypotheses*, nominal *hypotheses*, hybrid *hypotheses*, other Homeric summaries, (3) Callimachean *diegeseis*, (4) *Mythographus Homericus*, (5) Catalogs
 - Other *hypotheses*, e.g. to Theocritus or to Demosthenes and Isocrates.
3. Dictionaries
- *Glossai*-type: glossaries for individual authors or genres
 - *Lexeis*-type: lexica with a linguistic interest, e.g., in dialects, synonyms, etymology, or rare words; prescriptive-normative atticistic lexica
 - *Onomastikon*-type: theme-specific dictionaries (*Sachwörterbücher*), e.g., on historical, antiquarian, or geographic topics.

4 Outlook: Philology, Philological Writings, Systems Theory

The view of the large field of philological writings in its typological diversity invites some farther-reaching observations and reflections of more theoretical nature. It was already noticeable that philological writings do not come in a random or arbitrary variety of text types. Instead, an underlying nexus ties them together, which will now be studied more closely. How are philological writings different from other kinds of writing? Why have philological writings assumed their particular forms? How are the various types of philological writings related to one another? Which dynamics influence the creation of philological writings and their types? These and other questions will be addressed in this outlook. For this purpose, it will be helpful to view the field of philological writings through the lens of systems theory. This means that philology and philological writings will be studied essentially as manifestations and processes of communication.²²⁵

²²⁵ The relationship between a 'system' and 'communication' cannot be explicated here in detail. In short: systems 'operate'; this is how they exist. The operation that constitutes social systems (*soziale Systeme*) is communication. See Luhmann [1984] e.g., 66–67, 79,

4.1 *External and Internal Differentiation of Philological Writings*

In so far as philological communication is an autonomous system, it follows its own laws and principles. The system thereby creates its own forms, channels, and venues of communication. The previously used expression ‘typological relation’ that exists between various kinds of philological writings can now more adequately be characterized as a ‘systemic relation’. What connects philological writings is that they are elements of the same communicative system. The observable typological differences, on the other hand, result from the fact that different types of writings occupy different positions within the system.

However, systems theory allows us to be more specific. The system of philological communication, in which writings play a dominating part,²²⁶ is a result of processes of both external and internal typological differentiation (“*Ausdifferenzierung*” and “*Innendifferenzierung*”).²²⁷ First, external differentiation: all scientific and scholarly communication and the thereby constituted disciplines form around specific interests or objects of study and, more immediately, around the questions and problems that come with them.²²⁸ If the latter, the questions and problems, are perceived to be pressing enough (sufficient number of people committed, sufficient resources devoted), they spark, maintain, and thus constitute the discipline’s processes of communication (“*disziplin konstituierende Problemstellungen*”).²²⁹ Philology’s constituting problem—it sets this discipline apart from others, and sets philological writings apart from other kinds of scholarly or scientific writings—is the fact that the transmission and understanding of important texts are not guaranteed, over time even highly unlikely, without additional philological-scholarly labor. Therefore, the specific and ultimate *telos* of all philological scholarship is *Textpflege*.²³⁰

and elsewhere; Stichweh [1994] 62 and elsewhere; Gansel [2008a]; [2008b]; Dubischar [2010] 60–63.

226 Cf. Stichweh [1994] 64–68 on publications as the most basic elements of scientific communication.

227 Cf. Stichweh [1994] 15.

228 Cf. Stichweh [1994] 18: “Disziplinen bilden sich um Gegenstandsbereiche und Problemstellungen herum”.

229 Cf. Stichweh [1994] 21.

230 On *Textpflege*, see above, § 1. The Aristotelian notion of a *telos* in this context is not an erratic import; cf., e.g., Stichweh [1994] 67 on the “*telos*” of modern science. Disciples of pure systems theory may prefer the term ‘*Sinn*’ (as a system’s ultimate meaning or purpose); cf. Luhmann [1984] 93–147.

Internal differentiation is similar to external differentiation in that it repeats within the system the same processes that have led also to the system's external differentiation.²³¹ Again, specific constituting problems—in the case of internal differentiation they may be thought of as sub-problems to the discipline's main constituting problem—are the cause for differentiation. However, internal is different from external differentiation most notably in that it gives the system within which it takes place its distinct structure and determines the specific nature of its elements. Processes of internal differentiation are therefore particularly instructive as to how a given system really works, that is, how it operates.

If scientific or scholarly communication that makes up a discipline evolves autonomously, the internal differentiation that takes place will be based on function. Thus, internal differentiation in these cases is functional differentiation.²³² While a discipline's defining object of interest is always external, belonging to the system's environment ("*systemexterne Gegenstandsbereiche*"),²³³ the specific operational problems that a discipline intends to solve are generated internally, that is, by the system itself ("*systeminterne Problemvorgaben*").²³⁴ In our case (and somewhat simplified), the primary texts were not created by philologists and are a part of philology's environment. It is for their sake that the discipline emerged as a distinct field of communication (external differentiation). Philologists themselves, however, determine what specifically needs to be done, creating, executing, revising, and updating their own philological agendas (internal problem generation).

These processes lead to a functional system's internal differentiation. In our case: philological scholarship and its manifestations in philological writings are internally differentiated according to specific difficulties that typically threaten the adequate (by the system's own standards) transmission and understanding of primary texts.²³⁵ Therefore, the basic constituting *telos* of philological scholarship plays out in practice in a variety of different text forms, each of which addresses specific problems or obstacles. Thus, the break-down into a kaleidoscope of typical and, therefore, recurring philological problems,

231 Stichweh [1994] 15.

232 Cf. Asper [2007] 13, 19, and elsewhere.

233 Cf. Stichweh [1994] 21–22 describes areas of study as 'segments' ("*Ausschnitte*") of a science's social, physical, or personal environment.

234 Cf. Stichweh [1994] 21.

235 Asper [2007] 15–16 characterizes the history of the scientific text in general as a history of differentiation.

questions, and needs is matched by a corresponding kaleidoscope of specialized types of philological writings, produced by the system itself as efficient responses to these challenges.²³⁶

To be sure, the basic principle that functionality generates and shapes writings is by no means unique to philological scholarship. It governs all autonomously operating scientific and scholarly communication. The specific nature of philological scholarship, however, gives this discipline's writings their characteristic forms. In some cases, they are even unique forms.²³⁷ Monographs or lists, for instance, were seen to occur in other fields of ancient intellectual inquiry as well. But other types of philological writings, such as text-critical *semeia*, the lemmatized *hypomnema*, or *glossai*-type dictionaries are genuinely philological, because the obstacles to which they respond are genuinely philological as well. These types of writings remain essentially philological even when they are transferred to other scientific or intellectual domains, such as medicine (cf. Galen's philological treatment of medical writings),²³⁸ philosophy (cf. Epicurean 'philology'),²³⁹ or theology (cf. Jewish Bible interpretation in Alexandria).²⁴⁰

Therefore, the various types of philological writings all result from the system's internal and functional differentiation and are thus systemically interconnected. They are results and manifestations of the autonomously operating system of philological communication, which produces these writings and is at the same time produced by them.

The various types of philological writings as presented above can now be reconceptualized in terms of systems theory. A look at only the main types must suffice at this point, but the same principle applies to every type and sub-type. Brief and precise marginal critical *semeia* emerged in response to questions concerning textual constitution; marginal or interlinear notes provide succinct critical, semantic, or exegetical information; self-standing lemmatized *hypomnemata* are the system's effective way of targeting difficulties that demand even, passage-by-passage elucidation; in-depth discussion of select topics, however, is relegated to *syggrammata* (especially the Περὶ-type); various types of *pinakes* have emerged to alleviate inevitable difficulties related

236 On text types as routinely sought solutions for recurring communicative needs see Asper [2007] 20, 24, and elsewhere.

237 Cf. Asper [2007] 12, who recognizes the close link between textual conventions of scientific writings and the character of the particular field of knowledge which they cover.

238 Cf. Hanson [1998].

239 Cf. Erler [1993].

240 Cf. Niehoff [2011].

to the identification, authenticity, classification, or retrievability of primary texts; scholarly *hypotheses* are the system's functionally optimized form of providing important contextual and orienting information; the function assigned to *glossai*-type dictionaries is to reduce efficiently unavoidable semantic difficulties.

But the system is more complex. First, the continued production of philological writings—in other words: the system's sustained autonomous operation (here, as in all social systems, through communication)—inevitably leads to secondary problems. They are related to establishing, confirming, explicating, or challenging philological authority on various levels. Following the logic of the system, these secondary problems, too, spark the production of functionally differentiated writings. These are the various agonistic or meta-philological text types found especially among commentaries and monographs. Second, the levels of interest or expertise of some readers, as well as writers, may be too low to prompt the production of rigorous philological writings. To meet their needs, less demanding and perhaps popular(izing) variants evolved that favor brevity over extensiveness, description over analysis, narration over argument, and practical applicability over detached intellectual discourse. The clearest manifestations of this strand of writings are the paraphrastic commentaries and the summary-type *hypotheses*.

In this systemic view of philological scholarship, the original primary texts appear as powerful crystallization points. A multitude of functionally differentiated types of philological writings agglomerate around them, from different sides and angles and in several typological and chronological layers. In its entirety, this typological assemblage of philological writings arguably covers every relevant problem that professional *Textpflege* may face in its endeavor to secure the transmission and understanding of important primary texts.

4.2 Further System Characteristics

Internal and external differentiation is not the only aspect where we find ancient philological scholarship operating as an autonomous system of communication. Other systemic processes or elements are relevant in our context as well. They include exogenous and endogenous growth, internal evolution of problems, innovation frequency, concept transfer, and reversibility of differentiations. As a matter of fact, much of the history of ancient scholarship could be analyzed and reinterpreted in these and other related terms and categories.²⁴¹ Only a few brief and sketchy remarks are possible in this outlook.

241 Even Pfeiffer's account, despite its unmistakable humanist-idealist coloring, invites such an approach. Throughout his thoughtful and richly documented narrative, Pfeiffer shows

Systems theory distinguishes between exogenous and endogenous growth.²⁴² A system's growth is exogenous if the growth impulses do not originate in the system itself but in its environment. The analogies with Alexandrian philology are obvious. Its emergence and sustained activities are owed, initially, to a deliberate act of resource allocation by Ptolemy I. Providing an infrastructure impressive even by today's standards, guaranteeing resources, attracting capable scholars to Alexandria, and with a political agenda that assigned Greek literary studies an important role, this ruler is obviously largely responsible for the birth of scholarship in Alexandria.²⁴³ To the extent that his successors continued these favorable politics, the Egyptian ruling dynasty may be said to have been main source of impulses for sustained external growth for several generations.²⁴⁴

However, sciences also grow endogenously. In this case, growth processes are stimulated by the system's own, internal operations. As scientific questions and problems lead to answers and solutions, they create new questions and problems that again call for new answers and solutions, and so forth.²⁴⁵ This internal evolution of problems secures connecting communication (*Anschlusskommunikation*) within the system and thus keeps the discipline active and growing for considerable time. The scholarly activities themselves—including their most visible manifestations, that is, writings—spark new, further activities that again include the production of writings and even the emergence of entire new types of writings.²⁴⁶

that in many of its phases the development of ancient, in particular Alexandrian scholarship follows a certain internal logic that causally links later scholarly projects and writings to previous ones. Some terms used programmatically by Pfeiffer are strikingly compatible with systems theory: *e.g.*, the origination of scholarship “as a separate intellectual discipline” (cf. ‘external differentiation’ in systems theory), the notions that scholarship “arose” (cf. ‘emergence’ in systems theory) and became “one selfconscious discipline” (cf. ‘self-referentiality’ in systems theory)—to name examples just from the book's opening page; cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 3.

242 Cf. Stichweh [1994] 44.

243 Cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 92–93, 95–99.

244 See Montana in this volume.

245 Stichweh [1994] 42 and 44. This is an example of the general pattern in the evolution of social systems that Luhmann [1984] 219 characterizes as a quasi-hydraulic repression and redistribution (but never elimination!) of problem pressure in social systems through the evolution of media of communication.

246 Montanari [1998d] 18–19 reconstructs this kind of causal chain even within an individual scholar's philological career (Aristarchus). The same principle, however, also shapes the development of the discipline at large.

Examples of an internal evolution of problems that leads to a corresponding internal evolution of types of philological writings abound. The massive collection of texts in the Alexandrian Library, the truly foundational first philological achievement, solves the problem of text availability but creates new pressing demands: for order, systematization, identification, and easy retrievability; in response, *Pinakes* (and *eidographia*) are created. The simultaneous availability of multiple texts of Homer brings their differences to the fore; this unsatisfactory situation marks the beginning of systematic textual criticism and invites the ‘invention’ of new, text-critical *semeia*. Textual criticism allows for authoritative editions, but in some cases (cf. Athenian dramatic texts) this progress immediately creates a new demand for orienting and contextualizing information for individual pieces of literature; learned dramatic *hypotheses* resemble a functionally efficient typological response. Once texts are reasonably well constituted and edited, their exegetical difficulties become more pressing; therefore, with characteristic delay during which more immediately urgent tasks are completed and exegetical pressure builds up, the *hypomnema* emerges, allowing for systematic, concise, and even treatment of primary texts. Already earlier, however, select issues called for more rapid responses; these are the thematically open form of the philological *syggramma*, especially of the *Peri*-type.

In addition to these quasi-evolutionary, quiet, and collaborative processes of internal growth, there is also antagonistic and competitive growth. It is in the nature of autonomous science and scholarship that individual contributions may evoke direct reactions, at times even open challenges, from peers, that is, again, from within the system. Not surprisingly, therefore, especially in light of the considerably ‘agonistic’ character of Greek philological-scholarship, some writings invite alternative solutions or polemical reactions by colleagues or successors.²⁴⁷ Manifestations of this kind of competitive growth are competing editions of the same primary authors (most notably, of Homer) as well as the agonistic commentaries and monographs (*antigraphai*).

Finally, after several generations of intense and prolific philological work on many fronts with the corresponding continual increase of internal differentiation, eventually new needs inevitably arise:²⁴⁸ first, for consolidation and valorization (Whose writings should be regarded as good, valid, authoritative?). This leads to a process of internal selection. Second, there will be a need for transmission and clarification of the established philological authorities (Are their writings still sufficiently known, available, clear?). The text types that

247 Cf. Asper [2007] 35–42.

248 Cf. Stichweh [1994] 48.

emerge to meet this demand are mainly the composite commentaries and various types of meta-philological writings.

However, infinite growth is impossible for any system. In regard to scientific-scholarly communication, the reason is obvious. The reservoir of potential problems in any given field or discipline is not inexhaustible. Therefore, the characteristically high frequency of innovations (*"Innovationshäufigkeit"*) during a discipline's formative period will at some point begin to decline, and gradually a period of saturation (*"Sättigungsphase"*) sets in.²⁴⁹ The rates at which additional internal differentiations or even just connecting communication (*Anschlusskommunikation*) take place goes down. The discipline can, however, even then maintain its communicative momentum if its concepts are successfully transferred from the original areas to new and thus far unexplored fields of study (*"Konzepttransfer"*).²⁵⁰ Here of course the same trajectory toward at some point exhausting the reservoir of potential problems is still inherent in the system.

Realistically, however, concept transfer to new areas within a discipline is not perpetually possible. If the discipline's pool of worthwhile questions, which alone secures the continuation of scientific communication, has been substantially drained, the system's prior differentiations will, after a period of stagnation, eventually be reversed. In other words, the discipline will decline and perhaps disappear, especially since professional scientific or scholarly disciplines tend to depend on extracting resources from their environment, which may at this point decide to reduce the allocation of resources necessary to sustain the system's capability of producing connecting communication (*Anschlusskommunikation*).²⁵¹ Its prior growth, accompanied by increasing internal differentiations of communication and, thus, of types of writings, will then be reversed gradually or drastically.

These processes too are observable during different phases in the history of Alexandrian philological scholarship. Suffice it to recall that many philological practices, methods, and their corresponding types of writings were initially developed for the study of the Homeric texts. Their use, however, was subsequently expanded also to other text corpora, such as the lyrical poets, dramatists, prose writers, and the Hellenistic poets themselves. Overall, the formative period between Zenodotus and Aristarchus was one of high innovation frequency. It produced not only a myriad of individual philological contributions on many primary authors but, even more significant in the present context, a

249 Cf. Stichweh [1994] 44.

250 Cf. Stichweh [1994] 33.

251 Cf. Stichweh [1994] 28.

wide array of types of philological writings. Didymus, on the other hand, the author of innumerable works of largely compilatory nature, represents—after a preceding period of crisis owed considerably to external factors—a period of renewal but also of saturation, if not over-saturation. Shortly thereafter, Alexandrian philology experiences its final decline. Or in systemic terms: the many text-typological and thematic differentiations that have taken place in the system during its formative periods are now largely reversed. Later, scholiography will take this process of reversal even further by largely abandoning all typological differentiations and turning the radically fragmented and selected primary material—taken, for instance, from *hypomnemata*, *syggrammata*, or *glossai*—into a relatively uniform mass of scholia.

4.3 *System, Discipline, Profession, and the Scholar*

The fact that analytical models provided by systems theory adequately describe processes that take place within ancient philology makes it clear that philology in fact constitutes a distinct system of communication, which also manifests itself in characteristic types of writings. Two other concepts that have been used here repeatedly in connection with ancient philology are ‘discipline’ and ‘profession’. One may ask whether these terms can still legitimately be used, now that philological scholarship has been conceived of as a ‘system’.

The answer is, yes. With regard to the modern sciences, Stichweh points out that when a science emerges as a system of autonomous and autopoietic communication, two other things usually emerge as well: a corresponding discipline and a corresponding profession. First, Stichweh’s detailed characterization of ‘autonomous’ and ‘autopoietic’ makes it clear that these characterizations also fit ancient, certainly Alexandrian philological scholarship. Autonomous systems are characterized by:²⁵² 1) independence in the system’s self-regulation; 2) an increase in its independences as well as dependences in the course of its external differentiation; 3) greater interdependence within the system than between the system and its environment. Autopoiesis of systems is then characterized by autonomy and four additional traits: 4) operational closure in that the system’s operations immediately relate to other operations of the same system; 5) self-specifications of a system’s elements through the system itself; 6) not only designation but also generation of the system’s elements; 7) autonomy in the demarcation of the system’s boundaries.

Second, when systems theory speaks of a scientific ‘discipline’, it attributes to it the following traits—all of which can also be observed in philological

²⁵² Stichweh [1994] 52–55.

communication at Alexandria:²⁵³ 1) a sufficiently homogeneous context of communication, that is, a scientific community; 2) a body of generally accepted and codified knowledge; 3) a plurality of questions that are pursued at any given time; 4) a set of methods and paradigmatic solutions to problems; 5) a specifically structured career path and institutionalized processes of socialization for the purposes of selection and training of future scientists.

Finally, systems theory does recognize 'academic professions' as something clearly distinct from most other occupations. Characteristics of academic professions in this sense are manifest in Alexandrian scholarship as well or must at least be plausibly assumed. They are:²⁵⁴ 1) a certain autonomy from and privileges granted by the state or government; 2) the professional member's strong commitment to its subject and a corresponding social role; 3) authority as to how and under which conditions novices are to be admitted and introduced to the discipline; 4) corporate organization with processes of internal control (making up for reduced external control). The dispositions behind these characteristics are that: 5) the field represented by the discipline enjoys special social importance; 6) the profession compares and relates itself ultimately not to 'ordinary' occupations but to the stratified structure of the nobility (which is internally differentiated by differences in honor) so that consequently the nobility's honor system has an equivalent in the profession's system of awarding honor (according to professional competence).

This goes to show that ancient philological scholarship, which most conspicuously and most characteristically manifests itself in the form of philological writings, is more than just a system of communication or social system (*soziales System*). It does in fact constitute a 'discipline' with a corresponding 'profession', not only in the intuitive and everyday sense of these terms but also in the stricter and more objectifiable meaning they have in systems theory. Philological writings with their characteristic typological differentiation are therefore appropriately thought of as professional writings largely constituting an intellectual discipline.

Understanding philology and its types of writings in systemic terms raises a final question. What is the role of the individual scholar? More specifically, in this contribution, what are we to think of the important typological 'inventions' by the preeminent Alexandrian philological scholars? How much room for individual achievement is there when philological scholarship seems to be reduced to a depersonalized, almost automatized system in which problems are systemically generated, differentiation follows the system's invisible logic,

253 Stichweh [1994] 17.

254 Stichweh [1994] 362–364.

and philological problems as well as entire types of writings are said simply to ‘emerge’?

While no social system consisting of communication can ever emerge without the presence of and contributions by individuals,²⁵⁵ for a more nuanced insight, the concept of ‘system rationality’ (“*Systemrationalität*”) will be helpful.²⁵⁶ In functional systems, *Systemrationalität* reflects the system’s ‘expectations’ at any given point. And the system ‘expects’, to phrase it abstractly, that true to the system’s *telos* those operations will be chosen that secure or at least enable the most and most effective connecting communication (*Anschlusskommunikation*).²⁵⁷ To phrase it colloquially, the system favors what ‘makes the most sense’, given the nature of the system and the specific situation at hand.

This concept may cast a new light on the famous Alexandrian ‘inventions’ of types of philological writings. The quotation marks here and elsewhere already indicate that the notion of an ‘invention’ should not to be taken too literally in this context. It is true that critical *semeia* (Zenodotus and Aristarchus), philological *glossai* (Zenodotus), *Pinakes* (Callimachus), learned *hypotheseis* (Aristophanes), lemmatized *hypomnemata* (Aristarchus), to name only the most prominent types, are specialized and highly efficient functional types of writings.²⁵⁸ But it was remarked repeatedly that their ‘inventions’, in the situations in which they occurred, were to a certain extent obvious steps to take. We can now say that these typological developments reflect the discipline’s *Systemrationalität*. The “pull” of the system’s inherent rationality made the ‘inventions’ of these functional types of writings just about inevitable. Within the exceptionally favorable framework that existed for some generations in Ptolemaic Alexandria—this is the real miracle, so to speak, more so than the specific successive stages in the development of philological scholarship once the discipline had been set on its path—²⁵⁹ these types of writings, arguably,

255 In pure systems theory, however, ‘people’ are not considered part of the system, only communication is; even the concept of a ‘person’ and his or her ‘actions’ undergoes considerable revision; cf. Luhmann [1984] 155 and elsewhere.

256 Cf. Gansel [2011] 49–51, 86–94 with other scenarios that show *Systemrationalität* at work.

257 Cf. Luhmann [1984] 62, 122, and elsewhere; also, *e.g.*, Gätje [2008] 205–209. Continued connecting communication is necessary for the existence of any social system. Where there is no *Anschlusskommunikation*, the system immediately ceases to exist.

258 In this sense, even the writings characterized above as “broad-band” are specialized. In the larger systemic context, their distinct specialization is precisely that they (and only they) can serve a broad range of purposes.

259 The emergence and subsequent further development of philology in Alexandria confirms Luhmann’s theory that communication is, on the one hand, fundamentally unlikely

simply had to emerge, that is, had to be ‘invented’ at some point, even more or less in the very chronological order in which they in fact did emerge. In addition, we should keep in mind that these types of writings were not created *ex nihilo*. Rather, they represent professionalized, systematized, and perfected variants of practices that had been or could be cultivated in less systematic and sophisticated fashion in pre- or sub-philological contexts.²⁶⁰ Therefore, to put it bluntly, it does not require breathtaking ingenuity to develop the idea of using marginal signs or interlinear annotations for philological purposes, or to produce scholarly dictionaries, a catalog for the Library’s holdings, or introductions or commentaries to works of literature. The room for real individual achievement on part of the formative figures of Alexandrian philology, as typological inventors, seems thus to become even smaller.

However, there is still something arguably breathtaking about the development of types of philological writings in Hellenistic Alexandria, and the distinguished literary scholars’ fame for having established them is deserved. By introducing important new types of writings, Zenodotus, Callimachus, Aristophanes, Aristarchus, and others were effective agents if not embodiments of philology’s *Systemrationalität*. At crucial points in the discipline’s development they seem to have recognized what needed to be done, they had the capacity (intellectual, organizational, infrastructural) to do it, and they did it so well (systematically, thoroughly, comprehensively) that their solutions lasted, even serving as tools and models for others.²⁶¹ If this interpretation is correct, the Alexandrian typological ‘inventors’ may be praised for having exercised a quasi-Hegelian freedom (*“Freiheit ist Einsicht in Notwendigkeit”*) in recognizing and internalizing philology’s necessities as they arose in certain situations.

Moreover, the fact that in Hellenistic Alexandria philology rose for the first time to the level of a distinct and self-conscious professional discipline makes the famous scholars of Alexandria (in addition to their other accomplishments) truly formative *protoi heuretai* (‘first inventors’) of the main types

to occur (*“prinzipiell unwahrscheinlich”*; for where communication does not exist, it is more likely that there will continue to be no communication than that it sets in), but that communication itself, on the other hand, has the power to transform improbability into probability: once communication has begun, it is more likely that it will in fact continue; cf. Luhmann [1984] 148–190, 217–219.

260 Cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 1–84; Montanari [1998d], especially 6–7; McNamee [2010]; Montanari [2011b], especially 3; Novokhatko in this volume.

261 The basic trias of systemic evolution, summarized, *e.g.*, by Gansel [2011] 111, which consists of variation, selection, and (re)stabilization, is thus successfully completed.

of philological writings. As solutions to the defining problems and questions around *Textpflege* these types are timeless, not because they cannot disappear (we have seen that they can) but because they have been continued or revived wherever autonomous, professional, and erudite concern for the transmission and understanding of important and demanding texts is perceived as a worthwhile goal.

Typology of Grammatical Treatises*

Stefano Valente

- 1 *The τέχνη-type and Related Monographs*
 - 1.1 *The τέχνη-type and Its Evolution*
 - 1.2 *Monographs on Elements and Parts of Speech*
 - 1.3 *Grammatical Treatises on Prosody, Metrics, and Punctuation*
- 2 *Monographs on Hellenismos*
 - 2.1 *Monographs on Declension and Inflection, as well as on Single Criteria of Correction*
 - 2.2 *Treatises on Orthography*
 - 2.3 *Treatises on Syntax*

A typological description of ancient grammatical treatises must first and foremost rely on the few works preserved in Byzantine manuscripts, on the fragmentary surviving monographs on papyri, and on the testimonia concerning them.¹ On this basis, however, a general outline can still be drawn.² On a theoretical perspective, which could be nonetheless in some aspects alien to

* My gratitude to Klaus Alpers, Ian Cunningham, Marco Ercoles, Barbara Fero, and Stephanos Matthaios for their helpful remarks on first drafts of this paper; I am also thankful to Ian Cunningham for kindly revising my English.

- 1 For the sources of knowledge see Dickey in this volume. The following typology should be mostly considered as a theoretical abstraction depending on the surviving work-titles and fragments. A rigorous and exhaustive analysis of ancient grammatical theories and their relation with the remainder of ancient treatises goes beyond the purposes of a typological approach, which I have intentionally adopted. About the definitions and tasks of grammar as well as its partitions (viz. the tripartite system of Asclepiades and the quadripartite one), see e.g. Pagani [2011] zof. nn. 16–21 with rich bibliographical references. For the sake of brevity, I will mainly refer to the *LGGA*-articles (www.aristarchus.unige.it/lgga/) on the single grammarians, where detailed and updated bibliography can be easily collected.
- 2 One must keep in mind that in ancient Greek grammar has never been an autonomous discipline, being linked to rhetorical, philosophical and scholarly studies (see e.g. Blank [2000] 400).

ancient conceptions, Greek grammatical treatises might be divided into two groups:³

1. the *τέχνη*-type, viz. monographs being a sort of (school-)companion of grammatical doctrines along with a definition and description of grammar and of its tasks, with a particular focus on the parts of speech;⁴ a 'reduction'-type might be represented by monographs dealing with single elements (letters, syllables, words) and/or parts of speech;
2. 'Ἑλληνισμός'-type⁵—especially in the form of *τέχνη* *περὶ Ἑλληνισμοῦ*⁶—discussing doubtful grammatical problems and irregularities, using the criteria of analogy, etymology, dialect, usage, and literary tradition; treatises on orthography, prosody, declension and conjugation fall into this typology; on a higher level, monographs on syntax represent a sort of final stage of grammatical studies on *Hellenismos*.

1 The *τέχνη*-type and Related Monographs

1.1 *The τέχνη-type and Its Evolution*

The appearance of the *τέχνη*-type—viz. a comprehensive and systematic account of grammar and its tasks, along with the definition and description of the elements and parts of speech—dates to the 1st c. BC, after Greek grammatical doctrines (and grammarians as well) met the Roman world, building up a discipline codified and progressively independent from strictly philological

3 I follow here Ax [1982] 97 (= Id. [2000] 128f.) and Matthaïos [1999] 15f. with bibl. (see Id. [2007] 13f.), with required adaptations due to the typological approach (see n. 1). For the Latin world see the useful model sketched by Ax [2005] (in part. 259), which will here be taken into due account. Obviously, there are many overlaps within the groups and a rigorous distinction between them according to the modern conception of grammar is impossible (see e.g. Barwick [1922] 227 n. 2: "Auch die ars grammatica [*scil.* *τέχνη γραμματική*], soweit sie die Flexionslehre behandelte, kann hier [*scil.* among works *περὶ Ἑλληνισμοῦ/de latinitate*] genannt werden").

4 Fehling [1956] 247 n. 1 suggested that the *τέχνη*-type could have been created on the basis of the *τέχνη* *περὶ Ἑλληνισμοῦ* (see below, § 2), particularly on the introductory part dealing with the doctrine of parts of speech and of inflection (see also Pinborg [1975] 112). For the reflection on the 'parts of speech' in ancient Greek scholarship see also Swiggers-Wouters in this volume (section III.2).

5 On Ἑλληνισμός and its criteria, see Pagani in this volume with an exhaustive discussion and further bibliographical references.

6 See e.g. Fehling [1956] 258ff.; Pinborg [1975] 112.

studies.⁷ It must be remembered that “grammar’ in its full and complete sense was understood to be knowledge of literary compositions, accompanied only in some cases by knowledge of what is said and thought in Greek according to the common usage” (Pagani [2011] 17).

Early definitions of grammar and its purposes were at first formulated in Hellenistic philological works. The theoretical framework of grammar was namely philology, as it is attested by the first definition of grammar as a “complete mastering in written literary works” (παντελής ἔξις ἐν γράμμασι)⁸ formulated by Eratosthenes.⁹ The philologically oriented perspective of Alexandrian grammar,¹⁰ defined by Dionysius Thrax’s *Παραγγέλματα* as “the maximally extensive experience of what is said by poets and prose writers”,¹¹ would be later questioned, among others, by Asclepiades, who stressed that grammar is “a *techne* of thing said by poets and prose authors”.¹² As Di Benedetto [2007] 417ff. rightly points out, Asclepiades’ definition suggests the evolution and renewal of grammar during the 1st c. BC.

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- 7 See Di Benedetto [2007] 417f.; Pinborg [1975] 110ff.; Criboire [2001] 210; Matthaios [2009a]. See also Ax [2006c] 250: “Der *ars*-Typ ist eine didaktisch motivierte Darstellung der Sprachkonstituenten, die der Identifikation der Sprachelemente bei der Lektüre und weniger normativen Richtigstellungen dient”. Influences of Stoic treatises *Περὶ φωνῆς* (see below, § 1.2) dealing with the smallest elements of speech, λέξεις, λόγος, parts of speech, as well as ἀρεταὶ and κακίαι λόγου must be acknowledged (see e.g. Barwick [1922] 91f., 229f.).
- 8 See Pagani [2011] 17f. with n. 3; Matthaios [2011a]. For the translation of ἔξις see L. Pagani, *PAWAG* (<http://www.aristarchus.unige.it/pawag/>) s.v.; see also Swiggers-Wouters in this volume (section II.2).
- 9 It could have been located in his *Γραμματικά*: however, very little can be inferred about the structure and the contents of this work in two books (see Geus [2002] 52 n. 38, 291 nn. 11f., 304f., and Matthaios [2011a] 62f. with rich bibliography). See also Schenkeveld [1994] 263. Pfeiffer [1968] 162 cautiously suggested its possible influence on Asclepiades’ *Γραμματικά*: see below.
- 10 Alexandrian scholars used to call themselves γραμματικοί (on the Cratetean polemics against the term in favour of κριτικός see Sext. Emp. (*Math.* 1.79, 248) with Blank [1998] 140f., 259; Eratosthenes was the first to call himself φιλόλογος (Suet. *Gram.* 10): see Pfeiffer [1968] 158f., 238; Schenkeveld [1994] 265; Blank [2000] 404f.
- 11 Sext. Emp. *Math.* 1.57: Διονύσιος μὲν οὖν ὁ Θραξ ἐν τοῖς παραγγέλμασι φησι ‘γραμματικὴ ἐστὶν ἐμπειρία ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον τῶν παρὰ ποιηταῖς τε καὶ συγγραφεύσι λεγομένων’ κτλ., transl. Di Benedetto [2000] 395 (= Id. [2007] 522). See Di Benedetto [2007] 392ff.; Schenkeveld [1994] 263f.
- 12 Sext. Emp. *Math.* 1.74, transl. Pagani [2011] 19. On the polemics against Dionysius and on the following definitions of grammar formulated by Ptolemy the Peripatetic, Chares/Chairis, Demetrius Chlorus, and Tyrannion, see Blank [1998] 124–146 and Pagani [2011] 19f.

Establishing the exact typology of Dionysius' *Παραγγέλματα* is quite difficult; beside the definition of grammar, they certainly contained the identification of its six parts, which belonged to Alexandrian scholarly activity: "expert 'reading' concerning the accents, interpretation according to the poetical 'tropes', explanation of 'glosses' and 'stories', finding of etymology, setting out of analogy, judgement of poems (χρίσις ποιημάτων)".¹³ It remains uncertain whether Dionysius dealt theoretically with the parts of speech in his *Παραγγέλματα* or in other grammatical works.¹⁴

A decisive step toward a technicalisation of grammar was undertaken by Asclepiades of Myrlea.¹⁵ In his *Περὶ γραμματικῆς*¹⁶ he defined grammar and its origins (Sext. Emp. *Math.* 1.44–47, 72–74), as well as its tasks. Of the tripartition into technical, historical, and grammatical parts which he suggested (Sext. Emp. *Math.* 1.252: τεχνικόν, ἱστορικόν, and γραμματικόν μέρος), only the technical section falls into grammar *stricto sensu*, as it deals with letters, syllables, λέξεις, parts of speech, orthography, Ἑλληνισμός with its criteria (especially analogy and etymology), as well as virtues and vices of speech.¹⁷

During the Hellenistic period, grammar (γραμματική) was never an independent field of research;¹⁸ on the other hand, there is some evidence of a well-defined elementary grammar suited to the first stages of the educational process (the so-called 'grammaticistic', γραμματιστική).¹⁹ Although it seems possible to infer that a sort of continuum in school practice existed, evidence for a systematisation of grammatical doctrines is attested during the 1st c. AD, when the learning of grammar entered the school curricula as a separate

13 Sext. Emp. *Math.* 1.250f. (~ Dion. T. *GG* 1.1.5,2–6.3), transl. Di Benedetto [2000] 395 (= Id. [2007] 523). See Blank [2000] 410f., 413 tab. 58.4. See also Quint. *Inst.* 1.8.13–21 and Ax [2011] 384–404 with bibl.

14 See Matthaios [1999] 22 with nn. 46f. with bibl.

15 See Di Benedetto [2007] 419; Blank [1998] XLVf.; L. Pagani [2009a]; Montana in this volume.

16 The *Περὶ γραμματικῆς* and the *Περὶ γραμματικῶν* might have been part of a complete work *Γραμματικά* in eleven books at least: see Usener [1913] 309 n. 125; Pfeiffer [1968] 158, 162 n. 8.

17 See Schenkeveld [1994] 264f.; Blank [2000] 412 tab. 58.1, especially on the basis of Sext. Emp. *Math.* 1.91–96, 252f.; see also above n. 7; Swiggers-Wouters (section 11.2) in this volume. On the later quadripartite system, counting a τεχνικόν among its ὄργανα, Blank [2000] 412 tab. 58.3; Pagani [2011] 21 with nn. 19–21 for bibl.

18 On this topic cf. Montana in this volume.

19 See e.g. Asclep. Myrl. ap. Sext. Emp. *Math.* 1.44 with Blank [1998] 113 and n. 64. This bipartition (elementary grammar vs. higher grammar aiming at the interpretation of classical texts) is also attested by Phil. *Congr.* 148–150 (3.102f. C.-W.); Blank [2000] 402.

subject.²⁰ For this purpose, different handbooks and schoolbooks were composed,²¹ as some papyri attest, stressing the absence of a standardised school practice.²² In addition, this practice seems to have received a certain influence from the higher grammatical studies,²³ displaying different combinations of various doctrines. At least until the 5th c. AD, there was no standard text at all.²⁴ At that time, the *Τέχνη γραμματική* ascribed to Dionysius Thrax (= *Τέχνη*)²⁵ seems to have prevailed against other systematic outlines of grammar preserved by various *τέχνη γραμματικά*.²⁶ Other treatises—with

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- 20 Cribiore [2001] 210. She also points out that “a limited systematisation of grammatical tools already existed in the work of the Alexandrian scholars, where it served their philological pursuits, and it is conceivable that some aspects of embryonic normative grammar were already part of school practice in Hellenistic times. Only later, however, did grammar arrive at a distinct methodology and a systematic articulation of a definite body of knowledge”; see also *ibid.* n. 121: “the absence of grammatical exercises and text in Hellenistic times is highly significant and cannot be explained, in my opinion, solely on the basis of the limited number of literary and semi-literary papyri preserved from this period”. On a possible existence of some *ars*-type in the Roman world already in the 1st c. BC, see Ax [2011] 13–15 (his hypothesis cannot however be automatically transposed to the Greek world because of the lack of any certain proof).
- 21 School exercises are also good witnesses to this ongoing practice: Cribiore [1996] 38ff.
- 22 See Wouters [1979] 43; Schenkeveld [1994] 267f.
- 23 See Wouters [1979] 44f.
- 24 “Grammar, and grammatical teaching, was not a process of uniform transmission of a set of codified doctrines. Taken together with the other *τέχνη*-papyri, our text [*P.Berol.* 9917] shows that grammarians proceeded through adoption, adaptation and transformation, and through ‘retouching’ definitions, technical terms, and lists of examples. This approach ‘*par bricolage*’ explains the differences in formulation, in exemplification, and in organisation of the textual testimonies for the *τέχνη*-genre” (Wouters-Swiggers [2011] 329). Differences concern, for instance, the number and sequence of the parts of speech, their definitions and accidents (*παρεπόμενα*, viz. consequential attributes): see Wouters [1979] 38f., 60 n. 49.
- 25 The attribution of this booklet to Dionysius Thrax has been strongly questioned since antiquity: see Di Benedetto [2000] 397–399; Id. [2007] 381ff.; Matthaios [2009a] (with further bibl.); Pagani [2010b]; [2011] with further bibl.; Montana in this volume. For the papyri carrying the text of the *Τέχνη*, not without modifications and adaptations, see *P.Hal.* 55A (Wouters [1979] 109–119, no. 4, 5th c. AD). The *incipit* of the *Τέχνη* is also preserved by *PSI* 1.18 under the title *Περὶ γραμματικῆς* (5th c. AD: Wouters [1979] 120–124, no. 5), after the treatise *Περὶ ποδῶν* (~ *GG* 1.1.119.6–9), one of the ancient supplements to the *Τέχνη* in the Mediaeval mss. (suppl. III: Uhlig [1883] LII f.), which the scholiasts to the *Τέχνη* still found in that order (see *sch.* [Vat.] Dion. T. *GG* 1.3.128.28ff. with Di Benedetto [2007] 459f.).
- 26 Works with the title *Τέχνη γραμματική* have been also written by Lupercus (3rd c. AD: see Ucciardello [2008] with bibl.) and by Astyages (see Ucciardello [2006a]), but no fragment

different degrees of doctrinal (dis)similarity—survive in some papyri dating from the 1st c. AD onwards,²⁷ testifying to the existence of a common theoretical background with little originality.²⁸

The surviving grammatical papyri belong to different typologies,²⁹ and many of them were copied or produced by teachers or pupils for school practice;³⁰ a school milieu is also suggested by the question-and-answer structure.³¹ They may have consisted of the following subsections:³² definition and structure of grammar, of the elements of speech from the smallest ones (letters, *στοιχεία*, and syllables, *συλλαβαί*) to the word and sentence (*λέξις* and *λόγος*), and of the parts of speech (*μέρη λόγου*);³³ collateral topics could also have been treated (e.g. §§ 2–5 of the *Τέχνη*, on *ἀνάγνωσις*, *τόνος*, *στιγμή*, and *ῥαψωδία*: *GG* 1.1.6.4–8.6). These parts might have been combined and dealt with in different ways and to different extents, as the papyri clearly show.³⁴

Some few examples. *P.Yale* 1.25 (1st c. AD; Wouters [1979] 47–60, no. 1) preserves a definition of *λόγος* (c. 1 ll. 1f.) close to that of the *Τέχνη* (*GG* 1.1.22.5) followed by a list of its nine parts (ll. 2–5), instead of the canonical eight of the *Τέχνη* (*GG* 1.1.23.1–3), and by the definition of these parts with some examples.³⁵ Striking coincidences and significant differences with the text of the *Τέχνη* are by no means surprising.³⁶ *P. Osl.* 2.13 (100–150 AD; Wouters [1979] 141–155, no. 9;

survives. On possible fragments from the *Τέχνη γραμματική* by Eudaemon (4th c. AD), see Cohn [1907c]; Meliaddò [2005b].

- 27 They display some significant differences in the presentation of the materials and doctrines, thus showing that the surviving booklet attributed to Dionysius was just one of the possible texts, presenting a combination of doctrines and materials coming from different sources (e.g. Alexandrian scholars, Stoics, Apollonius Dyscolus): Matthaios [2009a] with bibl.
- 28 See Wouters [1979] 43f.
- 29 A survey in Wouters [1979] and Crihiore [1996] 263–269 ('Grammar'-type).
- 30 Crihiore [1996] 52f.; Wouters [1997] 1021.
- 31 On the *ἑρωτήματα*-structure, see e.g. Wouters [1979] 41–43, 88f.; Crihiore [2001] 212; Ax [2005] 253; Lndon-Matthaios [2007] 100 n. 22 with further bibl.
- 32 See Fuhrmann [1960] 29–34 (with the review by Fehling [1962]); Wouters [1979] 38–43.
- 33 On the parts of speech, see Schenkeveld [1994] 269–273; Matthaios [1999] *passim* with rich bibl.; Jonge-Ophuijsen [2010] 495f. The origins of this part are to be found in the grammatical *μερισμός*: see above, § 1.2.
- 34 To this end, Wouters [1979] 38f. remarks differences in number, sequence, and definition of parts of speech and their *παρεπόμενα*.
- 35 Wouters [1979] 52ff.
- 36 See Di Benedetto [2007] 398–410, 494f.; Swiggers-Wouters [1996a] 47–60; Crihiore [1996] 263, no. 358. Similarly, § 6 of the *Τέχνη* (*περὶ στοιχείου*, *GG* 1.19) exhibits interesting coincidences (as well as differences) with the surviving part of *P.Osl.* 2.13 (100–150 CE; Wouters

Criamore [1996] 264, no. 362) contains “a genuine τέχνη influenced by predecessors (Dionysius Thrax [*i.e.* Τέχνη]) and contemporaries (Apollonius Dyscolus, Sextus Empiricus)” (Wouters [1979] 155). Agreements with the Τέχνη are also present in *P.Harr.* 59 (end 2nd c. AD: Wouters [1979] 163–174, no. 11). *P.Amh.* 2.21 (3rd/4th c. AD: Wouters [1979] 188–197, no. 14; Criamore [1996] 266, no. 368) is a “grammatical manual treating the προσφῶδια, the parts of speech and the noun”,³⁷ *PSI* 7.761 (5th/6th c. AD: Wouters [1979] 204–215, no. 16; Criamore [1996] 267, no. 373) contains “definition of noun, verb, participle, article, pronoun, and preposition” (Criamore [1996] 267) with influence from Apollonius Dyscolus and coincidences with the Τέχνη. A question-and-answer structure is used, for instance, in *PSI* inv. 505 (late 1st/early 2nd c. AD: Wouters [1979] 135–138, no. 7; London-Matthaios [2007]), a τέχνη-fragment on the accidents (παρεπόμενα) of the noun, and in the Τέχνη γραμματική by Pseudo-Trypho preserved in *P.Lit. Lond.* 182 (ca. 300 AD; Wouters [1979] 61–92, no. 1),³⁸ “a good example of the grammatical ‘systematisches Lehrbuch’ of Antiquity” (Wouters [1979] 91).

The absence of any systematic investigation on syntax in the τέχνη is quite remarkable:³⁹ apart from some occasional observations on the construction of prepositions in *P.Lit.Lond.* 182 c. 2, 75–80,⁴⁰ syntax received an independent treatment only by Apollonius Dyscolus.⁴¹

1.2 Monographs on Elements and Parts of Speech

A reduction-type can be identified in monographs dealing with single topics, such as those about the smallest elements of speech, that is sound, letters, and syllables (φωνή, στοιχεῖα, and συλλαβαί),⁴² and those on the parts of speech.

Treatises *Περὶ φωνῆς* come into consideration. This topic was initially investigated from a philosophical perspective by the Stoics,⁴³ such as Diogenes of Babylon in his *Τέχνη περὶ φωνῆς* (fr. 17, 21 Arnim).⁴⁴ A Stoic inspiration can be also supposed for the *Περὶ τῶν ἐν φωναῖς ζητουμένων* in three books by Theodorus

[1979] 141–155, no. 8) dealing with στοιχεῖα and γράμματα (here there are coincidences with other grammatical doctrines such as Apollonius’). See also *P.Köln* 4.177 (4th c. AD) on vowels and consonants (see Criamore [1996] 267, no. 371).

37 Wouters [1979] 196 with bibl.; see also Criamore [1996] 266; Di Benedetto [2007] 459f.

38 On the false ascription, see Di Benedetto [2007] 405–410; Wouters [1979] 90–92 with rich bibl.

39 See Criamore [2001] 212 with n. 127; Swiggers-Wouters [2003a].

40 See Wouters [1979] 61–92, no. 2, in part. 81f. (see also 40 with nn. 37f. with bibl.); Criamore [2001] 212.

41 See below, § 2.3.

42 See *e.g.* Sext. Emp. *Math.* 99–130 with Blank [1998] 153–170.

43 See *e.g.* Pohlenz [1939]; above, n. 7.

44 See Di Benedetto [2007] 416, 479; Schenkeveld [1994] 272f.

of Gadara⁴⁵ and for the *Περὶ φωνῆς* by Apollonius Dyscolus.⁴⁶ Beside the orthographical discussions on combination of words,⁴⁷ letters and syllables as well as their properties were, for instance, treated by Epaphroditus (*Περὶ στοιχείων*, fr. 1–13 Braswell-Billerbeck)⁴⁸ and the same Apollonius (*Περὶ στοιχείων* and *Περὶ συλλαβῶν*).⁴⁹

Describing and defining the parts of speech (μέρη λόγου), and assigning words to them (the so-called μερισμός)⁵⁰ primarily belonged to the higher grammar, becoming later a core feature of the τέχνη γραμματικαί.⁵¹

The first grammatical works on μερισμός are attested from the 1st c. BC on with Tyrannion, whose *Περὶ μερισμοῦ* or *Περὶ τῶν μερῶν τοῦ λόγου* (fr. 56–58 Haas)⁵² received an almost instant commentary by his pupil Diocles (*Ἐξήγησις τοῦ Τυραννίωνος μερισμοῦ*).⁵³ Later, Apollonius Dyscolus' *Περὶ μερισμοῦ τῶν τοῦ λόγου μερῶν* in four books⁵⁴ had considerable influence.⁵⁵

45 See Kowalski [1928] 168; Pagani [2005c].

46 Schneider [1910] 1f., underlining that Apollonius' definition of φωνή relies upon the one given by Diogenes of Babylon. If Priscian reflects here Apollonius' work, the treatise was *de voce et eius speciebus* (Prisc. *Inst.* 2.3.5).

47 Falling into the μερισμός/σύνταξις field: see below § 2.2 and Valente (section III.2) in this volume.

48 According to Braswell-Billerbeck [2008] 84, Epaphroditus' work was “a treatise on elements or roots, *i.e.* an etymological work”.

49 Respectively Schneider [1910] 2–6 and 8f. The content of Apollonius' lost works can be partially recovered through Priscian's *Ars* and the scholia to the *Τέχνη* (as well as through other witnesses: see also Luscher [1912] 2–23, 188–200). A *Περὶ στοιχείων* is possibly attested also for Diogenianus (2nd c. AD) in *Suda* δ 1146 Adler (*s.v.* Διογένησις ἢ Διογενειανός): see Diog. *FGrHist* 474 T 1 with commentary.

50 See Lehrs [1848] 423f.; Dyck [1983] 3; Blank [1998] 189–191. The word μερισμός in grammatical literature could also be used in orthography to indicate the syllabification (see below, § 2.2), the “analysis of a sentence into its component parts, parsing” and the “division into feet, scansion [...] ; division of a line into words” (LSJ 1104 *s.v.* 3.b, 4): see Lehrs [1848] 424–426; Glück [1967] 35f.; Dyck [1983] 3–5 and below, p. 608. Μερισμός was initially a task of philosophy (see Blank [2000] 401f.), being later treated by Alexandrian philologists in a scholarly perspective (for instance, Aristarchus certainly knew and used the canonical eight parts-system: see Matthaios [1999]).

51 See above, § 1.1.

52 See Haas [1977] 167f. Di Benedetto [2007] 414–416. According to *Suda* τ 1185 Adler, Tyrannion distinguished here proper name, common name and participle (*Περὶ τῶν μερῶν τοῦ λόγου*, ἐν ᾧ λέγει, ἄτομα μὲν εἶναι τὰ κύρια ὀνόματα, θεματικά δὲ τὰ προσηγορικά, ἀθέματα δὲ τὰ μετοχικά): see Lehrs [1848] 416 n. *; Haas [1977] 168.

53 See Haas [1977] 98, 167.

54 See Lehrs [1848] 416f.; Schneider [1910] 30–37.

55 Lehrs [1848] 417 inclines to attribute *sch.* (Vat.) Dion. T. *GG* 1.3.214.17–215.3 (~ *sch.* [Marc.] Dion. T. *GG* 1.3.356.7–357.26, see *sch.* [Lond.] Dion. T. *GG* 1.3.514.31–521.37) to Apollonius.

Besides, in Sextus' account of the technical part of grammar the analysis of the *μέρη λόγου* is followed by the (polemical) discussion on the practice of *μερισμός* (or *ἐπιμερισμός*, lat. *partitio*: Sext. *Emp. Math.* 1.159–161).⁵⁶ In this context, it is the partition of a sentence (mostly of a verse) “into its metrical and verbal components, viz. into feet and words (*λόγου μέρη*)”, being thus a division “of a verse into its parts (verbal or metrical), not the classification of words among the parts of speech”.⁵⁷ The origins of this grammatical genre are probably to be traced back to school teaching, common to the Greek and Latin world:⁵⁸ the practice of parsing a verse or a sentence would later lead to the compilation of grammatical works, which often maintained the structure of the oral teaching (question-and-answer form),⁵⁹ with a progressive shifting during the Byzantine period to the form of a schoolbook and/or reference book.⁶⁰ Among the grammatical works, Herodian's two books of *Ἐπιμερισμοί*, probably dealing with the Homeric text (with etymological explanations), could have had such a structure; the exact content and structure is however impossible to reconstruct.⁶¹ According to Lucian (*Hes.* 5), Hesiod's works were treated in the same way.⁶²

The only complete monographs of this reduction-type which still survive are the so-called *scripta minora* by Apollonius Dyscolus (*Περὶ ἀντωνυμίας*, *On adverbs* [GG 2.1.3–116], *Περὶ ἐπιρρημάτων*, *On adverbs* [GG 2.1.119–210],⁶³ and *Περὶ συνδέσμων*, *On conjunctions*, GG 2.1.213–258, Dalimier [2001]).⁶⁴ These works are generally divided into two parts: *ἔννοια* ('sense') and *σχῆμα τῆς φωνῆς* ('word-

56 See Glück [1967] 33ff.; Blank [1998] 189–191. See also Apoll. Dysc. 491.13; see Lehrs [1848] 424; Dyck [1983] 3 n. 3.

57 Dyck [1983] 3; see above, n. 47.

58 See Glück [1967] 31f.; Blank [1998] 189; the best known example are Priscian's *Partitions of the first twelve verses of the Aeneid* (*Partitiones duodecim versuum Aeneidos principalium*, *GL* 3.457–515).

59 See above, n. 31.

60 See Lehrs [1848] 426; Glück [1967] 32f.; Dyck [1983] 4f. Typical cases are the epimerisms to Homer (originally in the form of scholia-epimerisms, which will be later alphabetized in a lexicographic structure: see Dyck [1983–1995]). On the Byzantine practice see also Robins [1993] 125–148.

61 Fragments are collected by Lentz [1867] xvii–xxxiii and supplemented by Dyck [1981] and [1993a] 793. On Herodian's work and its relationship with the pseudoepigraph *Epimerisms* (Boissonade [1819]), see Dyck [1981] and [1993a] 792f. with bibl.

62 See Criboire [2001] 197.

63 See Brandenburg [2005] with the review by Schmidhauser [2007].

64 See Blank [2000] 414.

form').⁶⁵ The *ἔννοια* deals first with the name of a part of speech (*κλήσις*), then its definition (*ἕρως*), its *γένη* (kinds), syntax and *μερισμός* (viz. assigning words to the discussed part of speech); the *σχῆμα τῆς φωνῆς* handles forms and prosody of those words, their dialectal forms and affections (*πάθη*).⁶⁶ Nonetheless, each part of speech (noun, verb, participle, article, pronoun, preposition, adverb, conjunction) was treated separately by various grammarians from the 1st c. BC onwards: the most influential works in this field of research were those by Trypho, Apollonius Dyscolus and Herodian.⁶⁷

Treatises on nouns were written by Apollonius Dyscolus (*Περὶ ὀνομάτων* or *Ὀνοματικόν*)⁶⁸ and Herodian (*Περὶ ὀνομάτων* or *Ὀνοματικόν* or *Ὀνοματικά*).⁶⁹ Subsections or separate monographs were also devoted to single topics, such as Philoxenus' *Περὶ συγκριτικῶν* (*On comparatives and superlatives*, fr. 331–353 Theodoridis),⁷⁰ Trypho's *Περὶ παρωνύμων* (fr. 83–93 von Velsen), *Περὶ ὀνομάτων συγκριτικῶν* in one book and *Περὶ ὀνομάτων χαρακτήρων* in one book (in *Suda* τ 115 Adler), Habro's *Περὶ παρωνύμων* (fr. 11–18 Berndt) and *Περὶ κτητικῶν* (fr. 9f. Berndt), Apollonius Dyscolus' *Περὶ παρωνύμων*,⁷¹ Herodian's *Περὶ παρωνύμων* (*GG* 3.2.849f.)⁷² and *Περὶ ῥηματικῶν ὀνομάτων* (*GG* 3.2.897–903).⁷³

Among the monographs on verbs, Apollonius Dyscolus' *Περὶ τοῦ ῥήματος* or *Ῥηματικόν*⁷⁴ was one of the most important works, receiving a commentary by Zenobius (Schoemann [1881] 8f., fr. 5 ap. *Etym. Gen.* α 124 Lasserre-Livadaras)⁷⁵ and being extensively used by Herodian and later grammarians (such as Priscian and Choeroboscus).⁷⁶ The same general approach was seemingly

65 See Blank [2000] 414.

66 See Blank [1993] 719; Id. [2000] 414.

67 Some of the following monographs could as well fall into (or be listed under) the 'Ελληνισμός'-type, particularly those on declension, inflection, and derivation, as some fragments dealing with correct word-forms show: see below, § 2.

68 See Schneider [1910] 38–68. Schneider [1910] 54 also suggests that the *Περὶ παρωνύμων*, as well as the treatise *Περὶ τοῦ τίς*, might have been part of it.

69 See Lentz [1867] CV–CVIII.

70 See Theodoridis [1976] 12.

71 See above, n. 68.

72 See Lentz [1867] CXIVf.

73 See Lentz [1867] CXV.

74 See Schneider [1910] 69–121.

75 On the lifetime of the grammarian, see Schoemann [1881] 29: "coniciam eum non ita multo post Herodiani tempora vixisse".

76 See Reitzenstein [1897] 361; Schneider [1910] 70. Besides, *PSI* 7.849 (Wouters [1979] 260–262, no. 22) seems to represent a work similar to—without however being recognisable as—Apollonius' *Ῥηματικόν*.

shared also by Herodian in his *Περὶ ῥήματος* or *Περὶ ῥημάτων* (GG 3.2.787–824).⁷⁷ The athematic conjugation was dealt with in separate monographs, such as the *Περὶ τῶν εἰς μι ληγόντων ῥημάτων* (*Suda* δ 430 Adler) by Aristarchus' pupil Demetrius Ixion.⁷⁸ Later, Philoxenus (*Περὶ τῶν εἰς μι ληγόντων ῥημάτων*, fr. 218 Theodoridis), Apollonius Dyscolus (*Περὶ τῶν εἰς μι ληγόντων ῥημάτων παραγωγῶν*, in one book)⁷⁹ and Herodian (*Περὶ τῶν εἰς μι*, GG 3.2.825–844)⁸⁰ wrote on the same topic. Specific problems were also taken into account, as some titles suggest: Philoxenus wrote a *Περὶ μονοσυλλάβων ῥημάτων* (fr. 1–215 Theodoridis),⁸¹ at least in two books, dealing with the etymological derivation of Greek verbs from monosyllabic roots,⁸² while in his *Ῥηματικόν* (*On verbal derivatives*, fr. 354–400 Theodoridis)⁸³ he also discussed the *nomina verbalia* (as well as quasi-verbal names).⁸⁴ Trypho was the author of various monographs on the verb, whose titles are merged in the account given by *Suda* τ 1115 Adler: *Περὶ ῥημάτων ἐγκλιτικῶν καὶ ἀπαρεμφάτων καὶ προστακτικῶν καὶ εὐκτικῶν καὶ ἀπλῶς πάντων* (fr. 78–80 von Velsen);⁸⁵ he also wrote a *Περὶ ῥημάτων ἀναλογίας βαρυτόνων* in one book (fr. 81 von Velsen).⁸⁶ A monograph about the imperatives in the Homeric poems was compiled by Heracleon (*Περὶ τῶν παρ' Ὀμήρῳ προστακτικῶν ῥημάτων*).⁸⁷ Herodian's *Περὶ συζυγιῶν* (GG 3.2.779), *Μονόβιβλον περὶ τοῦ μὴ πάντα τὰ ῥήματα κλίνεσθαι εἰς πάντας τοὺς χρόνους* (GG 3.2.779–784), *Μονόβιβλον περὶ τοῦ ἦν* (GG 3.2.785f.), and *Περὶ ῥηματικῶν ὀνομάτων* (GG 3.2.897) also fall into this typology.⁸⁸

As far as the other parts of speech are concerned, treatises on the participle were written by Trypho (*Περὶ μετοχῆς*, fr. 39 von Velsen), Apollonius Dyscolus

77 See Lentz [1867] CX–CXII.

78 See Ascheri [2009²] with rich bibl.

79 See Schneider [1910] 112–119.

80 See Lentz [1867] CXII f.

81 See Theodoridis [1976] 8f.

82 On a possible relation of this work with Trypho's *Περὶ τῆς ἐν μονοσυλλάβοις ἀναλογίας*, see below, § 2.1.

83 This work was not part of the previous one (see Theodoridis [1976] 8f.). Some fragments are wrongly assigned to Φίλων in some mss. of the testimonia (see Theodoridis *ad ll.*), but there is no evidence for attributing them to Herennius Philo (as Palmieri [1988] 43f. wrongly argues, without considering Theodoridis' fundamental study).

84 See Kleist [1865] 11; Theodoridis [1976] 9 with n. 6, 12.

85 See von Velsen [1853] 54; Ippolito [2008] 5 with bibl.

86 See below, § 2.1.

87 See Ippolito [2005] with bibl.

88 On Herodian's treatises, see Lentz [1867] CX, CXV. Grammatical papyri dealing with verb are for instance *PSI* 7.849 (2nd c. AD: Wouters [1979] 253–262, no. 22), *POxy.* 3.469 (3rd c. AD: Wouters [1979] 263–267, no. 23), *PLand.* 1.5 (6th/7th c. AD: Wouters [1979] 268–273, no. 24).

(*Περὶ μετοχῶν*),⁸⁹ and Herodian (*Περὶ μετοχῶν*, *GG* 3.2.784f.); articles were treated by Trypho (*Περὶ ἄρθρων*, fr. 22–27 von Velsen) and Apollonius Dyscolus (*Περὶ ἄρθρων*).⁹⁰ Demetrios Ixion (*Suda* δ 430 Adler),⁹¹ Trypho (fr. 28–37 von Velsen), Habro (fr. 1–8 Berndt), and Apollonius Dyscolus (*GG* 2.1.3–116)⁹² wrote treatises on pronouns (*Περὶ ἀντωνυμιῶν*).⁹³ *Περὶ προθέσεων* is the title of works by Trypho (fr. 40 von Velsen) and Apollonius;⁹⁴ a *Περὶ ἐπιρρημάτων*⁹⁵ was composed by Trypho (fr. 62–77 von Velsen), Apollonius (*GG* 2.1.119–210)⁹⁶ and Herodian (*GG* 3.2.846).⁹⁷ Conjunctions (*Περὶ συνδέσμων*) were treated in monographs by Trypho (fr. 41–61 von Velsen) and Apollonius (*GG* 2.1.213–258).⁹⁸

1.3 Grammatical Treatises on Prosody, Metrics, and Punctuation

Grammatical treatises on prosody,⁹⁹ metrics and punctuation might be considered here as well, some of their instances being included in the *τέχνη*-type.

The scholarly activity on Homeric poetry also led to the compilation of treatises on prosody,¹⁰⁰ which would influence the later general works on the topic, reaching final canonisation with Herodian. These monographs fall into the category of *ἀνάγνωσις*: defined by Dionysius Thrax in his *Παραγγέλματα* as “the expert reading according to prosody”, it “refers to the procedure of establishing the correct accentuation of the words in a text”.¹⁰¹ A strict philological attitude

89 See Schneider [1910] 122–129.

90 See Schneider [1910] 130–132.

91 See Ascheri [2009²].

92 See above, p. 608.

93 However, it must be remembered that the title of Trypho’s work is conjectural: see Di Benedetto [2007] 410.

94 See Schneider [1910] 132–138.

95 On the (philosophical and grammatical) history of this part of speech, see Matthaios [2007]; Wouters-Swiggers [2011].

96 See above, p. 608.

97 See Lentz [1867] CXIII.

98 According to *Suda* λ 691 Adler, Lupercus wrote on a single particle, *ἄν* (*Περὶ τοῦ ἄν* in three books): see Ucciardello [2008] (also suggesting that it could have been part of his *Τέχνη*, see below, § 1.3). A treatise *Περὶ συνδέσμων* was written by Posidonius (more likely the Stoic philosopher instead of Aristarchus’ pupil) and discussed by Apollonius (see Pagani [2007d]).

99 See Probert [2006], in part. 16–21 on the philosophical roots and 21–45 on the ancient grammatical studies. See also Probert in this volume.

100 Aristophanes of Byzantium is credited with the invention of prosodical marks (viz. for quantities, accents and breathings: [Arcad.] 211.8ff.): see Probert [2006] 21 with bibl.

101 Di Benedetto [2000] 397 (= Id. [2007] 526; see also [2000] 395–397 = [2007] 523–526 for a detailed discussion). Di Benedetto rightly cites Sext. Emp. *Math.* 1.59 (see also Blank

is distinctly reflected in the extant fragments of Tyrannion's *Περὶ τῆς Ὀμηρικῆς προσωδίας* (fr. 1–58 Haas), whilst a more theoretical approach might be supposed for his *Περὶ προσωδιῶν* (fr. 59 Haas).¹⁰² On the same topic, Philoxenus wrote a *Περὶ προσωδιῶν* (fr. 407–411 Theodoridis).¹⁰³ An important step toward the systematisation of the prosodic doctrines was accomplished by Trypho, who wrote a *Περὶ πνευμάτων* (fr. 1–6 von Velsen), a *Περὶ Ἀττικῆς προσωδίας* (fr. 7–19 von Velsen, in at least three books),¹⁰⁴ as well as a *Περὶ ἀρχαίας ἀναγνώσεως* (in at least two books, fr. 94–104 von Velsen) on prosodical problems concerning breathing and accent. Later, Ptolemy of Ascalon wrote a *Περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἰλιάδι προσωδιῶν* and *Περὶ τῶν ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐα προσωδιῶν*, each of them in two books at least (pp. 9–11, 39–64 Baege).¹⁰⁵ A first input to a comprehensive systematisation may have been given by Heraclides of Miletus between the 1st and 2nd c. AD, his *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* probably being the first general treatise on the topic.¹⁰⁶ His approach may have been later imitated by Apollonius Dyscolus in his *Περὶ προσωδιῶν* (in 5 books)¹⁰⁷ and probably by Herodian,¹⁰⁸ whose *Καθολικὴ προσωδία*¹⁰⁹ constituted the final canonisation on the topic.¹¹⁰ The work dealt with 60,000 Greek words,¹¹¹ fixing rules (viz. canons) to set the correct accents and breathings, with a detailed account of literary examples.¹¹² Herodian had already dealt with Homeric and Attic prosody in

[1998] 129f. and the testimonia to [Did.] 1 Valente).

- 102 See Haas [1977] 98–172; Pagani [2009c]. Given that the title of the work is not attested, but has been conjectured by Wendel [1948] 1815f., I would not exclude that the theoretical part could have been placed in the introduction of his *Περὶ τῆς Ὀμηρικῆς προσωδίας*.
- 103 See Theodoridis [1976] 13.
- 104 See also Pasquali [1910] and Hunger [1967a] 13f. (fr. 53).
- 105 *Προσωδία Ὀμηρικὴ* in *Suda* π 3038 Adler is probably a common title: see Matthaios [2001c]; Razzetti [2003e].
- 106 The work could have had more than one book: see Ammon. Gram. 336 Nickau (= Heracl. Mil. fr. 4 Cohn). The main grammatical criterion he used was analogy: see Cohn [1884a] 6.
- 107 Schneider [1910] 10–18 groups Apollonius' *Περὶ τόνων* and *Περὶ πνευμάτων* or *Περὶ δασείας καὶ ψιλῆς* as subsections or part of the five books of *Περὶ προσωδιῶν*.
- 108 See Cohn [1884a] 21.
- 109 Beside the (not unproblematic) text reconstructed by Lentz (*GG* 3.1.3–547), valuable fragments contained in the *scriptio inferior* of ms. *Vindob. Hist. gr.* 10 have been published by Hunger [1967a]; a compendium of the work is preserved in *P.Ant.* 2.67 (4th c. AD: Wouters [1979] 216–224, no. 17).
- 110 Lentz [1867] xxxv–LXXI, Egenolff [1900], Id. [1902], Id. [1903], and especially Dyck [1993a] 776–783 with bibl.
- 111 According to Io. Al. 4.9: see Dyck [1993a] 776, 782.
- 112 See Hunger [1967a]; Probert [2006] 22–25, 97f.; Dickey [2007] 75 with further bibl.

separate monographs (*Ἰλιακὴ προσωδία*, *Ὀδυσσειακὴ προσωδία*, *Ἀττικὴ προσωδία*).¹¹³ There were also monographs on single prosodical problems, such as Lupercus' *Περὶ τοῦ ταῶς*.¹¹⁴ Grammatical papyri also offer some evidence on such monographs (see *P.Oxy.* 49.3453 and 3454),¹¹⁵ which belong to the *τέχνη*-type too, such as *P.Amh.* 2.21 (3rd/4th c. AD).¹¹⁶

As regard the grammatical investigations on metrics,¹¹⁷ the most important surviving treatise is Hephaestion's *Encheiridion* (*Ἐγγχειρίδιον περὶ μέτρων*).¹¹⁸ The original 48 books were already epitomised by the author himself into the form of an *ἐγγχειρίδιον* (handbook) in one book,¹¹⁹ which would later be used as a textbook.¹²⁰ Hephaestion's treatise represents a theoretical systematisation of metrical doctrines developed through the philological and editorial activity of the Alexandrian scholars (in particular of Aristophanes of Byzantium), as well as the first theoretical elaborations by Philoxenus and Heliodorus. Philoxenus, in his *Περὶ μέτρων* (*Suda* φ 394 Adler), began the study of metres starting with the letters, Heliodorus with the definitions of metres,¹²¹ and Hephaestion with the syllables (Longin. *Proleg. ad Heph.* p. 81.12 C.). *Περὶ μέτρων* is also the title of works by Trypho (fr. 135 von Velsen), by Ptolemy of Ascalon (pp. 12f., 64 Baege), by Soteridas,¹²² and by Astyages.¹²³ Among the grammatical papyri,¹²⁴ *P.Berol.* 13278 seemingly represents one of the first examples of mixed metrics and grammar.¹²⁵

Specific monographs were also devoted to punctuation.¹²⁶ Punctuation marks can already be found in the first surviving Greek texts, and Aristoteles

113 See Lentz [1867] LXXIII–XCVI; Hunger [1967a] 29; Dyck [1993a] 783–786; Dickey [2007] 75.

114 See Ucciardello [2008].

115 See Bülow-Jacobsen [1982] and Parsons [1982] respectively.

116 Wouters [1979] 188–197, no. 14; Criboire [1996] 266, no. 368.

117 On the origins of metrical studies and on ancient metrical doctrines, see now Ercoles [2014] with bibl. The discipline was fully investigated by Aristoxenus of Tarentum in the *Elementa Harmonica*: see Rocconi [2008²].

118 See Ippolito [2006b].

119 Intermediate steps are represented by the epitomes in eleven and three books respectively (Choerob. *Proleg. Heph.* p. 181.11–16 Consbruch).

120 See Dickey [2007] 104f. *Suda* η 659 Adler adds a generic *μετρικὰ διάφορα* among the works of the grammarian.

121 On Heliodorus see Rocconi [2004] with bibl.

122 See Ippolito [2006c].

123 See Ucciardello [2006a].

124 A survey in Reiter [2012] 155 n. 1.

125 See Reiter [2012].

126 See Tsantsanoglou [2010²].

was aware of such problems (*Rh.* 1407b18).¹²⁷ Aristophanes of Byzantium is credited with having introduced some sort of systematisation in this matter, using a two-point system (στιγμή, ὑποστιγμή).¹²⁸ A more refined (and complex) system was later created by Nicanor, a grammarian who lived under the emperor Hadrian.¹²⁹ His works (see *Suda* ν 375 Adler) were devoted both to texts by specific authors (Homer: *Περὶ στιγμῆς τῆς παρ' Ὀμήρω καὶ τῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν διαφορᾶς ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ*, Callimachus: *Περὶ στιγμῆς τῆς παρὰ Καλλιμάχου*), and to general cases (*Περὶ στιγμῆς τῆς καθόλου βιβλία ζ'*, and its epitome in one book). Nicanor's punctuation system, based on eight στιγμαί,¹³⁰ was closely linked to textual criticism and served the understanding of the text (as well as reading aloud).¹³¹ However, a three-point system is known through the *Τέχνη* (τελεία, μέση, ὑποστιγμή)¹³² and *P.Oxy.* 49:3454 (2nd c. AD?: στιγμή, ὑποστιγμή, μέση), and was possibly introduced around the 2nd c. AD, improving the previous two-point system (στιγμή, ὑποστιγμή).¹³³

A monographic treatment was also devoted to scholarly signs and marks placed in the margins of literary texts, especially Homer. Beside Philoxenus' *Περὶ σημείων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰλιάδι* (*Suda* φ 394 Adler), Aristonicus¹³⁴ wrote on critical signs in Homer and Hesiod (*Suda* α 3924 Adler *Περὶ τῶν σημείων τῶν ἐν τῇ Θεογονίᾳ Ἡσιόδου καὶ τῶν τῆς Ἰλιάδος καὶ Ὀδυσσεΐας*).¹³⁵ The short anonymous treatise *Περὶ σημείων* transmitted as an appendix to Hephaestion's *Encheiridion*

127 See Pfeiffer [1968] 179.

128 See Pfeiffer [1968] 179f. He also suggested that Aristophanes used a three-point system as testified in the *Τέχνη* (see below).

129 See Friedländer [1850]; Blank [1983]; Pontani [2005b] 74f.; Montana [2009b] with further bibliography; see also Matthaios in this volume.

130 Τελεία, ὑποτελεία, πρώτη ἄνω, δευτέρα ἄνω, τρίτη ἄνω, ὑποστιγμή ἐνυπόκριτος, ὑποστιγμή ἀνυπόκριτος, ὑποδιαστολή; see *Comm.* (Melamp. seu Diom.) Dion. T. *GG* 1.3.24.15–18, 26.4–28.8 (see Friedländer [1850] 2–4, Blank [1983] 49–51). On the *Περὶ στιγμῶν* in ms. *Par. suppl. gr.* 122 (Bachmann [1828] 316) see Friedländer [1850] 102–104.

131 See Friedländer [1850] 8: “Nicanoris igitur in carminibus Homericis distinguendis id consilium fuit primum, ut cuiusque loci sententiam quoad fieri posset interpunctionis notis aperiret itaque lectorum iuvaret intelligentiam [...]. Nam quae non recte distinguuntur non possunt recte intellegi, et retro”.

132 Dion. T. *GG* 1.1.7.6–10, cf. *e.g. Comm.* (Melamp. seu Diom.) Dion. T. *GG* 1.3.24.9–26.3 with app. See Blank [1983] 51ff.

133 See Parsons [1982] 97.

134 See Friedländer [1853]; Carnuth [1869]; Valk [1963] 553–592; Razzetti [2003a].

135 See Gudeman [1922b].

(pp. 73.11–76.16 C.) testifies to the usage of the critical signs introduced by the Alexandrian scholars.¹³⁶

2 Monographs on *Hellenismos*

Monographs on Ἑλληνισμός¹³⁷ (or τέχνηαι περὶ Ἑλληνισμοῦ) dealing with doubtful cases and irregularities were based on the criteria of analogy (which had the leading role), linguistic usage, literary tradition, as well as etymology and dialect;¹³⁸ *virtutes* and *vitia orationis*—that is solecism (σολοικισμός) and barbarism (βαρβαρισμός) were also discussed.¹³⁹ Although none of them survives, their structure and contents can be recovered through some external evidence (in particular the account of Sext. Emp. *Math.* 1.176–247)¹⁴⁰ and through comparison with monographs *De latinitate*.¹⁴¹

Philoxenus wrote a *Περὶ Ἑλληνισμοῦ* in six books (fr. 288f. Theodoridis),¹⁴² using etymology and analogy as main criteria.¹⁴³ Monographs *Περὶ Ἑλληνισμοῦ* are also attested for Trypho (fr. 105–108 von Velsen),¹⁴⁴ Ptolemy of Ascalon (*Περὶ Ἑλληνισμοῦ ἧτοι ὀρθοεπείας* in 15 books, p. 11 Baege),¹⁴⁵ and Seleucus (fr. 69f. Mette).¹⁴⁶ On the same topic, Irenaeus wrote *Κανόνες Ἑλληνισμοῦ* in one book (*Suda* ε 190 Adler).¹⁴⁷

136 *Περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς βιβλίοις σημείων* could have been the title of a work by Diogenianus (2nd c. AD): see above n. 49.

137 See above, n. 5.

138 See e.g. Fehling [1956], and Ax [2005] 250 on Latin grammar: “Der Typ *De latinitate* [...] ist eine Zusammenstellung sprachlicher Zweifelsfälle, die mit Hilfe der Sprachnormen Analogie, Sprachgebrauch und literarischer Tradition einer Klärung zugeführt werden sollen. Sie ordnet das Material meist systematisch nach Wortarten mit dem Schwerpunkt auf den Irregularien des Nomen”.

139 See e.g. Ax [2011] 148ff. with bibl. Some Byzantine treatises on solecism and barbarism survive, which made use of older grammatical sources: see e.g. Nauck [1867] 283–312 and Pontani [2011c] 102f. with further bibl.

140 See also Strab. 14.2.28 with Radt’s commentary: see Fehling [1956] 222.

141 See Ax [2005] 248f. with further references.

142 See Kleist [1865] 13 n. 15; Theodoridis [1976] 10.

143 See Reitzenstein [1897] 382; Theodoridis [1976] 10.

144 To be possibly identified with his *Περὶ τῆς Ἑλλήνων διαλέκτου* (*Suda* τ 1115 Adler): see Ippolito [2008].

145 See Razzetti [2003e].

146 See Razzetti [2002b].

147 His seven books *Περὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων διαλέκτου* or *Περὶ Ἑλληνισμοῦ* probably were a lexicon according to *Suda* π 29 Adler (ἔστι δὲ κατὰ στοιχείον): see Reitzenstein [1897] 383ff.

2.1 *Monographs on Declension and Inflection, as well as on Single Criteria of Correction*

A sub-typology of more general treatises on *Hellenismos* is represented by monographs dealing with problems of declension and inflection, as well as with single criteria of correction;¹⁴⁸ some fragments of the above mentioned treatises on single parts of speech (§ 1.1) show traces of Ἑλληνισμός-topics, such as the correct form of words, thus falling into this typology as well.

For instance, Herodian's *Περὶ κλίσεως ὀνομάτων* (GG 3.2.634–777)¹⁴⁹ dealt with declension, while gender¹⁵⁰ was treated in his commentary on Apollonius' work (*Εἰς τὸ περὶ γενῶν Ἀπολλωνίου ὑπόμνημα*, GG 3.2.777).¹⁵¹ In the 3rd c. AD, Lupercus wrote a treatise in 13 books on the same topic (*Περὶ γενῶν ἀρρενικῶν καὶ θηλυκῶν καὶ οὐδετέρων*):¹⁵² its relationship with Herodian's work is however unclear.¹⁵³

Exceptions have always been a principal problem for grammarians, and monographs on such topics can be placed into the *Hellenismos*-type: Heraclides of Miletus' *Περὶ δυσκλίτων ῥημάτων* (fr. 16–55 C. and *P.Rain.* 3.33A: Wouters [1979] 241–252, no. 21)¹⁵⁴ as well as Herodian's *Προτάσεις*¹⁵⁵ (*Grammatical problems*) and *Περὶ μονήρους λέξεως* (*On lexical singularity*, GG 3.2.908–952; Papazeti [2008] 1–66)¹⁵⁶ fall into this category, as they deal with exceptions.

General discussions on some grammatical phenomena such as exceptions and pathology might be grouped into this typology. For instance, Philoxenus

148 See Fehling [1956] 259, who groups under this category treatises on κλίσις and analogy; Schenkeveld [1994] 283–292. Some of the following works could be inserted within the grammatical works on single parts of speech as well (see above, § 1.1 and n. 4).

149 See Lentz [1867] CVIII; Dyck [1993a] 789. *P.Flor.* inv. 3005 = *P.PisaLit.* 26 (4th c. AD: Carlini [1978]; Wouters [1979] 216–224, no. 17) preserves fragment of an epitome of the work.

150 The origins of such grammatical investigations date back to the Sophistic movement: see e.g. Pfeiffer [1968] 38 (on Protagoras).

151 See Schneider [1910] 58–68.

152 See Ucciardello [2008].

153 *Suda* λ 691 Adler reports that in these books πολλά κατευδοκίμει Ἡρωδιανοῦ: see Ucciardello [2008] for a survey of critical remarks and suggested corrections to the text, as well as a general interpretation.

154 See Cohn [1884a] 7: “ea verba tractavit, quorum formatio vel declinatio a vulgari usu recedere et ab analogiae ratione abhorrere videbatur”.

155 Orus wrote a *Λύσεις προτάσεων τῶν Ἡρωδιανοῦ* (*Suda* ω 201 Adler); the title *Προταχτικόν* for this work of Herodian is also attested (GG 3.2.907, see Lentz [1867] CXVI). Models for this work could have been Seleucus' *Προταχτικόν πρὸς Πολύβιον* and *Προταχτικόν πρὸς Ζήνωνα* (fr. 71f. M.): see Razzetti [2002b]; Ucciardello [2006c].

156 Lentz [1867] CXVII–CXXII. See also Dyck [1993a] 790f.; Sluiter [2011].

dealt with reduplication (*Περὶ ἀναδιπλασιασμοῦ*, fr. 219–284 Theodoridis);¹⁵⁷ Trypho wrote a *Περὶ προσώπων* (fr. 38 von Velsen)¹⁵⁸ and a *Περὶ σχημάτων* (fr. 122 von Velsen) on nominal formation, Apollonius Dyscolus a *Περὶ χρόνων* (on long, short and anceps syllables),¹⁵⁹ and Herodian a *Περὶ σχημάτων* (GG 3.2.847–849) on the word (or just nominal) forms,¹⁶⁰ as well as a *Περὶ μονοσυλλάβων* (GG 3.2.903f.). An important role was played by monographs on pathology (*Περὶ παθῶν*, *On modifications of word forms*):¹⁶¹ they “detailed the changes (πάθη) by which original [...] forms became corrupted to yield the forms encountered in the language and its dialects”,¹⁶² thus dealing with irregularities as corruptions or deviations from standard forms. After Didymus’ work (pp. 343–345 Schmidt),¹⁶³ which would later receive a commentary by Herodian (*ὑπόμνημα τῶν περὶ παθῶν Διδύμου*),¹⁶⁴ Apollonius Dyscolus wrote on the topic.¹⁶⁵ In particular, according to Apollonius, “pathology was the basic method used not only in the study of word-forms, but also in the explanation of syntactical phenomena”.¹⁶⁶ His investigation aimed at finding out the origin of irregularities as deviations from the regular forms.¹⁶⁷

A school origin is probably to be assumed for morphological tables of declension and conjugation: attested in papyri dating from the first centuries AD in school exercises and probably composed for the sake of teaching,¹⁶⁸ they

157 See Kleist [1865] 12; Theodoridis [1976] 10.

158 See von Velsen [1853] 31: “Cum in verborum solum pronominumque formis personarum distinctio expressa sit, haec procul dubio Tryphoni disputandi materiam praebuerunt. Reliqua incerta”.

159 See Schneider [1910] 9f.

160 See Lentz [1867] CXIII f.

161 I borrow the translation from Braswell [2013] 89.

162 Blank [1993] 715, who rightly underlines the philosophical roots (Plato, Stoics) of this method (n. 44 with references). On origins and evolution of pathology, see Wackernagel [1876].

163 See Braswell [2013] 89.

164 See Reitzenstein [1891–1892] 17–24; Dyck [1993a] 786–788. See also Nifadopoulos [2005].

165 See Schneider [1910] 19–30. Whether Trypho wrote a *Περὶ παθῶν*, as transmitted by some Byzantine treatises, remains uncertain: see Ippolito [2008].

166 Blank [1993] 715, on the basis of Wackernagel [1876] 20–22.

167 See Blank [1993] 716 (with n. 51 for bibliographical references).

168 See the paradigms of τύπτω in *P.Vindob.* inv. G 29815 B (2nd c. AD; Wouters [1979] 242f., no. 10; Cribiore [1996] 264, no. 361), of γράφω in *PSI* inv. 204 (3rd c. AD) and in *P.Vindob.* G 2318 (6th c. AD; Cribiore [1996] 268, no. 375), of ποιέω in *P.Ryl.* 3.533 (3rd/4th c. AD; Cribiore [1996] 265, no. 366), *PHamb.* 2.166 (6th c. AD; Cribiore [1996] 268, no. 376), and in *P.Col.* 8.206 (3rd/4th c. AD; Cribiore [1996] 265, no. 367), of νικάω in *P.Br.Libr. Add. MS* 37516 (3rd c. AD; Cribiore [1996] 264f., no. 364), of φαίνω in *P.Strassb.* 364+16 (2nd c. AD), of χρυσόω in

were later included in scholarly activity. The codification of such texts was brought about during the 4th/5th c. AD by Theodosius of Alexandria¹⁶⁹ in his *Κανόνες εισαγωγικοί περί κλίσεως ὀνομάτων καὶ ῥημάτων*,¹⁷⁰ containing rules and tables on the declensions of nouns (GG 4.1.4.1–36.13), on the position of the accent in nominal declension (36.14–42.8), and on the conjugation of verbs, with the paradigms of the verbs τύπτω and τίθημι (43–99). This work also provided a suitable supplement for the *Τέχνη*.¹⁷¹

Some treatises on analogy dealt specifically with some parts of speech, such as Trypho's *Περὶ τῆς ἐν μονοσυλλάβοις ἀναλογίας* (fr. 20 von Velsen)—with some possible overlap in content and/or inspiration with Philoxenus' *Περὶ μονοσυλλάβων ῥημάτων*¹⁷²—, his *Περὶ τῆς ἐν κλίσει ἀναλογίας* (fr. 21 von Velsen)¹⁷³ and his *Περὶ ῥημάτων ἀναλογίας βαρυτόνων* in one book (fr. 81 von Velsen).¹⁷⁴

As regards dialectal issues, it is not always easy to tell, on the basis of the preserved titles and fragments, whether some works had a lexicographic or rather a grammatical structure: this is the case of Demetrius Ixion's *Περὶ Ἀλεξανδρέων διαλέκτου* (fr. 40 Staesche).¹⁷⁵ According to the two surviving fragments, the *Περὶ διαλέκτων* by Aristocles contained some prosodic remarks

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- P.Berol.* inv. 22141 (7th c. AD: Criore [1996] 268, no. 377). See Criore [2001] 214: “some of the verbs used in exercises, such as *didaskein*, *graphein*, and *typtein*—“to teach”, to write”, and “to thrash”—seem to allude to a school practice”. For declension tables see *P.Berol.* sine num. (2nd/3rd c. AD: Criore [1996] 272, no. 384), *PSI* inv. 479 (5th/6th c. AD: Criore [1996] 267, no. 372: declensions of ὁ Πρίαμος, ἡ Ἥκλβη and of the adjective σοφός), *PSI* inv. 2052 (5th/6th c. AD: Criore [1996] 267, no. 374: declensions of ὁ παῖς and of ὁ καλός).
- 169 See Robins [1993] 111–123; Criore [1996] 52f.; Pagani [2006b]; Dickey [2007] 83f.
- 170 On the term *εἰσαγωγή* and its derivatives, see Norden [1905] 508–528.
- 171 Criore [2001] 214. Theodosius' work would enjoy an enormous fortune in the Byzantine age (as it was transmitted together with the *Τέχνη* as its supplement: Uhlig [1883] XLVII) and in the Renaissance, being also the model for modern Greek grammars: see Pagani [2006b] with further bibl. On the presence of the athematic declension see Criore [2001] 214f. On the later and no longer extant *Κανόνες ὀνομαστικοί* by the grammarian Astyages (*Suda* α 4259 Adler), see Ucciardello [2006a].
- 172 See von Velsen [1853] 22.
- 173 “De argumento nihil traditur; non ambigendum tamen, quin Trypho in iis quoque substantivis, quae fere anomala vocitantur, analogiam quandam valere demonstravit” (von Velsen [1853] 23). Ippolito [2008] suggests that these two works could be subsections of the same.
- 174 See above, § 1.2.
- 175 The title of the work *Περὶ διαλέκτων* by Demetrius Pyktes has also been questioned (see Pagani [2007b] with bibl.), and the surviving fragment refers to the etymology of μῶλωψ/βῶλωψ. The content of the *Περὶ διαλέκτων* by the grammarian Astyages is obscure as well: see Ucciardello [2006a].

related to words in single dialects.¹⁷⁶ The two books of *Περὶ διαλέκτων ὁμοίτητος καὶ ἀποδείξεως* by Theodorus of Gadara were possibly used by Varro and reveal a Stoic inspiration.¹⁷⁷ Philoxenus is the author of several treatises on some dialects: *Περὶ τῆς τῶν Συρακουσίων διαλέκτου* (*Suda* φ 394 Adler), *Περὶ τῆς Λακῶνων διαλέκτου* (*Suda* φ 394 Adler), *Περὶ τῆς Ἰάδος διαλέκτου* (*Suda* φ 394 Adler, fr. 290–310 Theodoridis), where he focused on the origin of words on etymological grounds, and *Περὶ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων διαλέκτου* (fr. 311–329 Theodoridis),¹⁷⁸ treating Latin as a Greek dialect.¹⁷⁹ The same ‘comparative’ perspective was apparently shared by Tyrannion or Diocles in the *Περὶ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων διαλέκτου* (fr. 63 Haas).¹⁸⁰ Whether the *Περὶ Ῥωμαίων διαλέκτου* by Apion (see Athen. 15.680d) was a grammatical treatise or a lexicon remains uncertain.¹⁸¹ Several monographs dealing with dialects were written by Trypho (*Suda* τ 1115 Adler): *Περὶ πλεονασμοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῇ Αἰολίδι διαλέκτῳ βιβλία ζ*, *Περὶ τῶν παρ’ Ὀμήρῳ διαλέκτων καὶ Σιμωνίδῃ καὶ Πινδάρῳ καὶ Ἀλκμᾶνι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις λυρικοῖς*, *Περὶ τῆς Ἑλλήνων διαλέκτου καὶ Ἀργείων καὶ Ἱμεραίων καὶ Ῥηγίνων καὶ Δωριέων καὶ Συρακουσίων* (the two latter ones are likely to represent separate monographs, whose titles were combined together). A grammatical perspective was probably adopted by Apollonius Dyscolus in his *Περὶ διαλέκτων, Δωρίδος, Ἰάδος, Αἰολίδος, Ἀτθίδος* (*Suda* α 3422 Adler).¹⁸² Besides, *P.Bour.* 8 (2nd c. AD: Wouters [1979] 274–297, no. 25) preserves a scholarly treatise *Περὶ Αἰολίδος*.¹⁸³

176 Hdn. GG 3.2.18.16 (*An. Ox.* 3.298.25–299.1 Cramer, Lehrs [1848] 370.26f.; cf. Hdn. GG 3.1526.1f.) on the Attic termination -ίς of non-oxytone nouns in -ίς; *Etym. Gud.* 353.39f. (s.v. κύμα) = *Etym. Magn.* 545.8 on the Attic ὄ in θύμα. See Corradi [2007] with bibl.

177 See Kowalski [1928] 167; Pagani [2005c].

178 See Kleist [1865] 13f., 52ff.; Theodoridis [1976] 10–12. The attribution of a *Περὶ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων διαλέκτου* to Herennius Philo, still asserted by Palmieri [1988] 44–46, is wrong (see Theodoridis in apparatus to fr. 311 and 321, and above, n. 83).

179 Reitzenstein [1901] 87: “Die Fragmente lassen uns erkennen, daß Philoxenos wirklich versucht, mittelst seiner Abhandlungstheorie das Latein lediglich als Abart des Griechischen zu erweisen. Im einzelnen ist der Einfluß der Stoa unbestreitbar”. However, the treatment of Latin as a dialectal variety of (or a derivation from) Greek seems to have been suggested by (Claudius?) Didymus in his *Περὶ τῆς παρὰ Ῥωμαίους ἀναλογίας* (fr. 447–450 Funaioli): see now Braswell [2013] 90–92.

180 See Haas [1977] 98, 176f. See also Pagani [2009c] with bibl.

181 See Cohn [1894b] 2805.

182 See Schndneider [1910] 138f.

183 “It can by no means be established whether this treatment of Aeolic belonged to a more extensive work *Περὶ διαλέκτων*” (Wouters [1979] 294).

2.2 *Treatises on Orthography*

Another well-represented sub-typology is made up of treatises on orthography.¹⁸⁴ The orthographical investigations by Alexandrian scholars never received the form of a specific monograph. Asclepiades of Myrlea plausibly dealt with such matters in his treatise on grammar (see Sext. Emp. *Math.* 1.169–175), having possibly defined (or commented upon) the canonical tripartition of orthographical inquiries (ζητήματα) as quantity (ποσότης, on vowels), quality (ποιότης, on consonants), and division (μερισμός, on syllabification). However, the first known monograph on this topic seems to have been the *Περὶ ὀρθογραφίας καὶ τῶν αὐτῆς ζήτουμένων* by Trypho. It is likely to have contained a definition of orthography, the description of its three fields of investigation (perhaps changing the denomination of μερισμός in σύνταξις), and the adaptation of the *Hellenismos*-criteria in such researches. Monographs on orthography were later written by Didymus, Alexion, Soteridas, Draco of Stratonikeia, and Apollonius Dyscolus, but only meagre fragments survive. The most influential work—now lost but known through many quotations and later Byzantine reworkings—was composed by Herodian.¹⁸⁵ In his *Orthography*, he collected previous studies on the subject and gave them the organisation which would become canonical in later centuries. This work was probably not arranged alphabetically, but divided into the three parts (syntax, quality, quantity) and organised in a systematic way, *i.e.* in a list of well-defined rules (or canons) followed by appropriate examples and occasional exceptions. The criteria (κανόνες) used by grammarians to correct and/or establish the right spelling of a word are the same of *Hellenismos*-monographs.

2.3 *Treatises on Syntax*

Finally, syntax¹⁸⁶ is closely connected to the doctrine of *Hellenismos*, as Apollonius Dyscolus stresses in the attempt to establish the parameters of this branch of grammar.¹⁸⁷ In fact, his four books *Περὶ συντάξεως* (*On syntax*, GG 2.2)¹⁸⁸ must be considered the first grammatical monograph on the topic, thus representing his most important achievement. In his work, Apollonius deals only with “selected problems regarding disputed syntactical construction” (Blank

184 See Valente in this volume (section III.2) with further details and bibl., and Id. [2014a].

185 See Dyck [1993a] with bibl.; Alpers [2004] *iff.* with bibl.; Dickey [2007] 75–77 with bibl.

186 See Lallot in this volume.

187 *Synt.* 51.1–52.5 (with Blank [1982] 15), where orthography is also mentioned. The same parallelism with orthography also appears in 7.6–14, see Blank [1982] 9, 18, [1998] 195, and Valente in this volume (section III.2).

188 See Blank [1993] 711f.; Lallot [1997].

[1993] 720),¹⁸⁹ putting at the centre of his system the idea of *καταλληλότης* ('correct construction', 'analogical, regular construction').¹⁹⁰ According to it, language is determined by regularity and general rules; therefore, "all apparent violations of these rules can be explained as the result of regular and codifiable corruptions" (Blank [1993] 715).¹⁹¹ The criteria of *Hellenismos*, especially analogy, are accordingly transferred to syntactical investigations.¹⁹²

Studies on the syntax of the parts of speech were first undertaken by the Stoics, in particular by Chrysippus, who wrote a *Περὶ τῆς συντάξεως τῶν λεγομένων* in four books (D. L. 7.192) and a *Περὶ τῆς συντάξεως καὶ στοιχείων τῶν λεγομένων πρὸς Φίλιππον* (D. L. 7.193) in three. However, both works had a philosophical (logical and dialectical) perspective.¹⁹³ Alexandrian scholars dealt with problems of syntax strictly in relation to textual criticism.¹⁹⁴ Furthermore, title of works on syntax are also attested for Telephus (*Suda* τ 495 Adler: *Περὶ συντάξεως λόγου Ἀττικοῦ* in five books), Pausanias of Caesarea (*Suda* π 819 Adler, *Περὶ συντάξεως*, in one book), Gaianus (*Suda* γ 9 Adler, *Περὶ συντάξεως*, in five books), and Theon (*Suda* θ 206 Adler, *Ζητήματα περὶ συντάξεως λόγου*).¹⁹⁵

189 See also Blank [1982] 9f.; [1993] 721–727; [2000] 411–415 with rich bibl.; Schenkeveld [1994] 293.

190 See Blank [1982] 27f.; [1993] 724f.; [2000] 415; Schenkeveld [1994] 293–298.

191 On the absence of any systematic treatment of syntax in the *τέχναι*, see above, § 1.1.

192 See Schenkeveld [1994] 298.

193 See Dion. Hal. *Comp.* 4 (3.22.8–23.2); Pinborg [1975] 102; Schenkeveld [1994] 273; Blank [2000] 403.

194 Trypho started to develop syntactical remarks pursuant to a more grammaticalised framework, without elaborating any comprehensive theory on syntax: see Matthaïos [2003].

195 Remarks on Attic syntax can also be discovered in Atticist lexica, but the sources of such remarks are not easily traceable: see Valente [2014b] with bibl.

Typology of Lexicographical Works

Renzo Tosi

- 1 *Structural Distinction*
 - 1.1 *'Horizontal' Onomastic Structure*
 - 1.2 *'Vertical' Lexicographic Structure*
- 2 *Scope Distinction*
 - 2.1 *General Lexica*
 - 2.2 *Lexica Concerning a Single Author*
 - 2.3 *Lexica Regarding One Genre*
 - 2.4 *Lexica on Particular Themes*
- 3 *Content Distinction of General Lexica*
 - 3.1 *Lexica with Various Contents*
 - 3.2 *Grammatical Lexica*
 - 3.3 *Lexica Whose Content is More Properly Morphological and Orthographic*
 - 3.4 *Etymological Lexica*
 - 3.5 *Synonymic-Differential Lexica*
- 4 *Distinction among Lexica Concerning a Single Author*
 - 4.1 *Real and Proper Lexica, Whose Entries are Ordered Alphabetically*
 - 4.2 *Glossaries, Whose Entries Follow the Order in Which They are Found in the Text*
- 5 *Distinction among Lexica on Particular Themes*
 - 5.1 *Geographic Lexica*
 - 5.2 *Biographical Lexica*

As a preamble, it is necessary to point out that the typology I hereby present is, like any typology, a simplification for two essential reasons. First, the arguments put forward by Montanari [2006a] concerning exegetical works also apply to lexica, namely, that we actually face a variegated ποικιλία that cannot easily be constrained into a rigid scheme. Second, a typology implies an analysis and selection of materials which, despite the attempt to be objective, cannot but present elements of subjectivity.

1 Structural Distinction

The first distinction to be made is structural. It is thus necessary to distinguish between ‘horizontal’ onomastic and ‘vertical’ lexicographic structure. This distinction will be addressed in the two sections below.

1.1 ‘Horizontal’ Onomastic Structure

The term ‘onomastics’ designates the scholarly works organized by a list of synonyms or of terms referring to the same semantic field. This structure, which in the context under study here has its foremost exemplification in Pollux’s works, dates back to extremely ancient times (perhaps it was already characteristic of middle-eastern culture of the second millennium) and undoubtedly it is the structure most widely employed until the Augustan Age.

It was used as early as Democritus, who composed a work bearing the title Ὀνομαστικά dealing with linguistic issues (perhaps concerning the exact value of certain glosses). An onomasticon employed by Pollux was attributed to Gorgias (see *FGrHist* 351 T3, F2, as well as Regali [2007]) but—at least in the form we are aware of—it cannot be a work of the sophist from Leontini, despite the fact that the sophists (and above all Gorgias) dealt extensively with linguistic and lexical problems (see Novokhatko in this volume).

Among the Stoics, onomastic lexica were compiled, endowed on the one hand with a particular etymological function, and aiming on the other hand to act as a repository of universal knowledge (notable are the lexicon by Aelio Stilo Praeconinus [2nd c. BC] as well as one that became the source for the *Etymologicum* by Johannes Mauropos [11th c.]).

Even in the age of the great Alexandrian philology, the onomastic structure was the most widespread among scholarly works. It can in fact be argued that there were only timid attempts to apply an alphabetical structure. The oldest lexicographic work that has come down to us (which according to some scholars is closely linked to Philita’s Ἀτακτοὶ γλῶσσαι, see Montana in this volume) is in *PHibeh* II 172 (270–230 BC), and is constituted by a poetic onomasticon (as Turner [1955]1–3 defined it). Here we have a series of composite adjectives, divided into groups characterized by the identity of one of the two components (in the majority of cases the first), without further explanations. It is essentially a list of words.

Indeed, the majority of Alexandrian lexica had an onomastic structure designed not to collect and align synonyms, but rather to generate lists working according to semantic fields, which could be easily employed by authors (in my judgment instruments of this kind are implied by passages such as

Herond. 7,57–61, where one finds a long list of shoe names, similar to the list of Poll. *Onom.* 7,94). Callimachus' Ἐθνικαὶ ὀνομασίαι must have been particularly important (however, it is not possible to concur with Schoenemann's assertion that the poet from Cyrene was the first to adopt the onomastic system) and the Λέξεις by Aristophanes of Byzantium was undoubtedly also important. In Callimachus' work numerous lists of animals, objects and phenomena with frequent ethnic-dialectal indications were present. Pfeiffer [1968] 135, building on the conjectures of several scholars, puts forward some suggestions—in the light of *Suda* κ 227 A.—concerning the possible titles of some sections. However, the only certain one (fr. 406 Pf.), attested by Athenaeus (7,329a) and Eustathius (1936,14), is the title of the section about fish (see also Montana in this volume).

Even in Aristophanes, while the introductory section adopted an embryonic form of lexicon, the later sections—organized by semantic fields—were onomastic (the titles are Περὶ ὀνομασίας ἡλικιῶν, Περὶ συγγενικῶν ὀνομάτων and Περὶ προσφωνήσεων). In fact, Wendel [1939a] 508 regarded them as closely related to Callimachus' Ἐθνικαὶ ὀνομασίαι because the clarification of the geographic area in which a given term is used often appears here (but Aristophanes was thereby simply responding to a generalized interest of the whole of Hellenistic culture).

Other authors dealt with technical language: Eratosthenes compiled onomastics entitled *Σκευογραφικόν* and *Ἀρχιτεκτονικόν*, which dealt with the terms of artisans' work and with those regarding domestic utensils, in a strong relation to studies on comedy. These works became one of the main sources of Pollux, especially in the tenth book. Apollonius wrote a *Ναυτικά* whilst Nicander of Colophon and Philemon of Aixone (3rd c. AD) collected the names of objects useful in daily life, and Suetonius and Telephus from Pergamon (2nd c. AD) the names of items of clothing.

Particularly relevant, in this context, were the medical works: Amerias compiled a *Ῥιζοτομικόν*, a collection of the names of medicinal herbs, Xenophon of Cos, Apollonius of Memphis and, in the Traian age, Rufus of Efesus and Soranus composed lexica collecting the names of body parts, while Soranus also wrote the *Ἱατρικὰ ὀνόματα*. Similarly, in the culinary field it is worth recalling Artemidorus' *Ὀψαρτυτικαὶ γλῶσσαι* (1st c. BC), which probably included explanations for terms and references to passages of comedy. Another figure engaged in a vast range of activity was Tryphon (1st c. BC), who, among other works, also compiled the *Φυτικά* (concerning the names of edible plants), a *Περὶ ζῳῶν* and collected the names of musical instruments.

Other works concentrated on the terms peculiar to a local parlance. Among the most notable, mention should be made of the *Ἀττικά ὀνόματα* by the above

cited Philemon of Aixone, as well as the Πολιτικά ὀνόματα by Galen, regarding the everyday language terms inferred from Attic Comedy.

Thus the period up to the first imperial age must have been rich in instruments compiled with onomastic structure, but of these we have, in most cases, only the name and meager fragments. A still unresolved issue regards the structure of Pamphilus' monumental collection (1st c. AD): the *Suda* (π 142 A.) testifies to its alphabetical order, but this clearly contrasts with numerous other clues. A compromise solution has been sought to this problem, suggesting a combination of onomastic and lexicographic structures—a collection of glosses intermingled with a collection of names—divided by semantic fields, and, within these, arranged in alphabetical order. Yet none of these hypotheses appear fully convincing.

1.2 'Vertical' Lexicographic Structure

This is the ordinary structure from the present-day perspective, with entries organized alphabetically in more or less rigorous ways, and one or more *interpretamenta*.

On most occasions, the *interpretamenta* respond to 'metaphractical' considerations, being therefore the most common synonyms of the entry. However, it is not infrequent for the relationship between entry and *interpretamentum* to be different (see Bossi-Tosi [1979–1980]; Tosi [1988] 115–137). Here I attempt to provide an essential typology:

1. sometimes there are numerous *interpretamenta*, which constitute synonymic series, whose structure is related to the onomastic framework (see § 1.1);
2. there may be cases where glosses derive from a reduction at the synonymic level of the elements of more complex glosses, and in particular of the synonym-differential structure (see § 3.5);
3. entry and *interpretamentum* may sometimes be components of a traditional hendiadys, or composed of two terms usually combined in classical texts (see Degani [1977–1978] 141);
4. on some occasions they were simply combined in a particular context. In this case the explanation is exegetical: the *interpretamenta* respond to the attempt to explain a difficult term in the light of context, according to a mechanism already common among the first interpreters of Homer, the so called 'glossographers' (see Dyck [1987], Tosi [1997a]), namely a mechanism that can be defined as 'autoschediasm'. It is however necessary to clarify that this is not the only type of autoschediastic exegesis, as such exegesis can for example employ collateral elements, elements drawn

from a logically connected passage, elements only conceptually linked to the context, or it can even give rise to a pseudo-etymology. For a further discussion on this issue, see Marzullo [1968], Degani [1977–1978];

5. at times the *interpretamentum* is related to the category (lineage, city, first name etc.) to which the entry belongs;
6. in some cases there is no proper *interpretamentum*, but a simple reference to the previous gloss (with forms such as ὁμοιον, ὁμοίως, τὰ αὐτά, τὸ αὐτό);
7. in some other cases there is a simple morphological indication or a morphological equivalent;
8. on occasion there may be a syntactic specification, such as the case of the noun that completes the entry (this type includes many marginal glosses in the *Suda*, see Adler [1928] xv1);
9. it is not unknown to find an *interpretamentum* of an etymological nature;
10. sometimes there is a term to which the entry refers in a particular context (the glosses that Bossi-Tosi [1979–1980] called syntactic-contextual). Particularly frequent is the case of an adjective glossed by a noun. It should also be recalled that where the adjective-noun connection is not limited to a single or just a few contexts, but is customary, the former tends to replace the latter by metonymy;
11. finally, the entry-*interpretamentum* relation can at times mirror a *varia lectio antiqua* or a philological-textual discussion (see Tosi [1988] 142–146).

These lexica are also classifiable according to how strictly the criterion of alphabetical order is followed. In this respect, particularly lucid and useful is the study by Esposito [2009] 259–265, who also highlights the possibility—concerning above all the late lexica of an encyclopedic type—that bodies of glosses deriving from various sources were maintained compact, thereby interfering with the alphabetical order. She also hypothesizes that, at least originally, the dimensions of the lexicon would be responsible for the order (few glosses could be distributed alphabetically only according to the first letter): exemplary in this regard is the case of Orion (cf. Wendel [1939b]). Esposito [2009] also presents (p. 263) a table of papyrus lexica, classified according to whether the alphabetical order:

1. is limited to the first letter (P.Yale II 136 [2nd c. AD], P.Oxy. xv 1804 [3rd c. AD], Bodl.Ms.Gr.Class. f. 100 [P] fr. 1 [4th–5th c. AD], P.Oxy. xv 1803 [6th c. AD], P.Ness. II 8 [7th c. AD])
2. concerns the first two letters (this is the most numerous group and includes the most ancient findings: P.Hib. II 175 [3rd c. BC], P.Berol. inv.

- 9965 [3rd–2nd c. BC], P.Heid. I 200 [3rd–2nd c. BC], P.Heid. inv. 3069v. [2nd c. AD], P.Oxy. XVII 2087 [2nd c. AD], P.Oxy XV 1801 [2nd–3rd c. AD], P.Sorb I 7 [2nd–3rd c. AD], P.Münch. II 22 [3rd c. AD], P.Oxy III 416r. [3rd c. AD])
3. concerns the first three letters (P.Ryl. III 532 [2nd–3rd c. AD], MPER N.S. XV 142 [6th–7th c. AD])
 4. is rigorous (P.Oxy. XV 1802 + LXXI 4812 [2nd–3rd c. AD, on which see Schironi [2009a], Esposito [2011], P.Oxy XLVII 3329 [4th c. AD], PSI VIII 892 [4th c. AD]).

A classification proposed by Esposito [2009] 264, limited to the papyrus lexica, is also established on the basis of the ways in which entry and *interpretamentum* are separated:

1. on different columns;
2. divided by an empty space;
3. separated by a dot on the top;
4. no marker of separation.

2 Scope Distinction

Another distinction concerns the scope of the lexicon. In this respect, four types of lexica are found:

2.1 *General Lexica*

A radical difference between ancient and modern lexica needs to be clarified. The lexicon, in our modern view, needs to be exhaustive, implying that it needs to explain all the terms belonging to a language. In contrast, ancient lexica are essentially collections of ‘glosses’, meaning—according to the Aristotelian theorization (*Top.* 140a 5, *Rh.* 1404b 28; 1406a 7-b2; 1410b 12, *Pol.* 1457b 4–11; 1459a 9-b 35; 1460b 21–25, see also Tosi [1994b] 144 f.)—collections of difficult terms that need to be explained, either because they are from a remote era (belonging therefore to the poetic-literary language and no longer in use) or a remote location (and therefore peculiar to local parlances). This accounts for the close connection between lexicography and exegetical works (see Dubischar in this volume); it also explains why I do not subscribe to the distinction between lexica and glossaries proposed by Schironi [2009a] 3 n. 3, namely that the term glossaries should be reserved to works aiming to examine only a portion of the semantic field of a language, while the term lexica should be used to designate

those which aim to be exhaustive. Indeed, if—in theory—there is a need for this differentiation, it is not functional for the ancient world, where all works should be classified as glossaries and none as lexica (see Esposito [2011] 526).

The recovery of fragments of the lexicon of Oros made by Alpers [1981], and an attentive analysis of the fragments of Phrynichus' works, compared to lexica such as that of Photius and of the *Suda*, allows a distinction between a critical lexicography, which sets itself the aim of linguistic improvement, seeking to create a high and 'pure' literary language distinct from the spoken form, and a lexicography that aims instead to recover a great quantity of material and incorporate it into increasingly encyclopedic instruments. The most evident moment of change between these two types appears in the age of iconoclasm (in which fruition of the classics did not disappear but was reduced to minimal utilization, of an instrumental type, see Irigoien [1962]). There also exists a prior 'encyclopedic' tradition, starting in particular from Pamphilus' works (§ 1.1), which is best represented by Hesychius who—at least in the compilation that has come down to us—combines glosses from a wide variety of sources (dialectological, erudite, exegetic, Attic, etc.).

2.2 *Lexica Concerning a Single Author*

This is a very ancient type of lexicon, given that one of the first needs to which lexicography responded was that of explaining Homer (see Novokhatko and Dickey in this volume). Homer had always been considered the foundation of the *paideia*, yet as early as the pre-Hellenistic age his works presented a number of terms that proved difficult to understand. Among the Homeric lexica, only the one by Apollonius the Sophist (1st c. AD), drawing extensive material from a Homeric lexicon compiled by Apion, Didymus' pupil, has come down to us. The first of such works was most probably the *Περὶ τῆς Ὀμήρου συνηθείας* by Zenodotus (significant is the term *συνήθεια*, which addressed not the use of speakers, but rather that of an author, with a meaning well highlighted by Montanari [1981]). We also know of an earlier work compiled by Neoptolemus of Parion, as well as another by a certain Basilides, otherwise unknown, and one by the rhetorician Cassius Longinus (3rd c. AD).

This type of lexicon was not limited to Homer's works: for instance, Callimachus (p. 350 Pf.) wrote a *Πίναξ τῶν Δημοκρίτου γλωσσῶν καὶ συνταγμάτων*. Particularly important are, also, the medical lexica (§ 2.3) which actually appear as Hippocratic lexica. Those by Erotianus and Galen have come down to us, but Erotianus (p. 4,24 N.) states that the first medical lexicon was compiled by Xenocritus of Cos. In addition, we have information on other Hippocratic lexica, by Philinus of Cos and Bacchius Tanagraeus in the 3rd c. BC (the latter

was then epitomized by Epicles of Crete and Apollonius Ophis), by Glaucias Empiricus in the 2nd c. BC, by Dioscorides known as Phakas, Heracleides of Tarent and Apollonius of Citium in the first century BC.

As far as Plato is concerned, the lexicon by Timaeus the Sophist (see Dickey in this volume) and one discovered in a manuscript on Mount Athos and falsely attributed to Didymus (for further analysis of these, see Valente [2011]) have come down to us, but we also know of lexica compiled by Harpocration of Argos (2nd c. AD), by an otherwise unknown Clemens and by a certain Boethus. Further, it is known that a lexicon based on Nicander's works was compiled, with material apparently deriving from Pamphilus: for the problems related to this work, see Degani [1995] 514–515. A lexicon for works by Antimachus and Heracleon was perfected by Cassius Longinus, and considerable information exists on the lexica of Herodotus (by a certain Apollonius) and of Thucydides, but it is not certain that the scope of such works was limited to these two authors only.

Regarding the method of compilation of these lexica, particularly important is the dedicatory epistle in Timaeus' Platonic lexicon (see Esposito [2009] 261, Valente [2011]). The main selection criterion is still that of 'glosses', which implies focus on terms difficult to understand not only for the Romans, but also for the majority of Greeks. They are then arranged *κατὰ στοιχείον*, i.e. in alphabetical order (as regards the conscious choice of this method, see also Perilli [1999]).

2.3 *Lexica Concerning One Genre*

For the most part, this kind is represented by papyrus lexica, such as the one regarding comedy of the Ptolemaic age preserved in *P.Berol. inv.* 9965, carefully studied by Ucciardello [2006b] 36–53, and those—also concerning the comic genre—in *P.Oxy.* XV 1801 (2nd–3rd c. AD) and *P.Sorb.* I 7 (2nd–3rd c. AD). We also know of several lexica on comedy and tragedy compiled by Didymus, Theon (a contemporary of Tiberius), Epitherses of Nicaea, still in the first century, and Palamedes of Elea, a couple of centuries later. The medical lexica, in contrast, came to coincide with the Hippocratic lexica (§ 2.2).

Porphyrius of Tyre, Cassius Longinus' pupil, reportedly compiled a poetic lexicon, while a historiographic lexicon was compiled by Parthenius, a contemporary of Nero and Traianus. *P.Oxy.* XVII 2087 (2nd c. AD) most probably preserves remains from a lexicon of historians and philosophers. *P.Yale* II 136, again from the 2nd c. AD, concerns the epic genre.

The lexica of oratory are known as “of the ten orators” in reference to the ten orators of the canon. Photius informs us of the lexica by Iulianus (in this

regard, see Alpers [1981] 121–123) and Philostratus of Tyre. P.Oxy. XV 1804 (3rd c. AD) preserves a fragment of a lexicon of this type whose author is Diodorus. The lexicon by Harpocration, who lived in the 2nd c. AD, has come down to us in two compilations, one quite extensive and perhaps close to the original, the other being Byzantine and highly epitomized. Harpocration's lexicon is of crucial importance because it was the source for various Byzantine lexica.

2.4 *Lexica on Particular Themes*

The onomastic structure was clearly most appropriate to this type of instrument (1). Caius Suetonius Tranquillus (75–160 AD) compiled a lexicon of insults and one of games. We also know of a Περὶ βοτανῶν, a lexicon of plant names, whose material is said to derive from Pamphilus. The ethno-mythological lexicon in P.Oxy. XV 1802 + LXXI 4812 (2nd c. AD) should also be placed in this field, as should the lexicon of military terms of P.Oxy. III 416r. (3rd c. AD: but in her new edition currently in print, E. Esposito wonders whether this is a lexicon at all).

3 Content Distinction among General Lexica

In the field of general lexica, various types can be distinguished according to their content, as itemized in the following five sections.

3.1 *Lexica with Various Contents*

Almost all the lexica that have come down to us are of this type. Their material may be organized randomly (such as the lexicon of Hesychius, which suffers from the numerous summaries and interpolations), or with a more orderly, encyclopedic presentation (such as in the *Suda*).

These lexica collect heterogeneous material as they are based on a plurality of different sources. Hesychius himself, for example, in the introductory *Epistula ad Eulogium*, stated that he enriched his main source—Diogenianus' lexicon (which, having been derived from Pamphilus' encyclopedia, must have been heterogeneous in itself)—with other material, drawn for example from Aristarchus, Apion and Heliodorus. These instruments, at every transcription, were subject to integrations and optimizations: Hesychius, for example, was interpolated with the tradition of the so-called lexicon of the Patriarch Cyrillus probably compiled in the 5th c. AD, from whom sprang the most fertile Byzantine lexicographic tradition (the Σ, embodied in the Συναγωγῆ λεξικῶν χρησίμων, in Photius' lexicon and in the *Suda*, see Dickey in this volume).

This type of lexicon is undoubtedly the most common and best documented, also because it aptly responded to the needs of Byzantine encyclopedism. Clear examples are the *Suda* (on its plural sources, see Adler [1928] XVI–XXII), the Pseudo-Zonaras (whose value was underestimated for too long, until its revaluation by Alpers [1972]) and the *Lexicon Vindobonense* by Andreas Lopadiotes (with regard to the latter work, see in particular Guida [1982]).

3.2 *Grammatical Lexica*

In this realm, a distinction should be drawn among different kinds of glosses and thus, as a consequence, among works:

1. Particular attention is often placed on the different forms and expressions employed in dialects. This type of instrument was already common and very important in the Hellenistic age (the first is apparently the one by Dionysius Iambus, teacher of Aristophanes of Byzantium, the only fragment of whom is preserved by Athenaeus, 7,184b; Neoptolemus of Parion compiled a lexicon on Phrygian terms, Hermonax on Cretian, Moschus on Rhodian, in the first century Demetrius Ixion on the dialect of Alexandria, Diodorus on Italic glosses, Artemidorus of Tarsus on Doric dialect; as for the Attic dialect see § 3.3). In this sphere, prominent works in the 1st c. BC include the lexicon of Parmenion, that of Philoxenus (who also considered Latin as a dialect, related to Aeolic; for this view, it would be decisive to have the *Περὶ Ῥωμαίων διαλέκτου* by Herennius Philo of Biblos) and that of Tryphon. It is appropriate to note that for the most part (even if not exclusively) these lexica did not derive from ‘field investigations’, but were drawn from authors who wrote in different dialects. Ucciardello [2006b] 49 recalls in this regard the glosses *κατὰ πόλεις* of the Hellenistic age, and hypothesizes that originally the name of the city was more common than the name of the region, and, for example, that οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι was often replaced by a more banal οἱ Ἀττικοί.
2. Other lexica (such as that of Choeroboscus and the lexicon of Theognostus) have a more properly morphological and orthographic content (for orthography, see Valente [2010a] and, in this volume). The works of Herodian (2nd c. AD) are traditionally considered the main source of Byzantine lexica of this type: however, their reconstruction, carried out by Lentz [1867–1870], often appears controversial.
3. Finally, we have lexica of a syntactic type, such as the *Περὶ συντάξεως* edited in *An.Gr.* 1 177–180 Bekker and re-edited by Petrova [2006] (see also

Alpers [2004]) or the Laur. 59,16, of which Adler [1928] XVI noted the relationship with the *Suda*, edited by Massa Positano-Arco Magri [1966].

3.3 *Lexica Whose Content is More Properly Morphological and Orthographic*

Atticistic (see also Dickey in this volume): these, as their name suggests, aimed first and foremost to distinguish between the forms belonging to 'good' Greek, which authors could employ, and those not deemed as such.

Already in the Hellenistic age, several lexica on the Attic dialect were compiled (by Philemon of Aixone, a contemporary of Callimachus; around the end of the 3rd c. BC by Istros of Paphos and Nicander of Thyateira; in the 1st c. BC by Heracleon of Ephesus, Theodorus, Demetrius Ixion, Crates of Athens). Even though information about these works is scanty, it can be deduced that from the typological point of view they were not strictly 'Atticistic' lexica, but rather grammatical lexica of a dialectological type (§ 3.2), because the interest in the Attic dialect was descriptive rather than purist. The first Atticist was apparently Irenaeus of Alexandria (who would latinize his name into Minucius Pacatus); Valerius Pollio and Iulius Vestinus were active in the era of Hadrian. Further important 2nd c. AD names are Helius Dionysius and Pausanias the Atticist, whose many fragments are conserved in the Homeric commentary of Eustathius. (Erbse [1950]—often referring to Wentzel [1895d]—reconstructed his works, attributing to them various glosses of the tradition of the *Συναγωγὴ*, but this operation can be questioned on many grounds).

Turning now to Phrynichus—one of the most notable lexicographers of the ancient world—a highly epitomized version of his main work, the *Praeparatio Sophistica*, has come down to us (the editor, I. de Borries, inserts as a secondary note several glosses that must have belonged to it, which, however, are known to us only through later lexica) but we have a lexicon perhaps dating from his early years, the *Ἐκλογὴ*, characterized by an uncompromising purism. The pseudo-Herodian *Philetairos* is an Atticist *vade mecum* (see Alpers [1998]), while we have only indirect knowledge of the Atticist lexica of Philemon of Athens (who lived around the year 200), of a certain Lupercus, of the rhetorician Cassius Longinus in the 3rd c. AD and of Helladius of Antinopolis in the 4th c. AD. In contrast, the school opposing the rigorous Atticist vision has left us a brief anonymous lexicon, known as *Antiatticist*. A lexicon inspired by a moderate Atticism, not lacking anomalous influences, is that of Oros (5th c. AD), the fragments of which—conserved mainly thanks to Pseudo-Zonaras—have been edited by Alpers [1981], in an edition that is a genuine masterpiece. A late papyrus (P.Oxy. XV 1803 [6th c. AD]) probably conserves a fragment of an

Atticist lexicon. This typology was also employed in the Byzantine age: between the 13th c. and the beginning of the 14th we have the works of Moschopulus and Thomas Magister (on the persistence of Atticism in Byzantium, see the enlightening pages of Wilson [1983] 4–8).

3.4 *Etymological Lexica*

Between the 5th century and the Hellenistic age, Greek interest in etymology was on the one hand linked to philosophical speculation on the origins of language (culminating in the Platonic *Cratylus*), and on the other hand, coupled to research on the origins of particular poetic ‘glosses’ (especially Homeric), aiming to identify their true (ἔτυμος) meaning, and conducted above all by the Sophists. The first title in this field is the *Περὶ ἔτυμολογίας* by Heraclides Ponticus, but particularly relevant were the Stoics (Chrysippus wrote seven books *Περὶ τῶν ἔτυμολογικῶν πρὸς Διοκλέα*, which—applying an anomalistic conception of language—formulated a complex system of derivation, based on the ‘first’ nouns and verbs). A different approach was adopted by the Alexandrian analogists (see Montana in this volume): Apollodorus and Demetrius of Ixion both dealt with etymology but the most mature representative was Philo: the focus was no longer placed on the original words, but rather on the monosyllabic roots, from which evolution proceeded through precise analogical norms.

Apart from sparse papyrus findings that tell us little about the evolution of this type of lexicon (P.Mert. II 55 [2nd c. AD]), a later phase was represented by the creation, in the 5th c. AD, of the first proper etymological lexica. The main personalities were Orion and Oros, of whose works only some *excerpta* and fragments have come down to us. From such fragments it can be deduced that the former collected all material available, etymological or otherwise, without highlighting differences in the design and school (but he made reference above all to the material of the grammarian Herodian of the 2nd c. AD). Oros, in contrast, based his work first and foremost on Philo. However, their collections were modest in terms of the quantity of material included; moreover, similar works also flourished between the 6th and 8th c. AD, such as the Lexicon αἰμωδεῖν (which was originally a lexicon of Byzantine historians, but whose structure is etymological), that of Methodius and also the lexicon by Anastasius Sinaita, the *Eclouges* of the Cod. Barocc. 50 and—in the 9th c.—the *Etymologicum Parvum*.

The fourth phase is that of the Etymologists who composed lexica having an encyclopedic character, compiled from the era of Photius onwards. The first work—attributed by tradition to the patriarch himself and known to have been completed on May 13th, 856 or 882—is the one commonly referred to,

after Reitzenstein [1897], as *Etymologicum Genuinum* (although the name used by Lasserre—Livadaras is *Etymologicum Magnum Genuinum*). Two different redactions of this work have come down to us. Redaction A, preserved in Vat. Gr. 1818, was extensively damaged (and precisely to repair this initial shortcoming, at 13th c. the *Etymologicum Casulanum* was produced); redaction B, handed down through Laur. S.Marc. 304, was much more complete (only the first page is missing), but badly damaged and at times illegible. This etymological lexicon comprised material from the most various sources (Choeroboscus, Oros, Herodian, Theognostus, Orion, Methodius, the *Epimerismi Homerici*, the *Epimerismi in Psalmos*, the exegetic traditions of all the most important authors, as well as the problematic *Ῥητορικόν*, a lexicon closely related to that of Photius, but probably distinct from it, Ch. Theodoridis hypothesizing their identification).

In the following centuries several other etymological lexica were derived from this one. As regards the relationship between them and their redactions, it should be recalled that such works were copied for instrumental purposes, and that they were therefore subject, according to the needs and knowledge of their users, to optimizations and interpolations, to the point that the line between different works and different redactions of the same work is blurred. To this tradition belongs first and foremost the *Etymologicum Magnum* (mid-12th c.; mentioned with this title already in Eust. 834, 46 and 1443,65, and renamed *Etymologicum Magnum auctum* by Lasserre-Livadaras); it is the most imposing etymological lexicon, integrated with numerous materials drawn from several sources (including the *Etymologicum Gudianum*). The *Etymologicum Symeonis* was composed in the 12th c., perhaps slightly preceding the *Magnum*. Three different redactions of this work are known. The Laur.S.Marc. 303 (a. 1291) and the Voss.Gr. 20 (13th c.) constitute the so-called *Μεγάλη γραμματική* and the Vat.Gr. 1276—the so-called *Etymologicum Casulanum* (after the monastery of S. Nicola in Casole)—assumes a singular position. Another important work is the lexicon of Pseudo-Zonaras (13th c.), referring both to the *Genuinum* (in a better redaction than our codices) and to the *Symeonianum*. The *Genuinum* was also repeatedly used by Eustathius in his *Commentary on the Iliad and the Odyssey*, compiled before 1175. It is also one of the many sources for the *Etymologicum Gudianum* (named after the Danish humanist M. Gude), of which we are fortunate enough to know the codex (Vat. Barb. Gr. 70 of the 11th c., originally from Otranto), from which all the others derive through four main redactions (for Byzantine Etymologica see also Dickey in this volume).

3.5 *Synonymic-Differential Lexica*

Synonymic-differential lexica highlight semantic differences between synonyms and between formally similar terms which, for example, differ only in their accent (such as *πονηρός* and *πόνηρος*).

For this type of lexicon I endorse the terminology adopted by Bossi-Tosi. The identification of different meanings among synonyms is already an important element of the Platonic *Cratylus*. As early as in the Hellenistic age we find lexica of this type, with Hermon and a certain Simaristus, but the most important were those by Seleucus and Herennius Philon of Byblos. Some Byzantine lexica of this type have come down to us (one attributed to a certain Eranius Philon which, as already observed by Cohn [1884a], is certainly a corruption of the name Herennius Philon; one by a certain Tolemeus; one attributed pseudoepigraphically to Ammonius, one of Aristarchus' pupils), whose materials are very similar (their characteristics are in line with those of all the Byzantine instrumental literature, according to the well formulated denomination of Garzya [1983]). Kopp [1883] and Nickau [1966] thus drew the conclusion—correctly, in my opinion—that they all derived from the same collection (a different hypothesis was advanced by Palmieri [1988]44–50). Another lexicon of this type was compiled at the beginning of the 6th c. AD by Johannes Philoponos of Caesarea. In general lexica, moreover, one finds numerous glosses deriving from this tradition, often with many elements reduced to synonyms.

4 *Distinction among Lexica Concerning a Single Author*

Within lexica referring to single authors, it is important to distinguish between the following two types:

4.1 *Real and Proper Lexica, Whose Entries are Ordered Alphabetically*

Here we should include the lexicon by Apollonius the Sophist on Homer and those on Plato compiled by Timaeus and the Pseudo-Didymus (effectively only in its first part: the second part is completely chaotic), but there are also papyrus findings that belong to this category, such as *P.Oxy.* XXIV 2393, reproducing fragments of a lexicon on Alcman.

4.2 *Glossaries, Whose Entries Follow the Order in Which They are Found in the Text*

Obviously, such instruments require a consultation strictly linked to the corresponding text (see Dubischar in this volume): appropriately, Montanari

[2006a] identifies them as distinct from lexica because of their syntagmic emphasis in contrast to the generally paradigmatic lexica. They should also be distinguished from paraphrases, which—as Montanari points out—tend to appear as a “continuous and independently legible discourse”.

Works of this kind have come down to us mainly thanks to papyrus findings: beyond the many versions of Homeric glossaries, related to the so-called *scholia Didymi*, a lexicon on Callimachus’ *Hymn to Diana*, found in *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3328, col. II (2nd c. AD) is important. The same distinction between glossaries and lexica (the only one truly functional for ancient lexicography) is adopted by Esposito [2009] 257.

5 Distinction among Lexica on Particular Themes

Within lexica on particular themes, attention should focus above all on two types:

5.1 *Geographic Lexica*

Particularly important is the lexicon by Stephanus of Byzantium (6th c. AD), of whose original edition only a short fragment has come down to us through the cod. Paris. Coisl. 228 (11th c., see Billerbeck [2006] 5 f.), but its epitomization has come down to us (edited by Billerbeck [2006], Billerbeck-Zubler [2011] and Billerbeck [2014]: Meineke’s previous edition is already outdated, see also Neri [2008]). This lexicon, which circulated and was referred to in erudite Byzantine texts (see Billerbeck [2006] 29–35), was compiled by making direct use of various classical authors, such as Callimachus, Rhianus and Pausanias (for a full discussion of the issue, see Billerbeck [2008], who also examines in detail the relationship between Stephanus, the geographer Artemidorus and Marcianus, who epitomized Artemidorus).

5.2 *Biographical Lexica*

Among these, the most important is the one by Hesychius Milesius, which has not come down to us but was a source (probably in epitomized form) of the *Suda* (see Adler [1928] XXI, and especially Alpers [2009b] 151–158).

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VOLUME 2

Between Theory and Practice

Edited by

Franco Montanari, Stephanos Matthaios and
Antonios Rengakos



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PART 3

Between Theory and Practice



SECTION 3.1

Scholarship

• •

Ekdosis. A Product of the Ancient Scholarship

Franco Montanari

- 1 *The Form of the Alexandrian Ekdosis*
- 2 *Conjectures and/or Variae Lectiones*
- 3 *Conclusions*

1 The Form of the Alexandrian *Ekdomosis*

The Hellenistic age has rightly been seen as a civilization based on books, that is to say, a society in which the spread of written copies of poetic-literary works gradually intensified and became customary. Possession of books and personal reading became considerably more significant than in the past, even though use of written books had already begun to play an increasing role in the preceding two centuries.¹ As stated by R. Pfeiffer: “It is obvious that we have reached the age that we called – hesitatingly – a ‘bookish’ one; the book is one of the characteristic signs of the new, the Hellenistic, world. The whole literary past, the heritage of centuries, was in danger of slipping away in spite of the learned labours of Aristotle’s pupils; the imaginative enthusiasm of the generation living towards the end of the fourth and the beginning of the third century did everything to keep it alive. The first task was to collect and to store the literary treasures in order to save them for ever”.² The idea that scholars should be concerned with preserving the magnificent culture and education (*paideia*) of previous centuries was certainly not restricted to the material aspect of book production and the collection of exemplars. The decisive

1 For a survey of the history of classical scholarship see Pfeiffer [1968], Montanari [1993b], Montanari [1994a], Matthaios-Montanari-Rengakos [2011], Montana [2012c], Montanari [*forthcoming*], and Montana in this volume; LGGA is a specific lexicon of the figures of the ancient scholars; Dickey [2007] provides an overview of the materials of ancient scholarship (see also Dickey in this volume); for an outline of the ideas and concepts of literary criticism present in these materials, see Meijering [1987], Nünlist [2009a] (with the rev. by L. Pagani [2009b]).

2 Pfeiffer [1968] 102.

cultural impetus came from Aristotelian and Peripatetic circles:³ intellectuals and men of culture realized that preserving the cultural heritage of a priceless and incomparable past could not be achieved without an understanding of its true worth and proper interpretation of its content, and that such a task called for the creation of appropriate and effective tools. In a logical order, which however was also a chronological development, the first problem concerned the actual text of the great writers of the past, and the place of honour could not fail to be assigned to Homer, who had constituted the basis of the Greek *paideia* since the very beginning.

In the period from Zenodotus to Aristarchus and his direct pupils (*i.e.* roughly in the 3rd–2nd c. BC), the Alexandrian *ekdosis* confirmed its place within ancient culture as a typical product of Hellenistic philology along with the *hypomnema*, the *syngamma*, the collection of *lexeis* and other exegetical-erudite products.⁴ Zenodotus was chosen by King Ptolemy as the first head of the Library of Alexandria and in the source of this piece of information he is defined as the first *diorthotes* of Homer.⁵ The term is highly significant and is also confirmed in another source, which states that during the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285–246 BC) two philologist-poets, Alexander Aetolus and Lycophron, *dealt with* plays (the former with tragedy, the latter with comedy),⁶ while Zenodotus *dealt with* Homer and the other poets. I have deliberately paraphrased the Greek verb with a neutral and imprecise term, *dealt with*, although in actual fact it is a precise and specific term, *diorthoo*, namely *straightening up*, *revising*, more precisely *correcting*; it is the verb from which is derived the designation *diorthotes*, used to characterize Zenodotus, literally *corrector*. The term that indicated the operation of correcting a text was, naturally, *diorthosis*, which is indeed used here in connection both with Zenodotus and Aristarchus. As Pfeiffer pointed out, in this regard: “It is not improbable that Zenodotus, examining manuscripts in the library, selected *one* text of Homer, which seemed to him to be superior to any other one, as his main guide; its deficiencies he may have corrected from better readings in

3 On the role of Aristotle and of the Peripatos, see Montanari [2012d] with the bibliography (in particular Montanari [1994a], Montanari [2000a]); see also Montana, Hunter, and Nünlist in this volume.

4 On the typology of philological writings, see Dubischar and Tosi in this volume.

5 Suidas, *Zηνόδοτος Ἐφέσιος* (ζ 74 Adler).

6 Tzetzes, *Prolegomena de comoedia, Prooem. I* 1–12, *Prooem. II* 1–4, 22–39 Koster; Alexander Aet. *TrGF* 1, 100 T 6 = T 7 Magnelli; Lycophron *TrGF* 1, 101 T 7; cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 101, 105–106; and Montana in this volume.

other manuscripts as well as by his own conjectures. *Diorthosis* can be the term for either kind of correction. It is hard to imagine any other way”.⁷

So the first *diorthotes* of Homer selected a copy he considered to be suitable and worked on it in various ways. On this important point Pfeiffer and K. Nickau, who has produced fundamental studies on Zenodotus,⁸ are in agreement. H. van Thiel likewise believes the Alexandrian *ekdosis* consisted of the copy chosen by the grammarian from among those available, and provided with a series of annotations.⁹ M. West suggests that the particular eccentricity of Zenodotus’ text could not have been due merely to his judgment and opinions, but must in part have reflected an eccentricity of the tradition on which he based himself: he may have worked on a rhapsodic exemplar produced in an Ionian context, which thus reflected a line of tradition differing from that which subsequently became widely accepted and which was predominantly of Attic origin. Thus it may have been an exemplar he had perhaps brought with him to Alexandria from Ephesus, his native city. According to this hypothesis, Zenodotus worked on a Homeric text characterized by idiosyncratic aspects: consequently *his* Homeric text, resulting from the combination of the base-text plus the annotations in the margins, was necessarily influenced by this circumstance.¹⁰ Of course, this is no more than a mere hypothesis, which, however, is based on the same vision with regard to the manner of working of the pioneer of Hellenistic philology: namely, choosing a copy and performing a *diorthosis*, *i.e.* carrying out *corrections* on the copy in question, in order to produce his own *ekdosis* of Homer.

By pondering on these themes over the years, I have come to the conclusion that the problem of the characteristics of the Alexandrian *ekdosis* can be profitably addressed by starting from its concrete form in terms of its production as a book, on the basis of the following presupposition: in order to understand

7 Pfeiffer [1968] 110.

8 Nickau [1972a] 30–31: “Dann ist zu fragen, ob Z(enodotos) nicht einen durch Recensio ermittelten Homertext zugrundelegte (der jedoch nicht seinen Vorstellungen von der genuinen Form der Epen entsprach), diesen mit Obeloi versah und zu ihm Textvorschläge sowie deren Begründung mitteilte. Z(enodotos) selbst wie auch seine Hörer machten sich entsprechende Notizen, die, wären sie von Z(enodotos) schriftlich veröffentlicht worden, ‘Hypomnemata’ hätten heißen können. Aber die Zeit der schriftlich publizierten Homer-Kommentare begann erst mit Aristarchos. So würden sich auch die späteren Unsicherheiten in der Berichterstattung über Z(enodotos)s Ausgabe erklären”; see also Nickau [1977].

9 Van Thiel [1991] IX–XIII; van Thiel [1996], [2010²] v–vi; van Thiel [1992], discussed by Martin Schmidt [1997], with a reply in van Thiel [1997]: see below and n. 68.

10 M. L. West [2001a] 39, cf. Montanari [2002a] 123.

the nature of what we call a grammarian's *ekdosis* of a text and what it contained, it is crucial to examine the way in which it was materially constructed. I have therefore tried to emphasize the importance of the relationship between the bookshop artefact on one hand and the text as an object of 'philological' editing, with its various paratextual elements such as annotations and *semeia* (critical signs), on the other.¹¹ We must take into account and award suitable prominence to what we know regarding the creation of new copies of texts, in the *scriptoria* by professional scribes or also privately by individuals, along with insights that can be gleaned from surviving examples. To look at the problem in this perspective, the papyri are an essential source of information that cannot be disregarded; we will thus start from the papyri to search for data helpful to illuminate these issues.

It is an accepted and well documented fact that new examples of literary works were normally re-read and corrected through additional further comparison with the antigraph, at times even on the basis of a collation with other copies. Numerous types of evidence for this can be adduced on the basis of papyrus fragments of literary texts, and papyrologists are fully aware of the phenomenon of corrections introduced in order to improve an exemplar in the framework of book production. Naturally we are particularly interested in the most ancient evidence, although we are hampered by the fact that the papyri datable to the period between the last decades of the 4th and the 3rd century BC (the era of Zenodotus) are very limited in number. This notwithstanding, some small corrections of material errors can already be observed in the two most ancient surviving literary papyri, the *Persians* of Timotheus (*PBerol.* inv. 9875) and the renowned *Derveni Papyrus*,¹² dated to the last decades of the 4th century BC (recall the dates of Zenodotus: ca 325–ca 260). Such examples suggest that these corrections were not the result of a systematic revision, but were made by the scribe, perhaps *in scribendo*. Though not classifiable as a highly striking phenomenon, these occasional corrections of small errors certainly represent the most ancient and visible evidence of a concern for a correct text, or better, of the intention to correct a text in which an error could be perceived.¹³ A few decades later we already find some considerably richer and more significant witnesses, which I will now briefly summarize.

One noteworthy witness is the Homeric roll *P.Illias 12*, of which substantial parts are preserved, pertaining to books XXI, XXII and XXIII of the *Ilias*, dated between 280 and 240 BC, thus still in the Zenodotean era or shortly

11 Montanari [1998d], [2000b], [2002a], [2004], [2009b], [2009d], [2011b], and [*forthcoming*], with extensive bibliography.

12 Turner – Parsons [1987] 92; text in Kouremenos – Parássoglou – Tsantsanoglou [2006].

13 See Montanari [2009b] 146–147; Montanari [2011b] 3–4.

thereafter, and in any case decidedly pre-Aristarchean.¹⁴ This exemplar shows a particularly abundant quantity of corrections performed on the base text, written in a “neat, legible and attractive hand . . . A second, rather cursive, hand (m. 2) has in many places corrected mistakes and inserted variants. It is not clear whether the latter all come from a single text, or are a selection from various texts, a kind of primitive *apparatus criticus* . . . A third hand, which it is convenient to refer to as m. 3, although it may be earlier than m. 2, has inserted the reading of the Vulgate, ὠρτο, at Ψ 214, and was probably responsible for part of the double attempt to correct Βορεαι at Ψ 195 . . . In several places there are marginal signs. Points are prefixed to . . . The remaining marginal signs are even more puzzling . . .”¹⁵ Given its chronological position, the fact of having at least 21 plus-verses in the preserved parts¹⁶ is not particularly strange, but what interests us here is above all the conspicuous quantity of variants and marginal signs. According to the analysis of S. West, the range of signs in the text is extremely varied. Sometimes the second hand inserts readings of the *vulgata*¹⁷ in passages where the base text is different, whereas on other occasions it inserts readings that differ from the *vulgata*, although the latter is actually in agreement with the base text; in yet other places neither the base text nor the readings inserted by the second hand agree with the *vulgata*; the third hand has inserted a reading taken from the *vulgata* in a passage where the base text differs from the latter.¹⁸ The marginal signs are numerous, if one takes into account that the left-hand margin of the columns is often lost, and are considerably problematic. In five or six places the line is marked by a dot, a sign that always gives rise to problems of interpretation with regard to whether it should be considered as having stichometric value or as a critical sign, and even in the latter case its meaning is doubtful.¹⁹

14 *P.Heid.Lit.* 2 (inv. 1262–1266) + *P.Hib.* 1.22 (*Bodl.Libr. inv. Ms.Gr.Class.b3(P)/2*) + *P.Grenf.* 2.4 (*Bodl.Libr. inv. Ms.Gr.Class.b.3(P)*) = M^P 3 979; cf. S. West [1967] 136–191; Sforza [2000].

15 S. West [1967] 136–137.

16 It is well known that the witnesses (both direct and indirect) of the Homeric text which date from the early Hellenistic age (roughly up to the 2nd c. BC) show the presence of additional lines as compared to the *numerus versuum* fixed at a later stage, which corresponds to that of the modern editions: cf. further on and Haslam [1997] for an effective overview.

17 The so-called *vulgata* can be defined as the Homeric text that prevailed in the transmission, cf. shortly below.

18 S. West [1967] 137.

19 S. West [1967] 133, 137; cfr. Pfeiffer [1968] 218; Nickau [1977] 261; McNamee [1992] 9 nn. 5–6, 15 n. 31, Table 1 p. 28, Table 2 p. 38, Table 3 p. 43; Montanari [1998d] 16, and Montanari [2012c] 28–29, with additional bibliography.

At the side of l. 23.157 “there are traces of a sign rather like a *diple*”:²⁰ if it were genuinely a *diple*, then one would have to raise the question of when the sign was marked on the papyrus. That is to say, one would have to endeavor to ascertain whether or to what extent it dates from a time later than the base text, given that it is normally believed that the *diple* was introduced by Aristarchus²¹ (born around 215 BC), and in effect a sch. of Aristonicus to this line provides information on an Aristarchean observation (and draws a parallel with 2.278).²² This papyrus is a witness that should certainly be the object of an in-depth re-examination from all points of view, including from the perspective of paleography, above all to determine the time gap between the base text and the subsequent interventions.

Of a slightly more recent date, but equally significant, is *P.Odyssey 37*, dated to between 250 and 200 BC, which contains parts of books IX and X of the *Odyssey*.²³ This too has been examined by S. West: “The text had undergone a double process of correction and collation. The original scribe appears to have had two MSS. at his disposal, and in several places he has cancelled readings correct in themselves in favour of readings which are no better and are sometimes obviously worse. Presumably he had more faith in the MS. which he used in order to correct than in that from which he originally copied it . . . Corrections have also been inserted by a second hand, which can usually be distinguished without difficulty from that of the original scribe. The readings inserted by m. 2 agree with the Vulgate, but in several places where the text diverges considerably from the Vulgate there is no trace of a correction. There are no marked affinities between this text and that of any of the Alexandrian critics”. There are plus-verses (they are quantitatively fewer as compared to the previous exemplar) and marginal signs, most of which are probably of a stichometric character (but the left-hand margin is often lost). The most important fact is that the roll underwent a twofold process of collation and correction: the first scribe would seem to have had two exemplars available, and he often corrected his text on the basis of another manuscript, after which a second hand inserted readings that are in agreement with the *vulgata*.

These are witnesses of great importance for the question we are examining here: we have two Homeric exemplars from the mid-3rd century BC, therefore definitely and decidedly pre-Aristarchean, which in addition to various kinds of – often somewhat problematic – critical signs and the expected plus-

20 S. West [1967] 138. The usual form of the *diple* is >.

21 Pfeiffer [1968] 218.

22 The observation concerns the use of the verb in the plural with a singular but collective subject (σχῆμα πρὸς τὸ νοητόν), as is also found in *Il.* 2.278: cf. Matthaios [1999], p. 384.

23 *P.Sorbonne* inv. 2245 A = MP³ 1081: cf. S. West [1967] 223–224.

verses, also show rather clear evidence of collation with other copies and a conspicuous number of interventions performed on the base-text at various times and in various different ways.²⁴ M. Haslam says: “Our earliest Homeric manuscripts, those of the 3rd cent. B.C., are characterized by their startling degree of difference from the text that prevailed later, sometimes known as the ‘vulgate’ . . . We now have fragments of about forty Homer manuscripts written c. 150 B.C. or earlier . . . Several of these early manuscripts give evidence of having been collated with another exemplar²⁵ (so ‘wild’ is hardly the word for them) and sometimes reveal that ‘vulgate’ readings coexisted alongside ‘eccentric’ ones . . . Of the variants entered from a second exemplar in the most extensive of the early *Iliad* papyri (P 12 [*scil. P.Heid.Lit. 2 + P.Hib. 1.22 + P.Grenf. 2.4*]) four coincide with the vulgate . . . A similar picture is presented by the most extensive of the early *Odyssey* texts, P 31 [*scil. P.Sorbonne inv. 2245 A*] . . . The Homer of readers in the 3rd and early 2nd century . . . was appreciably more flaccid than the Homer of subsequent readers”.²⁶ This was the situation that Zenodotus and his earliest successors found themselves facing.²⁷

From the 3rd century BC we have the Milan papyrus with epigrams by Posidippus, *P.Univ.Milan. 309*, another important piece of evidence in view of the quantity of corrections and annotations the text presents.²⁸ The majority of the corrections were made by the same scribe, clearly *in scribendo* (in general amounting to one and never more than three letters and all aimed at correcting minor slips in the drafting stage), but subsequently, after the copyist's corrections, two other hands intervened with further emendations and the differences in approach should be recognised.²⁹ The third person to make changes to the text in col. XI recorded a variant on the reading of l. 30, noting it in the upper margin: at col. XI 30 we can read *κεντρακαιεξω* [and in the upper margin it is written *καικεντρα* (the last three letters are not visible in the photograph but can be seen in the original document).³⁰ It is extremely likely that this is a correction or a variant, probably for the *κέντρα* *καί* of the text, an

24 Cf. Haslam [1997] 64–66; Rengakos [2012] 241–242.

25 And consequently they present interventions consisting of corrections and annotations of variants.

26 Haslam [1997] 64–66.

27 Haslam [1997] 64–66; on the references to the *ekdoseis* in the papyri of Homeric exegesis, see Pagani – Perrone [2012].

28 *P.Univ.Milan. 309*: Bastianini – Gallazzi [2001] 15, 76–77; Montanari [2009b] 147; Montanari [2011b] 4–5.

29 Bastianini – Gallazzi [2001] 15.

30 Bastianini – Gallazzi [2001] 76–77.

inversion – καὶ κέντρα – has been proposed, but it is not clear, owing also to the fact that the rest of the verse has not been preserved.³¹

The papyrus fragments of the following centuries, and in particular of the three centuries of our era (the era with regard to which the papyrus findings are most abundant) provide us with rich and valuable documentation of exemplars with interventions of deletion, addition and corrections of all types. The following significant examples will suffice for our purposes;³² they could be easily increased with fragments from various periods.

POxy. 2161, of the 2nd century AD, contains Aeschylus' *Diktyoulokoí*. The scribe has occasionally corrected some of his own errors: for instance, in l. 831 he wrote ηδη, but then crossed this out with an oblique line through each letter, writing *supra lineam* the correct reading ο]ιον.

PBerol. inv. 9872 (BKT II), of the 2nd century AD, is a long papyrus roll (75 columns plus various fragments) that contains a commentary on Plato's *Theaetetus* with a substantial number of corrections. The most recent editors of the roll, G. Bastianini and D. N. Sedley, write: "The *volumen* has been proof read and corrected in many places: letters or words omitted in the original drafting stage have been restored, superfluous letters or words have been cancelled, letters judged to be mistakes have been replaced by those considered correct. All these changes do not appear *necessarily* to presuppose a collation with an exemplar different from that of the copy . . . The variety of ways the corrections have been made may lead one to suspect that the roll had been corrected on various occasions: the first hand (a *diorthotès* in the *scriptorium*) added the missing words, which are marked in the upper margin . . . or lower . . . or are placed after the line directly in the *intercolumnium* . . . A later hand or hands, appears to have gone through the whole text, cancelling with a line in ink all the letters judged to be wrong".³³ For example, at col. LXIII, l. 6 the scribe had written προσαλλαουτεσχη, omitting some words. In the *intercolumnium* to the left, the corrector has put the sign of an upwards-pointing *ancora* (something similar to an arrow) and in the space between αλλα and ουτε has written ἄνω; in the upper margin, one can read the words θεωρεῖται ουτε γαρ χρω|μα κα(τω), which were probably preceded by a downwards-pointing *ancora* now lost in *lacuna*. The corrected text is therefore πρὸς ἄλλα θεωρεῖται οὔτε γὰρ χρωμα οὔτε σχή|μα.

POxy. 2256, of the 2nd–3rd centuries AD, contains *hypotheses* of various tragedies by Aeschylus. The fragmentary *hypothesis* of fr. 3 recalls the vic-

31 Bastianini – Gallazzi [2001] *ad loc.*

32 Montanari [2009b], [2009d], [2011b].

33 Bastianini – Sedley [1995] 243–244.

tory, with the trilogy of which the *Danaids* was a part, against Sophocles and another author, probably Mesatos (l. 5). After the name of the latter and at the beginning of the following l. 6, round brackets can be clearly seen, which are generally used as a sign to indicate expunction in literary texts and non-literary documents. It is clear here that the round brackets were placed *in scribendo*, which can be explained solely by imagining that the scribe copied from an exemplar where the expunctions were already present to indicate that the plays placed between brackets had been mistakenly placed after the name of Mesatos.³⁴

The copy of the Gospel according to St. John contained in *PBodmer 2* dates to the 3rd century AD. The scribe has corrected the text in a variety of ways. There are *supra lineam* additions (ll. 2 and 12) and words rewritten above parts of the text cancelled with a sponge: in ll. 9–10 $\epsilon\tau\alpha\rho\alpha\chi\theta\eta$ has been written over a word that has been scrubbed out and which continued in the following line, where the letters $\sigma\alpha\tau\omicron$ can be made out in the remaining space; the second part of l. 10 has been rewritten; at the beginning of l. 11 $\tau\omicron\nu$ is the remains of an eliminated reading, subsequently punctuated with dots as well as small round brackets *supra lineam*.

I turn now to a manuscript which, I believe, provides us with what can be termed an anthology of the techniques and methods available for correcting and improving a text: *POxy. 2404* + *PLaur. inv. 111/278*, a fragment of a papyrus roll (late 2nd–early 3rd century AD) containing a part of 51–53 (*POxy. 2404*) and of 162–163 (*PLaur. 111/278*) of Aeschines' oration *Against Ctesiphon*.³⁵ It seems quite evident that this copy of the oration of Aeschines has been collated with a second exemplar and has been the object of detailed and systematic correction seeking to identify the textual structure by distinguishing *cola* and periods and to correct copying errors for the benefit of the reader, and to emend the text in places judged unsatisfactory, by means of various different methods of deletion and by writing the alternative readings above or beside the wrong interpretations.³⁶ We can see that the work of proof reading was not limited solely to correcting minor errors as discretely as possible in order to reduce the possibly negative impact of emendations on the appearance of the text. In fact, more evident corrections, albeit written with care and precision, have

34 Arata – Bastianini – Montanari [2004] 39, 47–48.

35 *Editio princeps* of *POxy. 2404*: Turner [1957]; cf. Turner [1980²], Pl. viii and 212; *editio princeps* of *PLaur. inv. 111/278*: Messeri Savorelli – Pintaudi [1997] 172–174; see also Neri [2003] 511–514; Esposito [2004] 3–4; Colomo [2008] *passim*.

36 Detailed analysis in Montanari [2009d] with bibliography; on related problems see above all Turner [1980²] 92–93.

been made, with the apparent aim of improving the text and enabling it to be read according to the intention of the corrector or correctors. The methods of corrections and cancellation used in this papyrus are: the use of dots above a letter, an oblique (single or double) line through a letter in question and, for longer sequences, a line above or through the letters to be deleted, or by a combination of these methods. We have also seen the widespread practice of simply writing the correct letters above those judged incorrect as way of indicating a deletion, as it were, ‘automatically’ without the need for other material indications. Another form of correction is the addition of words between the lines or in the margins. As regards punctuation, the scribe provided the text only with *paragraphoi*, whilst copious punctuation was added (at least, so it is thought) by a later hand.³⁷ Most of these are dots, placed slightly higher than the letters, which had already been written, making sure that the dots were not above a letter but in the narrow space between the end of the preceding word and the beginning of the next. A lower dot can also be seen at col. 1, l. 17. The system can be described as follows: the upper dot combined with the *paragraphos* marks the end of a sentence; the upper dot on its own distinguishes the *cola* of the sentence; the lower dot indicates a weaker pause.³⁸ This constitutes proof of a serious attempt to highlight the syntactic and rhetorical structure of the text, leading us to consider the role of punctuation in Alexandrian philological exegesis (rather than the complex and idiosyncratic system created by Nicanor, one can mention the simpler and more widely-used system of the three *stigmai* of Dionysius Thrax).³⁹

I wish to emphasize at this stage why I have drawn attention to these manuscripts and their characteristics, with a choice of significant examples, to which others could easily be added.⁴⁰ The point is not that they may be considered as exemplars of a grammarian’s *ekdosis*: there is absolutely no evidence for such a suggestion. Rather, in my view they are of value because they highlight the importance of the techniques adopted in the workshop for book production and the effect such craftsmanship had on the development of a philological practice that sought to ameliorate and emend texts regarded as unsatisfac-

37 Turner [1957] 130: “The second hand not only revised the text for errors but collated its readings with an exemplar different from that from which it was copied”; cf. Turner [1980²] 212; Colomo [2008] 15–16, 24. On punctuation marks in papyri, see Turner [1980²] 92–93; Turner-Parsons [1987] 9–10.

38 Colomo [2008] 15–16.

39 Dion. T., *Ars Gram.* § 4; cf. Colomo [2008] 15–22; Montana [2009b]. For the punctuation system employed by Dionysius Thrax and Nicanor, see also Montana, Matthaios, Dickey, and Valente (2.4) in this volume.

40 Other useful material can be found in S. West [1967] *passim* and Haslam [1997] 63–69.

tory due to the (real or supposed?) errors they contained. The papyri provide ample evidence of the different methods used to ‘improve’ an exemplar of a book, in other words to correct the (new) copy of a text. It was considered appropriate to add, remove or modify letters or words that had been omitted or written erroneously, or cancel what was regarded as erroneous and replace it with what was judged to be correct by writing the correction above the line, in the margins and in the intercolumnia, at times with specific markings to indicate the position referred to. Sometimes the forms presumed to be correct were introduced in replacement of the previous words once these had been materially eliminated, or at times by simply writing the correct letters or words between the lines or in the interlinear space above the form judged to be incorrect, as a way of indicating, as it were, an ‘automatic’ deletion without the need for other material indications. On occasion, a horizontal or oblique line could be drawn through the letters or words to be deleted; another method was to mark these letters or words by dots or lines above or below or enclosed within round brackets, or even to erase them with a sponge.⁴¹ Thus there was a veritable ‘tool kit’ for *diorthosis*. Often the interventions were carried out by the *diorthotes* of the *scriptorium*, whose task within the atelier was to re-read and correct the text, if necessary also by comparing the copy with the model, in other words through a practice of collation.

E. G. Turner and P. J. Parsons write: “One of the questions the palaeographer should ask about any literary manuscript is whether it has been adequately compared against its antigraph (the exemplar from which it was copied), a task which, in a publishing house, was the duty of the *diorthotes*, *corrector*, or whether it has been collated with a second exemplar (a procedure often carried out by private individuals to secure a reliable text) . . . But several of our surviving papyrus manuscripts, and especially those which are beautifully written, contain such serious unnoted errors that it is clear their ‘proof-reading’ was of a summary, superficial kind, if done at all . . . Those ancients themselves who set store by having a dependable copy (persons like Strabo and Galen) were aware of this weakness and adopted a routine to counter it: they themselves (or their secretaries) checked the copy to be used against another exemplar. If, therefore, the text had been checked against its first exemplar, and was later collated with a second, it may well bear the marks of this double checking”⁴²

Best practice in the book production consisted in a comparison between copies and corrections of mistakes, carried out by a professional or occasional

41 Turner-Parsons [1987] 15–16, with reference to examples in plates; see also Turner [1980²] 93 and Pl. VIII; Bastianini [2001].

42 Turner-Parsons [1987] 15–16; Turner [1980²] 93 and Pl. VIII.

diorthotes, who had adequate resources for deleting, adding, replacing and marking various aspects and features of the text in order to improve it and increase its reliability. Even a private copy could be subjected to the same kind of treatment, with the use of the same tools and procedures, for personal reasons springing from the cultural or research interests of the owner. Analogies with what we understand by philological practice are evident and need to be stressed, as the methods and techniques adopted in handicraft book production honed the skills that would gradually be developed and applied by grammarians. Little by little, a procedure that probably did not appear particularly strange or extravagant among those for whom use of books was an everyday practice developed into an extraordinarily innovative principle: the *diorthosis* of the *diorthotes* of the *scriptorium* became the *diorthosis* of the philologist, *diorthotes* not of an individual copy of Homer but *diorthotes* of Homer. Effectively, concerns and emendments of a specifically book production and commercial nature became those of a critical and philological-grammatical nature.⁴³

The aim pursued by the corrector of a publishing house was to produce an exemplar that would represent the best possible workmanship, a good copy suitable for sale on the book market or to a client, perhaps intended to be the personal copy of a scholar or an educated man, who did his own corrections and annotations (we will note the case of Galen). In contrast, the grammarian's underlying objective in correcting the text of his personal copy was more ambitious, because he sought to find the true and proper form of the work he was dealing with. He worked on a copy with the aim and intention of achieving, as it were, the model exemplar, which would display what in his view was the genuine form of the literary work in question. This conception led to the possibility of indicating doubts or a textual aporia, a perspective that certainly did not belong to the mental system and operational horizon of the craftsmen of the *scriptorium*.

Thus with Zenodotus, drastic and univocal deletion (a typical action of the craftsman in book production, meaning "don't write these words in the new copy") for the first time was accompanied by the sign of philological uncertainty, namely the *obelos*, a simple horizontal stroke on the left of the line. This marked a decisive intellectual change: attention began to focus on the work in its own right rather than merely on perfecting the individual copy. It is vital not to underestimate or downplay the invention of this critical sign, which had a momentous impact because it could also be applied systematically to poems of the great length and cultural importance of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. By

43 Cf. Nickau [1977] 10–11.

means of his simple *semeion* Zenodotus was able to indicate his suspicion that a given line might not be a genuine line of Homer, but that he was not sufficiently sure of his judgment to be able to proceed with clear-cut and definitive deletion of the element in question. Later, the progress of the discipline gradually increased, with further development of the system of critical signs and the markings of exegetic reflection and erudite comment. By the time of Aristarchus the system of *semeia* had become complex and refined, but it had all begun with Zenodotus' small *obelos* and its radically new meaning for a reader of his texts.⁴⁴

I believe that the philological work of the Alexandrian grammarians, starting from the first generation, represented something new in cultural history and marked significant intellectual progress. The reality and significance of this 'revolution' becomes more evident and tangible if we succeed in grasping a fundamental chain of circumstances: namely, the aspects and procedures of book production had moulded a material and, in a sense, 'craft-oriented' base of tools and working procedures that were subsequently adopted and utilized by grammarians for quite different purposes and in a different perspective. Thus the tools and methods of book production became the tools and methods of scholarship by virtue of an innovative and decisive intellectual change, which signalled a transition from the aims of pure craftsmanship, *i.e.* from correcting an individual copy in the *scriptorium* and thereby creating a good product, to an intellectual aim of a 'philological' nature, namely producing the exemplar that would contain what was held to be the correct text of the work. Thus no longer would the copy be *an* exemplar of the work: rather, it would be *the* text of the work in itself, and this implied a sharp difference between "correcting a (single) copy" and "editing a text itself".⁴⁵

Let us recapitulate. Zenodotus worked on an exemplar of Homer that was available to him and which he deliberately chose for the specific purpose of producing his *ekdosis*. However, he had more than a few reservations about it, concerning both the *numerus versuum* and also a certain quantity of readings. He had doubts about the authenticity of some lines, and adopted a sign indicating his suggestion that the line should be expunged, the *obelos*, which he marked in besides the lines: this was *athetein*, the *athetesis*. But it has always been more difficult to determine how he proceeded with lines he believed should most certainly be deleted from the text as definitely spurious and really to be rejected. Normally, such lines would have been present in his base-text (as were those for which he proposed the *athetesis* by means of the *obelos*).

44 For the evolution of the system of *semeia* see also Montana in this volume.

45 Montanari [201b].

For such cases of deletion, in the scholia one finds the expressions *ou graphain* (do not write: the most frequent), *ouk einai* (is not there), *ou pheresthai* (is not handed down) and a few others.⁴⁶ The task of reconstructing exactly and concretely what was the difference between the operations indicated by this terminology has always been problematic. A good idea of what was meant can be gained by examining more specifically the practices used in literary papyri for different modes of deleting something that is present in a text. Thus Zenodotus, as we have seen, marked some lines with the *obelos* on his copy, but he also used one or other of the graphic methods mentioned above for lines that were clearly intended to be deleted from the base-text. But the grammarian could equally well jot down another similar or equivalent term for line deletion;⁴⁷ alternatively, he could rely purely on a deletion sign without verbal annotations, in which case the terminology for line deletion may have been noted down by those who followed his teachings at the Museum, or it may have been created, modified or extended by the subsequent tradition (this is conceivable above all for *ouk einai* and *ou pheresthai*).⁴⁸ I would argue this is the most plausible explanation for the different terminology used in the scholia for Zenodotus' text alterations of *athetesis* and line omission, including the problem of the material difference in the copies between athetised and deleted lines.⁴⁹

A somewhat skeptical attitude towards this vision has recently been expressed by A. Rengakos, who puts forward some objections. 1) The expressions in the scholia in reference to the lines deleted by Zenodotus more clearly describe the situation of lines genuinely not included and therefore absent; 2) it is strange that Zenodotus invented a critical sign for *athetesis*, namely the *obelos*, whereas there is no trace of a sign of the same type for deletion, even though it has a more radical impact on the text; 3) with regard to passages where Zenodotus eliminates some lines but information concerning his interventions on the deleted lines is preserved, Rengakos believes there is nothing to confute the idea that those lines were effectively absent in his text. Thus the Zenodotean *ekdosis* may have been a veritable continuous text, with the *obeloi*

46 Cf. Ludwich [1884–1885] II 132–135; Nickau [1977] 1–30.

47 The verbs *perigrapho* and *diagrapho* are technical terms for 'deleting' using the material means mentioned: cf. Turner – Parsons [1987] 16; some examples have remained in the scholia: for *perigrapho* cf. Nickau [1977] 10–12 and 29.

48 One may mention in this regard the *diadoche* of 'Zenodotean' grammarians testified by Suidas (π 3035 Adler); their last representative was Ptolemaios Epithetes, who worked on the text of Zenodotus and entered into a polemical argument with Aristarchus: see F. Montanari [1988].

49 In Montanari [1998d], [2000b], [2002a], [2002c] I discussed some possible objections to this reconstruction, which I will not repeat here.

and the variants and without the deleted lines.⁵⁰ My opinion is that the variability of expressions used in the scholia to indicate line deletion suggests that, at least in part, these were devices developed (perhaps much) later within the tradition to put into written form what were predominantly (with the possible exception of *ou graphein*) the material modes of deletion used in book production, as described above. These devices were the signs for line deletion: there was no need to invent any *ex novo*, because they were well known and available in the practice. But the real innovation was the *athetesis*, which did indeed call for a special sign. I still find it difficult to imagine that Zenodotus began his task of *diorthosis* by writing a continuous and definitive text: to do so, he would have had to begin once he had already made all the decisions, with poor opportunity for second thoughts and new corrections, and the definition of *diorthosis* / *diorthotes* does not point in this direction.

However, it is not unlikely that the paratextual apparatus on the working copy may have given rise to problems of comprehension and readability, especially with the accumulation of interventions over time, and in places where the multiple interventions on the text became interlaced with one another. The copy bearing the work of *diorthosis* resulted materially in the philologist's own *ekdosis*, and we can imagine this as a product of years of study that led over time to a series of interventions on the same exemplar. Together with critical *semeia*, explanatory annotations must have been present in the working copy starting from Zenodotus onwards, and are likely to have continued to be used by grammarians in their editorial and exegetic work. I therefore feel it is far more plausible to assume that the *ekdosis* became *ekdotheisa*, i.e. 'published' and therefore available for consultation by scholars, poets and intellectuals, as soon as the grammarian himself, or someone working on his behalf, had had a copy made that followed the indications in the base-text on which *diorthosis* had been performed, so as to create an exemplar that was a correct and 'fair copy' of the work,⁵¹ but still bearing the name of the grammarian who was the author of the copied *diorthosis*, with the marginal

50 Two cases that have given rise to particularly extensive discussion are *Il.* 2.111–118 and *Il.* 2.156–169: the scholia (Aristonicus and Didymus) say that Zenodotus deleted the lines for a shortened version of the passage, but on the other hand they preserve text interventions by Zenodotus himself on these very lines (in actual fact, the intervention on the first passage strikes me as debatable, and calls for further clarification): cf. Rengakos [2012] 250–252. I see no difficulty in thinking that with regard to the lines in question Zenodotus' copy had one of the well-known deletion signs and that a possible variant for one of the deleted lines was indicated in the margin. See below and n. 85.

51 Perhaps *ou graphein*, which is the most frequent expression for line elimination, may go back to Zenodotus himself and may have been an indication to whoever transcribed his *ekdosis* that the element in question was not to be copied.

annotations which would still be necessary once the text had been properly prepared. In short, first there was a working copy belonging to the *diorthotes*, with all his interventions and annotations, after which it was possible to proceed to reproducing it as a ‘fair copy’ of his *ekdosis*. Thus it was a step-wise production, which we should obviously imagine to have been done not only for Zenodotus but also for all his successors. This can also explain the conservation and transmission of the interventions and textual choices made by the grammarians.⁵²

The material form of the *ekdosis* after Zenodotus must have remained very similar: a grammarian chose, according to his own preferences, an exemplar that he considered suitable as a basis of his work. But Zenodotus’ choice of the base-text of Homer seemed highly debatable and was open to criticism, which is why Aristophanes and Aristarchus chose exemplars with noticeably different characteristics.⁵³ Consequently, a line of tradition predominantly of Attic origin gradually spread, partly by virtue of the base-text of working copies used by grammarians active in a later period than Zenodotus. The latter base-text proved decisive above all as regards the *numerus versuum*, whereas the readings suggested by individual grammarians generally did not become standard in the *vulgata*. The plus-verses present in the Zenodotean text (as well as in several pre-aristarchean copies) were not his own interpolations but were instead typical of exemplars that were current in his day:⁵⁴ they disappeared because the work of Aristarchus led to general recognition of a text that had a very similar number of lines to our *vulgata*. The Aristarchean *numerus versuum*, which became the standard of the *vulgata*, was essentially the outcome of the particular working copy selected by Aristophanes and, finally, by Aristarchus. It is significant that Aristophanes did not go so far as to carry out the drastic act of line deletion: in other words, it is significant that he abandoned the use of performing material cancellations on his own copy with the graphic techniques mentioned above. The *obelos* became the prime tool for expressing a cautious doubt concerning parts of the text; *ou graphein* disappeared, leaving only *athetein*.⁵⁵ Aristarchus followed exactly the same procedure. This explains why many of the lines Zenodotus had decided to eliminate

52 Helpful confirmation comes from a testimony by Galen, quoted a little further on.

53 Montanari [2002a] 123–125; M. L. West [2001a] 36: “Clearly Aristophanes and Aristarchus were not dependent on Zenodotus’ text but followed another source or sources more similar to the vulgate”; cf. M. L. West [2002] 138.

54 Haslam [1997]; M. L. West [2001a] 40; cf. above.

55 Or else, if genuine deletions were still carried out, they were of such minor relevance that all knowledge of them was lost: this is possible, but not demonstrated.

from the Homeric text once and for all – but which were present in the copies chosen by later grammarians – were preserved in the *numerus versuum* that became the generally accepted tradition after the Aristarchean age and thus remained in our *vulgata*.⁵⁶ The abandonment of the drastic practice of material deletion highlights the increasing sense of caution that had developed in the meantime, and accounts for the fact that many of the lines ‘deleted’ by Zenodotus were in effect no longer deleted⁵⁷ and thus were not obliterated from the tradition.

The work of Aristarchus marked the period in which Alexandrian philological production included the drafting of extensive *hypomnemata*. The great continuous commentary, which followed the text step by step, notably facilitated and enriched the communication and preservation of the arguments and motivations put forward by the grammarians, so that the material which has come down to us from this tradition is much more substantial.⁵⁸ Yet the *ekdosis* as an annotated working copy by no means went out of use, as clearly testified by the information on the Aristarchean edition(s). On the other hand, the possibility of dwelling at length in the *hypomnema* on arguments pertaining to text criticism and exegesis constituted an important resource. In practice, the need to write on the copy chosen as the base-text was no longer so strongly felt, especially as regards philological-exegetic arguments. Previously, before the rise of separate *hypomnemata*, there had been a greater need to write on the actual text of the working exemplar, but with Aristarchus the particularly elaborate system of critical signs placed next to the lines⁵⁹ as well as the variants and the readings to be adopted must have been present in the margins and interlinear spaces, while the philological-exegetic treatment was mostly developed in the commentary, although marginal annotations continued to be utilized whenever they were felt to be of practical use, *e.g.* for short notes and textual proposals.

The number of Aristarchus’ *ekdoseis* of Homer and their philological and chronological relation to the commentary or commentaries is still a subject of dispute. I will not go over the entire background here, nor report the treatment already given elsewhere: I will restrict myself to summarising the results, in order to set them within the framework that is being delineated. On the one

56 Haslam [1997] 85; M. L. West [1998–2000] vol. I, p. VII; Führer-Schmidt [2001] 7.

57 It is sometimes stated, instead, that they were ‘recovered’ or ‘reintroduced’: this would have involved far more complicated operations.

58 For *hypomnema* features see Montana and Dubischar in this volume.

59 They could also be repeated in the *hypomnema* beside the lemmas, as was the case for instance in *P.Oxy.* 1086 (pap. II Erbse).

hand we have the frequent unequivocal references to the plural for Aristarchus' editorial work on Homer: αἱ Ἀριστάρχου (*scil. ἐκδόσεις* or *διορθώσεις*), ἡ ἑτέρα τῶν Ἀριστάρχου and similar. On the other, the titles of two works by the grammarian Ammonius, the direct successor of Aristarchus: Περὶ τοῦ μὴ γεγονέναι πλείονας ἐκδόσεις τῆς Ἀρισταρχείου διορθώσεως and Περὶ τῆς ἐπεκδοθείσης διορθώσεως, the former in apparent contradiction with the latter and with the scholiastic citations that indicate two editions. Nevertheless, the solutions proposed go as far as to hypothesize a ἐπεκδοθεῖσα διόρθωσις carried out by Aristarchus' immediate pupils, probably by his successor Ammonius, who in any case was familiar with it.⁶⁰

As regards the *hypomnemata*, I think it is difficult to deny that Aristarchus made two successive versions: a first commentary based on the *ekdosis* by Aristophanes of Byzantium is explicitly cited in sch. *Il.* 2.133 *a*: ἐν τοῖς κατ' Ἀριστοφάνην ὑπομνήμασιν Ἀριστάρχου. In contrast to this stands the citation of perfected (ἡκριβωμένα) *hypomnemata* in sch. *Il.* 2.111 *b*: it is perfectly plausible to assume that Aristarchus produced a second version of the *hypomnemata* in which he took into account the progress achieved over time by his work as a Homeric philologist.⁶¹

We have two Homeric passages on which Aristarchus is known to have changed his mind in comparison to his first text choice, as reported in the scholia to *Il.* 10.397–399 and 19.365–368. Such a situation has many parallels in the scholiographic documentation, describing Aristarchean second thoughts and changes of heart.⁶² However, in the case of these two Homeric passages, it can confidently be stated (despite uncertainties about details) that later philologists were searching for information on the reasons and circumstances for his change of mind and on the text situation that had ensued, and since they were far from certain, they consulted the cited works by Ammonius. In the attempt to explain this situation and reconcile the apparent contradiction between the two titles of the successor in the school, it has been suggested that Aristarchus himself personally composed only one *ekdosis*, as suggested by the first title, and that the ἐπεκδοθεῖσα διόρθωσις mentioned in the second one was actually composed later, after the master's death, in the circle of his first and most senior pupils, possibly even by Ammonius or else by other followers. However, I believe that a slightly different hypothesis can lead to a better understanding of what really happened.

60 On this topic cf. Montana in this volume.

61 Allow me to take this opportunity to refer to Montanari [19970] 285–286, on the question of the famous Ὀμηρον ἔξ Ὀμήρου σαφηνίζειν.

62 Another two examples are examined in Montanari [2000b].

The paradox that there were no more editions of the Aristarchean διόρθωσις and that this work itself was issued again (ἐπεκδοθείσα) can only be resolved, in my view, by supposing that the ἐκδοθείσα διόρθωσις and the ἐπεκδοθείσα διόρθωσις were in a sense truly (physically) the same thing, but modified, revised, corrected and further worked on. So let us briefly trace out the entire story. Aristarchus began by writing *hypomnemata* based on Aristophanes' text; then he devoted himself to his διόρθωσις and produced his own *ekdosis*; at this point he then wrote new *hypomnemata*, based on his own *ekdosis*, presenting what he felt was a more careful and refined analysis. But the research and reflection of a philologist like Aristarchus on a text like Homer was unlikely to come to a definitive conclusion, for not only did Aristarchus continue to meditate and study, but he also continued to teach, and Homer was constantly in his hands. And so he would resume work on his διόρθωσις, pick up his *ekdosis* again and jot down his second thoughts and new ideas on the text: thus the very copy that had been the ἐκδοθείσα διόρθωσις, then became the ἐπεκδοθείσα διόρθωσις. And since he wrote no further new *hypomnemata*, he could not write at length on the reasons for changing his mind and explain what stage his thought had reached, and so on some points there was and there is considerable uncertainty as to the final stage of his thought.⁶³

Thus the assumption that there existed a single exemplar of Homer, bearing successive layers of alterations and jottings, provides a perfect explanation for the fact that the tradition commonly spoke of αἱ Ἀριστάρχου, ἢ ἑτέρα τῶν Ἀριστάρχου, διχῶς Ἀρίσταρχος (cf. particularly Didymus in sch. *Il.* 2.517 a) and so forth. In a certain sense, one could indeed speak of two editions, *i.e.* one and the same exemplar displayed a dual set-up: in the majority of cases the first and second version must both have been legible and distinguishable, thereby permitting the subsequent philological tradition to be familiar with them and discuss them both. But if new alterations were made on an already densely annotated copy, it is hardly surprising that uncertainties may have arisen, where for some reason (at times possibly due to material conditions) it may not have been clear which of the two types of text set-up represented the master's final position, which was his ultimate decision and whether indeed he had actually come to any definitive conclusion. Ammonius certainly had perfectly valid reasons for explaining that there was effectively one and only one *ekdosis*, and that at a certain point it had been 're-issued' with changes: in fact it is quite likely that the titles Περὶ τοῦ μὴ γεγονέναι πλείονας ἐκδόσεις τῆς

63 See Montanari [1998d], [2000b] and [2002a]; this solution of the problem *ekdosis* / *ekdosis* of Aristarchus is approved by Slings [1999]; Nagy [2003] and [2009] 21–37; Rengakos [2012] 252; I am unsure whether it was perceived by M. L. West [2001a] 61–67.

Ἀρισταρχείου διορθώσεως and Περί τῆς ἐπεκδοθείσης διορθώσεως referred either to two parts of one and the same work or to two very closely linked works, which were designed to explain what had really happened and above all to clarify the doubtful points. In some passages the master's final decision was not clear: perhaps because it had not been annotated properly, or because there was physical damage at that particular point, or perhaps because his reflections had been interrupted by unforeseen circumstances. In any case, Didymus evidently felt that not everything was perfectly clear, because he consulted Ammonius on doubtful points.⁶⁴

2 Conjectures and/or *Variae Lectiones*

Our reconstruction of the manner of carrying out the Alexandrian *ekdosis*, based on observation of well documented technical facts, helps to clarify, on a more solid basis than usual, the problem of the real nature of the readings attributed by the erudite tradition to the Alexandrian grammarians such as Zenodotus, Aristophanes of Byzantium and Aristarchus: were they conjectures *ope ingenii* based solely on subjective criteria, deliberate choice among variants attested by documentary sources and deriving from the collation of copies, or a combination of both? Was there a practice of comparing a variety of exemplars of the Homeric text to spot the differences and thereby offer an opportunity for choice? This is a problem of fundamental importance – indeed, it is one of the most disputed issues in the history of ancient philology (not only for the history of the Homeric text in antiquity) – inasmuch as these questions are crucial in an evaluation of the work of the Alexandrian philologists and their role in intellectual and cultural history (see also Montana in this volume).

Let us now take another look at the passage by Pfeiffer cited at the beginning: “It is not improbable that Zenodotus, examining manuscripts in the library, selected *one* text of Homer, which seemed to him to be superior to any other at hand, as his main guide; its deficiencies he may have corrected from better readings in other manuscripts as well as by his own conjectures. *Diorthosis* can be the term for either kind of correction. It is hard to imagine any other way”.⁶⁵ It is indeed almost impossible to imagine any other way, which means

64 Pfeiffer [1968] 217: “Whether Didymus was able to work on copies of these *originals* διορθώσεις and ὑπομνήματα of Aristarchus and of his monographs, the συγγράμματα, is an insoluble problem”; cf. M. L. West [2001a] 61–67.

65 Pfeiffer [1968] 110.

that the Alexandrian philologists' production of an *ekdosis* must have involved both conjectural emendations and choice among variants detected through the collation of copies: "Zenodotus' text is shown to be based on documentary evidence".⁶⁶

My own position, already expressed and argued several times elsewhere, can be summarized in the conviction that the Alexandrian philologists' production of an *ekdosis*, with the work of interpretation this implied, involved both conjectural emendations on the text that had come down to them and choice among text variants they had discovered through the collation of different copies. This overall work on the text was referred to by the term διόρθωσις and this was the procedure to which they adhered from Zenodotus onward. The two aspects have received differing emphasis, with some suggesting that the idea and practice of comparing different copies and choosing from variants generated by collated texts was alien to the Alexandrian critical-philological mindset. Some maintain that the Alexandrians solely or mostly conjectured with the aim of correcting without too many scruples a text judged to be corrupted and unacceptable on the basis of a raft of subjective criteria, such as supposed inconsistency, inappropriateness, material repetitions, preference for greater textual concision, standardisation and uniformity. I do not feel it is appropriate to use absolute and exclusive categories – that is, either to assert that *all* the readings espoused by the Alexandrian grammarians were merely arbitrary conjectures devoid of a documentary source, or alternatively to claim that they were *all* readings deriving from exemplars that had been collated and thus resulted from a choice among variants. I think it is far more likely that their work involved both conjectural criticism and also choice among variants deriving from collation. Naturally, with the evidence available to us today it will be difficult to distinguish case by case whether a reading represented a personal and subjective conjecture or whether it rested on a documentary source, unless we resort to hypotheses and deductions that may not always be reliable. But this is our own problem in interpreting individual cases: it is not a problem regarding the *modus operandi* and the method of the Alexandrian philologists. The two levels must not be superimposed, and the fact that we lack definitive criteria to consistently distinguish what is a conjecture and what is a variant by no means implies that one of the two categories is in abeyance.

The idea that the Alexandrian philologists from Zenodotus to Aristarchus known as authors of *ekdoseis* of Homer did not carry out any collation of copies, but offered only conjectures without any documentary basis, and practised only a completely arbitrary 'Konjunkturalkritik' without comparison among

66 Pfeiffer [1968] 114.

copies, has had a number of supporters, starting above all from the positions of M. van der Valk,⁶⁷ whose line of interpretation was also adopted (of course with individually differentiated stances) by H. van Thiel⁶⁸ and most recently by M. L. West, to whom we will return later.⁶⁹ This tendency leads *recta via* to a (quite unfair) underestimation of the importance and the value of the work performed by the Alexandrians. Arguments against it have been put forward by M. Haslam, Martin Schmidt, G. Nagy, J.-F. Nardelli, A. Rengakos and myself.⁷⁰

On the question of the *'Konjekturalkritik'* often and abundantly attributed to the Alexandrians, Rengakos observes that it is a theory based on the false presupposition that we have general criteria for distinguishing between conjectures and genuine variants when we are faced with the overall set of readings contained in the erudite sources, whereas such criteria do not exist at all. Furthermore, in the sources there is no explicit testimony referring to conjectural interventions, and it is impossible to demonstrate that a given reading is the fruit of a conjecture by the philologist to whom the textual choice is attributed. Rengakos has very clearly recapitulated that, on the contrary, there is actually a considerable amount of plausible evidence of the Alexandrian philologists' knowledge of variants deriving from a comparison among copies.⁷¹

In addition to the arguments already illustrated above, based on the papyri and on the general practice of book production, Rengakos has dwelt on this problem, presenting very precise and cogent arguments concerning the testimony offered by the poets of early Hellenism, *i.e.* of the Zenodotean age, who

67 Sharp criticism of van der Valk's ideas (van der Valk [1949] and [1963–1964]) has been made in a number of papers: for ex. Rengakos [1993] 38–48; Rengakos [2002a] 146–148; Haslam [1997] 70 n. 31: "... he does not concern himself with the transmission. In categorizing readings he operates with an opposition between 'original, old readings' and 'only subjective conjectures' ... a schematization that is surely too simple to cope successfully with the complex vicissitudes of the Homeric text".

68 H. van Thiel [1992] and [1997] (see also [1991], *Einleit.*, and [1996], [2010²], *Einleit.*) has argued that the readings which the tradition attributes to the Alexandrian grammarians were actually exegetic glosses or mere indirect references or reminiscences of parallel passages, written in a "Rand- und Interlinearapparat," which Didymus, Aristonicus and others then wrongly interpreted as textual variants; I discuss this rather idiosyncratic vision in Montanari [1998d] 4–6; van Thiel [1992] is discussed by Martin Schmidt [1997], with a reply in van Thiel [1997]: see above and n. 9.

69 M. L. West [2001a], [2001b] and [2002]: discussion in Montanari [2002a], [2004], [2009b], [2011b] and [*forthcoming*]; see further on.

70 Haslam [1997]; Martin Schmidt [1997]; Führer – Schmidt [2001] 6–7; Nardelli [2001] (partic. 52–70, in direct opposition to West's theories); Nagy [2000b], [2003], [2004], [2009]; Rengakos [2002a], [2002b], [2012].

71 Rengakos [2012].

reveal knowledge of different pre-existing Homeric readings: “Do Hellenistic poets offer cases which prove beyond doubt that they made use of different Homeric manuscripts? In other words, do their works display *Bindefehler* which point to the older Homeric tradition? The answer is clearly ‘yes’.”⁷² Indeed we may confidently maintain that some of the Homeric variants testified in the lines of the philologist-poets of the Zenodotean age derived from the consultation of manuscripts and collation of copies.

To this should be added cases in which it can be demonstrated, by finding veritable conjunctive errors, that the variants chosen by the Alexandrians already existed in a more ancient Homeric tradition.⁷³ Indeed, Pfeiffer himself had explicitly supported this argument, reaching the following conclusion: “These three examples from the fifth to the third centuries, in which Zenodotus’ text is shown to be based on documentary evidence, show how unjustly he was charged by ancient critics, and by those modern scholars who followed them, with making arbitrary changes for wrong internal reasons.”⁷⁴

Besides this indirect evidence, direct evidence can be found and I believe that it is decisive. Explicit testimony is supplied by the scholia, where one finds several undeniable references to the fact that Aristarchus consulted a number of different *ekdoseis* and found them to contain divergent readings: in other words, he certainly availed himself of the direct tradition of the copies he had at hand. The most evident and irrefutable case is that of sch. *Il.* 9.222 *b*, where Didymus reports that Aristarchus accepted a reading (*graphie*) because he found that it appeared in this form in some *ekdoseis*. Equally significant is sch. *Il.* 6.4 *b*, where Didymus states that Aristarchus at first accepted a certain reading, but later changed his mind because he had found another reading which he deemed to be preferable.⁷⁵

72 Rengakos [2002a] 149; cf. Rengakos [1993], [2001], [2002b], [2012]; an interesting case pertaining to Zenodotus is highlighted by Fantuzzi [2005].

73 Lately Rengakos [2012].

74 Pfeiffer [1968] 110–114: the citation is on p. 114; the three examples adduced by Pfeiffer concern *Il.* 1.5, *Il.* 1.225–233 and *Il.* 16.432–458, *Il.* 4.88. Pfeiffer normally attributed the collation of copies to the great philologists who succeeded Zenodotus: cf. for example p. 173. Pfeiffer’s arguments should have been awarded greater consideration.

75 Cf. Rengakos [2012] 244–248, with bibliography. The above mentioned evidence of Didymus in sch. *Il.* 9.222 *b* is rightly underlined by various scholars (Nagy, Janko, Rengakos and myself) and cannot be dismissed out of hand, as does M. L. West ([2001a] 37 n. 19): I will examine closely meaning and importance of this sch. in a paper forthcoming in *Lemmata. Beiträge zum Gedenken an Christos Theodoridis*. On Aristarchus’ second thoughts see Montanari [1998d] and [2000b].

All this evidence indicates that when engaging in text criticism, the Alexandrians – starting with Zenodotus and reaching the most refined method with Aristarchus – based themselves not only on text-internal conjectural proposals but also on external and diplomatic resources, consisting in choice among variants they found or noticed in a non-univocal tradition composed of the copies they had available and were thus able to consult. It would seem, therefore, that the burden of proof is on whoever seeks to strip the Alexandrian grammarians of any knowledge of variants deriving from collation of copies, attributing to them only arbitrary conjectures, rather than the opposite: the fact is that we have, at the very least, convergent evidence in favor of knowledge of variants – and I would go so far as to say that we have real proof.

An interesting testimony concerning these problems can be found in the recently discovered *De indolentia* by Galen, an author of major importance in the history of ancient philology, not only on account of his activity and his thought, but also by virtue of the information Galen's text provides. It has begun to be studied and appreciated from this point of view, but certainly much fruitful investigation remains to be done.⁷⁶ The new text is preserved in a copy which, overall, has many incorrect forms and results in considerable uncertainty of interpretation, also affecting the points of interest here, but it is worth commenting on the material and singling out several pieces of information.⁷⁷ In the 192 fire of Rome, Galen lost, among other things, all the books he possessed, and in this work (composed in epistolary form as an answer to a Pergamene friend) he talks extensively about his activity as a scholar and about his books. Those that had been lost included texts “corrected in my own hand” (§ 6); there were also rare books that were not available elsewhere, and books which, while not rare, constituted unrepeatable exemplars due to the particularly accurate and carefully written text, such as the Plato by Panaetius and two Homers by Aristarchus, and others of this kind (§ 13). There follows a rather tortuous passage, which may perhaps contain a reference to copies with marginal annotations and bearing the name of the person who had made the marginal jottings.⁷⁸ A little further on Galen relates that he had also lost books he himself had worked on, in which he had corrected various errors in order to compose an *ekdosis* of his own. The task he had set himself, he says,

76 Manetti – Roselli [1994]; Manetti [2006], [2012a] and [2012b]; Roselli [2010] and [2012a]; see Manetti in this volume.

77 Editions: Boudon-Millot – Jouanna [2010], Kotzia – Sotiroudis [2010], Garofalo – Lami [2012].

78 Cf. Roselli [2010] and [2012a], Stramaglia [2011], Manetti [2012b].

had involved careful attention to textual readings, so as to ensure nothing was added or was missed out, and to make sure that all the appropriate signs were present to distinguish the structural parts of the text (*paragraphoi* and *coronides*), as well as the punctuation, the latter being so important, especially in obscure works, that it could even substitute for the exegete himself (§ 14). It has been rightly emphasized that here a new aspect of the personality of Galen emerges: already known as an exegete and commentator, he can now also be seen as a text editor (not only of medical works but also of the works of numerous philosophers). Thus he was the author of editions designed for his own personal use, and in preparing such editions he worked on the text in order to identify lacunae and interpolations, and to highlight the structural framework of the work with appropriate critical signs, and to indicate the punctuation as an aid to text comprehension.⁷⁹ Elsewhere Galen cites a number of *ekdoseis*, including that of Hippocrates by Bacchius, dating from the 3rd century BC (a partial contemporary of Zenodotus), and by Dioscorides and by Artemidorus (from the age of Hadrian, one generation earlier than Galen). With regard above all to the *ekdosis* of Dioscorides, Galen offers important insight into its material form: it presented critical signs and punctuation, the *obelos* was used to indicate doubtful authenticity, and variants were marked in the blank spaces (lower and upper margins and the intercolumnae).⁸⁰

The information Galen provides on the *ekdoseis* of medical texts, which he himself had performed or had been carried out by his predecessors, is in agreement with the arguments we have put forward so far. The philologist selected a copy on which to work and thus produced his own *ekdosis*; he then personalized this copy, on which all his markings were visible, by writing his own name on it, after which the copy was allowed to circulate for essentially private use, or for school and teaching purposes (like the Homer of Zenodotus or of Aristarchus). Upon request or for various reasons, the copy itself could then be copied, *i.e.* reproduced as complete exemplars of the work, corrected and presented as 'fair copies'. This could be done either by the editor himself or by someone entrusted with the task. In § 14 Galen mentions precisely the case of books transcribed as fair copies after undergoing correction (*diorthosis*).⁸¹

79 Cf. Boudon-Millot – Jouanna [2010] xxxiii–xxxiv, Manetti [2012a], Roselli [2012a]; on lectional signs, punctuation and accentuation cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 178–179.

80 Cf. Manetti – Roselli [1994] 1625–1633; Manetti [2012a]; Roselli [2012a]; see Manetti in this volume.

81 Roselli [2012a] 64–67.

Over the past few years, the arguments put forward mainly by myself and by A. Rengakos⁸² have prompted a debate above all with the positions of M. West, the most radical advocate of the theory that the Alexandrian philologists from Zenodotus to Aristarchus known as authors of *ekdoseis* of Homer did not carry out any collation of copies: “In fact, the first scholars known to have cited manuscript authority for variant readings are Aristarchus’ contemporaries Callistratus and Crates. Didymus is the first author known to have compiled anything in the nature of a ‘critical apparatus’. It is entirely unjustified to project his methods back onto Aristarchus or Zenodotus, or to assume that all the various copies available to Didymus in the time of Augustus were already part of the library’s holdings in the early third century.”⁸³ I feel I must express some misgivings upon reading that “it is entirely unjustified to project his methods *back onto Aristarchus*” immediately after the statement that “the first scholars known to have cited manuscript authority for variant readings are *Aristarchus’ contemporaries*”. It is simply begging the question to claim that Didymus’ method is projected back onto Aristarchus or Zenodotus, for in actual fact there is absolutely no evidence that Didymus was the first to apply this method rather than having inherited it from his predecessors, unless it be the preconception that Zenodotus, Aristophanes and Aristarchus did not apply it at all.⁸⁴

In M. West’s view, Zenodotus’ readings are to be regarded either as conjectural emendations or as peculiarities of his base-text, but do not result from any form of comparison among copies. Zenodotus is claimed to have lacked the concept of variants, his only critical concern being the existence and identification of spurious lines. It is West’s contention that “*The one kind of textual criticism we know Zenodotus practised* (my italics) was not concerned with choices between variant readings but with the identification of spurious lines and passages. The one feature of his text that marked it out as a critical *diorthosis* was the presence of *obeloi* in the margins (and perhaps brackets enclosing longer passages) to signal the critic’s suspicion that certain verses were un-Homeric”.⁸⁵ This, however, obviously means that Zenodotus felt he had to tackle the prob-

82 But see also above and n. 69.

83 M. L. West [2001a] 36; M. L. West [2002] 140.

84 West’s ‘Didymean’ hypothesis is rejected by Nagy [2000b], Nardelli [2001] 61–64, Janko [2002], Rengakos [2012], and myself (see above n. 68). The already mentioned evidence of Didymus in sch. *Il.* 9.222 *b* (see above and n. 75; below nn. 88 and 89) is rightly underlined by various scholars (Nagy, Janko, Rengakos and myself): in that scholium Didymus does indeed state that Aristarchus found a reading in some exemplars.

85 M. L. West [2001a] 38; M. L. West [2002] 140. The idea of the possible use of signs for material and graphic deletion placed on the base-copy was clearly put forward already in Montanari [1998d] 6, but West does not seem to be concerned with the distinction

lem of how to discriminate the authentic from the spurious: for whereas an entire line held to be spurious could be eliminated from the text, a part of the line (a word or an expression) cannot be removed without replacing it with something else. Sometimes, by eliminating or accepting a line, the meaning and syntax called for the alteration of some word or words before or after the line itself; at times, the alteration of a word called for or allowed the elimination or addition of a line. But Zenodotus' "one kind of textual criticism" and "the critic's suspicion that certain verses were un-Homeric" do suffice, for once a critical approach towards the way in which the text presents itself has been acquired, it is inconceivable for there to be a theoretical and essential separation which would discriminate between line *athetesis* and single word alteration and would thereby justify the assumption that the philologist's concern focused only on *athetesis* of whole lines and not on shorter text alterations.⁸⁶ In either case, the problem at hand for the philologist resides in the opposition between authentic/correct *vs.* spurious/damaged and in seeking to identify the proper text. By addressing the issue of the authentic text and how to devise the critical-methodological tools to obtain it, Zenodotus achieved a major breakthrough: it was a crucial intellectual step, which we identified above as residing in the difference between "correcting a single copy" and "editing a text".

M. West warns against a travesty of the situation: "The misapprehension, which goes back at least at the time of Wolf, is that Zenodotus, Aristophanes and Aristarchus were all editors in the modern sense, who wanted to establish a good text of Homer and who approached the task as a modern editor does, by collecting manuscripts and comparing their readings".⁸⁷ Now, if Zenodotus had at least "one kind of textual criticism", what is likely to have been his aim in carrying out emendations on the Homeric text? Are we thus to believe that Zenodotus had a conscious premeditated idea of 'modelling' Homer according to his own taste, *i.e.* "I'm going to set about reworking Homer and I'm going to make it the way I think it ought to be"? This possibility is by no means easy to accept, but actually this is the only alternative to the view that "he wanted to establish a good text", which is the natural goal of anyone who starts working on and correcting a text. In effect the aim of the Alexandrian philologists cannot but have been "to establish a good text", whatever the value of the result according to modern scholars.

between *athetein* and *ou graphein* in the terminology on the textual interventions of Zenodotus: see above.

86 All the more so since expunction at times involves variants in the part which remains in the text: cf. Montanari [1998d] 7 n. 17, on the subject of *Il.* 2.156–168 (sch. 2.156–169); cf. Rengakos [2012] 250–252; see above and n. 50.

87 M. L. West [2001a] 34; M. L. West [2002] 138.

I fear that the misunderstandings arise from the fact that there is no clear definition of the guidelines for our judgment on the work of the Alexandrian philologists. By adopting our own point of view concerning the ‘competence’ on which they base their opinions and arguments, so that it can be ascertained whether and when they are right or wrong in comparison with the ‘truth’ according to scientific philology, we risk producing unfounded and pointless judgments. Naturally, evaluation of the quality of their choices is the proper perspective for the interpreter and editor of Homer as a modern philologist; on the other hand, maintaining conscious awareness of historical distance and taking care not to overlay our criteria on their behavior is the proper perspective for the historian of philology as a cultural and intellectual phenomenon and for the ‘reading’ of Homer in ancient civilization. Perhaps it is hard to conceive that Zenodotus’ aim (however incoherent and unsophisticated) was precisely “to establish a good text of Homer” because the testimony that has come down to us indicates that his text was far from good – in fact it was dreadful, and incoherent seen through the filter of the requirements and knowledge of modern classical philology. And even as regards the successors of Zenodotus, or even the great Aristarchus, we can hardly claim always to agree with their text choices. The viewpoint from which a modern Homeric scholar approaches his task is the need to decide whether the text Zenodotus, Aristophanes or Aristarchus judged to be the best is indeed the one to print in a present-day critical edition, and whether their interpretations should be espoused as valid in a scientific commentary. In contrast, the viewpoint from which a historian of ancient philology starts out is that of seeking to understand their methods, arguments, principles, knowledge – in a word, their historical and intellectual position. The tendency to scoff at the opinions of the Alexandrian philologists in terms of modern Homeric studies should by no means translate into the tendency to discredit their historical significance, which needs to be correctly positioned and contextualized. It is mistaken to blur the distinction between the two planes.⁸⁸ It is impossible to escape the fact that by inventing the *obelos*

88 Janko [2002] seems to render this concept explicit rather more clearly. His position on the methods of the Alexandrian philologists is not an extremist unilateral stance: he believes that the majority of their readings are indeed arbitrary conjectures (by the Alexandrians themselves or possibly of more ancient origin), but he does not go so far as to deny the recourse to manuscripts and comparison among copies as part of their *ekdosis* work (for Zenodotus, Janko [1992] 23: “His caution was salutary, given the abundance of interpolated texts; he certainly had MS authority for some omissions”; for Aristarchus, Janko [1992] 27, and Janko [2002]: “This [*i.e.* sch. *Il.* 9.222, cf. above n. 75 and 84] certainly implies that Aristarchus did check manuscripts for variant readings”). On the one hand, Janko argues, there stands the problem of the origin of their proposed text choices (subjec-

and setting himself the task of emending and restoring the text he had at hand, Zenodotus had lit upon an idea which, however embryonic and crude it may appear, would undergo further development among his successors, eventually becoming the germ of the discipline we call classical philology. But even if one were to suppose that he acted purely on the basis of conjectures, could it be denied that conjecture is one of the emblematic and representative tools of philology aimed at restoring the correct text?

A further comment by M. West is surprising. “Consider what we know of Aristarchus’ methods, for which we have plenty of material in the scholia. Of course he had the text of his teacher Aristophanes before him. He also *kept an eye on* [my italics] that of Zenodotus, and took up critical positions against it. But the arguments he used, as reported by Aristonicus and Didymus, were always based on the internal evidence of contextual coherence or general Homeric usage. Not once does he appeal to the authority of manuscripts”.⁸⁹ So Aristarchus compared his working copy with that of Aristophanes and that of Zenodotus; but the phrase “kept an eye on” is insidiously reductive, given that the number of cases preserved by the tradition runs into the hundreds – and the tradition itself is patchy and incomplete. Be that as it may, the picture delineated above implies he made a certain small comparison among copies, but that he took great care *not* to let his eye stray onto any further copies: in other words he did study and interpret Homer, but he painstakingly avoided consulting any other exemplar than his own, together with that of Zenodotus and that of Aristophanes, although these alone already presented him with not

tive emendation, comparison among copies) and therefore of their working procedures; on the other, he points out, “my own concern, as a Homerist, has always been whether such readings are authentic”. Perfectly clear: modern philologists can to some extent be severe regarding the opinions of the Alexandrians, considering them to be fairly acceptable or fairly unacceptable from their own point of view (Janko is very negative), but they cannot downplay the fact that the ancient Alexandrians emended and compared exemplars to correct the Homeric text, a method that combined interpretation of the text with awareness of the history of the tradition. An extremely apt remark, perfectly applicable to Alexandrian philology as well, is offered by Cassio [2002] 132, on the issue of pre-Alexandrian criticism: “The earliest scholarly approach to the Homeric text is totally foreign to us . . . we do right to think along very different lines, but we should never forget that it was the commonest approach to the Homeric text in the times of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle. As a consequence, we ought to be wary of looking at it with a superior smile, and ought to try to understand its motives in more depth instead”.

89 M. L. West [2001a] 37: at least the mentioned case of sch. *Il.* 9.222 clearly contradicts this, cf. above and nn. 75, 84, 88.

inconsiderable divergences. Frankly, this seems to me like yet another paradoxical portrayal.

Certainly, what is clear is that Zenodotus used a copy of Homer as the base-text to work on: but are we to believe that Zenodotus' copy was the only existing exemplar of Homer among the circles of those frequenting the Museum and the Library of Alexandria, or is it quite likely that there were others around, with different text characteristics? Should we conceive of a paradoxical Zenodotus who, despite his taste and his concern for the Homeric text, made every effort *not* to look at other copies he may have come across, *not* to make a note of the points where they departed from his own copy and *not* to ask himself any questions about those differences?⁹⁰ It seems to me far more likely that he noticed the differences, both as regards the number of lines and certain individual readings, and that he decided to write them down and express his opinions. However, a subtle ambiguity needs to be eliminated: when speaking of 'other' or 'various' copies of Homer that were actually available and utilisable, one should not be misled into thinking that hundreds and hundreds of exemplars were concretely at hand and ready for consultation, thereby transforming the idea of a comparison into an exaggerated undertaking that immediately becomes totally implausible.

Obviously, it would be a pure anachronism (and not very intelligent) to assume that the Alexandrian philologists had conceived the idea of a collatio of the entire known manuscript tradition, a recensio after the style of the so-called Lachmann method: but who would dare advance such a ludicrously naive proposal? In actual fact the problem should be considered in a rather different fashion, embracing a perspective that is perfectly reliable in historical terms. More specifically: can one begin to speak of comparison among copies only when a certain number (how many?) is reached, or was it sufficient to compare a few, to detect variants when the textual tradition was not univocal and then address the problem of which text was correct and which ones were wrong?

Overall, we must recognize that we owe to the Alexandrian grammarians an idea of text philology aiming to restore the correct text, freeing it from errors and imperfections. From the age of Zenodotus onwards, progress was gradually made in refining the method, which achieved its highest accomplishment with Aristarchus. The grammarians realized that a text had its own history of transmission, during the course of which it deteriorated in various ways; it

90 M. L. West [2001a] 38: "No doubt it would have been easy for him [*scil.* Zenodotus] to collect several copies if he had taken the trouble". Are we to assume that Zenodotus was a somewhat lazy philologist?

could be restored to its correct form either via conjecture or by choosing the correct reading from among those offered by a non univocal tradition.⁹¹ The recognition of transmission-induced damage that had affected the authentic text, along with steps and procedures to restore it, is proof of how the mutual dependency of textual criticism and textual interpretation became established and operational.⁹²

3 Conclusions

To bring to a conclusion the various points outlined in the preceding pages, it is worth pointing out, first and foremost, that the material form of the Alexandrian *ekdosis* is a question closely linked to debate on the textual criticism performed by the Alexandrian philologists, but also to enquiry into the provenance of their readings (variants *and* conjectures); in short, it constitutes the core issue in the historical-cultural assessment of Alexandrian scholarship. This is the basic point and we must make it clear once and for all that we are dealing with a problem of principles and methods, not of the quantity of the data (number of collated copies or of variants discussed) or of the quality of the results (right or wrong from our point of view). We are not concerned with establishing the minimum number of copies to be subjected to comparison or of variants to be taken into consideration before one can even begin to speak of philology, nor with determining how many ‘correct’ readings or ‘good’ interpretations are needed before it makes sense to speak of philology. Rather, in a historical perspective, all that was needed in order for there to be a decisive step forward in intellectual achievement was the very fact of understanding and addressing the problem, even if only partially, erratically and incoherently: a literary text had a multifaceted history of transmission, during which it could become distorted at various points; the correct text (*i.e.* what is authentic *versus* what is spurious and what was the original wording) could then be restored by conjecture or by choosing the best reading among those offered by a divergent tradition.⁹³

91 Naturally the works of Homer come to mind, but also of the tragic and comic poets.

92 See Pasquali [1920] (citation from the reprint of [1998] 26): “a costituire un testo . . . occorre la stessa preparazione che a interpretare . . . ; costituire un testo e interpretarlo sono, in fondo, tutt’uno” (“constituting a text . . . requires the same learning and knowledge as interpreting . . . ; constituting a text and interpreting it are, ultimately, one and the same thing”).

93 See now Conte [2013] 44–50.

The idea of the recognition of damage and of finding a way to repair it reveals that the organic unity between interpretation and textual criticism had become established. Although much progress still remained to be made, and Wolfian scientific philology, the modern critical edition and the scientific commentary were still in the distant future, our viewpoint – far from being an anachronism – is the historical evaluation that a nodal step had been taken in the period from Zenodotus to Aristarchus.

The Rhetorical Criticism of Homer

Richard Hunter

- 1 *Homer and Homeric Criticism*
- 2 *Homer and Rhetorical Criticism*

1 Homer and Homeric Criticism

Homer's grip on Greek literate culture gave him a dominant role in education, scholarship and criticism of all kinds, and this predominance is reflected in the centrality of the Homeric texts to the growth of critical practice and terminology, particularly as we can trace these from Aristotle onwards. This chapter will be largely concerned with critical practices and ideas which flourished, and in some cases arose, in the Hellenistic period, but it is important always to bear in mind the classical, and in some cases, archaic roots of these phenomena. The modern study of 'ancient literary criticism' has always suffered from uncertainty as to what actually is being studied and where and how early the relevant material is first found. Does one start, for example, with Odysseus' praise of the Phaeacian bard Demodocus (*Od.* 8.487–491) and Alcinous' praise for the manner in which Odysseus himself tells his tale (*Od.* 11.363–368),¹ with Pindar's rich 'metatextual commentary' on his own and others' poetry,² with tragedy and satyr-play, where some of the richest reactions to Homer and the Homeric ethos are to be found, even though the explicit dramatisation of scenes from Homer is very uncommon in our surviving texts (Euripides' *Cyclops*, [Euripides] *Rhesos*),³ with Attic Old Comedy—and, most notably, the *Frogs* of Aristophanes, or with Plato?⁴ The concerns and critical practices of the *Frogs* were certainly influential for centuries, texts such as the famous discussion of an ode of Simonides in Plato's *Protagoras* and of the expertise of the

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- 1 The bibliography on Homeric 'poetics' is of course daunting; Halliwell [2011] Chapter 2 offers a thought-provoking guide through the maze.
 - 2 For foreshadowings in Pindar of later critical ideas cf., e.g., Richardson [1985].
 - 3 For the *Cyclops* as a 'reading' of Homer cf. Hunter [2009a] Chapter 2.
 - 4 Ford [2002] is an excellent guide to these issues and their bibliography. For origins and beginnings of ancient scholarship see also Novokhatko in this volume.

rhapsode in the *Ion* foreshadow important concerns of Alexandrian scholarship,⁵ and—above all—the criticisms (in both senses) of Homer in the *Republic* set an agenda for the discussion of poetry which was to last throughout antiquity.

Some histories of the ancient reception and criticism of Homer would choose in fact to begin with the *Odyssey*, a poem which is widely held to acknowledge and react to the *Iliad*, not only in the general spirit and values of the (almost certainly) later poem, but also in specific passages (such as the *Nekuia*)⁶ and by the device of largely ignoring the ground covered by the more martial poem. It may indeed be argued that the *Odyssey* is the first ‘post-classical text’, if by that is meant a text which consciously exploits its sense of otherness and distance from (to put it simply) a more heroic past. The first four books of the poem show Telemachus growing up and learning about the past, searching, if you like, for ‘the classical’ before it was lost, and in that search, no less than in Odysseus’ confrontation with the past in the *Nekuia*, the ‘critical’ spirit which explains that earlier world (and its poetry) is being formed before our eyes. As for Telemachus’ father, Odysseus is *πολύτροπος*, the man ‘of many turns’; however that epithet is to be interpreted (cf. further below), the repeated stress in the opening verses on multiplicity and hence complexity and change, “the man of *many* turns wandered a *very great deal* . . . he saw the cities of *many* men . . . and suffered *many* griefs. . .”, was to take its place within a long discourse in which the world gets ever more ‘complex’ and the past looks ever more ‘simple’. When in the Platonic *Hippias Minor* (cf. below) Hippias contrasts a ‘very straightforward’ (*ἀπλοῦστατος*) Achilles with a ‘very twisting’ (*πολυτροπώτατος*) Odysseus (364c4–365b6), we are already on the way to what was to be an influential contrast between the ethical values of their respective poems.

The broad concerns of ancient discussions of Homer, and of literature more generally, may be roughly divided into the stylistic, the didactic (*i.e.* what did Homer know and what can we learn from him), the rhetorical and the ethical, though little weight is to be given to the boundaries between these four categories.⁷ Thus, for example, style was always regarded as an expression of *êthos* and very closely tied to rhetorical analysis, just as a principal aim of rhetorical analysis was establishing the *êthos* of the speaker; whether the subject be ethics or rhetoric, moreover, ‘Homer as (our) teacher’ was a theme never far away, and dominates one of the most important ancient texts about Homer

5 On this aspect of the *Ion* cf. Hunter [2011] and [2012] 89–108.

6 Cf. Usener [1990].

7 See Nünlist in this volume.

to have survived, namely Strabo's defence of Homer's technical knowledge against Eratosthenes' claim that the only concern of poetry was ψυχαγωγία, not διδασκαλία (Strab. 1.2.3–8).⁸ As Aristophanes' *Frogs* shows very clearly, the idea that our behaviour is influenced by what we hear recited or read or see in the theatre took hold very early, and the language of 'teaching' covers both what, as we would say, the poet sets out to impart and also what we take away from our exposure to literary art, regardless of what the poet 'intended'; poets were to be held responsible for the effects they (and their characters) produced, an assumption which is central to Plato's censure of poetry in *Republic* 2–3 and 10.⁹

Much of the earliest critical discussion of which we know may be classed as broadly allegorical, in the sense that it seeks to uncover meanings in the text which are not patent from what the text appears to say 'on the surface'; the allegorical interpretations of an 'Orphic' cosmogonical poem in the 'Derveni papyrus' have greatly increased our knowledge of some (perhaps rather extreme) allegorical modes practised as early as the fifth century BC.¹⁰ Allegorical readings (of various kinds) have indeed some claim to be the longest-lived of all ancient ways of reading Homer; in the Hellenistic period such readings are particularly associated with Crates of Mallos and the Pergamene school,¹¹ they flourished in the early empire (Cornutus,¹² 'Heraclitus', *Homeric Problems*), and dominated the later Platonist and neo-Platonist tradition of Homeric criticism.¹³ As for their beginnings, a scholium on *Iliad* 20.67 which derives from Porphyry, notes that the Homeric Battle of the Gods was entirely 'inappropriate', ἀπρεπές, and that some explained this (away) by taking these scenes as allegories of how the world is made up of opposed natural forces, the wet and the dry, the hot and the cold and so forth, here called by the names of appropriate gods; the scholium also notes that states (διαθέσεις) are sometimes given the names of gods—φρόνησις is Athena, folly is Ares, desire Aphrodite, and so forth. This kind of defence (ἀπολογία) of Homer was, according to the scholium, 'very ancient' and started with the rhapsode Theagenes of Rhegium

8 For discussion and bibliography cf. Kim [2010] Chapter 3.

9 Cf., e.g., Halliwell [2000].

10 For the 'Derveni papyrus' see Kouremenos-Parassoglou-Tsantsanoglou [2006], Bernabé [2007] 171–269; for orientation and bibliography on ancient allegorical interpretation cf. Buffière [1956], Richardson [1975], Lamberton [1986], Dawson [1992], Ford [2002] 67–89, Boys-Stones [2003a], Struck [2004], Ramelli-Lucchetta [2004], Pontani [2005a], Naddaf [2009], Gutzwiller [2010] 354–359, Copeland-Struck [2010].

11 Cf., e.g., Porter [1992], Broggiato [2001]; on the nature of Stoic 'allegorising' cf. Long [1992].

12 Cf. Most [1989].

13 Cf. esp. Lamberton [1986], [1992].

(late sixth century), ‘who was the first to write about Homer’.¹⁴ It seems likely enough that, by the end of the fifth century at least, complex moral and physical or cosmogonical interpretations of Homer circulated widely, though it is not always easy to identify their authors or to form a clear sense of the outlines of these interpretations.

The majority of our evidence for moralising and allegorical interpretations comes, of course, from the post-classical period, and only very rarely are we able to pick apart the various layers of interpretation which often survive in summary form in later texts, notably in the scholia. Nevertheless, it is also likely that some relatively simple kinds of interpretation persisted over centuries. The explanation of Athena as φρόνησις, for example, recurs persistently throughout antiquity, very often in connection with the φρόνιμος hero *par excellence*, Odysseus.¹⁵ A particularly interesting manifestation of this concerns Odysseus indirectly, namely Homer’s representation of the development of the hero’s son Telemachus in the early books of the *Odyssey*; this example also neatly illustrates how ancient arguments and interpretations very often foreshadow modern readings.

In one of the extant *hypotheses* to *Odyssey* 1 (*hypothesis* c Pontani) we read that Athena, in the guise of Mentès, advises Telemachus to visit Pylos and Sparta, and then, “This business of Athena going to Ithaca to encourage Telemachus to make enquiries about his father hints at (αίνιττεται) nothing but the fact that *phronêsis* is called Athena, and Telemachus, who is a child (παῖς) but then grows up and comes into wisdom (γνώσις), is roused by Athena, that is by his own *phronêsis*, to make enquiries about his father”.¹⁶ Heraclitus offers a much extended version of this interpretation:

Right at the very beginning we find Athena despatched by Zeus to Telemachus—reasonably (εὐλόγως) so, since he is no longer extremely young and is coming into his twentieth year and the passage to manhood. Reasoning (λογισμός) about what was happening had come into him, and he realised that he should not put up any longer with the wantonness of the suitors which had lasted for four years. Homer has allegorised (ἡλληγόρησεν) this gathering power of reasoning in Telemachus as the appearance of Athena. She comes in the likeness of an old man, for

14 Theagenes fr. 2 D-K, cf. MacPhail [2011] 240–243.

15 For some discussion and bibliography cf. Hunter [2014].

16 Almost identical is the scholium on 1.270a Pontani, except that there the object is getting rid of the suitors, rather than enquiring about Odysseus. For a full and illuminating study of ancient traditions about Telemachus’ ‘education’ cf. Wissmann [2009].

Mentes is said to be an aged friend of Odysseus. Grey hair and age are the sacred harbours of our final years, a safe anchorage for men, and as the strength of the body wanes, so the force of the intellect (διάνοια) increases.

HERACLITUS, *Homeric Problems* 61

Heraclitus then pursues this interpretation in some detail. The maturing Telemachus considers where it would be best to enquire about his father and realises that the old and wise Nestor and Menelaus, who himself had recently returned “from eight years wandering”, were obvious sources of advice and information. Athena-Mentes’ mild rebuke to Telemachus,

οὐδέ τί σε χρῆ
νηπιάας ὀχέειν, ἐπεὶ οὐκέτι τηλικὸς ἐσσί

you should not continue in childish ways, for you are no longer a child

HOMER, *Odyssey* 1.296–297

becomes a kind of ‘pull yourself together’ reflection by Telemachus himself (63.1). So too, the claim that “Reason, acting like a *paidagōgos* and a father, roused in him a readiness to undertake responsibility” (63.2) draws on Telemachus’ own words to Athena-Mentes at 1.307 “you say these things with kindly intention, like a father advising his son . . .”.

The textual facts with which this interpretation of Book 1 are grappling are familiar to any reader of the *Odyssey*; even if one does not agree that “[Telemachus] is the only Homeric character who develops in the course of the story”,¹⁷ it is plain that Book 1 dramatises the issue of growing up with very unusual insistence. As she leaves, Athena puts μένος και θάρσος, ‘spirit and courage’, into Telemachus’ spirit (vv. 320–321), and he returns to the suitors as an ἰσόθεος ἀνὴρ, ‘a godlike man’ (v. 324). In his next speech he corrects his mother who has tried to stop Phemios from singing of the return of the Greeks, tells her to go back to her ‘woman’s work’, and emphatically declares himself both an ἀνὴρ (‘a man’) and the holder of κράτος (‘power’) in the house (vv. 358–359). Penelope obeys ‘in amazement’ (θαμβήσασα), just as the suitors are amazed (382) at the boldness of Telemachus’ next speech to them; Telemachus’ response to Eurymachus, who has asked for information about the stranger who has just visited, would do an Odysseus proud in its caution and economy

17 De Jong [2001] 20; De Jong there gives helpful bibliography on the character of Telemachus.

with the truth (vv. 412–420).¹⁸ When we first saw Telemachus he was deep in depressed thoughts as he wondered “whether his father would ever return to scatter the suitors” (vv. 114–116); the book closes with Telemachus again deep in thought (427), but now it is about what *he* must do, and he spends the night “thinking over in his heart the journey which Athena had marked out” (444).

The various different interpretative traditions which we glimpse through the surviving scholia show how thin is the line between some types of ‘allegorical’ reading¹⁹ and the ‘non-allegorical’: was Telemachus merely instructed by Athena (cf., *e.g.*, the scholia on 354) so that he becomes φρόνιμος, or is Athena actually herself φρόνησις? φρόνιμος is of course one of the standard scholiastic glosses for πεπνυμένος, the ‘formulaic’ epithet for Telemachus, which makes its first appearance (v. 213) in the poem immediately after Athena’s first address to the young man, where it comes almost as confirmation of Athena’s concluding assertion of how like Odysseus Telemachus is. Another sign of how such interpretative modes run together is the concern in the scholia, which seem in this case to go back to Porphyry, with why Athena sends Telemachus away from Ithaca at what looks like a moment fraught with danger and on a mission which is essentially fruitless; this ζήτημα has of course also much exercised modern scholars.²⁰ Porphyry’s long discussion²¹ adduces the fact that, brought up ‘by a woman’ on Ithaca and surrounded by hostile men, Telemachus could never have learned the appropriate skills or had the appropriate experiences to become like his father; he would therefore have either remained in this impossible situation or launched an inevitably doomed attack upon the suitors by himself. Enquiries about his father are therefore the πρόφασις of the trip, but the real σκοπός is ‘education’, παιδείυσις, which involves learning about his father, and it is from this that Telemachus will acquire the κλέος which the

18 The exegetical scholia on v. 413 rightly note Telemachus’ strategy of ‘keeping the suitors relaxed’.

19 I am aware that for the purposes of this discussion I have simply ignored some aspects of some ‘allegorical’ readings of Athena in *Odyssey* 1 which are less easily taken over. Thus, for example, the allegorising scholia on v. 96 explain that Athena’s ‘lovely sandals’ denote the powerful effects in action of *phronésis* and her spear its ‘striking power’ (τὸ πληκτικόν), ‘for through his own reason the *phronimos* strikes the unruly’. There is, of course, a range of allegorical, as of non-allegorical, views and gradations of detail within any one such reading.

20 Cf., *e.g.*, West [1988] 53–55.

21 Scholia to 1.94 and 1.284. Some of the earlier history of Porphyry’s arguments may be visible at Philodemus, *On the Good King according to Homer* col. xxxiii Dorandi if, as (*e.g.*) Asmis [1991] 38 suggests, καὶ ἀθέατον ἀνάγκη καὶ ἀνιστόρητον εἶναι πολλῶν καὶ παρρησίας ἄπειρον ἰσηγόρου πολλὰκις ἐξεπαιδευσευ refers not to Odysseus, but to Telemachus.

Homeric Athena holds out for him (v. 95, cf. 13.422). Such an aim, as Porphyry points out, is ‘appropriate to Athena’, in part (we should infer) because Athena is associated with intelligence, education and μῆτις. Part at least of this reading of the Telemachy, which has of course considerable overlap with the standard modern reading, will go a very long way back in antiquity;²² it seems first to surface for us in Philodemus, *On the Good King according to Homer*, where, in a recently restored, if still broken, column, the philosopher precisely discusses Telemachus’ journey:²³

... to be one who has constantly lived among guests not living according to his will, since in addition it is necessary for him to be one who has neither seen nor heard of many things and has had no experience of free speech with equals (παρρησίας ἄπειρον ἰσηγόρου), and for the most part even uneducated, for which reason ... the poet ... brings Telemachus to Pylos and Sparta where he was to have dealings with such great men, for he was certainly not going to achieve anything (more) concerning his father, who was by then already on Ithaca ...

PHILODEMUS, *On the Good King according to Homer* col. 23, trans. J. Fish

Just as Odysseus learned on his travels, so did his son.

Finally, we may note that the ‘allegorical’ conception of Athena as φρόνησις or σύνεσις or νοῦς is capacious enough to embrace both Achilles’ inner struggle in *Iliad* 1, where violence and restraint compete in a moment of extraordinary passion,²⁴ and the more gradual intellectual and moral assertiveness which develops in Telemachus in Book 1, as Athena tells him to ‘give thought’ (φράζεσθαι) to the future (v. 295); the interventions of Athena in *Iliad* 1 and *Odyssey* 1 are in fact exemplary for their respective poems—the poem of violence and passion, and the poem of caution and forethought, of bidding one’s time and seizing the opportunity.

The standard language in which to describe allegorical interpretations is ‘finding the ὑπόνοιαι’²⁵ or allegations that the poet ‘hints at’ (αἰνίττεσθαι) particular meanings. At *Republic* 2.378d6–7 Plato makes Socrates observe that blasphemous episodes in Homer must not be part of education, whether

22 Herter, *RE* V/A 351 suggested that it might have figured in Antisthenes’ ‘Athena or Concerning Telemachus’.

23 Cf. Fish [2002] 193–194, with discussion in Fish [1999], [2002] 213–215, and [2004] 113–114.

24 Cf. Hunter [2012] 60–67.

25 Plutarch (*Mor.* 19e) notes that ὑπόνοιαι was the old term for “what are now called ἀλληγορίαι”.

composed with or without ὑπόνοιαι, because the young cannot recognise a ὑπόνοιαι and are therefore affected by ‘the literal truth’ of what they read. The motives for such readings will have been various. In part they will indeed have been designed to save Homer from apparently disgraceful representations, such as the adultery of Ares and Aphrodite in Demodocus’ second song in *Odyssey* 8 (cf. Xenophan. fr. 11–12 D-K), and in part they may have been an attempt to reserve true understanding of the great poet to a particular élite, as Homer’s status as universal pan-Hellenic poet grew, and in part they may have arisen from a desire to demonstrate that one’s own views of how the world worked had Homeric authority; we can hardly doubt that the element of ‘display’ (ἐπίδειξις), of showing off one’s cleverness, also played its part. The extraordinary continuity of the tradition is well seen in the fact that the Battle of the Gods, the subject of Porphyry’s note on the history of allegorical interpretation (cf. above), is the one passage of Homer which ‘Longinus’, one of the most perceptive ancient critics of Homer to have survived, also claims must be interpreted allegorically, ‘because it is completely blasphemous (ἄθεα) and does not preserve propriety (τὸ πρέπον)’ (*Subl.* 9.7).

One text which may, with all proper caution, be used to catch some of the flavour of the classical discussion of Homer is Plato’s *Hippias Minor*. Here Socrates engages with the great sophist just after the latter has given a public ἐπίδειξις on the subject of Homer. Socrates asks him what may well have been a very frequently asked question—one asked of or by schoolboys, perhaps: ‘Which of Achilles and Odysseus do you consider the better man and in what respect?’ (364b4–5). Hippias replies that Homer made Achilles best (ἄριστος), Nestor wisest (σοφώτατος) and Odysseus ‘most πολύτροπος’, and he explains that πολύτροπος means ‘lying, false’ (ψευδής), which is everywhere the characteristic of Odysseus; Achilles’ famous words to Odysseus at *Iliad* 9.308–314 (“Hateful to me as the gates of Hades is the man who conceals one thing in his heart and says another . . .”) are adduced to demonstrate that Achilles is indeed ἀληθής τε καὶ ἀπλοῦς, ‘truthful and straightforward’, whereas Odysseus is πολύτροπός τε καὶ ψευδής (365a–b). In the subsequent questioning, Socrates has little trouble in demonstrating that Achilles in Book 9 contradicts himself, in other words ‘lies’, by saying that he will sail home but never making the slightest attempt to do so; Hippias’ attempted distinction between ‘deliberate’ and ‘unwilling’ falsehood does not survive Socrates’ onslaught for very long. Certain aspects of this (very amusing) exchange may be highlighted in the present context. We know that πολύτροπος in the opening verse of the *Odyssey* had indeed attracted considerable discussion; the scholia preserve a long notice from Antisthenes in which the word is understood to characterise Odysseus as the master of τρόποι, i.e. of all manner of speech appropriate to different circumstances and

interlocutors. Secondly, the terms in which the scholia adduce Antisthenes' discussion are almost identical to those of the *Hippias Minor*, including an allusion to the same verses of *Iliad* 9, so that we can trace both a relationship between Plato and Antisthenes and the striking continuity of the critical tradition over several centuries.²⁶ Moreover, the scholia frame their citation of Antisthenes as a 'problem' (ἀπορία or ζήτημα) and its 'solution' (λύσις): we would expect πολύτροπος to be a term of approbation, as it is applied to the hero in the opening verse of his poem, but its 'natural' meaning seems rather disparaging, and this is the 'difficulty' which Antisthenes solved. So too, the other problem to which Socrates points in the *Hippias Minor*, namely an apparent inconsistency in what Achilles says and does in Book 9, is exactly the kind of 'difficulty' to which subsequent critics turned their minds, and we know that Achilles' contradictory assertions in Book 9 were indeed the subject of scholarly head-scratching and 'solutions'.²⁷ The present case will have played its part in a lively ancient discussion, descending at least from Aristotle, about Achilles' inconsistent (ἀνώμαλος) character.²⁸

The Homeric texts remained in fact throughout antiquity an irresistible impulse towards display and paradox. Unsurprisingly, it is precisely Odysseus ὁ πολύτροπος who is often at the centre of such display, for it was this character more than any other which prompted rhetorical and philosophical elaboration.²⁹ From one perspective, for example, Plutarch's essay *That animals have reason*, often referred to as *Gryllus* after one of the characters, may be seen as standing in this line descending from the Platonic *Hippias Minor*. This work is cast as a dialogue between Odysseus, Circe and a Greek whom Circe has transformed into a pig, Gryllus 'Grunter';³⁰ the pig demonstrates to Odysseus

26 For the bibliography and interpretation of the scholium cf. Luzzatto [1996], Pontani's notes in Pontani [2007] 7–9, and Montiglio [2011] 20–47.

27 Cf. Erbse's note on schol. 9.682–683, citing Porphyry.

28 Cf. Nünlist [2009a] 250 with n. 42.

29 Cf. Montiglio [2011].

30 Odysseus and his crew were, therefore, not Circe's first Greek visitors—another blow to Odysseus' list of achievements. A different view, adopted *e.g.* by Kidd in Waterfield-Kidd [1992] 375 and Indelli [1995], is that Gryllus was in fact one of Odysseus' companions; this would necessitate a setting in the tenth, rather than the twelfth, book. Much might seem to hang on the clearly disturbed text at 985e where the word ἐταίρους or ἐτέρους is transmitted (Hubert adopts von Wilamowitz's deletion of the word), but this alternative view seems to make nonsense of the opening exchanges with Circe and certainly destroys any close link with the Odyssean narrative; so too Circe's comment at 986a that if the animals win the argument, Odysseus will be shown "to have determined badly concerning himself and his friends" seems to support the view taken here. At 989e Gryllus claims

that animals are actually more virtuous and live happier lives than men. The dialogue is perhaps to be imagined as taking place immediately after Circe has told Odysseus about his voyage home and warned him of the consequences of interfering with the cattle of the Sun (12.137–141); “I think I understand and will remember these things, Circe, but I would gladly hear from you . . .”, begins Plutarch’s Odysseus, in one of what might have been a not uncommon ancient game of writing new and often unusual ‘scenes’ for the *Odyssey*.³¹ Odysseus’ request is to know whether there are any Greeks among the metamorphosed animals under Circe’s control so that, with Circe’s permission, he can restore them to human shape from the ‘pitiable and dishonourable existence’ they now lead and take them back to Greece; this, says, Odysseus would bring him καλή φιλοτιμία with the Greeks. Circe’s response is very sharp:

οὔτος ὁ ἀνὴρ οὐχ αὐτῶι μόνον οὐδὲ τοῖς ἐταίροις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μηδὲν προσήκουσιν οἷεται δεῖν ὑπ’ ἀβελτερίας συμφορὰν γενέσθαι τὴν αὐτοῦ φιλοτιμίαν.

This man thinks that his desire for glory (φιλοτιμία) should, through his stupidity, prove a disaster not just for himself and his companions, but for complete strangers.

PLUTARCH, *Gryllus* 985d

Circe here produces a re-writing of the opening of the *Odyssey*, which is very much not to Odysseus’ credit. “This man”, the famous ἀνὴρ, will be the undoing not just of himself and his ἐταῖροι (contrast *Od.* 1.5), but of many other Greeks as well; his companions will not perish “by their own reckless foolishness” (*Od.* 1.6),³² as in Homer, but through Odysseus’ stupidity and desire for glory, a force which drives him to pursue “an empty form of goodness and a phantom in place of the truth” (986a). Such a reading takes its initial impetus

to have once seen Odysseus on Crete; the expression certainly does not suggest that he was actually one of Odysseus’ companions (so, rightly, e.g. Russell [1993] 337), and in any case Gryllus here turns Odysseus’ Cretan tale (!) to Penelope (*Od.* 19.221ff) back against the hero himself. There is a useful account of the philosophical background of Plutarch’s essay by Ziegler in *RE* XXI (1951) 739–743.

31 One thinks of the letter which Ovid’s Penelope writes to Odysseus (*Her.* 1).

32 Among the scholiastic glosses for ἀτασθαλίαι are ἄνοιαι (D schol. on *Iliad* 4.409) and μωρία (D schol. on *Od.* 1.7); Circe’s ἀβελτερία is a variant of this.

from Odysseus's assertion of his own κλέος at *Odyssey* 9.19–20, but behind it lies (again) a long tradition of interpretation and re-writing.³³

Like πολύτροπος, φιλοτιμία may have positive or negative connotations, and (again) these differences may then bring differences of narrative with them. φιλοτιμία, as the principal motivating force of Odysseus “most φιλότιμος of men” (986b), seems, for example, to have played a significant role in Euripides' *Philoctetes*, as this can be reconstructed from Dio 52 and 59.³⁴ Odysseus seems to have begun the prologue of that play by expressing his worries that his reputation for cleverness may be undeserved, given the trouble he voluntarily gives himself; that fear in fact comes true in the *Gryllus* when, in his opening remarks, Gryllus observes that Odysseus' reputation for cleverness and surpassing wisdom will all have been for nothing (μάτην), if he will not accept improvement, just because he has not given the matter proper thought (986c–d). The Euripidean Odysseus then proceeded to explain that good leaders such as himself are driven by φιλοτιμία and the desire for δόξα and κλέος to undertake very difficult tasks; when Odysseus stated that ‘nothing is as keen for acclamation (γαῦρος) as a man’ (fr. 788.1 Kannicht), it is hard not to remember Gryllus' criticisms of human folly. So too, the thesis that the life of a pig, a life of “all good things” (986d), including “deep, soft mud” (989e), is much to be preferred to the life of a man, particularly an Odysseus, overturns the very rich mainstream tradition of interpretation of the Circe-scene and of the *Odyssey* as a whole. This is particularly true of the insistent argument that pigs and animals generally are not victim to the lustful desires of the flesh, unlike human beings, whereas the normal interpretative view (cf., e.g., Hor. *Epist.* 1.2.24–26) is that men are precisely turned into pigs by their slothful lusts and the pursuit of pleasure. The *Gryllus* is of course full of witty reworkings of the *Odyssey* and its critical tradition:³⁵ throughout antiquity, the critical interpretation and creative *mimesis* of the Homeric text travelled hand-in-hand.

33 For Odysseus' φιλοτιμία in the scholastic tradition cf. the scholia on *Odyssey* 5.401 (a remarkable text) and 9.229.

34 Cf. fr. 787–9 Kannicht, Stanford (1954) 115–116.

35 No full account is possible here. At 986f Gryllus tells Odysseus that he once heard him describing the land of the Cyclopes to Circe in the terms which Odysseus in fact had used in his narration to the Phaeacians (9.108–111); we are presumably to understand that the conversation took place during the year's stay with Circe (10.467–468), but the apparent misrepresentation of the *Odyssey* serves at least two purposes. Plutarch is shown to be as wittily concerned as Homer with the ‘How do you know?’ question which can always be posed to a narrator (cf. *Od.* 12.389–390), and there is a suggestion that the braggard Odysseus used to bore Circe (presumably in bed) with the same tales which he told the

The tradition of critical ‘problems’ and their ‘solutions’ which was illustrated above from Plato’s *Hippias Minor* is one of the longest-lived ancient critical practices:³⁶ we can see it already in full (if satirical) swing in Aristophanes’ *Frogs*,³⁷ significant excerpts from Aristotle’s *Homeric Problems* are preserved (and cf. also *Poet.* chap. 25), and the tradition is very much alive and well in Alexandrian scholarship and, as we have seen, in the Homeric scholia.³⁸ This critical framework allowed scholars to appeal, *inter alia*, to change over time in cultural practice, to both diachronic change and synchronic difference, for example between dialects or in language usage more generally, and to the need to pay close attention to shifting contexts, particularly rhetorical contexts, in the course of a long poem. Aristotle is the crucial figure in establishing that poetry had its own standards of ‘correctness’ (ὀρθότης), and that what matters is not the existence of factual errors or inconsistencies *per se*, but rather the quality and nature of those phenomena;³⁹ such a realisation focused attention again on the need for scholarly judgement as shown in decision-making, *krisis* in both its senses. The challenge to Socrates which Plato puts in Protagoras’ mouth was to foreshadow the principal thrust of Alexandrian criticism:

I consider, Socrates, that the greatest part of *paideia* for a man is to be clever about verses (περὶ ἐπῶν δεινόν),⁴⁰ this means to be able to understand (συνιέναι) what the poets say and what has been composed well (ὀρθῶς) and what not, and to know how to make distinctions and, when questioned, to give an account.

PLATO, *Protagoras* 338e6–339a3

Protagoras’ test to see whether Socrates fits the bill then precisely concerns an alleged inconsistency in a poem of Simonides. According to Aristotle in the

Phaeacians (and subsequently Penelope) and which she of course knew already anyway (cf. 10.457–459). For recent views of the literary form of the *Gryllus* cf. Fernández Delgado [2000] and Herchenroeder [2008].

36 See Novokhatko, Dubischar, and Nünlist in this volume.

37 Cf. Hunter [2009a] 21–25.

38 Cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 69–71, Nünlist [2009a] 11–12, Slater [1982]. Some of Slater’s conclusions need modification in view of Blank-Dyck [1984], but the continued importance of ‘problem-solving’ criticism is not in doubt.

39 Cf., e.g., Hunter [2012] 100–103.

40 The pointed ambivalence of this phrase is marked by Socrates’ later observation of the multivalency of δεινός (341a7–b5). I have discussed some features of this passage of the *Protagoras* in Hunter [2011] 36, and for a fuller account and bibliography of the discussion of Simonides’ poem cf. Hunter [forthcoming].

Poetics, there are five standard grounds for identifying a problem requiring a solution: that something is impossible, or irrational, or harmful, or contradictory, or contrary to artistic correctness (1461b23–24). These categories recur constantly in the critical traditions which came after Aristotle, but their roots are deep and early.

The history and characteristics of textual and interpretative ‘scholarship’, given perhaps their most authoritative expression in Rudolf Pfeiffer’s *History of Classical Scholarship* of 1968, are relatively well understood (as are the many areas of doubt and uncertainty) and offer a reasonably clearly defined area of study.⁴¹ ‘Literary criticism’, under any definition, plays a major role in such scholarship, and it is the scholia to Homer which offer probably our richest sources for this.⁴² Any attempt, however, to separate ‘readings’ and ‘interpretations’ of Homer from the history of reworkings of Homer within Greek literature is bound to tie itself in unnecessary definitional knots, as well as almost inevitably presenting a misleading view of the pervasive ancient engagement with the epic texts.⁴³ The matter is particularly acute when we reach the rich prose literature of the Second Sophistic, in which revisions of Homer are a very major presence, and into which a now long tradition of Homeric scholarship is absorbed and re-used in new, often epideictic and/or paradoxical contexts.⁴⁴ In the discussion which follows I focus (largely) on explicit indications, in scholia and in rhetorical and critical treatises, of how Homer should be understood, rather than the implicit interpretations which Homeric reworkings in creative literature, at both macro- and micro-level, bring with them. The forms of expression in which reflection upon the epic heritage was couched were, however, as varied as approaches to the texts themselves, and even the limited case-study which follows can make no claim to do other than scratch the surface.

41 Recent contributions include Matthaios-Montanari-Rengakos [2011], Montanari-Pagani [2011].

42 Cf. Richardson [1980], Schmidt [2002], Nünlist [2009a] and this volume.

43 For a sketch of some approaches to Homeric reception in Greek literature cf. Hunter [2004].

44 I borrow the term ‘revisions’ from Zeitlin [2001]. For guidance to the Homeric presence in the Second Sophistic cf. Kindstrand [1973], Zeitlin [2001], Hunter [2009b], Kim [2010], Porter [2011].

2 Homer and Rhetorical Criticism

Rhetorical criticism, that is the study of the strategies of both language and substance which lead to the effective presentation of arguments and characters, played a very prominent, perhaps indeed the dominant, role in the ancient criticism of literature; ‘literary criticism’, as we might understand it, fell—at least in post-classical antiquity—within the province of *rhêtorikê*.⁴⁵ The basis of much of the educational system, once the earliest preliminary studies were completed, was the study of how speakers in the past, above all in epic, drama and oratory, achieved particular aims, and how those achievements could be replicated in the present;⁴⁶ as with so much of ancient educated culture, the seeds (and in some cases the full flowering) of virtually all rhetorical forms was to be found—or so it was believed—in Homer.⁴⁷ The rhetorical turn was, as has often been observed, also an important reason why, on the whole, ancient critics seem less concerned with the meaning and interpretation of whole works than with the study of parts, often detached from the context, a feature of ancient criticism which has often puzzled their modern successors.

From the Hellenistic period on, an elaborate systematisation of rhetoric and rhetorical education was developed, about which we are relatively well informed from a large corpus of surviving rhetorical treatises and handbooks. At the heart of this system lies the study of the texts of the past, what we would call ‘classical literature’, and it is within the parameters of this system that the foundations of a set of critical rules, amounting to no less than a body of ancient ‘literary theory’, were established. If Aristotle’s *Rhetoric* represents a sophisticated level of intellectual analysis never really reached again, the subsequent tradition is also at pains to explain the need for system and agreed modes of analysis. Thus, for example, a treatise of perhaps the late second or third century AD, wrongly ascribed to Dionysius of Halicarnassus and entitled ‘On the examination of *logoi*’ (*i.e.* literary works in general, though the focus

45 Cf., *e.g.*, Classen [1994], Nünlist [2009a] 6.

46 For the connection between literary criticism and rhetoric see also Nünlist in this volume.

47 Valuable guidance on the place of rhetoric in ancient education in Morgan [1998] Chapter 6. For Homer as the font of rhetorical forms and teaching cf. above all Quintilian’s encomium at 10.1.46–51, and see also [Plutarch], *De Homero* 172 (with Hillgruber ad loc.), Radermacher [1951] 6–9; Karp [1977] is an attempt to reconstruct a rhetorical ‘system’ from the Homeric texts. Among lost works may be mentioned the ‘On the rhetorical figures found in Homer’ and the ‘On rhetoric in Homer’ of the second-century AD grammarian Telephos of Pergamon (cf. *RE* V/A. 369–371).

of the treatise is on declamation),⁴⁸ begins by noting that positive and negative judgements about *logoi* are usually offered without any system or ‘knowledge’, with the result that there is no uniformity of judgement about particular works; in a claim that can appear extraordinarily modern, the author observes that we tend to be swayed by the reputation of those making the critical judgements, rather than by the judgements themselves or by our own judgement. Therefore, what is required, according to the author, are agreed standards of composition and criteria of judgement with regard to the four principal areas of character, thought, art and diction (II 374.7–375.9 U-R). Where, however, ancient students and their teachers principally differed from their modern counterparts, though having important aims in common with, say, English classical education of the nineteenth century, was that the former were not, in the first place, concerned with classical literature ‘for its own sake’, but for what it offered to their own development as speakers, writers and theorists of speech: ‘reading nourishes speech’ had long been the watchword (Ael. Theon 61.30–31 Sp.). Study must be turned into daily practice, and very frequently it was the Homeric poems which provided the material through which teachers displayed their skills and students learned to spread their wings.

The works of Libanius of Antioch (fourth century AD) offer some of the most instructive examples of this ‘Homeric’ material;⁴⁹ Homeric characters make their famous speeches all over again, but in different words (*e.g.*, Achilles’ reply to Odysseus’ embassy, Libanius 5.303–360 Foerster), or write speeches to which Homer, the ‘common ancestor of Greek wisdom’ as Libanius calls him (8.144.6–7), merely alluded. During the *teichoskopia* in *Iliad* 3, for example, the Trojan Antenor recalls the embassy of Menelaos and Odysseus to Troy to negotiate Helen’s return:

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ Τρῶεσσιν ἐν ἀγρομένοισιν ἔμιχθεν, στάντων μὲν Μενέλαος ὑπείρεχεν εὐρέας ὤμους,	210
ἄμφω δ' ἐζομένω, γεραρώτερος ἦεν Ὀδυσσεύς· ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ μύθους καὶ μῆδεα πᾶσιν ὕφαινον, ἦτοι μὲν Μενέλαος ἐπιτροχάδην ἀγόρευεν, παῦρα μὲν, ἀλλὰ μάλα λιγέως, ἐπεὶ οὐ πολὺμυθος οὐδ' ἀφαμαρτοεπής· ἦ καὶ γένει ὕστερος ἦεν.	215
ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ πολύμητις ἀναΐξειεν Ὀδυσσεὺς	

48 The treatise is pp. 374.7–387.14 of Vol. II of the edition of Dionysius of Halicarnassus by Usener and Radermacher; for discussion of this treatise cf. Russell [1979].

49 Most of the relevant texts are found in vols. 5 and 8 of Foerster’s Teubner edition of Libanius; cf. further Webb [2010].

στάσκειν, ὑπαὶ δὲ ἴδεσκε κατὰ χθονὸς ὄμματα πῆξας,
 σκήπτρον δ' οὔτ' ὀπίσω οὔτε προπρηγνὲς ἐνώμα,
 ἀλλ' ἀστεμφὲς ἔχεσκειν αἰδρεῖ φωτὶ εἰκώς·
 φαίης κε ζάκοτόν τέ τιν' ἔμμεναι ἄφρονά τ' αὐτως. 220
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ὅπα τε μεγάλην ἐκ στήθεος εἶη
 καὶ ἔπεα νιφάδεσσιν εἰοικότα χειμερίησιν,
 οὐκ ἂν ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆϊ γ' ἐρίσσειε βροτὸς ἄλλος·
 οὐ τότε γ' ᾧδ' Ὀδυσῆος ἀγασσάμεθ' εἶδος ἰδόντες.
 HOMER, *Iliad* 3.209–224

When they mingled with the assembled Trojans, Menelaos with his broad shoulders rose above him as they stood, but when they were sitting, Odysseus was the more distinguished. When they were weaving their words and devices to all assembled, Menelaos indeed spoke fluently; his words were few, but very clearly spoken, since he is not a man of many words nor a rambler, and also younger by birth. When Odysseus of many guiles leaped up, he stood looking down with his eyes fixed on the ground, and he moved his staff neither back nor forwards, but he held it unmoving and seemed like an ignorant man. You would have said that he was sullen and merely a fool. When, however, he sent forth his great voice from his chest and words flowed like snowflakes in winter, then no other mortal could compete with Odysseus, and then we were not so struck by his appearance.

This passage was to become perhaps the most important foundational passage for the later analysis of different styles of speaking and writing;⁵⁰ Libanius takes off explicitly from this passage to write the speeches which Menelaos and Odysseus were supposed to have delivered on this occasion (5.199–221, 228–286 Foerster). For Libanius, this is a chance to show the different techniques of compression and extension of the same material (5.200.3–7 Foerster), and the result is that the speech of Menelaos, “not a man of many words”, takes twenty-two pages in Foerster’s edition, and Odysseus’ fifty-eight. Such exercises were a real test of the powers of εὔρεσις (*inuentio*) for the orator, as there was no Homeric text from which to work, and Libanius is not slow to point out to

50 The only other claimant to such an honour is *Il.* 1.247–249 (Nestor); the scholia on *Il.* 3.212 match Menelaos–Odysseus–Nestor with Lysias–Demosthenes–Isocrates as the prime representatives of the three styles. For further discussion and bibliography cf. Hillgruber [1999] 370–372.

his pupils just how successful he has been (5.228.5 Foerster).⁵¹ A related but different challenge was the exercise of seeking to affirm (*κατασκευή*) or disprove (*ἀνασκευή*) the events of which poets, most notably Homer, had told. Perhaps the most famous exercise of this kind, though it is in fact much more than that, is Dio Chrysostom's *Trojan Oration* (11), in which Dio sets out reasons for wholesale rejection, not just of Homer's account of the Trojan War, but for much of the generally received story of Paris and Helen.⁵² A very powerful weapon in such arguments was the appeal to 'probability' (*εἰκός*), and so it is that the first in our collection of Libanian *ἀνασκευαί* is "That it is not probable (*εἰκός*) that Chryses went to the Greek ships" (8.123–128 Foerster), and that one of the *κατασκευαί* is "That the story of Achilles' anger is probable" (8.143–150 Foerster); this latter speech contains much which functions as a rebuttal of the *ἀνασκευή* about Chryses.⁵³ One of the things which is most striking about these exercises is the psychological depth and the level of calculation ascribed to Homeric characters; this may be the fruit of rhetorical invention, but it is also very instructive about how poetical texts were read and the sort of 'characters' that one expected to find there. In many ways, Libanius' modes of argument foreshadow some modern debates about 'character' in literature, notably in Greek drama, and what sort of intelligibility and motivation we are to ascribe to poetic characters. Thus, for example, we learn that Agamemnon would not have opposed the wishes of the majority, as Homer (*Il.* 1.22–25) says he did, because he knew that the security of his rule depended upon the goodwill of those under him (8.126–127), whereas on the other side it can be said both that Agamemnon acted as a careful commander by throwing a potential Trojan spy out of the Greek camp (8.146.6–9) and that the nature of Chryses' subsequent prayer (*Il.* 1.37–42) makes perfect sense:

51 Despite this, Russell [1983] 110 claims that the speeches of the Libanian Menelaos and Odysseus are "not at all clearly differentiated"; Libanius "seems . . . to have been content to give a very general impression".

52 Cf. Hunter [2009b], Kim [2010] Chap. 4, Minon [2012] (esp. pp. xli–xlvi on the links to rhetorical exercises).

53 Libanius' two exercises have more than a little in common with the *εὔρεσις* on show in Dio's account of Chryseis' own motivation and calculations in *Oration* 61, cf. Drules [1998] 77–79, Kim [2008] 617–620. That the opening scene of the *Iliad* should figure so prominently in rhetorical texts is hardly surprising, given that this was probably the most familiar piece of Homer, one known to every schoolboy. Kim [2010] 613–617 rightly associates the reading practice which "fills in the gaps" in Homer's account of his characters' psychology and motivation with the grammarians' interpretative principle of *κατὰ τὸ σιωπώμενον*, although that is usually used to explain apparent problems and omissions in Homer's presentation of 'facts', rather than of motivation.

Chryses knew that he would cause Agamemnon the greatest distress if he destroyed his position, caused his power to crumble and put an end to his rule. For it is not the same for a man to meet once and for all with disaster as to remain alive and in despair; the dead have no sensation of anything, whereas the man who lives in pain is truly punished. Moreover, Chryses also knew that if Agamemnon died and the war ended, then his daughter would go off with the Greeks, whereas if the Greek army was oppressed by plague and was being destroyed, there would be an enquiry into this misfortune, the reason would emerge, and he would recover his child.

LIBANIUS, *Progymnasmata* 8.147.9–148.1 Foerster

Libanius here elaborates on one of the ‘solutions’ offered in the exegetical scholia on v. 42 to the ‘problem’ of “why Chryses curses the Greeks who urged (*Il.* 1.22–23) that his daughter should be returned to him and not rather (just) Agamemnon”: “If Agamemnon died, the cause of the plague would remain uninvestigated, and if the Greeks sailed back to their country, Chryseis would not be given back to him”.⁵⁴ It would be easy to dismiss such ‘filling in the story’ as simply fertile display, without any real connection to, or warrant in, the Homeric text, and yet the persistent questioning of action and motivation reveals a kind of ‘close reading’ and active supplementation which has not always been applied to ancient texts in more recent times, and, more importantly, which the opening books of the *Iliad* (at least) might be thought to invite. It was just such close reading and pondering on motivation which contributed significantly to the development, precisely in rhetorical schools, of what we label *plasma* or fiction and which distinguished itself from *mythos*, where such chains of both physical and psychological plausibility no longer held; that is why, perhaps (or perhaps not), μῦθος so often required the sideways interpretative move of allegorisation, to match that similarly sideways narrative jump, well captured by the term παράδοξον, which so often travels with the idea of μῦθος.

54 Cf. also ‘Heracl.’, *Quaest. Hom.* 6.3–4, where it is claimed that the view that Apollo killed the Greeks who had in fact urged respect for Chryses and spared Agamemnon is the result of spiteful malice, Eust., *Il.* 37.6–10. The other reasons given by the exegetical scholia are also predominantly ‘psychological’: “Because the Greeks had given Chryseis to Agamemnon after sacking Thebes [*Il.* 1.366–369], because Agamemnon himself is included in the Danaans, and because Chryses, being a barbarian, regards all Greeks as enemies”.

The treatise of Aelius Theon of (probably) the early imperial period,⁵⁵ one of the principal witnesses for the ‘preliminary exercises’ (*progymnasmata*) which, as we have seen in Libanius, prepared students for the formal study of rhetoric, offers a further helpful guide to the mindset which determined the rhetorical approach. One kind of exercise which attracts particular notice in the current context is ‘paraphrase’, the exercise of rewriting passages from classical texts ‘in your own words’. Theon points out that, just as the same event or material affects us in more than one way, so any *φαντασία* which presents itself to our minds can be expressed in a variety of linguistic modes, *i.e.* as questions, prayers etc, according to the system of variations which pupils of the rhetorical schools followed. He evidences this claim by citing the fact that all classical writers, poets and prose-writers alike, “made excellent use of paraphrase, by refashioning both their own work and that of each other” (62.23–25 Sp.), and he then cites passages in which first Archilochus and then Demosthenes and Aeschines might be thought to have paraphrased Homer, a passage where Theopompus has paraphrased Thucydides, and several examples where one Attic orator has used the words of a predecessor; finally he observes that “Demosthenes often paraphrases himself, not only by transferring what he has said in another speech to elsewhere, but also by clearly saying the same thing myriad times (*μυριάκις*) in the one speech, although the audience do not notice because of the variety of expression” (63.29–64.4 Sp.). The theory of paraphrase, at the heart of which lies a distinction between what we say and how we say it, the distinction expressed elsewhere as that between *διάνοια* and *λέξις*, is one first step along the road to a theory of what modern scholars would call allusion, echo, even intertextuality, and that step is framed within rhetorical education.

Theon is entirely typical in seeing the same rhetorical system governing the writing of the ancients as is practised in his own day; the teacher of rhetoric must first “collect excellent examples of each exercise (*γύμνασμα*) from ancient writings and instruct his pupils to learn them off by heart” (65.30–66.2 Sp.). Thus the ancients supply the material for the rhetorical system, not merely the *προγυμνάσματα*, but are also themselves the principal examples of, and hence authorities for, that system. In particular, as has already been noted, the foundations of all rhetoric and rhetorical analysis were to be found in Homer. Rhetorical criticism of, and illustration from, Homer shares with an approach to literature through ‘problems’ and their ‘solutions’ an assumption that the characters of literature have a familiar psychological depth which allows us to

55 For discussion of the author and date of the treatise cf. Patillon-Bolognesi [1997] vii–xvi; Heath [2002–2003] proposes a radical re-dating to the fifth century AD.

draw in our analysis of their strategies upon motivations and calculations not made explicit in the text;⁵⁶ when confronted by apparent anomalies, the best interpretative strategy will usually be to give these characters the benefit of the doubt. Working together with this fundamental assumption is the overriding importance assigned to the notion of appropriateness (τὸ πρέπον) and to the shifting demands imposed by the particularities of any situation (ὁ καιρός). Both are neatly seen together in an observation of Theon, in the context of the rhetorical exercise of *προσωποποιία*:

We praise Homer because he gave appropriate (οἰκεῖοι) words to each of the characters he introduces, and we criticise Euripides because his Hecuba philosophises when the situation does not require it (παρὰ καιρόν).

AELIUS THEON, *Progymnasmata* 60.28–31 Sp.

This analytical framework gave ancient critics a powerful tool for the analysis of the speeches, and of the motives behind the speeches, in (particularly) epic and drama. ‘Rhetorical criticism’ is fundamentally the examination of why the characters of literature act and speak as they do; it is not limited merely to the formal analysis of speeches into their constituent parts. For a specific, though not necessarily typical, example let us consider Agamemnon’s famous ‘testing’ of the troops in *Iliad* 2.

Zeus honours his promise to Thetis by sending a dream to Agamemnon which (deceptively) leads him to think that the time for the capture of Troy is at hand; Agamemnon calls a council of the Greek leaders,⁵⁷ tells them of his dream and then concludes:

ἀλλ’ ἄγετ’, αἴ κέν πως θωρήξομεν υἱας Ἀχαιῶν.
 πρῶτα δ’ ἐγὼν ἔπεσιν πειρήσομαι, ἢ θέμις ἐστίν,
 καὶ φεύγειν σὺν νηυσὶ πολυκλήϊσι κελεύσω.
 ὑμεῖς δ’ ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος ἐρητύειν ἐπέεσσιν.

But come, let us see whether we can arm the sons of the Achaeans. I shall first test them with words, as is appropriate (*themis*), and I shall urge them to retreat in their many-benched ships; you however must use words to restrain them, each in your various positions.

HOMER, *Iliad* 2. 72–75

56 On ‘problems’ as a critical form cf. above, and Nünlist in this volume.

57 Dio 56.10 praises Agamemnon for wisely consulting the Greek elders before following the advice of the dream.

After a rather curiously inconsequential speech from Nestor, which Aristarchus athetised and which does not even mention Agamemnon's proposal of a test,⁵⁸ the Greek army is assembled and Agamemnon urges departure, as there is now no chance of the mission being successful (for his arguments, see below); the army (and perhaps also all the leaders except Odysseus) rush for the ships,⁵⁹ as Agamemnon indeed seems to have expected (cf. v. 75 above),⁶⁰ and that would indeed have been the end of the expedition, had not Hera dispatched Athena to intervene, which she does by stirring Odysseus to action. This sequence of events was much discussed in antiquity, and has attracted a very large modern bibliography;⁶¹ the most cursory glimpse at that bibliography will, however, show just how many 'modern' arguments are essentially refinements of what was already said in antiquity.

Why does Agamemnon 'test' the troops, or—to put it in language that we have found in Libanius—was Agamemnon's test 'probable' (εἰκόσ)? Aristotle discussed the matter in his *Homeric Problems*, and Porphyry's report of his discussion, even if it does not all go back to Aristotle, is worth citing at some length, as much ancient and modern discussion may in fact be traced back to it:

The army was worn out from the plague and unmotivated because of the length of time [of the war]; Achilles and his forces had withdrawn; Agamemnon himself, when taking Briseis away in the assembly, had said in order to frighten the others: "anyone else should shrink from the idea

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- 58 The various reasons for the athetesis given in the scholia on 2.76 do not necessarily (all) go back to Aristarchus (cf., however, Lührs [1992] 260–261), though all are instructive about ancient criticism: the poet should not have said that Agamemnon sat down after his speech, because he did not stand to deliver it; Nestor has really nothing to say (οὐδὲν περισσόν); it was silly to have Nestor say that they would only have believed such a dream from "the best of the Achaeans", because the powerful do not dream any differently from the rest of us, and (finally), if the verses are deleted, then ποιμένοι λαῶν in v.85 will refer to Agamemnon, as it should do, rather than to Nestor. Nestor's speech has recently been discussed by Nünlist [2012d]; the kinds of argument that Nünlist adduces to explain the speech are in fact interestingly reminiscent of the kinds of 'rhetorical' explanation that we find in the scholia and in Libanius (cf. above). Schofield [1986] 29 calls Nestor's observation about the dream not being a deception because of who dreamt it "ingenious as well as tactful".
- 59 The apparent unclarity about the actions and knowledge of the commanders who had heard Agamemnon's speech has long been highlighted by those seeking to reconstruct the creation of the text; cf., most recently, West [2011] 103–105 (notes on vv. 73–75, 192–197).
- 60 The bT-scholia try to get around this interpretation of v. 75, but it seems inevitable.
- 61 Cf. McGlew [1989], Latacz [2003] 29–30, 41, Cook [2003]; helpful guidance to older discussions in Katzung [1960].

of speaking on equal terms or placing themselves on an equal footing with me" (*Il.* 1.186–187); there had been disturbance at Achilles' withdrawal. In these circumstances, it was reasonable for Agamemnon not immediately to exhort them to go out [against the Trojans], but to think that he should test their mood. If without a test he had ordered men in this condition to make war and some men had opposed him, the whole expedition would have been ruined and everyone would have rebelled... Therefore the test was necessary, together with his instruction to the leaders to oppose him...

ARISTOTLE fr. 366 Gigon = 142 Rose⁶²

That Agamemnon did not really have any option but to test whether the war-weary men were ready to go out against the Trojans is the conclusion of most ancient discussion of the matter; the test, together with the precaution of telling his colleagues how they are to act, is not, therefore, a sign of Agamemnon's weakness and mistaken leadership, but rather of his strategic good sense (cf. also Eust., *Il.* 173.24–33). In seeking to understand the text we must consider the position which the character finds himself in and think out how he might best handle that, even if these calculations are not made explicit in the text; here modern critics of the *peira* have followed the ancient.⁶³

Much ancient discussion of Agamemnon's subsequent speech to the troops, like much modern criticism, is focused upon the fact that a good part of what he says seems designed to lead the troops to stay, rather than to go home, which is the professed purpose of the speech. Later rhetoricians took very great interest in this speech, for it seemed to be overtly arguing for an outcome which the speaker did not in fact want.⁶⁴ The treatise *On the method of forcefulness*, which is transmitted with the Hermogean corpus, thus makes Agamemnon's speech the Homeric paradigm of "accomplishing something by arguing the opposite". In this figure the speaker will use arguments which are "easily refuted and contradictory and can be turned around":

62 Much of this has found its way into the scholia on *Iliad* 2.73; cf. also Dio 2.22, where, however, Alexander (Aristotle's pupil) misrepresents the events in *Iliad* 22, by omitting Agamemnon's *peira* speech entirely.

63 This was the basis of the discussion in Kullmann [1955], who saw the *peira* as a motif dependent upon a situation of the Greek army known to the audience from the *Kypria*. For a more recent attempt to explain the origin both of the *peira* and of the opening of Book 9 (see below) cf. West [2011] 100–105, 214–215.

64 Cf. further Hillgruber [1999] 357–359.

Homer did this. Agamemnon is testing the Greek army and wants them to remain, while saying that they should not remain but should flee. Through his whole speech he says things which are easy to refute and turn around, thus giving openings to his opponents, and at the end he says contradictory things. For to say

“The timbers of the ships have rotted and the ropes are loose” (2.135)

is very obviously opposed to “Let us flee”. How could they flee without ships? This is the argument of someone who wants to prevent them from sailing away, not an argument for doing what he is saying.

[HERMOGENES] 437.14–438.4 Rabe

Pseudo-Hermogenes' example is perhaps not the strongest which could have been chosen, but it may serve to remind us of how ancient critics tended carefully to think through the implications of what the poet and his characters said; as we have already seen, ‘close reading’ was at the heart of the rhetorical interpretation of texts. The rhetorical *technê* ascribed to Dionysius of Halicarnassus offers a more extended analysis of Agamemnon's speeches along the same lines (II 327.19–330.25 U-R),⁶⁵ and modern commentators have added further examples of arguments which seem to cut both ways, but [Dionysius] also argues that the army's reaction to the speech, which could be (and no doubt had been) argued to show how mistaken Agamemnon was, is in fact also part of his strategy: in this way Agamemnon draws the hostile but concealed feelings of the army out into the open, where they can be controlled by Odysseus and Nestor (II 328.13–25 U-R). Less radically, perhaps, Eustathius argues that Agamemnon's excellent stratagem is not to be judged by its near-disastrous outcome; ‘events’ can overturn even the best-laid plans (Eust., *Il.* 185.38–186.10). Moreover, for [Dionysius], Agamemnon's greatest rhetorical achievement—and one from which we should learn—is the manner in which he conceals his stratagem, for it will be no use at all if one's opponents perceive what one is up to (II 329.19–24 U-R). This Agamemnon does by the emotional beginning of his speech (*Il.* 2.110–118); by criticising Zeus in this way, he suggests that his speech is prompted by grief rather than by a cunning stratagem (II 330.15–24).

65 Cf. Russell [2001a] 160–163. Dentice di Accadia [2010b] is a recent and helpful attempt to take the arguments of [Dionysius] seriously; the present chapter was drafted before the appearance of that article, and I have not signalled the various places where our two accounts agree or differ. Dentice di Accadia [2010a] is now the standard edition of the treatises, and cf. also Schöpsdau [1975], Hillgruber [1999] 357–359, Heath [2003].

Much ancient rhetorical training of course would have shown that the implicit argument that “emotion is a guarantee of sincerity” was a very unsafe assumption in oratory. Nevertheless, in his ‘testing’ speech in reply to optimistic words from the steersman Tiphys in Book 2 of Apollonius’ *Argonautica*, which clearly reflects not just the Homeric *peira* but also scholarly discussion of that episode, Jason also begins in a distraught and highly emotional way which would seem likely to assure anyone that it was grief, not design, which prompted his words:

αὐτὰρ ὁ τόνγε

μειλιχίοις ἐπέεσσι παραβλήδην προσέειπεν·
 Τίφω, τί μοι ταῦτα παρηγορέεις ἀχέοντι;
 ἤμβροτον, ἀσάμην τε κακὴν καὶ ἀμήχανον ἄτην·
 χρῆν γὰρ ἐφιεμένοιο καταντικρὺ Πελίαο
 αὐτίκ’ ἀνήνασθαι τόνδε στόλον, εἰ καὶ ἔμελλον 625
 νηλειῶς μελειῶστί κεδαιόμενος θανέεσθαι.
 νῦν δὲ περισσὸν δεῖμα καὶ ἀτλήτους μελεδῶνας
 ἄγκειμαι, στυγέων μὲν ἄλδος κρυόεντα κέλευθα
 νηὶ διαπλώειν, στυγέων δ’ ὄτ’ ἐπ’ ἠπείροιο
 βαίνωμεν, πάντη γὰρ ἀνάρσιοι ἄνδρες ἕασιν. 630
 αἰεὶ δὲ στονόεσσαν ἐπ’ ἤματι νύκτα φυλάσσω,
 ἐξότε τὸ πρῶτιστον ἐμὴν χάριν ἠγερέθεσθε,
 φραζόμενος τὰ ἕκαστα. σὺ δ’ εὐμαρέως ἀγορεύεις,
 οἷον ἐῆς ψυχῆς ἀλέγων ὑπερ’ αὐτὰρ ἔγωγε
 εἶο μὲν οὐδ’ ἠβαιὸν ἀτύζομαι, ἀμφὶ δὲ τοῖο 635
 καὶ τοῦ ὁμῶς καὶ σείο καὶ ἄλλων δείδι’ ἑταίρων,
 εἰ μὴ ἐς Ἑλλάδα γαίαν ἀπήμονας ὕμμε κομίσσω.
 ὦς φάτ’, ἀριστήων πειρώμενος· οἱ δ’ ὁμάδησαν
 θαρσαλέοις ἐπέεσσιν.

But Jason answered him in return with soft words: “Tiphys, why do you offer me these consolations in my grief? I have erred; my wretched folly offers no remedy. When Pelias gave me his instructions, I should have immediately refused this expedition outright, even if it meant a cruel death, torn apart limb from limb. As it is I am in constant terror and my burdens are unendurable; I loathe sailing in our ship over the chill paths of the sea, and I loathe our stops on dry land, for all around are our enemies. Ever since you first assembled for my sake, I have endured a ceaseless round of painful nights and days, for I must give thought to every detail. You can speak lightly, as your worries are only for yourself. I have

no anxiety at all for myself, but I must fear for this man and that, for you no less than for all our other companions, that I shall be unable to bring you back unharmed to Greece". So he spoke, testing the heroes, and they all shouted words of encouragement.

APOLLONIUS, *Argonautica* 2.620–639

Jason's speech too has divided modern critics, particularly over its purpose (if it is not simply an anguished retort to Tiphys' optimism) and over whether or not his attitudes are here in any way feigned;⁶⁶ unlike Agamemnon, whose opening appeal to *atê* Jason echoes, Jason does not apparently have a specific plan in mind (he does not propose that they now turn around), though the two choices facing the crew are obviously, as in Homer, pressing forward or abandoning the expedition. Like Agamemnon, Jason focuses on his own situation and, like the Agamemnon of the later rhetoricians, some of his arguments would be very easy to refute; the rebuke to Tiphys of vv. 633–634 had in fact already been shown to be false by the narrative of Tiphys' role in the passage through the Clashing Rocks (2.581–585), and it is patently absurd to charge the steersman with concern only for himself. Over Jason's speech in fact hovers the ubiquitous ancient parallel between the ruler and the steersman, each responsible for the safety of the 'vessel' under his command and the people in it;⁶⁷ Tiphys, no less than Jason, could claim that it is his duty to bring the Argonauts safe back to Greece. From the perspective of ancient rhetorical criticism (best attested for us, of course, in texts considerably later than the *Argonautica*), Jason's speech would indeed be understood as a clear example where the speaker 'says one thing and conceals another in his heart', as Achilles rebuked Odysseus and Agamemnon for so doing (*Il.* 9. 313), in verses which were indeed to become associated with *λόγοι ἐσχηματισμένοι*.⁶⁸ Whether or not we receive Jason's speech as unprepared and unguided as his crew does depends importantly upon the disputed meaning of the introductory *μειλιχίους ἐπέεσσι παραβλήδην* (2.621), but two observations are relevant here. Apollonius has sought to make the effect of his *peira* more dramatic than Homer's by

66 Fränkel [1968] 214–221, arguing that *πειρώμενος* in 2.638 means 'seeking to provoke', not 'testing', has been an influential discussion; further observations and bibliography in Hunter [1993] 20–22.

67 Particularly striking when set against Jason's speech is Dio 3.62–67 in which the good ruler is first compared to the steersman battling a storm while all the other passengers are idle and then to a general on campaign who must look after every soldier, whereas each ordinary soldier only looks after himself.

68 Cf. Philostratus, fr. 542 Wright on Polemo.

omitting any clear indication of what Jason is actually up to, so that, whatever the meaning of 2.621, the external audience is placed more in the position of the audience in the text than is the case in Homer, where we have been very explicitly warned about Agamemnon's real intentions; secondly, we may perhaps use this passage of the *Argonautica* to trace ancient discussion and rhetorical analysis of Agamemnon's speech in the *Iliad* back to a much earlier date than that of the scholia and the rhetorical texts I have been considering.

The scholia on Agamemnon's *peira* largely follow the interpretative patterns already outlined: Agamemnon knows that the men are weary and depressed at Achilles' withdrawal and that his standing with them is fragile (Schol.AbT 2.73). A close engagement with the text again lies at the heart of interpretation: Agamemnon calls the troops ἥρωες Δαναοί because such praise works against any desire for flight (Schol. bT 2.110b); he says φεύγωμεν (v. 140), when he might have said στείχωμεν, so that the dishonourable word will have a negative effect,⁶⁹ and so forth. A further argument in the same scholium about Agamemnon's implicit calculations may be expanded along the following lines: Agamemnon's stratagem will help recover some of his standing, because the ordinary troops do not like generals who are recklessly 'gung-ho' about fighting, and so he has nothing to lose—if the men want to abandon the expedition, then the other leaders will dissuade them, and if not, then well and good, and no one will be any the wiser about the stratagem, but the men will know that he at least does not gamble recklessly with their lives. So too, the pseudo-Plutarchan treatise *On Homer*, which absorbs and reflects a great deal of the mainstream of ancient criticism, makes a rather similar point:

Does not Agamemnon . . . use rhetorical art, when he says to the mass the opposite of what he wants, so that he can test their spirit and not become hateful to them by forcing them to fight on his behalf? He himself speaks in a way which will please them (πρὸς χάριν), but one of those others with the power to persuade them will turn them back and make them stay, as this in truth is what the king wanted.

[PLUTARCH], *On Homer* 2.166

69 Some modern commentators (cf., e.g., the Basel-commentary on 1.173 and 2.74) observe that φεύγειν does not necessarily have a negative connotation; it may suggest 'withdraw from a position' rather than 'flee'. This may be true, but we must also recognise that, even in formulaic epic style, the same words can resonate differently with different audiences.

Great men do not make ‘mistakes’; one merely has to try to understand their stratagems. This portrait of a cunningly calculating Agamemnon, who prepares the ground for the hostility of the troops to be displaced on to other leaders rather than himself, is deeply rooted both in the analysis and debates of rhetorical education and in the agonistic realities of ancient political and oratorical struggle; modes of interpretation, then as now, unsurprisingly reflect the culture that gave rise to them.

The final part of Agamemnon’s speech is particularly worthy of note:

ἐννέα δὴ βεβάασι Διὸς μεγάλου ἐνιαυτοί,
καὶ δὴ δοῦρα σέσηπε νεῶν, καὶ σπάρτα λέλυνται,
αἶ δέ που ἡμέτερά τ’ ἄλοχοι καὶ νήπια τέκνα
εἶατ’ ἐνὶ μεγάροις ποτιδέγμεναι· ἄμμι δὲ ἔργον
αὐτῶς ἀκράαντον, οὐ εἴνεκα δεῦρ’ ἰκόμεσθα.
ἀλλ’ ἄγεθ’, ὡς ἂν ἐγὼ εἶπω, πειθώμεθα πάντες·
φεύγωμεν σὺν νηυσὶ φίλῃν ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν,
οὐ γὰρ ἔτι Τροίην αἰρήσομεν εὐρυάγυιαν.

Nine of great Zeus’ years have gone past, and the timbers of the ships have rotted and the rigging hangs loose. Our wives and young children sit waiting for us at home, while the task which brought us here is utterly unaccomplished. Come, let all of us do as I say: let us retreat in our ships to our beloved native lands, for we shall never take Troy with its broad streets,

HOMER, *Iliad* 2.134–141

The influence of the rhetorical approach to literary speeches is very obvious in a scholium on the final verse of the speech, which reports that this verse was not transmitted in some copies because it ‘removes the ambiguity’; although we do not, of course, have to accept that this was indeed the reason for the omission of the verse, the argument is instructive. For a rhetorical critic, Agamemnon here speaks too straightforwardly in a speech which depends upon ambiguity; this closing appeal to the troops contains no ‘sub-text’ which urges the opposite course of action than the one apparently being proposed, and a modern critic might add that φίλῃν ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν in the previous verse carries a powerful emotional weight which is not offset by any other resonance. By contrast, the equally emotive reference to the men’s wives and children is offset by the unfinished job which the army came to do (137–138), and the bT-scholium gloss the doubleness of ποτιδέγμεναι in v. 137: “Therefore let us depart because

our wives long for us (ποθούμενοι), or [we should not depart] because we have accomplished nothing to match their expectations (προσδοκία).⁷⁰ A modern critic might observe that the juxtaposition of an explicit reference to the decay of the ships over nine years to the “waiting wives” carries with it the powerful implication that the wives too are not getting any younger. Some version of this reasoning may in fact be reflected in the A-scholium on vv. 136–137 which warns against punctuating after ἄλοχοι, because that would make the meaning ἀπρεπές; the point is presumably not merely the disrupted syntax which would result, but also the ‘low’ implication that the wives too, like the ships and the ropes, are “rotting and loose”.⁷¹ This clearly is not what Agamemnon wants to say, but the verses are indeed held together by the idea of the long passage of time—the children will be νήπια τέκνα no longer—and behind the scholastic worry about punctuation lies a recognition of this resonance.

For many modern critics, the principal literary effect at work here is ‘tragic irony’: Agamemnon’s (deceptive) claim to have been deceived by Zeus (vv. 111–114) is more true than he knows, and when Agamemnon repeats some of the verses, though without the ones which might seem most ambiguous in their effect, in very different circumstances at the council (or assembly) which opens Book 9, the full force of that irony hits home.⁷² It is an obvious question why (as far as we know) ancient critics too did not elaborate such an approach to this passage. In fact, however, critical positions may indeed have embraced something very like this, and ancient critics seem in fact to have been divided as to whether or not Agamemnon’s speech in Book 9 (vv. 17–28), which—after a different opening address (cf. further below)—repeats verbatim vv. 111–118 and vv. 139–141 from Book 2, was another ‘test’, parallel to that of Book 2, just as some at least seem to have entertained the idea that his third

70 Cf. also Eust., *Il.* 187.43–47.

71 In later literature there are some graphic examples of ageing women compared to ships (cf. esp. Meleager, *AP* 5.204 (= *HE* 4298–4307)), and these Homeric verses may in fact have been influential in that scoptic tradition.

72 As representatives of this standard reading cf., e.g., Katzung [1960] 55, Reinhardt [1961] 113–114, Lohmann [1970] 217, Taplin [1992] 92; cf. also De Jong [2004] 190, who finds the scholastic hesitations “curious” (284 n.94). Hainsworth’s note on 9.18–28, which expresses reservations about irony here, would offer excellent material for a study of the assumptions behind much modern (though now out-dated?) Homeric criticism; cf. also Griffin on vv. 17–27, “It is inept to argue that the repetition is in some way ‘ironical’: it is just a repetition . . .”. The very length of Hainsworth’s note, however, suggests a worry that it is actually hard to keep at bay here what he sees as the dangerous tide of ‘over-interpretation’. For some of the ways in which the opening scene of Book 9 foreshadows the exchanges with Achilles to come later in the book cf. Lynn-George [1988] 83–84.

plea for withdrawal (14.75–81) was also a test (bT-scholium ad loc). Pseudo-Dionysius appears to take for granted that the speech in Book 9 is such a test (II 325.14–16 U-R), but the absence of vv. 23–25, which could be taken to suggest that Troy might still be taken, from Zenodotus' shortened version of the speech and the *athetêsis* of those verses by Aristarchus point to the other view; thus the A-scholia on vv. 23–25 observe that “[Agamemnon] is not making a test, but he is speaking sincerely about withdrawal as Zeus has inflicted setbacks upon them”, and the bT-scholia consider it ὑπόψυχρον to hesitate on this subject when in Agamemnon's situation.⁷³ This second view is not an expression of ‘tragic irony’ as such, but it draws upon the same contrasts as that modern critical approach. In this difference of critical effort—seeking to account for the text as it confronts us or removing verses to produce the ‘coherent’ text we want—lies foreshadowed, of course, much of the history of Homeric criticism.

The bT-scholia on v. 17 produce interesting reasons for believing that the speech of Book 9 is indeed another ‘test’:

He now makes this second test of the Argive leaders (*i.e.* not of the whole army), because he fears lest the defeat and the rout inflicted by Zeus has destroyed even their resolve. That Agamemnon is testing in this council too is clear from the way in which he puts up with Diomedes' rebuke, when he did not put up with the speeches of Achilles who was a better man, and from the fact that Nestor, a man who understands the king's thought, praises Diomedes, though he had previously rebuked Achilles.

bT-scholium on *Iliad* 9.17b

The comparison with *Iliad* 1 reflects a proper critical sense, much echoed (though not always with proper acknowledgement of ancient criticism) by modern scholars,⁷⁴ of how Book 9 acts as a kind of reprise of Book 1 and a reaffirmation of Achilles' withdrawal, here at another time of great crisis. In Book 1 Agamemnon is known to have spoken without any *σχῆμα* of concealment; whereas Achilles' speeches there simply made Agamemnon angrier and more determined, his (unrecorded) reaction, here taken for silent acquiescence, to Diomedes' speech in Book 9 professing enthusiasm for the fray shows that Diomedes' reaction, apparently the reverse of what Agamemnon was arguing for, was in fact just the reaction the king wanted. Agamemnon's speech was therefore a *λόγος ἐσχηματισμένος*, a ‘figured speech’. As for Diomedes

73 Cf. also Eust., *Il.* 732.68–733.2, where the contrast is between speaking ἐσχηματισμένως and speaking ἀληθῶς.

74 Cf., *e.g.*, Lohmann [1970] 217–218.

himself, the standard critical position was that, whereas in Book 4 he had not responded when rebuked by Agamemnon, he now feels free to attack because of the authority given to him by his great martial deeds described in the intervening books.⁷⁵ Ancient rhetorical critics start with the assumption that great men know what they are doing and rise above circumstances. For both ancient and modern critics, Agamemnon's apparent silence after Diomedes' speech speaks volumes (cf. further below), but what it says may differ according to critical idiom. Eustathius, for whom Agamemnon's speech in Book 9 is 'sincere', perhaps has in mind arguments such as that of the bT-scholiast on v. 17 (above) when he observes that "the king puts up with the rebuke both because of the rule (θέμις) of the assembly [cf. v. 33] and because the rebuke is not false, but in this matter the hero speaks the truth . . ." (Eust., *Il.* 733.22).

After Agamemnon's first speech in *Iliad* 9 there is an awkward silence:⁷⁶

ὦς ἔφαθ'· οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῆι,
 δὴν δ' ἄνευ ἦσαν τετιηότες υἱεὺς Ἀχαιῶν.
 ὀψὲ δὲ δὴ μετέειπε βροῦν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης·

So he spoke. They all remained silent and for a long time the sons of the Achaeans were quiet and downcast. At length Diomedes, powerful in the war-cry, addressed them . . .

HOMER, *Iliad* 9.29–31

- 75 Cf. bT-Schol. on 4.402, 9.31, [Plut.] *Hom.* 2.168, Plut. *Mor.* 29b. For a different view cf. [Dion. Hal.] II 314.19–316.14 U-R. Reeve [1972] 2–3 argues that vv. 32–39 belong to a later stage of the tradition than vv. 40–49. It is interesting to compare the ancient accounts of Diomedes' speech with a modern account of its rhetoric, namely Martin [1989] 24–25, and cf. also 125. Without reference to ancient views, Martin sees Diomedes' speech as that of a novice speaker who imitates, sometimes with inelegant repetition, phrases that he has heard in the mouths of others; he made no reply in Book 4 because "he needs time to compose his reply" (contrast, however, Martin [1989] 71–72 on Diomedes' 'cunning silence'). Both the ancient scholiasts and Martin account for the difference between Book 4 and Book 9 in terms of Diomedes' development, but do so in rather different ways; on the other hand, there is more than a little in common between [Dionysius of Halicarnassus'] account of major Homeric speeches as λόγοι ἐσχηματισμένοι and Martin's account of Homeric 'flyting' in which the participants know the rules of the game. Cf. further Scodel [2008] 60–61.
- 76 West [2011] 215 rightly notes that this pattern of silence after a speech which takes the plot in a new direction is itself 'typical'. This, however, is a particularly marked example: v. 30 occurs elsewhere in the corpus only as v. 695 of the same book, when vv. 29–31 are (pointedly) repeated as the reaction to Odysseus' report of the failure of the embassy to Achilles.

The bT-scholium on v. 30 explains the silence as follows: “They neither had good prospects if they remained nor did they think flight was something which would redound to their credit. Moreover, having seen the former test, they were suspicious about the speaker’s intention. The poet himself seems to be uncertain whom he should put in opposition to Agamemnon’s speech which was well done and showed concern for his men”.⁷⁷ The first reason given there for the silence will help explain τετιηότες, and the second interprets the length of the silence as uncertainty brought on by a recognition (nowhere made explicit in the text, of course) that they have heard these words before. Uncertainty in the audience as to how to react does not, of course, mean that the speech is another *peira*; it might, however, mean that the audience are (*inter alia*) using their recent experience to interpret what they hear. Should we too be in doubt? Most modern critics do not even mention the possibility that this speech might be a further test,⁷⁸ in part (I suppose) because this would go against the ‘natural’ sense of the text and, as Hainsworth (note on *Il.* 9.18–28) puts it, there is no “hint in the text” that Agamemnon is here less than sincere. Moreover, Homer—as ancient critics recognised (cf., e.g., Plut., *Quomodo adul.* 19a–e)—sometimes gave the audience a steer (to the credit or otherwise of the speaker) as to how a speech is to be interpreted before (and sometimes after) the speech is delivered.⁷⁹ Here there is no explicit ‘steer’, except that Agamemnon is very upset (v. 9) and weeps as he speaks (vv. 14–16); ‘feigned’ emotion as a guarantee of ‘sincerity’ was, as we have noted, seen in his *peira* speech of Book 1, but forced tears might be hard to believe, however often Attic comic poets saw this as a regular ploy of orators. It is noteworthy, however, that, to judge by the bT-scholia on v. 14, the view that the tears were part of Agamemnon’s performance does indeed seem to have been held by some ancient readers.

The further scholiastic interpretation of the silence—it is also a marker of the poet’s hesitation—seems in some ways remarkably modern: a textual gesture reflects upon the nature of the poem itself. If the scholia do not quite put it in these terms, it is clear that the whole thrust of their interpretation is built upon the many correspondences and reversals between the scenes

77 Cf. also Eust., *Il.* 733.2: “The others are silent, fearing lest this speech of the king also is a test of the Achaeans”.

78 An exception is the discussion by Scodel [2008] 68–69.

79 Cf. Edwards [1970], Hunter [1993] 141–142, Nünlist [2009a] 316–317, Hunter-Russell [2011] 106. The verbs which Plutarch uses are προδιαβάλλειν and προσυνιστάναι; the former is not used in the scholia, whereas the latter is commonly used of the poet ‘introducing/paving the way’ for a character or later narration, but is also found in the narrower sense in which Plutarch uses it (bT-scholium to *Iliad* 1.247–248).

of Book 2 and Book 9, and the silence, expressed in conventional ‘formulaic’ terms, is one of these; the first *peira* speech in Book 2 was greeted by frenzied activity and noise. Modern critics, with their focus on the text rather than the author (particularly where Homer is concerned), might see this silence more in terms of the uncertainty of *both* audiences, *i.e.* not just the Achaeans in the text, but also the audience, *i.e.* ourselves, outside the text, rather than as a marker of authorial uncertainty. How *should* we react to Agamemnon’s speech? Is it in fact a straight choice between ‘test’ or ‘no-test’? The scholiastic view that the audience in the text thought it might be a test is far from obviously absurd, and modern discussion has too often run together the questions of Agamemnon’s ‘intention’ and of how the speech is received. If we ask what more we know than the audience in the text knows, then the poet has stressed the grief of the ἄριστοι (v. 3) and the fact that Agamemnon is ‘knocked over by great grief in his heart’ (v. 9), but this amounts to little more than confirmation of the very visible manifestations of distress all around. Here at least there is little distance between the levels of knowledge of the two audiences, particularly if we take the view, held by many ancient (and some modern) readers,⁸⁰ that only the Greek leaders, young and old, are present to hear the second *peira* speech, not the entire army; given that, apart from the omission of verses, the only change from Book 2 to Book 9 is that Agamemnon now addresses ὦ φίλοι, Ἀργείων ἡγήτορες ἢ δὲ μέδοντες rather than ὦ φίλοι, ἦρωες Δαναοί, θεράποντες Ἄρηος, the ancient views, which certainly take account of what are, by any criteria, mixed signals in the text, deserve our respect.⁸¹ Should we too not be

80 Ancient critics, unlike for the most part their modern successors (but see von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff [1920] 33–34), were divided on whether the first gathering of Book 9 was of the leaders only (*e.g.* bT-scholia on 9.11, 17, D-scholia on 9.12) or of the whole army (*cf.*, *e.g.*, Plut. *Mor.* 29c). Aristotle discussed the problem posed by 9.17 if one held that the whole army was present and explained (*fr.* 382 Gigon) that “the ordinary soldiers are entitled to listen, but the leaders can also act”.

81 The matter certainly deserves more discussion than it receives in Hainsworth’s note on v. 17; Lohmann [1970] 216 merely observes that the ‘stolz und kriegerisch’ address of Book 2 is “characteristically altered”, without asking what the address in Book 9 actually means; Griffin’s note on v. 17 acknowledges that that verse “suggests that Agamemnon is talking to the chiefs”, but can only conclude that there is “a lack of exact focus on the facts”; West [2011] 214 sees in this unclarity (“11 and 17 suggest a meeting of leaders . . . the present gathering, however, soon appears as an assembly of the whole army (30, 50)”) another argument for his view that the opening of Book 9 was composed before, and was the model for, the parallel scene in Book 2. De Jong [2004] 190 mistakenly makes 2.110 identical to 9.17, thus blurring the question of addressee.

forced into puzzled silence by a repetition across a large body of intervening text which, by any standards, calls attention to itself?

Explicit silence in the text invites, indeed all but demands, interpretation. Irene de Jong notes that “the addressees do not (nor, as a matter of fact, [does] Agamemnon himself) comment upon the repetitious character of [*Iliad* 9] 17–28. It is left to the [external audience] to detect the significance of the repetition, ‘the complete reversal of meaning’”.⁸² For the scholiasts, as we have seen, silence *was* in fact an eloquent comment. Perhaps there is more. In a text from a later age, at least, modern critics would have no doubt but that Diomedes’ ἦ θέμις ἐστίν (v. 33) is a sarcastic allusion back to the former occasion when Agamemnon was ἀφραδέων (v. 32) and had claimed—in what has become a famous problem of modern Homeric criticism—that his proposed testing of the troops was also ἦ θέμις ἐστίν (2.73).⁸³ Diomedes would be showing that he at least knew where he had heard Agamemnon’s words before; moreover, his reference to the availability of ‘very many’ ships to take Agamemnon home (9.43–44) could be a pointed reversal of Agamemnon’s (misleading) lament about the state of the ships in the first *peira* speech (2.135). Some moderns might even be tempted to associate Diomedes’ reference to how Zeus has honoured Agamemnon ‘with the sceptre’ (9.38) with the poet’s famous account of Agamemnon’s sceptre immediately before the first *peira* speech (2. 100–108); Diomedes did not, of course, ‘hear’ that description, though he will have seen Agamemnon leaning on the sceptre as he delivered the *peira* (cf. 2.109).

Ancient rhetorical criticism, then, picks away to open up the significance of the correspondences and differences between the analogous scenes in Books 2 and 9, whereas modern criticism has, on the whole, sought to close interpretation down, to seek *the* explanation (and textual history) of these really very remarkable scenes; that difference is a fact of intellectual and scholarly history which is worth pondering.

82 De Jong [2004] 190.

83 So Martin [1989] 24; the standard commentaries are silent. Why the ancient scholiasts apparently did not note the repetition is also a question worth asking.

Poetics and Literary Criticism in the Framework of Ancient Greek Scholarship

René Nünlist

Introduction

Following the influential definition of ‘scholarship’ by Pfeiffer, this chapter will largely focus on the Hellenistic period.¹ His own account, however, shows that both scholarship and literary criticism have their ‘prehistory’.² Occasional reference will therefore be made to pre-Hellenistic sources,³ in order to put the present subject in perspective. This exception applies in particular to the texts and concepts that have had a more than superficial influence on the period under consideration, the most prominent case being Aristotle and his *Poetics*. Likewise, in spite of its focus on Hellenistic scholarship, the chapter will not categorically exclude texts of the Roman period.⁴ The reason is twofold. The bulk of the relevant treatises that are still extant postdate the Hellenistic period, but may well have incorporated Hellenistic ideas. The same holds true *mutatis mutandis* for the texts that are difficult or impossible to date with any confidence.⁵

The source problem just mentioned is a serious one. Comparatively little relevant material has been preserved that is of a demonstrably Hellenistic age. The assumption that post-Hellenistic treatises (see also below on *monograph), which regularly dominate modern accounts of ancient literary criticism, incorporated Hellenistic concepts is often no more than a (plausible)

1 ‘Scholarship is the art of understanding, explaining, and restoring the literary tradition. It originated as a separate intellectual discipline in the third century before Christ’ (Pfeiffer [1968] 3). For the history of Hellenistic scholarship see also Montana in this volume.

2 Cf. *e.g.* Ford ([2002] with bibl., esp. 2 nn. 4–5).

3 See Novokhatko in this volume.

4 See Matthaïos in this volume.

5 This second reason applies in particular to the large mass of scholia that cannot be attributed to a particular critic. Such ‘anonymous’ scholia are an important source of my book [2009a], to which reference will repeatedly be made for practical examples in the notes on the individual entries below. The entries themselves, however, are generally based on material whose Hellenistic provenance is certain or very likely.

guess. Truly Hellenistic material normally reached posterity indirectly via other sources,⁶ with the usual problems that accompany this type of transmission: fragmentation, loss of context, misunderstanding, deliberate distortion. The latter, in particular, looms large in the corpus of texts that, due to the recent publication of much improved editions, has become a fundamental source of literary criticism in Hellenistic times: the works of Philodemus.⁷ Leaving aside the problems that an editor of these exceedingly difficult fragments faces, the patent polemics of Philodemus' arguments raises additional questions. How reliable a witness is he? Can his selection of topics and critics be taken to be representative of the Hellenistic period in general? And what was his aim?⁸

Antiquity did not recognise literary criticism as a field of its own, nor did it attempt to define what a literary critic is or does. Consequently, the subject of this chapter can be described as an essentially undefined grey zone that overlaps with the domain of grammar, rhetoric, philosophy and education. In spite of being in essence a modern construct, 'ancient literary criticism' is not a phantom. But the fact that it is a construct has a number of implications that are worth repeating at the outset. An attempt to scrutinise the ancient material for criteria that help identify what is literary criticism (and what is not) is unlikely to produce meaningful results.⁹ For this kind of 'demarcation' the modern reader is fated to start from modern concepts of literary criticism.¹⁰ This necessity obviously entails the risk of anachronistic distortion, which can be reduced, if not eliminated, by making every effort to see things through the eyes of the ancient critic. Moreover, in the absence of a well-defined field it is even less to be expected that ancient critics have something like a common

6 See Dickey in this volume.

7 For an up-to-date list of editions see Janko [2011] 542.

8 Even Janko, who knows *On Poems* better than most, writes 'the principles underlying its overall organization remain hard to discern' [2011] 227, and believes Philodemus' intent to be in accordance with the Epicurean rejection of literary criticism: 'He simply aimed to demolish the range of different theories of poetry *that were known to him*, in an attempt to show that the cultured person needed none of this nonsense in order to enjoy poetry' (*ibid.*, emphasis added). If this was Philodemus' goal, an alternative scenario might be worth considering: he selected the theories that he felt were most easy to demolish and left others untouched.

9 See nevertheless the useful précis of Kallendorf [1994b] 1124–1134.

10 The common alternative is to examine the ancient terminology of literary criticism. In its more rigid form (*i.e.* strict semasiology), this approach is bound to miss relevant material because the terminology need not be consistent and, more importantly, critics regularly refer to the phenomenon under discussion without using a specific term (Nünlist [2009a] 3 with n. 10).

denominator (except, perhaps, for the very general observation that they all deal in some form or the other with the understanding of texts). Consequently, few, if any, of the approx. ninety concepts that will be discussed below can safely be said to be characteristic or typical of the entire field of ancient literary criticism. Most of the time, it could actually be shown that a particular concept is either ignored or even openly contradicted by other critics. The selection of topics was determined by the criterion whether the individual concept is either frequent or remarkable enough to be worth treating here. The presentation in the form of alphabetically listed catchwords with cross-references attempts to combine several goals: to balance the selectivity imposed by the limited space, to give an impression of the wide variety of the relevant concepts and to enable easy reference.¹¹

The fact that there is a considerable overlap specifically between literary criticism and rhetoric has another consequence for the wording in this chapter. The descriptions below will generally make no distinction between, on the one hand, poet, prose writer and orator, and, on the other, reader, spectator and listener. Instead the terms 'author' and 'reader' will often be used to represent each side. To a certain extent, this *is* an anachronistic distortion but it has the advantage both of saving space and avoiding potentially cumbersome phrases. More importantly, insights that were gained and thus described on the basis of rhetorical texts recur in literary criticism and *vice versa* (see also below on *rhetoric).

Several texts to which reference is made below had a strong pragmatic component in that they provided an arsenal of interpretative tools. The purpose was at least twofold. First, these texts aimed to instruct how to read and understand literature, but they, second, also intended to teach how the various features found in 'classical' texts could be put to use. The idea perhaps was not so much to instruct how to write poetry specifically, but how to use the various features found in poetry and other literature for, mostly, rhetorical purposes. At any rate, several texts that can be subsumed under the rubric 'poetics' (see on theory of *poetics below) or 'literary criticism' were written as if they were intended for an audience that planned to produce literature, write speeches, etc.¹²

The preceding paragraph will also have made it clear that preference will be given to texts that expressly and unambiguously address questions related to literary criticism. Conversely, the immanent poetics of Hellenistic literature,

11 Even if there is enough space for the alternative, the writing of a coherent historical narrative, it is not without problems, see Hunter [2009a] 8.

12 A striking exception is Aristotle's *Poetics* (Halliwell [1986] 37–39).

that is, the implementation, modification, reflection, supplementation, etc. of these questions in Hellenistic literature is taken into account in exceptional cases only.¹³

Aesthetics

Greek poetry itself is rife with references to its own aesthetic qualities. It was thus only natural that critics took their cue from the authors. They described and judged literature by means also of aesthetic concepts such as beauty, elegance or grace (and their respective opposites). This, however, is not to say that they also developed a theory of aesthetics in the full sense. Even though Aristotle held against Plato that art must be measured by its own standards (poetic *licence) and recognised that the creation of aesthetic *pleasure was fundamental to art in general and literature in particular, the theory expounded in the *Poetics* had better not be called 'aestheticist' (Halliwell [1986] esp. chs. 2 and 3). Moreover, neither Aristotle nor any of his successors went so far as to postulate the full autonomy of art or the artist (see also **L'art pour l'art*, *educative function). In this sense ancient critics did not develop a theory of aesthetics, while they often applied aesthetic criteria in their interpretations. The same holds true *mutatis mutandis* for the concept of 'taste', which was not theorised as such by critics, but can be inherent in their aesthetic comments.¹⁴

Allegorical Interpretation

See *multiple meanings.

Allusion

The careful *analysis and *comparison of texts led critics, among other things, to detect allusions. Their point of reference was in principle open. A particular passage could allude to historical events or persons, *mythological stories, specific texts, etc. The latter are of particular interest because critics often identified or even quoted the relevant text, which otherwise might be lost to posterity. An altogether different question is whether 'allusion' was actually a separate category (distinct from quotation, parody, etc.). Terminological considerations

13 Regular inclusion of the immanent poetics, though recommended by Classen [1995] 535 and attempted *e.g.* by Gutzwiller [2010], would have imposed an even sharper limitation on the number of topics that could be dealt with.

14 On the history of aesthetics as a critical concept see Wiegmann [1992] 1134–1154, with bibl., Halliwell [2002], for a professedly revisionist account Porter [2010]; on the history of taste as a critical concept see Fick [1996] 870–901, with bibl.; for practical examples see *e.g.* Ps.-Demetr. *Eloc.* 67, 287.

induce caution. The most common term seems to be *ainittomai* ('to allude, hint at') with cognates, which, however, cannot be restricted to allusions in the narrow sense. It can equally designate quotations, imitations, intertexts, parodies, ridicule, etc. The term can also be used in connection with *multiple meanings. Essentially the same holds true for the 'false friend' *emphasis* (with cognates), which normally does not mean 'emphasis' in the modern sense but 'allusion, insinuation, hint, adumbration', etc. Occasionally, its exact meaning remains elusive. The terminological situation is, in a way, representative for the entire subject; for it is difficult to identify general trends and the like.¹⁵

Alphabetical Order

Since it has become such a common feature of reference books, it is easy to forget that the alphabetical order needed to be 'invented'. Whether or not Zenodotus can take credit for the introduction, his glossary was in any case arranged alphabetically.¹⁶ And so were the individual subsections of Callimachus' **Pinakes* (organised by *genre). The extant evidence strongly suggests that it was the Hellenistic critics who introduced this groundbreaking method.

Ambiguity (amphibolia)

In a very short section of *Poetics* chapter 25 (on *problems and solutions), Aristotle deals with the problem of ambiguity (1461a25–26). Context and example (*Il.* 10.252) demonstrate that semantic ambiguity is meant, that is, words and expressions that are open to more than one possible explanation. Aristarchus regularly drew the reader's attention to instances of ambiguity. He would list the possibilities and offer arguments for his preferred solution (*e.g.* sch. *A Il.* 2.629a *Ariston.*, on reverse order, also known as ABBA pattern). On the proviso that Aristonicus' excerpts (*commentary) can be trusted in this matter, some cases were actually left open, presumably because Aristarchus thought there was not sufficient ground for a decision (*e.g.* sch. *A Il.* 16.561a¹ *Ariston.*; *sense of proportion). Conversely, the concept of deliberate ambiguity, popular among many modern critics, is unlikely to have appealed to their ancient predecessors (cf. the warning in *Arist. Rh.* 1407a32). Likewise, discussions of ambiguity normally circled around smaller linguistic units, words or

15 On the history of allusion as a critical concept see Hughes [1992] 652–655, with bibl., also Conte-Most [2012^{4b}], for practical examples Nünlist [2009a] 225–237.

16 Pfeiffer [1968] 115, Alpers [1975] 116, cf. also Montana and Tosi in this volume.

sentences, not whole texts. This is not to deny that critics also detected *multiple meanings, which, however, was not felt to be a problem of ambiguity.¹⁷

Anachronism

When critics detected a problem in a text, one of the attempted solutions (*problems and solutions) was to see whether the passage perhaps reflected a habit that was no longer current (cf. Arist. fr. 166 Rose, *Poet.* 1461a2–3, later called *lūsis ek tou ethous*, ‘solution from the <earlier> habit’). This interpretative principle was generalised by Aristarchus in such a way that readers of a historical text must beware of possible anachronisms. The age of the Trojan heroes (represented by Homer’s characters) was different from Homer’s own, which again was different from subsequent periods (including that of Aristarchus and his readers). For instance, the heroes did not ride on horseback, but a simile showed that Homer himself was aware of this technique (*narrative voice).¹⁸ Conversely, Homer did not know yet the use of the crown or the mixing of wine with water.¹⁹ Aristarchus probably had two reasons to warn against possible anachronism. He took exception to the treatment of the heroic age in post-Homeric literature such as tragedy, where characters showed familiarity, for instance, with the concept of writing.²⁰ More importantly, he saw that other scholars uncritically imposed the standards of their own age onto the text and thus failed to do justice to it. He therefore advocated the view that a text must be understood from the perspective of its own time (see also *textimmanente* *interpretation).²¹ His basic argument is not so very different from the one made by F. A. Wolf [1795], who laid the foundation for modern Homeric studies.

Analysis, Systematic and Comprehensive

A distinctive feature of the period under consideration are the attempts to analyse the literary *heritage in a systematic and comprehensive way.²² More than once it can be shown that the central question as such was not entirely new, but it was now being investigated with unprecedented scholarly rigour, which

17 On the history of ambiguity as a critical concept see Bernecker-Steinfeld [1992] 436–444, with bibl.

18 The most comprehensive collection of these examples is Schmidt [1976], on riding specifically [1976] 229; see also Nünlist [2009a] index s.v. anachronism.

19 Schmidt [1976] 215–218 (crown), 261 (mixing of wine).

20 Schmidt [1976] 213.

21 This also means that Aristarchus did have a sense of (linguistic) history (Nünlist [2012a]).

22 Pfeiffer [1968] *passim*.

put the results on a much better footing. This improved method is particularly easy to document with semantic studies. The entire text must be scrutinised in order to determine, for example, that a word is attested only once, twice or not at all.²³ But the same thoroughness can be gathered from the comprehensive discussion, for instance, of all the attestations of Mt. Olympus in the *Iliad* or the systematic collection and marking of homonymous characters.²⁴ More generally, this approach allowed critics to determine how a particular author normally dealt with a specific problem (*custom), for example, in *comparison with other authors. It is clear that the new institution of the *Museum, together with the enormous library, provided unprecedented resources.²⁵ It thus made the task of systematic analysis easier or, in some cases, even possible. This (in the full sense) exhaustive analysis probably required critics to work long hours. Though better attested in poetry, it is not improbable that the lamp and long nights became symbols of the age in general.²⁶

Appropriateness (or Propriety)

One of Aristotle's four criteria of persuasive *characterisation is appropriateness (*Poet.* 1454a22–24). He and subsequent critics meant to say by this that each character should speak and act in a way that is appropriate to his age, gender, social class, etc. A young girl ought not to speak or act like an old man. Otherwise the literary text defied the principles of *plausibility and fell through. It is important to note that such elementary concerns too belonged to the domain of appropriate depiction, which was therefore not *a priori* a moral category. The alternative term 'propriety', in particular, is apt to create the impression that Hellenistic critics had an exceptionally strong concern for moral issues, which is not the case. Moral issues could of course come into play. Was it, for example, appropriate for a goddess to carry a chair for a mortal?²⁷ But the category as such was not, to repeat, automatically linked to questions of morality. The question rather was whether a particular point 'fitted' or not.²⁸

23 Once (*hapax legomenon*, for a collection see Lehrs [1882³] 12, twice (*e.g.* sch. *A Il.* 14.463a *Ariston.*), not at all (*e.g.* sch. *A Il.* 10.226 *Ariston.*).

24 Mt. Olympus: Nünlist [2011] III, with bibl. in n. 17; homonymous characters: Nünlist [2009a] 240–242, with bibl. in n. 8; for more examples see index *s.v.* treatment, systematic.

25 See Montana in this volume.

26 Callim. *Epigr.* 27 Pfeiffer, cf. *e.g.* Horace *Ars P.* 267–268. The critic's long nights may have a precursor in Aristoph. *Ran.* 931–932 (Hunter [2009a] 24).

27 Zenodotus thought it was not appropriate, but Aristarchus replied that Aphrodite was in the guise of an old servant, for whom it was (sch. *A Il.* 3.423a *Ariston.*).

28 On the history of appropriateness as a critical concept see Asmuth [1992] 579–604, with bibl., esp. Pohlenz [1965b], Rutherford (*et al.*) [1994] 423–451, with bibl., for practical examples see Nünlist [2009a] index *s.v.* appropriateness.

L'art pour l'art

It used to be a popular view that the Hellenistic *scholar-poets were sitting in an 'Ivory Tower' and engaging in an early form of *l'art pour l'art*. Since the scope of the present overview is not an assessment of Hellenistic poetry, it can be left to others to discuss the justification of a position that has seriously been challenged in recent years.²⁹ Suffice it to say the following. The extant sources on literary criticism contain competing opinions on virtually every single question. Underlying all these disagreements, however, is a general agreement that literature achieved something, had a function and could thus be 'used'.³⁰ The specific 'uses' of course varied a great deal depending on the views and goals of the individual critic. But it is unlikely that any of them could have subscribed to the notion that there was such a thing as *l'art pour l'art* (see also *aesthetics).

Authenticity, Questions of

From a modern point of view, questions of authenticity are an aspect of textual, not literary, criticism. It is, however, important to realise, especially when reading *commentaries, that textual criticism was never far from an ancient critic's mind (literary *heritage). Questions of literary criticism regularly extended into textual criticism because, for example, a particular literary device was (not) common with the relevant author (*custom) and could therefore help decide whether the passage was genuine or not. The same method applied of course to topics other than literary criticism (linguistics, lexicography, etc.). Even in the case of doubtful authenticity the relevant lines remained in the text and were marked with a *critical sign (= to athetise in the ancient sense of the word). Actual excision was rare (*sense of proportion).³¹

*Biographical Criticism*³²

Starting probably as early as the sixth century BC, the author's biography became a matter of keen interest.³³ It can be found, for example, in Aristotle's dialogue *On Poets*, which throws an even sharper light on the fact that the

29 *E.g.* Cameron [1995] 24–70, and Montana in this volume.

30 Hunter [2009a] 8.

31 The bibliography on ancient textual criticism is extensive, *e.g.* La Roche [1866], Ludwich [1884–1885], von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff [1895²], [1954], Pfeiffer [1968], Nickau [1977], Lührs [1992], Irigoin [1994], West [2001a].

32 On biographical writings in ancient scholarship see section 1 and Tosi in this volume.

33 Pfeiffer [1968] 11. On the subject in general see Blum [1977], the English translation [1991] abridges the footnotes and is marred by numerous typographical errors, Lefkowitz [2012²], Arrighetti [1987], [1994], Momigliano [1993²], Schorn [2004], Pelling [2012⁴] with bibl.

subject is virtually absent from his *Poetics*.³⁴ The Peripatetic ‘school’, in particular, devoted considerable energy to biographical data, but the topic as such was widespread. From a modern point of view, the prevalent method is not entirely satisfactory, in that critics often seemed to be content with mining an author’s works for ‘personal data’. This method was rooted in the conviction that there was an immediate correspondence between an author’s work and his life. A manly person wrote manly poetry, an effeminate person wrote effeminate poetry, etc.³⁵ According to this principle, an author’s works allowed readers to reconstruct his life.³⁶ This kind of activity had a penchant for the same type of anecdotal evidence with which ancient biographies are rife.³⁷ It did not necessarily help that critics regularly failed to differentiate between *narrative voices in a text, in that a character’s views were uncritically taken for the author’s. It is also worth noting that biographical criticism primarily worked in one direction. The works were used as evidence for an author’s life, but there was little effort to find biographical data which was independent of the works and could then be used to help illuminate them.

Book

As several entries (*Museum and library, *plagiarism) make clear, there is some justification in regarding the book(roll) and thus the written word as symbols for the dividing line that separated the Hellenistic era from the past. This statement also applies to poetry itself. Poets of the early and classical periods with their emphasis on (feigned) orality are unlikely to picture themselves as receiving Apollo’s inspiration with a writing tablet on their knees (Callim. fr. 1.21–2 Pfeiffer).³⁸ There is, however, a certain risk of exaggerating the ‘bookishness’ of the Hellenistic period. Literature largely remained an aural form of art (**enargeia*). Not least because the format of a bookroll was not suitable to quick reference, authors and critics alike kept relying on their memories, which in many cases must have been formidable (cf. the anecdote reported

34 That *On Poets* discussed biographical topics is undisputed (e.g. fr. 76 Rose = 65 Janko, on the life of Homer). The question whether it contained substantially more (Janko [2011] 317–539) falls outside the scope of this chapter.

35 The clearest expression of the principle is perhaps Aristoph. *Thesm.* 148–152, but it also underlies, e.g., Arist. *Poet.* 1448b24–27, 1449a2–6. Cf. Russell [1995] 162–164.

36 Whether all the biographers believed this reconstruction to be authentic is another question. Cf. e.g. the criticism expressed in Satyrus’ *Life of Euripides* (F 6 fr. 39 col. XVIII = Schorn 2004: 108–109, for the interpretation 48).

37 Lefkowitz [2012²].

38 Note, however, that Callimachus too resorts to the motif of feigned orality (Harder [2004] 79, with reference to *Hymns* 5 and 6).

in *plagiarism). They had been trained from an early age onwards. A standard school exercise was to memorise and perform large chunks of poetry.³⁹

Canons

The principle of singling out a particular group of authors because of their exceptional quality is operative in the *Frogs* already. Whether or not this was Aristophanes' 'invention', Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides are given the status as 'classical' Greek tragedians that they occupy to this day. Likewise, Aristotle and his entourage attributed the same status as 'classics' to the epic poets Homer and Hesiod. In the case of Homer, this also meant that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were severed from the poems of the epic cycle, which before had mostly been considered to be his too (questions of *authenticity). The Alexandrian critics continued this process of canonisation. First, they probably increased the number of 'classic' epic poets to four or five. Second, they selected an exceptionally large group of nine lyric poets: Pindar, Bacchylides, Sappho, Anacreon, Stesichorus, Simonides, Ibycus, Alcaeus and Alcman. It is interesting to note that they did not incorporate contemporary authors into their canons (Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.54). Old Comedy presents a blurrier picture. A triad Eupolis, Cratinus and Aristophanes can be found in Horace (*Sat.* 1.4.1 = Eupolis test. 23 Kassel-Austin) and later, but Pfeiffer ([1968] 204) has argued that 'Eratosthenes and Aristophanes (sc. of Byzantium) regarded Pherecrates, for instance, as its equal'. The selection process was subsequently extended to *prose, as seen in the canon of the 'Ten Attic Orators' (led by their champion Demosthenes). The relevance of this process can also be deduced from the fact that none of Aristarchus' numerous *commentaries dealt with an author who was not 'canonical'.⁴⁰ The close correspondence with the writing of *literary history is particularly clear in the well-known chapter from Quintilian (*Inst.* 10.1), which is expressly built on Alexandrian canons. A different but not entirely unrelated selection process resulted in the compilation of the first literary anthologies.⁴¹

Censorship

Plato has a good chance of being the most vigorous and best-known advocate of censorship because he notoriously banned all poetry from his ideal state

39 Cameron [1995] 65, Criboire [2001] 166, 213, also index s.v. memory.

40 Pfeiffer [1968] 208.

41 On canonisation in Alexandria see Pfeiffer [1968] 203–208, Easterling [2012⁴] with bibl., on its history as a critical concept Asper [1998] 869–882, with bibl.; on anthologies Cameron [1993].

(*Resp.* books 2–3, 10). He thus continued the ethically motivated objections that Xenophanes of Colophon had raised against the anthropomorphism and alleged immorality of Homer's gods (21 B 11–12, 15 D-K). Heraclitus went a step further and suggested that Homer and Archilochus be clubbed and expelled from poetic contests (22 B 42 D-K). A century or so before him, the tyrant of Sicyon, Cleisthenes, had banned the performance of the Homeric epics for political reasons (Hdt. 5.67.1). When Protagoras faced charges of atheism, his books were collected from their owners and burnt in the agora (80 A 1 D-K). Ptolemy II (later called Philadelphus), though known as a book collector, apparently did not like being attacked by them. When Sotades criticised Ptolemy's marriage to his sister Arsinoe in graphic terms, he was, depending on the source, either drowned (Hegesander ap. Ath. 14.62of) or incarcerated for a long time (Plut. *Quomodo adul.* 11a). On the other hand, censorship was never implemented in a systematic way nor does it seem to have played an important role in criticism. When some anonymous scholars (refuted by others: sch. Ar. *Pax* 778, with Holwerda's note) 'athetised' the notorious story of Ares' and Aphrodite's adultery (*Od.* 8.266–369), it must be kept in mind that the disputed lines remained in the text (questions of *authenticity). Nor is there evidence that school texts were purged *ad usum Delphini*. One may compare Plutarch (*Quomodo adul.* 14f–15a), who preferred a good preparation of young readers over censorship.⁴²

Characterisation

Chapter 6 of Aristotle's *Poetics* defines six qualitative parts of tragedy, the first and most fundamental being *plot. Second comes characterisation (*êthos*) because the recommended **mimêsis* is that of an action, which requires agents. The four other parts, thought, diction (*style), lyric poetry and spectacle, receive conspicuously less attention in the *Poetics* than plot and characterisation. Additional importance comes from the fact that, for Aristotle, the characters (*i.e.* their speeches) ought to reveal a moral choice (*prohairesis*) and display dispositions. In addition to bringing out the fundamental relevance of character, Aristotle also determined which type of character should appear in which *genre. Characters in serious genres such as tragedy or epic should be serious themselves and better than the audience, characters in comedy should be worse than the audience ('better' and 'worse' primarily in terms of social class). Next Aristotle (*Poet.* ch. 15) singled out four criteria of persuasive char-

42 On censorship in antiquity see Hornblower [2012⁴] with bibl., on the history of the concept Weller [2009] 1486–1500, with bibl.

acterisation: goodness, *appropriateness, likeness (*i.e.* comparability with the audience, which tied in with his notion that tragic characters should not be much better and comic characters not much worse than the audience), *consistency. This fundamental treatment put the topic 'characterisation' on the agenda of criticism once and for all. Given that much Hellenistic criticism was practically oriented, it is not surprising that Aristotle's four criteria left the most conspicuous mark.⁴³ Critics frequently addressed questions such as 'is Agamemnon's utterance or action in this particular scene appropriate to such a character?' or 'is Achilles' character consistent throughout the *Iliad*?⁴⁴ Moreover, they could comment on the fact that an utterance was spoken 'in character' (*en êthei*, which sometimes means 'ironically'). Their notes also reflected a general interest in psychology (cf. Aristotle *Rh.* book 2, chapters 2–11) when the behaviour of characters was declared typical of men or women in such circumstances (cf. lifelike *realism). On the other hand, Hellenistic critics also produced small vignettes of specific characters. In doing so, they explored the characters' individuality and subjectivity, two notions which are often strikingly absent from ancient discussions, esp. the *Poetics* due to its equation of character with moral choice.⁴⁵

Chronology

In spite of pre-Hellenistic efforts to get to grips with chronological questions (for literary topics see esp. Glaucus of Rhegium frs. 1–3 Lanata), the subject was put on a scientific footing by Eratosthenes of Cyrene. Since he developed a comprehensive chronology (built on the reckoning by Olympiads, which proved to be very influential), it also included literary subjects (*e.g.* the dates of authors and their works: *biographical criticism, *plot summary), although this cannot have been his main goal. The chronology designed by Apollodorus of Athens later superseded Eratosthenes', on which it was built.⁴⁶

43 An exception is Philodemus (*Poëm.* 4, cols. 106–112 Janko), who attacked the Aristotelian concept of character(isation) in general. Whether his target here is Aristotle himself or his school is disputed (most recently Janko [2011] 220–221, with bibl.).

44 Appropriateness *e.g.* sch. A *Il.* 1.133–134 *Ariston.*; consistency: Nünlist [2009a] 249–250, with n. 42.

45 On Aristotle's concept of character see Halliwell [1986] esp. ch. 5, for practical examples Schironi [2009b] 290–297, Nünlist [2009a] 246–256, with bibl. in n. 29, also index *s.vv.* character, characterisation.

46 Pfeiffer [1968] 163–164, 255; for Eratosthenes of Cyrene and Apollodorus of Athens see also Montana in this volume.

Clarity (saphêneia)

Clarity (or lucidity) is arguably the most important virtue of *style for Aristotle (*Rh.* 1404b1–2, cf. *Poet.* 1458a18–19). Through the systematisation of his pupil Theophrastus (virtues of *style), it had an enormous and lasting influence on *rhetoric, including rhetorical criticism. Moreover, a poetological image such as the ‘pure and undefiled water from the holy spring’ (Callim. *Hymn.* 2.111–112) is likely to address the quality of lucidity too. In any case, Callimachus sharply criticised Antimachus’ *Lyde* for its lack thereof (fr. 398 Pfeiffer). If clarity was considered a virtue, it was only to be expected that obscurity (the ‘trademark’ of the philosopher Heraclitus) would be considered a vice.⁴⁷ The clarity of the text played a role in criticism at a more elementary level too. The insertion of lectional signs (not just breathings and accents but also punctuation, division of speakers and different *metres, etc.) made the text more user-friendly. When discussing the pros and cons, for example, of different punctuations, critics regularly preferred the one that made the text ‘clearer’ (*saphesteron*).⁴⁸

Classifications

The attempt to carve up the entire body of texts by means of classifications is a recurrent phenomenon of literary criticism. Arguably the most common and influential of them was the distinction between poetry and *prose. The decisive criterion was *metre, in spite of the objections raised by Aristotle (*Poet.* 1447b13–23), who himself (1448a19–24) reformulated Plato’s differentiation between (a) pure narrative, (b) a mixture of narrative and speech (as in Homer) and (c) pure speech (as in tragedy and comedy).⁴⁹ The model as such had a considerable echo, but a problem was to find actual examples of (a) pure narrative. Consequently, the classification sometimes had two positions only.⁵⁰ The bipartite model also had the advantage of squaring nicely with the other

47 Heraclitus 22 A 1a, 3a, 4, B 10 D-K; obscurity to be avoided: e.g. sch. A *Il.* 14.169a *Ariston*.

48 In this form the *saphesteron* argument (sch. A *Il.* 6.68–69 *Nic.*, etc.) is typical of Nicanor (second cent. AD), but the idea is considerably older. Cf. Aristotle’s general discussion of punctuation, the specific example being Heraclitus (*Rh.* 1407b11–18 = Heraclitus 22 A 4 D-K). On the history of clarity as a critical concept see Asmuth [2003] 814–874, with bibl., on obscurity Walde (*et al.*) [2003] 358–383, with bibl., for practical examples see Meijering [1987] 224–225, Nünlist [2009a] index s.v. clarity.

49 Halliwell [2009] has recently argued that Plato did not actually introduce such a tripartite model in *Republic* 392c–398b, but he agrees that this is how it was understood by subsequent critics from Aristotle onwards.

50 Nünlist [2009a] 94–102, with bibl. in n. 2, add Janko [1984] 128–130, Halliwell [2009], other classifications [2009a] 109–115.

classification that Aristotle himself had used in the same context: *genre. A rather different bipartition was the distinction between form and content, usually said to originate with Plato (*formalism). It was taken up, for instance, by the 'Stoic' (Aristo of Chios?) who differentiated between 'thought' (*dianoia*) and 'composition' (*sunthesis*). Perhaps this was a reaction against Neoptolemus of Parion and his tripartite model *poiêsis-poiêma-poiêtês*, the details of which are not yet fully understood.⁵¹ See also *music.

Coherence

An axiom of the *Poetics* is the organic *unity of the *plot. Aristotle thus sharpened the awareness of the fact that the individual parts of a literary text ought to form a coherent body. The exact details of such an analysis were left for others to develop (cf. *formalism). One result was a collection of terms and concepts that allowed critics to examine and describe the narrative coherence of a literary text. They show more than superficial similarity to the findings of modern narratology (e.g. *proanaphônêsis* ≈ foreshadowing or prolepsis).⁵² Aristotle also stipulated that the individual elements of the *plot should not follow each other more or less randomly but according to the principle of 'cause and effect' (*plausibility). This is reflected in the countless notes that explain how a particular scene motivates another. According to Aristotle, the coherence of a tragedy ought to be more rigid, whereas epic poems, given their greater size, are allowed to incorporate more 'episodic' material (*Poet.* 1459b28–31). A similar distinction recurs in the comments which judge the coherence of a literary text depending on its *genre. More surprising is perhaps the point that the coherence could stretch over multiple texts. Aristarchus' conviction that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were the product of a single author induced him, among other things, to detect a narrative coherence that linked the two epics together.⁵³

51 The models of Neoptolemus and 'Aristo' are both known via Philodemus, who rejects them (*Poëm.* book 5, cols. 13–20 Mangoni). For a (speculative) explanation of Neoptolemus' model see Gutzwiller [2010] 342–346.

52 For *proanaphônêsis* see Nünlist [2009a] 34–42, with bibl. in nn. 36 and 38. On narratological questions in general see Nünlist [2009b].

53 Nünlist [2009a] 33–34, for more practical examples see index s.vv. (narrative) coherence, motivation.

Commentary, Running (hupomnêma)

The earliest attestation of the word *hupomnêma* in this sense refers to Euphronius' running commentary on Aristophanes' *Wealth*.⁵⁴ But the real champion of this format was without doubt Aristarchus, who was responsible for an enormous body of learned commentaries, even though the figure given by Suidas, 800, is probably not to be taken at face value. The commentary occupied a separate bookroll; hence the use of the *critical signs in the margin of the text. In the light of Aristarchus' towering position in Alexandrian scholarship, the commentary is rightly regarded as one of the two preferred and therefore representative forms of exegesis (the other being the *monograph). With regard to contents, the commentary was not so very different from its modern counterpart and discussed essentially the same type of questions. They also share the same pros and cons. On the one hand, the running commentary can shed light on an unlimited variety of aspects and therefore pay close attention to individual passages without thereby losing the possibility of treating the entire text. It thus proves to be an invaluable source for the concepts of Alexandrian criticism. On the other, this (as it has been called) 'morselisation' of the text entails the risk that the critic and thus the reader might at times lose the larger picture out of sight. Aristarchus was not unaware of this risk. He tried to reduce it by writing notes that addressed the relevant question in a comprehensive way (preferably upon its first occurrence, with cross-references in the remainder of the commentary: see Montana in this volume). Moreover, his notes on, for example, narrative *coherence show that he kept in mind the text's overarching structure. With the exception of a few papyrus finds (including the abridgment of Aristarchus' commentary on Herodotus, that is, a *prose author), the original commentaries have been lost and must be reconstructed in a laborious and difficult process from the fragments transmitted in the scholia of the medieval manuscripts.⁵⁵

Comparison

To compare one author (or text) with another is likely to be an activity in which readers of all times naturally engage. The first extant example of some length and depth is the *agôn* between 'Aeschylus' and 'Euripides' in the sec-

54 Pfeiffer [1968] 161; on commentaries see also 29, 175, 250, 276–277, and on Aristarchus' specifically 212–225. On the history of the *hupomnêma* in general see Eichele [1998] 122–128, with bibl. and Dubischar in this volume.

55 Brief summary of the reconstruction process in Dickey [2007] 19, and in this volume. For glossaries of ancient grammatical terminology see Dickey [2007] 219–265, for literary criticism Nünlist [2009a] 368–386.

ond half of Aristophanes' *Frogs*. It prepared the ground for all subsequent comparisons between two or more authors (Alcidamas, *Contest of Homer and Hesiod*;⁵⁶ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *passim*; Dio Chrysostom, *Philoctetes' Bow*; Plutarch, *Comparison of Aristophanes and Menander*, etc.). In addition to these large-scale comparisons, there were countless smaller observations and notes that compared authors in every conceivable respect. Aristarchus specifically differentiated between Homer and the *neôteroi* (lit. 'younger'), that is, all the authors who postdated him (*anachronism).⁵⁷

Conciseness (suntomia)

Conciseness was considered one of the virtues of *style. Often said to be 'Stoic', the concept is actually found already in Isocrates (*Artium Scriptores* BXXIV 34 = Quint. *Inst.* 4.2.31), where it formed a triad together with *clarity and *persuasiveness. The ability to express something succinctly was a source of praise from critics. Conversely, if they perceived unnecessary verbosity or bombast, critics could reprimand the author, declare the incriminated line(s) superfluous (*perissos*), etc.⁵⁸ One might compare Callimachus' 'slender Muse' (fr. 1.23–24 Pfeiffer).

Consistency

One of Aristotle's four criteria of convincing *characterisation was consistency (*Poet.* 1454a26–28), which was taken up by Hellenistic critics. A character ought to act and speak in a consistent way throughout the entire play or epic poem. The idea was not so much that characterisation must be done with utmost rigour (*sense of proportion). Rather the various actions of a character must be compatible with each other so as to provide a consistent and coherent picture. Unwanted were utterances or actions that were patently 'out of character'.⁵⁹ The principle of consistency clearly resembles that of narrative *coherence, a prerequisite of the *unity of the *plot. It was thus only natural

56 The form of the *Contest* that has reached posterity is an amalgam. Its core, later expanded by Hellenistic material, is generally agreed to go back to Alcidamas, who in turn may depend on precursors (O'Sullivan [1992] esp. ch. 3). On literary contests in general see Neumann [1992] 261–285, Paulsen [2002], each with bibl.

57 On the history of comparison as a critical concept see Kneepkens [1994] 293–299, with bibl.

58 On the history of conciseness as a critical concept see Kallendorf [1994a] 53–60, with bibl., for practical examples Meijering [1987] 147–148, Nünlist [2009a] index s.v. conciseness.

59 Examples of praise and critique are given in Nünlist [2009a] 249–252, with bibl. in nn. 39, 43, 47.

for critics to search for consistency when they analysed the *style or subject-matter of individual texts and authors and to criticise its absence.

Contradiction

Thorough *analysis or downright *reading against the grain could also bring to light that a passage contradicted another or was in conflict with an extratextual fact (*e.g.* Aristotle, *Poet.* 1461b15–18, cf. also 1455a22–26). If the observed contradiction or inconsistency turned out to be real, critics entertained, among other things, the possibility of a textual corruption (questions of *authenticity). It is, however, remarkable how often they argued that a contradiction was not real but apparent only (*problems and solutions).⁶⁰

Critical Signs

The Hellenistic scholars put critical signs in the margins of their texts. Several signs referred to questions of textual criticism but not all: Aristophanes of Byzantium developed an elaborate method of marking metrical units (*metre). Aristarchus used the *diplê* (>) to mark passages that were noteworthy and therefore discussed in the *commentary. These discussions regularly addressed questions of literary criticism.⁶¹

Custom (ethos)

The systematic and comprehensive *analysis of an author's *oeuvre* allowed critics to identify features, literary techniques etc. that this particular author customarily made use of.⁶² This type of research regularly included the question whether or not there were exceptions (see also *contradiction). An answer in the negative could lead to editorial interventions (questions of *authenticity).

Educative Function

With the exception of comparatively few critics (*e.g.* Eratosthenes, for whose provocative denial see *emotions), there was widespread consensus among readers and critics alike (formulated with different degrees of explicitness) that one of poetry's primary functions was to educate the reader. This general statement can be underpinned with observations of a more practical kind.

60 Schironi [2009b] 288–290, Nünlist [2009a] index s.v. inconsistency.

61 On the various critical signs see most recently Schironi [2012b] with bibl. For an up-to-date collection and discussion of the papyrological evidence see McNamee [2007]. See also Montana in this volume.

62 An example is the Homeric habit to place *gar* ('for') in the first sentence too (sch. A *Il.* 2.284a *Ariston.* = fr. 173 Matthaïos).

Poetry in general and Homer in particular were of the highest importance in school throughout antiquity.⁶³ Homer was not only regarded as the ‘first discoverer’ (*prôtos heuretês*) of countless things but also the source of all wisdom.⁶⁴ Exegetical literature is rife with observations of the type the author ‘educates (*paideuei*)’ or ‘instructs (*didaskei*) that . . .’ followed by a description of the specific teaching.⁶⁵ This could apply to every conceivable aspect of the world at large and includes questions that are unlikely to have been on Homer’s mind. As time went on, this towering position of a comparatively old text created multiple problems. Homer’s archaic language became increasingly difficult to understand (enshrined by the well-known fragment of Aristophanes, 233 Kassel-Austin). In light of the scientific progress made by subsequent generations, some of his notions appeared to be inaccurate (*contradiction). Arguably the most serious problem was ethical. The alleged immorality of several Homeric passages, especially the frivolousness of his gods, made him appear unsuitable for educative purposes (*censorship). It is no coincidence that an elaborate defence of poetry against ethically motivated critique posed as a manual *How the young man should study poetry* (Plutarch). Even though the harsh critique of Plato and others caused a great stir, its practical impact was rather limited. Homer’s position as *the* author read in school was never seriously challenged in antiquity. Nor was the widespread conviction that literature had an educative function.⁶⁶

Emotions

(Early) Greek poetry regularly described the emotional impact it expected to have on the audience (*e.g.* *Od.* 13.1–2). But this very emotive power was among the most important objections raised by Plato against poetry (*Resp.* 602c–607a). Aristotle, in turn, regarded the generation of emotions as a fundamental principle of tragedy and thus art in general. In this he was preceded by Gorgias.⁶⁷ Aristotle’s much-discussed definition of tragedy (*Poet.* 1449b24–28) circles around, specifically, pity (*eleos*) and fear (*phobos*). These emotions are also the means by which tragedy produces the type of *pleasure (*hêdonê*) that is conform to its nature (1453b10–13), as does epic (1459a18–21). Furthermore, good literature generates wonder (*to thaumaston*, 1452a4) and amazement (*ekplêxis*, 1455a17). The latter might even help the author veil a passage that

63 Cribiore [2001]; see also *book.

64 Hillgruber [1994] 5–35.

65 Sluiter [1999] esp. 176–179.

66 On Greek education see Thomas [2012⁴] with bibl.

67 82 B 23 D-K, cf. *Dissoi Logoi* 90, 3,10 D-K, also 2.28.

otherwise would not stand up to scrutiny (1460b24–26; *plausibility). The preceding description concentrates on Aristotle because Hellenistic critics generally agreed with him that the generation of emotions was fundamental to literature. Probably the most extreme in this respect was Eratosthenes (fr. I A 20 Berger), who declared that poetry did not aim at ‘instruction’ (*didaskalia*, *educative function) but ‘entertainment’ (*psuchagôgia*, lit. ‘leading of souls’, which had found no favour with Plato, *Phdr.* 261a). Chances are this was meant as a deliberate provocation.⁶⁸ Be that as it may, the generation of emotions was a standard topic in criticism. Obviously, the individual critic could shift the balance at will or discuss other emotions than Aristotle had done. Of these, one is perhaps worth singling out because it became popular again in the course of the twentieth century: suspense. It is interesting to note, though probably no more than coincidence, that one relevant term has the same etymology as suspense (gr. *anartan* ≈ lat. *suspendere*).⁶⁹

Emulation

The imitation or emulation of the great masters of poetry such as Homer can be seen at work throughout the entire history of Greek literature. Theoretical statements, however, are not so easy to come by. They were written with a view to the practical needs of an orator (*e.g.* Isoc. 2.41) and/or they postdate the Hellenistic period (*e.g.* Horace and Ps.-Longinus).⁷⁰ Neither qualification must be decisive. Rhetoric and literary criticism often went hand in hand; criticism of the Roman period regularly reflected Hellenistic views (leaving aside that Horace urges the Romans to study the Greek models). The following paradox is nevertheless worth pointing out. The same period which, by means of the *canonisation process, was largely responsible for the concept of ‘classical’ literature appears to have been reluctant to express the view that the same ‘classical’ authors ought to be studied and emulated with particular attention. Was the point too obvious to be made? Emulation did of course not mean

68 Pfeiffer [1968] 166.

69 On the generation of emotions as a critical concept see Wisse (*et al.*) [1992] 218–253, Wöhrle [2001] 1498–1501, on *psuchagogia* Stauffer [2005] 406–415, Halliwell [2011], each with bibl.; for practical examples Nünlist [2009a] 135–156, with bibl. in n. 2; on *anartan* 143.

70 Cf. Hor. *Ars P.* 268–269, Ps.-Long. *Subl.* 13.2; a possible exception is Phld. *Poëm.* 5, cols. 33–34 Mangoni.

slavish adherence but a productive and original handling of the great models (literary *tradition).⁷¹

Enargeia

Literature is primarily an aural type of art (*e.g.* Pl. *Resp.* 603b7–8; *euphonist theory). This holds particularly true for the members of a society who were accustomed to read aloud or have literature read to them.⁷² But it was equally customary to compare literature with *visual forms of art. Such comparisons implicitly underlay the numerous comments that highlight the visual quality of (aural) literature. Arguably the most important term here was *enargeia*, usually rendered in English with ‘vividness’, which, however, fails to express its decidedly visual quality (better captured, for instance, by German *Anschaulichkeit*). A passage had *enargeia* when the wording was so gripping that the readers could ‘see’ (*visualisation) what was actually reaching them through their ears. According to Plutarch (*De glor. Ath.* 347a), Thucydides tried hard to turn his readers (*i.e.* hearers) into spectators. In Aristotle’s words (*Rh.* 1411b24–26), the author put (by means of *metaphor) before the reader’s eyes things which thus had ‘activity’. By being brought before the reader’s eyes, these things, actions etc. achieved actuality. The Greek word for ‘actuality’ is *energeia*. Even though Aristotle did not say it in so many words, in a sense he established an immediate connection between *enargeia* and *energeia*. This was bound to lead to trouble. The regular confusion of the two terms in our manuscripts often makes it difficult to decide which of them is actually at stake. Another point of contact is less problematic. The same passage could be singled out for its *clarity or *enargeia*. Likewise, praise for *enargeia* could be uttered when the relevant scene seemed so real as if it were taken from ‘real life’ (lifelike *realism).⁷³

Ethics

See *appropriateness, *censorship, *educative function, *emotion, *fiction, poetic *licence, *mimêsis, *multiple meanings.

71 On originality within a traditional setting see Brink [1971] 208–209. Ancient critics would have been surprised by the modern craze about artistic originality. On the history of emulation as a critical concept see Bauer [1992] 141–187, Conte-Most (2012^{4b}), each with bibl.

72 The ongoing controversy around the beginnings of silent reading does not alter the fact that to read aloud was in any case the rule (*e.g.* Johnson [2010]).

73 On the history of *enargeia* as a critical concept see Kemmann [1996] 33–47, with bibl., for practical examples Nünlist [2009a] 194–198, with bibl. in n. 4.

Etymology

An interest in the etymology of words and, in particular, names was pervasive among the Greeks. Homer and other poets subtly ‘etymologised’ in their texts, for instance, when Hector’s name was derived from the verb *echein* (‘to hold’, *Il.* 5.472–473), which made him the ‘holder’ of the city of Troy. Similar explanations could be found in philosophical and historical literature of the sixth and fifth centuries, until the topic was examined with unprecedented zeal in Plato’s *Cratylus*.⁷⁴ Criticism of the Hellenistic and later periods, too, regularly argued on the basis of etymological considerations. There was a widespread consensus that etymology promised to lead to deeper insights into the word or name under consideration. The principles that governed the practical application of etymology were less rigid than in modern scholarship, where it has become a branch of historical linguistics with its regular sound shifts, etc. A recurrent characteristic is apt to illustrate the difference: some critics (Plato included: *e.g.* *Cra.* 405a–406a) saw no difficulty in offering multiple etymologies which for them were not mutually exclusive. This did not mean, however, that an etymology could not be rejected by others as false (*e.g.* sch. *A Il.* 1.105a *Ariston.*). In any case, etymology was a commonly practised reading strategy, which justifies its inclusion here.⁷⁵

Euphonist Theory

Poets in general and the composers of oral poetry in particular must always have been aware of its sound effects. In *prose one might compare the widespread avoidance of hiatus. Lasus of Hermione (fr. 704 Page) is known to have written an entire poem without the letter *sigma*, no doubt because he did not like its sound. Democritus (68 B 18a/b D-K) apparently wrote on euphony. The *etymological explanations of Plato’s *Cratylus* explained several sound shifts as being due to euphony.⁷⁶ The ground was thus prepared for the striking novelty of the so-called euphonists, whose theories must be wrestled primarily from Philodemus’ works (see introduction above). Taking as their starting-point the ‘Platonic’ distinction between form and content (*formalism), the euphonists felt that it unfairly favoured the content of literature. They therefore attempted to shift the balance. In so doing their main focus was on the phonetic side of form specifically, which, among other things, made the ear an important judge of poetic excellence. Some euphonists even went so far as to argue that sound was actually more important than content. It is difficult to say

74 Pfeiffer [1968] 4, 12, 40, 61–2, see also Novokhatko in this volume.

75 On ancient etymology see the papers collected in Nifadopoulos [2003a].

76 Pfeiffer [1968] 64.

whether euphonist theory, especially in its extreme form, was shared by many outside their own circles (leaving aside the fact that they by no means agreed among themselves). At any rate, Philodemus thought it important enough to devote books 1 and 2 of *On Poems* to an elaborate description and rejection, in which he insisted on the unity of form and content. Pieces of euphonist theory popped up here and there. Aristarchus, for example, rejected Zenodotus' text in *Iliad* 6.34 with explicit reference to the phonetic effect (sch. A *Il.* 6.34 *Ariston.*). Moreover, a substantial part of *On Composition* by Dionysius of Halicarnassus provided a minute analysis of individual sounds. He also continued using the euphonists' testing method known as 'transposition (of words)' (*metathesis*; *word order). All in all, one may conclude that, in its extreme form, euphonist theory remained on the margins of literary criticism. But the general topic 'sound effects' as such was far from being ignored by critics.⁷⁷

Fiction

The word 'fiction' is Latin (*fingere*). When Xenophanes criticised the poets, he spoke of their 'fabrications' (*plasmata*, 21 B 1.22 D-K = 1.22 West). His objections were ethically motivated. Since all the Greeks without exception learned from Homer (B 10, *educative function), it was unacceptable that he told stories which were both morally objectionable and untrue. In his fundamental critique of *mimetic art Plato developed this idea further, in that he held poetry against the criterion of (philosophical) truth or reality. The result was strictly negative: poetry was a 'lie' (*pseudos*) and thus to be banned (*censorship). In his defence, Aristotle not only argued against Plato that poetry must be measured by its own standards (poetic *licence), he also made the much-quoted point that 'Homer has taught the other poets how one must lie' (*pseudê legein*, *Poet.* 1460a18–19). Aristotle, however, did not mean to say that *pseudos* was simply to be equated with poetry *tout court*. As the context of the quotation reveals, the point was that a clever juxtaposition of 'true' and 'untrue' passages allowed poets to get away with the latter. Eratosthenes, for his part, in rejecting the widespread view that literature had an educative function (*emotions) allowed poets 'to resort to fiction' (*plattein*) whenever it helped them achieve their goal (fr. I A 19 Berger). He also exposed the excessive literal-mindedness of those readers who tried to map Odysseus' wanderings and cheekily told them that they would succeed as soon as they found the cobbler who stitched

77 The point of reference for euphonist theory is Janko [2000], [2011]. His contention [2011] 229, however, that 'euphonic analysis had become at least as important' (sc. as the 'Aristotelian' type of analysis) seems to me an exaggeration. On the history of euphony as a critical concept see Umbach (*et al.*) [1996] 10–22, with bibl.

together Aeolus' bag of winds (fr. 1 A 16 Berger). The notion that Odysseus' wanderings take place in fictional space, though rejected by Polybius (34.2.4–4.8), Strabo (1.2.15) and others, found the approval of no lesser critic than Aristarchus.⁷⁸

Figure of Speech (schêma)

The term *schêma* (in the sense 'figure of speech'), which was to play a crucial role in *rhetoric, does not occur in Aristotle's *Rhetoric*. Its first attestation seems to be in Theophrastus (fr. 691 Fortenbaugh), who regarded it as one of the three factors that contributed to a *style that was *solemn and grand, the other two factors being selection (*eklogê*) of words and their harmonious arrangement (*harmonia*). The various rhetorical handbooks took great pains to define what a *schêma* was and to distinguish it from the other term for 'figure' (*tropos*), each with their respective examples. Taken together, the result is a confusing wealth of definitions and examples which is not free from overlaps and contradictions. A particular difficulty arises from the fact that in actual practice *schêma* and *tropos* were often used indiscriminately. The term *schêma*, in particular, could refer to virtually any type of wording or expression that was somehow exceptional (that is, differed from natural language) and thus noteworthy (e.g. sch. A Il. 2.278a Ariston., on a *constructio ad sensum*).⁷⁹

Formalism

Plato is often credited with the differentiation between form and content in poetry (e.g. *Resp.* 601b2–4, with Murray's note). As for Aristotle, the view that in his *Poetics* he 'expounds a strictly formalist notion of unity as independent of poetic meaning' is better rejected.⁸⁰ It is, however, true that the *Poetics* paved the way for formalist approaches, which were further developed and refined by subsequent critics (narrative *coherence, *narrative voice, *plot). Aristotle himself built on a generic distinction that he had found in Plato (*classification).

78 Lehrs [1882³] 241–245. On the history of fiction as a critical concept see Zinsmaier [1996] 342–347, with bibl., for practical examples Nünlist [2009a] 174–184.

79 On the history of figures of speech as a critical concept see Nape [1996] 289–342, with bibl., on the terminological confusion Schrader [1904].

80 Halliwell [1989] 156, with ref. to 1451a30–32. This is not the place to discuss the question whether there actually are formalist analyses that operate 'independent of poetic meaning'.

Formulaic Language

No reader of Homer will miss the regular repetition of lines. The Alexandrian critics consistently marked them in their texts (*critical signs). Since this repetition clashed with the principle of *variety, which was particularly strong in aesthetics of the Hellenistic period, critics cast doubts on the *authenticity of repeated lines. Contrary to a widespread modern view, however, they made no attempt to eliminate them systematically.⁸¹ In particular cases, for instance when the messenger verbatim repeated the original instruction, the repetition was even explicitly defended by critics.⁸² It is true, though, that formulaic repetition was generally regarded as typical of the inferior poets of the epic cycle (e.g. sch. A *Il.* 9.222a *Ariston.*, cf. Callim. *Epigr.* 28 Pfeiffer; *canons). As Parry [1971] 120–124 himself acknowledged, Aristarchus essentially recognised the nature of generic epithets. He also described two fundamental principles of Homer's type scenes: the individual components can be expanded or shortened, but their sequence must not be altered (for an example see **Realien*). In spite of these forays into what is now considered the territory of oral poetry, critics seem to have taken it for granted that Homer had written his epics.⁸³ In Aristarchus' case, this is at least worth mentioning because he insisted that Homer's characters did not write (*anachronism).

Genre

An interest in and the identification of literary genres clearly predate the Hellenistic period. A good example is the list of genres in Plato (*Leg.* 700b), not least because it gave prominence to lyric genres, a topic that Aristotle rarely touched upon in his *Poetics*, which focused on defining and describing epic and drama.⁸⁴ Callimachus' **Pinakes* were arranged by genre. And so were the editions that the Alexandrians produced (literary *heritage), for instance, the edition of Pindar's works in seventeen books, which displayed ten lyric sub-genres, as arranged by Aristophanes of Byzantium. Overall there were multiple, mostly formal criteria for the assignment to a particular genre: mode of performance (e.g. acting vs. narrating), *metre and *music, occasion,

81 Lührs [1992]; see also *sense of proportion.

82 Nünlist [2009a] 312–314, on type scenes in general 307–315, on epithets 299–306, with bibl. in n. 6, add Matthaios [1999] 238–239.

83 It is, however, remarkable that Josephus, who was the first to raise the possibility of an oral origin, did so in his treatise against the Homeric scholar Apion (12.1).

84 The concept 'genre' as such is of course fundamental to the *Poetics*. Janko [2011] 237–238 has recently argued that Philodemus *On Poems* 4 is an attack on Aristotle's concept of genre.

pragmatic function, etc. (Conte-Most [2012^{4a}]). Inevitably, scholars sometimes disagreed: was Bacchylides' *Cassandra* (fr. **23 Maehler, with the sch. printed on p. 120) a paean (Callimachus) or a dithyramb (Aristarchus)? Many genres also created expectations in terms of register (*solemnity), *characterisation or narrative *coherence, which were thus addressed in the respective comments. Aristotle's *Poetics* introduced the concept that one genre had grown out of another (*literary history). Overall poetic genres received more attention than *prose genres. An important exception was the distinction between forensic, epideictic and deliberative oratory.⁸⁵

Heritage, Literary

The express goal of the *Museum and library was to create a treasure-house of the entire literary (and scientific) heritage that fulfilled certain quality standards.⁸⁶ It was thus necessary (a) to collect and/or copy all the relevant works, (b) to get or produce the best possible text for each (questions of *authenticity), (c) to make them accessible, literally, by means of catalogues and other means of support (**Pinakes*), (d) figuratively, by writing exegetical works such as *commentaries, *monographs or glossaries. The latter two had already been in existence in pre-Hellenistic times, but the new emphasis on user-friendliness can be deduced, among other things, from the forward-looking invention to arrange glossaries in *alphabetical order. The same holds true for the *critical signs.

Historical Perspective

See *anachronism, also *educative function.

Imagery

See *metaphor, *simile.

Influence (of Hellenistic Literary Criticism)

Three general areas can be identified which show traces of influence by literary-critical ideas of the Hellenistic period. The first two are self-evident: (a) Hellenistic poetry, especially that of *scholar-poets such as Callimachus or Apollonius of Rhodes; (b) literary criticism in Latin (*e.g.* Horace's *Ars Poetica*) and in Roman times (*e.g.* Dionysius of Halicarnassus). Less to be expected is perhaps (c) the recognition that poets like Vergil were familiar with the

85 On the history of genre as a critical concept see Komfort-Hein – Knoblauch [1996] 528–564, Conte-Most [2012^{4a}], each with bibl.; also Brink [1971] 160–163.

86 Pfeiffer [1968] *passim*; see also Montana in this volume.

Alexandrian exegesis of Homer in quite some detail.⁸⁷ These are the immediate areas of influence. In addition, influential texts such as Horace's *Ars Poetica* helped channel Hellenistic ideas through the (largely Greekless) Middle Ages, until Greek studies were renewed in the Renaissance, which handed them down to the modern era.

Inspiration

Hesiod's meeting with the Muses on Mt. Helicon (*Theog.* 22–34) is the earliest known example in a long row of *Dichterweihen*. Theorising about divine inspiration (also evident in the concept of the poet as seer, prophet, etc.) seems to have begun with Democritus (68 B 17–18, 21, 112 D-K) and Plato (*Phdr.* 245a, *Ion*). They both regarded poetic inspiration as a form of 'divine possession' (*enthousiasmos*) or 'madness' (*mania*). For Plato this was an ambivalent thing because it was incompatible with true understanding. The poet might be proficient in the 'art' (*technê*) of writing poetry but he could not succeed without this 'madness'. This last point was to become the basis for the age-long opposition between *ars* and *ingenium* (e.g. Hor. *Ars P.* 409–411, Ps.-Long. *Subl.* 2, who both argued for a fruitful combination of the two). Democritus saw things differently. Not only did 'divine possession' lead to results that were 'extremely beautiful' (*kala karta*, B 18), he also praised Homer because 'being endowed with a nature open to divine influence he built a fair structure of all kinds of words' (B 21). The *ars-ingenium* controversy could also take the form of the question whether a poet should drink wine or water.⁸⁸

Intent, Authorial

There was a widespread, if largely implicit, consensus among critics that there was such a thing as authorial intent and that it was the reader's task to try to grasp it. Ancient criticism was unaffected by the discussion around the 'intentional fallacy' which arose in the middle of the twentieth century. Even critics who advocated a form of *reading against the grain or between the lines (*multiple meanings) essentially subscribed to the idea of authorial intent. This 'additional meaning' was there because the author put it there. The concept of authorial intent was particularly strong in rhetorical criticism, which saw the author in complete and conscious control of his material. This also

87 Schlunk [1974], Schmit-Neuerburg [1999].

88 Cameron [1995] 363–366, with bibl., who, however, rejects the view that Callimachus was part of this discussion. On the history of inspiration as a critical concept see Kositzke [1998] 423–433, with bibl., on *enthousiasmos* Kositzke [1994] 1185–1197, with bibl., on *ars-ingenium* Neumann [2003] 139–171, with bibl.

holds true for Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, which makes it even more remarkable that in his *Poetics* the notion of authorial intent is hardly ever called into play.⁸⁹

Interpretation, textimmanente

The notion that each author was his own best interpreter with the consequence that interpretation should be *textimmanente* is likely to be Aristarchus' best-known tenet (usually in form of the phrase 'to elucidate Homer from Homer').⁹⁰ It is, however, important to keep in mind what Aristarchus' point was. A fundamental concern of his was to avoid the various forms of *anachronism that threatened an appropriate interpretation. In order to do so, it was best to analyse first and above all how the relevant text itself dealt with the question under consideration. This approach enabled the critic, for example, to establish the meaning of a word in the Homeric epics (as opposed to later authors and/or Hellenistic usage), to differentiate between variants of a myth (*mythology), to reconstruct the specifically Homeric *Weltbild*, etc. Aristarchus, however, did not advocate the view that the critic must completely ignore other relevant data (*sense of proportion). First, his form of *textimmanente* interpretation entailed a great deal of *comparison with other sources (primarily, but not exclusively, texts, see *mythology): Homer's *custom was regularly set off against that of other authors. Second, Aristarchus was not opposed to using other data, especially when Homer himself did not present an unambiguous picture. For instance, he uses Hesiod as a 'witness' (*martus*) for the physical shape of the Molione (sch. A *Il.* 23.638–642 *Ariston.*). The same poet is quoted as an authority on Ascrea in order to reject Zenodotus' text (sch. A *Il.* 2.507a *Ariston.*). Others notes support the point made with references to Stesichorus (sch. A *Il.* 5.31d *Ariston.*) or Euripides (sch. A *Il.* 2.353a *Ariston.*). Likewise, the explanation of certain **Realien* (e.g. geography) was impossible without recourse to other sources. Finally, the flexibility of Aristarchus' approach also transpired from the fact that he admitted exceptions, especially in the form of things that occurred only once (*hapax legomena*, which was not an exclusively lexicographic category).

89 On the history of authorial intent as a critical concept see Bernecker [1998] 451–459, with bibl.

90 The bibliography on the subject (see Montanari [19970] 285–286, with bibl. in n. 20) is primarily concerned with the question whether or not the phrase *Homêron ex Homêrou saphênizein* represents Aristarchus' own wording. The point of the present entry is argued at greater length in Nünlist [forthc.].

Licence, Poetic

In his *Poetics*, Aristotle defended poetry against the fundamental objections raised by Plato against all forms of art (**mimêsis*), among other things, 'by holding that the content and meaning of mimetic works cannot justifiably be tested against any fixed criterion of truth or reality' (Halliwell [1989] 153) but must be measured by its own standards (1460b8–15). He thus made a claim on a large scale that on a smaller scale came to be known as 'poetic licence'. The main points, though not the term, were expounded already by Isocrates (*Euag.* 9–10): unlike a historian or an orator, a poet was free to choose at will both linguistic means and subject-matter, including fictional or even fantastic story elements. The term poetic licence as such was regularly used in a defensive manner, in order to reject objections raised by other critics. Aristarchus, for instance, repeatedly defended Homer against the 'internal *contradictions' that quibblers had found. In addition, he and others granted poets a fair dose of *fiction.⁹¹

Literary Dependence

The careful *analysis and *comparison of literary texts could also lead to the insight that a passage directly depended on another (cf. already Glaucus of Rhegium fr. 7 Lanata). Aristarchus' *commentaries regularly identified such cases. For instance, Hesiod's story about Pandora's box (*pithos*) depended on the Iliadic passage where Achilles speaks about Zeus' jars (*pithoi*), which contain good and bad lots.⁹² Likewise, Pindar's unusual metaphor 'white breast' (*mastos*, of a hill, *P.* 4.8) was a productive adaptation of Homer's 'udder of the soil' (*outhar arourês*, *Il.* 9.114).⁹³ The second example shows that scholars also commented on the specific relationship between the two passages: quotation, imitation, adaptation, *allusion, parody, etc.

Literary History

In chapters 4 to 5 of his *Poetics*, Aristotle gave a description of how tragedy and comedy had grown from other *genres and thus reached their perfect form. The whole account is deeply rooted in his teleological philosophy (cf. *unity). This is one reason why it proves so difficult to match it with actual literary history (Halliwell [1986] chs. 3 and 9), leaving aside that, according to

91 On the history of (poetic) licence as a critical concept see Schmude [2001a] 253–258, with bibl., for practical examples see Nünlist [2009a] 174–184, with bibl. in n. 1.

92 Sch. *A Il.* 24.527–528a *Ariston.* with respect to Hesiod *Works and Days* 84–104; Aristarchus' comment is triggered by the number of jars (Lehrs [1882³] 189).

93 Sch. *Pind. Pyth.* 4.14.

Aristotle himself, the origins of comedy are obscure (1449a38–b1). Elsewhere, however, (for instance, in the compilation of ‘didascalical’ information on dramatic poets: *plot summary) Aristotle showed more concern for a subject that the members of his school treated against a decidedly *biographical backdrop. In Alexandria, Callimachus’ **Pinakes* can perhaps count as a prototype of literary history. More generally, the typically Greek search for the *prôtos heuretês* (‘first discoverer’) was also applied, for instance, to genres and their ‘inventors’. And it was equally common to describe the subsequent history as a chain of ‘teachers’ and ‘pupils’. Aristophanes had already planted the seeds of literary history in his *Frogs*: the importance of the tragic chorus gradually decreased in the course of the fifth century; tragedy as a whole was no longer what it used to be; the new dithyramb scandalised everybody (obviously the sighs of a *laudator temporis acti*). Periodisations such as Old, Middle and New Comedy were the practical consequence.⁹⁴

Metaphor

It is no exaggeration to say that, to this day, metaphor has been a pet child of literary criticism and the central *figure of speech.⁹⁵ Aristotle set the point when he declared *metaphora* (and ‘foreign/strange words’, *glôttai*) typical of poetic diction (*Poet.* 1458a21–23) and the only thing you could not learn from others (1459a6–7). Two points must, however, be borne in mind. First, Aristotle’s term *metaphora* is roughly equivalent to ‘figurative language’ and in any case encompasses more than ‘metaphor’ does. Second, Aristotle did not advocate the view that metaphors were exclusive to poetry. Everybody uses them (*Rh.* 1404b34–35). He also put forward a fourfold definition of metaphor (*Poet.* 1457b6–9) as a ‘transfer’ (*epiphora*) (a) from genus (*genos*) to species (*eidos*), (b) from species to genus, (c) from species to species, (d) by analogy, each with examples. Moreover, he demonstrated that metaphors filled gaps in the vocabulary, when there was no proper term yet for a particular phenomenon (1457b25–32). He thus described the figure called *katachrêsis*. The term is not attested in his extant writings, but Cicero (*Orat.* 27.94) expressly refers it to him. In any case, the term is common among Hellenistic scholars, who also took up his fourfold definition, though the first two positions were thought to be part of metonymy (or synecdoche), not metaphor. Another fourfold model, built on the four possible combinations of ‘animate’ (*empsychos*) and ‘inani-

94 On the Hellenistic origins see Nesselrath [1990], summary on pp. 186–187.

95 On the history of metaphor as a critical concept see Eggs [2001] 1099–1183, with bibl., who, in particular, rejects (1103) the common view that Aristotle subscribed to the idea of substitution (e.g. Silk [2003] 118).

mate' (*apsuchos*), is found in Trypho (237.1–3 West), who must be indebted to Aristotle (*Rh.* 1411b31–1412a3).⁹⁶

Metre

In spite of Aristotle's objections (*Poet.* 1447b13–23), metre remained the decisive factor for the differentiation between poetry and *prose (*classifications). The specific metre also helped answer the question to which *genre a poem belonged. This applied in particular to lyric poetry (broadly understood) with its wealth of subgenres (hymns, paeans, dithyrambs, maiden songs, encomia, dirges, victory odes, etc.). This division also determined the editorial practice, in that the Alexandrian editions of lyric poets were organised by metre, as were Callimachus' **Pinakes*. Furthermore, metre also helped differentiate the various parts within a genre (*e.g.* choral odes and 'speech' in drama). The champion of metrical studies was Aristophanes of Byzantium, who marked the ends of the metrical *cola* of lyric poetry with *critical signs. The separation of these *cola*, however, long believed to be his invention, apparently predates him, as the Lille papyrus of Stesichorus indicates (3rd c. BC, = fr. 222b PMGF). Aristophanes' work on the triadic structure of 'choral' odes also helped him recognise the principle of metrical responsion between the corresponding parts, which had an immediate impact on textual criticism.⁹⁷ Aristarchus observed the rule that nowadays is called 'Hermann's Bridge'.⁹⁸ In addition to developing an elaborate taxonomy, critics also discussed metrical anomalies (*e.g.* 'mousetailed' hexameters), collected examples of lines that were comparatively rare (*e.g.* purely spondaic hexameters) or otherwise remarkable (*e.g.* three-word hexameters).⁹⁹

Mimêsis

Plato and Aristotle agreed that the essence of art was *mimêsis*, though the term did not denote exactly the same thing. For Plato it was a form of 'imitation' and he therefore rejected it (*censorship). The carpenter imitated the 'ideal form' of the table, while the artist imitated what was already an imitation, which removed him even further from the 'ideal form'. Moreover, Plato did not like the

96 This hypothesis (Lausberg [2008⁴] 286) gains support from the fact that essentially the same model is found in Aristarchus' *commentaries (cf. esp. sch. *A Il.* 11.574a *Ariston*.) and thus existed before Trypho.

97 Pfeiffer [1968] 185–188.

98 Pfeiffer [1968] 229.

99 On the history of metre as a critical concept see Schmude [2001b] 1223–1232, with bibl., on metrically remarkable lines Richardson [1980] 286–287.

kind of ‘impersonation’ that a character’s speech (in epic or drama) required. Aristotle, on the other hand, declared that *mimêsis* (in the sense of ‘representation’) was part of human nature. Both the act of representing, which was related to learning and understanding, and to watch such representations were an inborn source of *pleasure for human beings (*Poet.* ch. 4). In subsequent criticism the Platonic notion of *mimêsis* prevailed (though not necessarily his sanctions). For instance, the equation *mimêsis* = impersonation = speech recurred in such a way that *mimêsis* (and cognates) could designate ‘speech’ (as opposed to narrator-text). The notion that art imitated nature remained a *topos* of art theory until the end of the nineteenth century. In Hellenistic literary criticism it can be observed, for instance, when authors are praised for the lifelike *realism of their depictions, that is, the imitation is considered particularly successful (see also the demand that characters should essentially be comparable to the audience: *characterisation).¹⁰⁰ For a different extension of the term see *Emulation.

Monograph (sungramma)

The monograph was the other preferred format of Hellenistic criticism (cf. *commentary).¹⁰¹ To treat a particular subject in the form of a monograph had a long tradition which reached back into the early days of Greek prose. As regards the primary subject of this chapter, the modern reader faces the source problem described in the introductory section above. The Hellenistic critics are known to have written countless monographs on various topics (*nick-names), including literary criticism. Apollonius of Rhodes, for instance, wrote a treatise *On Archilochus*, a comparatively early example of the *peri*-literature.¹⁰² None of these monographs, however, has been transmitted in its entirety. The treatises that are still extant either predate or, more often, postdate the Hellenistic period.¹⁰³ In addition to reflections in these later sources, the content of the Hellenistic treatises themselves must be reconstructed on the basis

100 On the history of *mimêsis* as a critical concept see Eusterschulte-Guthknecht [2001] 1232–1327, with bibl., Halliwell [2002].

101 Pfeiffer [1968] *passim*.

102 See Dubischar in this volume.

103 Pre-Hellenistic: *e.g.* Aristotle, Anaximenes of Lampsacus; post-Hellenistic: Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Horace, Ps.-Longinus, Heraclitus (the allegorist), Cornutus, etc. The only possible exception is *On Style (peri hermeneias)*, mistakenly attributed to Demetrius of Phaleron in a tenth-century manuscript. But its date remains elusive (for a good summary of the principal questions see Innes [1995] 312–321).

of the mere title and/or fragments, usually small in number. This source problem seriously limits the quantity and reliability of the results.

Multiple Meanings

The term ‘underlying meaning’ (*huponoia*) is indicative of the recognition that, in addition to the literal meaning on the surface of the text, there was a second level of meaning, for instance, an implied message.¹⁰⁴ Arguably the most important application of the term *huponoia* was in allegorical interpretation.¹⁰⁵ Said to have begun in the sixth century BC by Theagenes of Rhegium (8 A 2 D-K), allegorical interpretation was one of the forms of defence that the ethically motivated attacks on poetry triggered (*educative function). As its proponents argued, it was the underlying second meaning of a text that really mattered. The search for the *huponoia* was explicitly rejected as a suitable reading strategy by Plato (*Resp.* 378d, cf. *Plut. Quomodo adul.* 19e) and did not engage Aristotle’s sympathy. The oldest extant example of some length is the Derveni papyrus, which preserves substantial fragments of an allegorical commentary on an Orphic theogony.¹⁰⁶ Regarding the Hellenistic period specifically, the prevalent view among modern scholars is that there was a sharp contrast between Alexandria on the one hand and Pergamon on the other: Aristarchus strongly objected to a method that was practised by his Pergamene ‘rival’ Crates of Mallos. The picture may not be as clear-cut as that.¹⁰⁷ In any case, Alexandrian criticism paid little tribute to allegorical interpretation. The following questions, however, are more difficult to answer and thus the subject of ongoing scholarly debates: How important or widespread was allegorical interpretation during the Hellenistic period (sc. outside of Alexandria)? How narrow was its connection to Stoicism? Should it actually be regarded as a form of literary criticism?¹⁰⁸ Another type of multiple meanings was recognised in what today would be called ‘dramatic irony’: the text had a second meaning,

104 The earliest attestation of ‘underlying meaning’ probably is Xenophon *Symp.* 3.6; for ‘implied message’ see Aristarchus in sch. *Pind. Isthm.* 7.23a.

105 On the history of allegorical interpretation see Freytag [1992] 330–393, Konstan [2005], Trapp [2012⁴], each with bibl.

106 For text and commentary see Tsantsanoglou-Parassoglou-Kouremenos [2006], Betegh [2004]; on literary criticism specifically Henry [1986].

107 Aristarchus’ alleged ‘anti-allegorism’ hinges on a single witness (sch. *D. Il.* 5.385) which is open to a much broader interpretation (Nünlist [2011]). Besides, Crates practised a very peculiar and idiosyncratic form of ‘allegorical’ interpretation (Porter [1992]).

108 These questions are too complex to be discussed in a short overview. For the divergent views see e.g. Russell [1981] = [1995] 95–96, Long [1992], Porter [1992], Dawson [1992], Struck [2004], Konstan [2005] xiii–xxvii, Gutzwiller [2010] 354–359, Nünlist [2011].

which undermined the first and was understood by the audience but not the relevant character(s).¹⁰⁹

Museum (mouseion) and Library

The concept of a library as such was not new, but the idea to collect *all* the books that were worth having was (literary *heritage). In addition, the Ptolemies wisely decided to pay qualified specialists to do the work. This combination of efforts enabled or, one might even say, was the precondition for the cultural heyday that the name 'Alexandria' now stands for. Thus the Museum in general and the *book(roll) as its most prominent 'medium' in particular have become emblems of the subject under consideration. Given the notorious unreliability of figures in medieval manuscripts, it is impossible to gauge the library's holdings with confidence. In practical terms, the organisation of the library appears to have been influenced by Peripatetics.¹¹⁰

Music

A substantial portion of Greek poetry was not only accompanied by musical instruments but either sung or chanted, with words and music forming a unity. In the course of the fourth century, however, this unity was jeopardised when some critics started focusing on the language alone, while Aristoxenus developed musicology as a discipline. Separation and specialisation may or may not be responsible for the relative neglect of music among Hellenistic critics, who would have been in a position to save this part of their *heritage too. And although scholars like Aristophanes of Byzantium carefully studied the intricate rules of *metre and his successor Apollonius (called the 'Classifier', *eido-graphos*) assigned lyric poems to different 'musical classes' (*classification), music itself did not enter the mainstream of scholarly activity and was consequently lost for ever.¹¹¹

Mythology

Given that the subject-matter of much Greek poetry had its roots in the literary *tradition, critics took a natural interest in mythology, which for them was at the same time a form of 'early history'. The interpretation of individual passages regularly required an explanation of the mythological 'facts' (who is who? etc.). Starting no later than with Ps.-Plato's *Minos* (318d–e), it became

109 Nünlist [2009a] 234–235, with bibl. in n. 32.

110 Pfeiffer [1968] 96–102, Fraser [1972] 305–335, Blum [1977], MacLeod [2004²], El-Abbadi-Fathallah [2008], Stephens [2010] 54–56, and Montana in this volume.

111 Pfeiffer [1968] 181–184, Barker [2012⁴] with bibl.

customary to distinguish between variants. Did the relevant author follow the known version of the myth or did he take a different approach? (Aristotle expressed the rule that the fundamentals of a myth, for instance, Orestes' matricide, must not be altered: *Poet.* 1453b22–25.) How exactly did this version differ from others? Which other author(s) had dealt with this particular topic (*plot summaries)? In accordance with his general preference for *text-immanente* *interpretation, Aristarchus advocated the view that each text should be looked at separately. He therefore took exception to the method of filling apparent 'gaps' by means of other texts, nor was it acceptable to harmonise them.¹¹² Interestingly, his comparison of mythical variants included the depiction in visual arts (sch. *A Il.* 10.265a *Ariston.*, on Odysseus' felt cap), which was to become a standard feature of modern handbooks such as Roscher or *LIMC*. The rationalisation of myth (found *e.g.* in Herodotus and advocated by Palaephatus) seems to have had a limited influence on the notes that are of a demonstrably Hellenistic age. On the other hand, this era is responsible for the first mythographical handbooks that aimed for comprehensiveness (*e.g.* the so-called *Mythographus Homericus*).¹¹³

Narrative Voice

Due to their careful *analysis critics also identified instances of internal *contradiction. Some of them could be shown to be apparent only. One possible 'solution' (*problems and solutions), attested from Aristotle onwards (fr. 146 Rose, *Poet.* 1461a7–8), was that the divergent passages were not spoken by the same agent and therefore not real contradictions. The agents could either be two different characters or a character and the narrator. The distinction between narrator-text and speech could already be found in Plato (*classification), who took exception to the impersonation that speech required (**mimêsis*). Aristarchus recognised that there was more to the distinction between the voice of the narrator and that of his characters. On the one hand, this distinction helped him differentiate between their respective *Weltbild* (*anachronism). On the other, he detected differences of *style and narrative technique between narrator-text and speech. What is more, the pointed references to the comments which the Homeric narrator expressed 'from outside in his own voice' (*e.g.* sch. *A Il.* 10.240 *Ariston.*) show Aristarchus' awareness of the general scarcity of such narratorial comments in the Homeric epics. He thus paved the

112 For both see Nünlist [2011] 108.

113 Cameron [2004]; for practical examples see Nünlist [2009a] 257–264, with bibl.

way for the Jamesian notion of 'showing vs. telling', the essence of which can be found in Ps.-Demetrius *On Style* 288.¹¹⁴

Nickname

Ancient biographers were fond of anecdotes (*biographical criticism). One result of this activity was that the biographical tradition reported nicknames for several scholars too (on Zoilus see *polemics). The polymath Eratosthenes was called *bêta* ('number two') because he was an expert in numerous fields but the real champion in none. Another nickname, 'pentathlete', gave expression to the same idea. Given the large number of books that Didymus allegedly wrote, he must have had 'brazen guts' (*chalkenteros*). In fact he wrote so many that he could not remember them all and was thus a *bibliolathas* (lit. 'book-forgetter'). Nicanor's efforts to punctuate (gr. *stizein*) texts earned him the nickname *stigmatias*, which was the word for a slave who had run away and therefore been tattooed (also *stizein*).¹¹⁵ Ancient nicknames did not aim for fairness either.

Performance

Like their modern successors ancient critics tried to reconstruct the conditions under which the texts were performed.¹¹⁶ This type of criticism was particularly prominent in commentaries on dramatic texts. As is well known, Aristotle attributed comparatively little importance to questions of stagecraft (*Poet.* 1450b16–20) and analysed the plays mostly from the point of view of a reader. His Hellenistic successors paid more attention to this topic and recognised the need to reconstruct the stage action in order to understand the text. They thus deduced many 'stage directions' from the bare bones of the text. Less expected from a modern perspective is the frequency with which critics argued how a particular utterance must be delivered (angrily, ironically, pleadingly, etc.). For such instructions included non-dramatic genres and were therefore meant for the reader (on the ancient habit of reading aloud see **enargeia*; on the importance of the phonetic quality see **euphonist* theory; contrast the loss of **music*). The importance that the Hellenistic critics attributed to accentuation

114 Nünlist [2009a] 116–134, with bibl. in n. 2.

115 Pfeiffer [1968] 170 on Eratosthenes, 275 on Didymus; for Nicanor see Eust. *Il.* 20.12 (= vol. 1.33.13–14 van der Valk).

116 Aristarchus is thus responsible for two age-long debates, in that he argued that some athletic victories were celebrated immediately by an impromptu song (sch. Pind. *Nem.* 3.1c) and that the chorus of *Frogs* was split in two halves (sch. Ar. *Ran.* 354a, b, 372c). For these and other examples see Nünlist [2009a] 338–365, with bibl. in n. 2.

and punctuation must be seen in the same light. Far from being a merely 'technical' concern of the editor or textual critic, proper accentuation and punctuation made it actually possible to read out the text in a meaningful way. This was the first step towards a proper understanding of the relevant text.¹¹⁷

Persuasiveness (pithanotês)

It is hardly a coincidence that the first two books of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, which formed its backbone, dealt with the *pisteis* ('means of persuasion') that an orator had at his disposal, since persuasion went to the very heart of *rhetoric. Whether in court or in politics, it was essential to get the jury or the voters on one's side; hence the continued emphasis on persuasion in rhetoric. For literary critics, too, it mattered whether or not the text under consideration succeeded in persuading the reader. The respective notes often went hand in hand with questions of *plausibility or probability. Since critics did not abhor the idea of *polemics, their notes could also comment on the question whether or not the views of their colleagues were persuasive.¹¹⁸

Pinakes ('Tables')

The literary *heritage stored up in the library of Alexandria (*Museum and library) also needed to be organised in a meaningful way. By compiling his *Pinakes* Callimachus set a trend. He divided the entire body of Greek literature into several classes (*classification), some of which coincided with established literary *genres such as epic, tragedy or comedy. Some categories (esp. lyric) contained several sub-genres. Within each unit the sequence of authors was *alphabetical. Each entry contained some biographical information, for which Callimachus probably drew on Peripatetic sources (*biographical criticism). Next there was a list of the author's works, perhaps in alphabetical order too. It identified cases of doubtful *authenticity and marked works that were no longer extant. Quotation of the opening line (*incipit*) served as a welcome means to identify individual texts, not least when they had no title (esp. lyric poems) or one that was not necessarily authentic. The total length of an author's work also gave an estimate of its cost (scribes were paid per line). This brief description is enough to show that, in spite of the similarities, the *Pinakes* should not be reduced to a mere library catalogue. Callimachus' interest in *literary history can further be documented with another *Pinax* in which he listed the dramatic poets in chronological order and from the beginning. The *Pinakes*

117 Johnson-Parker [2009], Johnson [2010].

118 On the history of persuasiveness as a critical concept see Mainberger [1996] 993–1000, with bibl., Knape [2003] 874–907, with bibl.

proved to be an important source and a model for future research. They were later supplemented by Aristophanes of Byzantium (fr. 368–369 Slater).¹¹⁹

Plagiarism

A concern for, anachronistically speaking, copyright issues can be traced back to, for instance, Theognis of Megara and his ‘seal’ (19–23). It is nevertheless appropriate to say that the foundation of the *Museum increased the awareness of such issues and at the same time made it possible to investigate them more thoroughly than before (*analysis, *comparison). It is therefore conceivable that Aristophanes of Byzantium (fr. 376 Slater) introduced a novelty when he compiled a whole list of passages that Menander had ‘borrowed’ from others. A thematically related anecdote (test. 17 Slater) shows that the ancients’ stupendous memory still played an important role. It is, however, revealing that Aristophanes not only caught the ‘contestants in a public literary competition’ but also ‘proved their plagiarism afterwards by unrolling innumerable volumes in the library’ (Pfeiffer [1968] 191). Unless the anecdote projects current (*i.e.* Augustan) practice back into the past, it vividly illustrates how the Museum had changed the world.¹²⁰

Plausibility (or Probability)

In chapter 9 of the *Poetics* Aristotle determined that the subject-matter of poetry (as opposed to that of historiography) were ‘the kinds of things that might occur (*hoia an genoito*) and are possible (*dunata*) in terms of probability or necessity (*kata to eikos ê to anankaion*)’ (1451a37–38). The reason was, as *Problems* 917b15 made clear, that improbability would foreclose *pleasure. Aristotle thus sanctioned the principle of probability or plausibility (cf. *persuasiveness), which also determined how the individual parts of the *plot were to be strung together (narrative *coherence). Aristotle’s well-known formula codified an idea that underlay ‘programmatic’ passages in early Greek poetry (*e.g.* *Od.* 19.203, *Hes. Theog.* 27). The concept was readily taken up by Hellenistic critics, whose *commentaries frequently discussed the plausibility of the passage under consideration. The fact that this was repeatedly done in negative terms is most likely owed to the nature of the genre, in that irregularities (real or apparent) tend to catch the critic’s eye first (*contradiction, *problem and

119 Pfeiffer [1968] 127–134, Blum [1977] *passim*, summary: 231; on the English translation see n. 33. See also Montana in this volume.

120 On the history of plagiarism as a critical concept see Ackermann [2003] 1223–1230), Silk [2012⁴], each with bibl.

solution). This should not conceal the underlying agreement among critics that literature ought to conform to the relevant principle, which it usually did.¹²¹

Pleasure (hêdonê)

According to Aristotle, both to produce art and to watch works of art is a natural source of pleasure (**mimêsis*). The creation of aesthetic pleasure (and other *emotions) was thus seen as an essential goal of literature, which was achieved, among other things, by the *unity and *plausibility of the *plot, by proper *characterisation, etc. Each *genre generated its specific type of pleasure (*Poet.* 1453a35–36). While there was almost universal consensus among critics that literature rightfully generated pleasure, the claim that this was its primary or even sole purpose was made much less frequently (on Eratosthenes see *emotions). The mixture, enshrined in Horace's pair *prodesse* and *delectare* (*Ars P.* 333), is more representative of the ancient outlook (cf. **L'art pour l'art*).¹²²

Plot

Put on the throne by Aristotle (*Poet.* esp. chs. 6–13), plot has been one of the most durable and influential concepts of criticism—ancient and modern. As the first and decisive qualitative part of tragedy (cf. *characterisation), plot (*muthos* or *sustasis tôn pragmatôn*, 'construction of events') is the *condicio sine qua non* of the *Poetics*, because it is the most important criterion whether or not a work of art (exemplified by tragedy) reaches its goal. One might even say that plot is its goal (1450a22–23). The main characteristics of a good plot are: (a) organic *unity: all parts fit together and form a self-contained whole, no part needs to be added, none can be transposed or removed; (b) good size: neither too small nor too big; (c) motivation or narrative *coherence: the individual parts do not follow each other randomly but according to probability or necessity (*plausibility), that is, they observe the principle of cause and effect; (d) the solution to a tragic conflict should come from the plot itself and not 'from outside' (e.g. by means of a *deus ex machina*). The foundation was thus laid. Rather than discussing Aristotle's fairly theoretical model as such, subsequent criticism concentrated on developing the interpretative 'tools' that

121 On the history of plausibility etc. as critical concepts see Mainberger [1996] 993–1000, Steudel-Günther [2003] 1282–1285, van Zantwijk [2009] 1285–1340, each with bibl., for practical examples Schironi [2009b] 283–288), Nünlist [2009a] index s.v. plausibility.

122 On the history of pleasure as a critical concept see Wöhrle [1994] 521–523, with bibl.

enabled them to conduct an analysis of actual plots and their respective characteristics (narrative *coherence, *formalism).¹²³

Plot Summary (hupothesis)

The Peripatetic Dicaearchus and Aristophanes of Byzantium are known to have written plot summaries.¹²⁴ In the latter case they preceded the text of the respective tragedy or comedy. Those summaries that are still extant also inform the reader whether the same subject was treated by the other dramatists (cf. *mythology), mention the location of the play's action (*e.g.* Thebes), the identity of the chorus and the first speaker. This is followed by so-called 'didascalical' information (date of the first performance, the producer, titles of the other plays produced on the same occasion, the names of the competitors, the result of the competition) and rounded off by a critical judgment. Whether these extant summaries are a reliable basis for the reconstruction of Aristophanes' original summaries is the subject of an ongoing scholarly debate, as is their exact relationship to Callimachus' **Pinakes*.¹²⁵

Poetics, Theory of

Only Aristotle's treatise and Horace's poem expressly declare themselves to be 'poetics', neither of which is of a Hellenistic date, though Horace is known to have incorporated much Hellenistic material. To focus on these texts alone would plainly be absurd. There are plenty of other texts that are relevant to the subject of this chapter. What is more, whether or not a critic wrote his own poetics or made regular and explicit reference to one hardly matters. A case in point is Pfeiffer's well-known denial that 'Aristarchus followed the principles of a theory of poetics' [1968] 231. Pfeiffer's own examples, which can easily be added to, show that his scepticism is unfounded. Aristarchus no doubt had—to adapt Ax' felicitous phrase—a *Poetik im Kopf*, leaving aside the hermeneutical question whether a text can actually be read without recourse to some theory of poetics. And every critic who wrote on literary subjects automatically (if often unexpressedly) took sides in the debate about *ars* and *ingenium* (*inspiration).¹²⁶

123 On the *Poetics* see Halliwell [1986], for practical examples Nünlist [2009a] 23–68, with bibl.

124 See Novokhatko and Montana in this volume.

125 Pfeiffer [1968] 190, 192–195, citing older bibl., Budé [1977], Slater [1986] x, also 172 on fr. 434, Brown [1987], van Rossum-Steenbeek [1998] 32–33.

126 On the history of theories of poetics see Till (*et al.*) [2003] 1304–1393, with bibl. According to the original phrase, Aristarchus had a "*Grammatik im Kopf*" (Ax [2000] 107).

Polemics

The tone of literary criticism could be sharp. A possible target of such polemics was the author under consideration (cf. *censorship), as in the case of Zoilus, who earned himself the *nickname *Homêromastix* (lit. 'Homer-whip'). More often, however, scholars criticised each other with the familiar range of terms that are apt to describe intellectual shortcomings. Aristarchus created a particular *critical sign in order to mark the passages where he disagreed with Zenodotus.¹²⁷

Problems and Solutions

The mutual cross-examinations of 'Aeschylus' and 'Euripides' in Aristophanes' *Frogs* in a way adumbrated an interpretative method that was to become very popular, the first clear attestations being Aristotle's *Homeric Problems* (fr. 142–179 Rose) and the well-known chapter 25 in the *Poetics*: a particular 'problem' (*zêtêma*; cf. *contradiction) was pithily formulated, often in the form of a question ('why is it that . . .?'), whereupon one or several 'solutions' (*luseis*) were offered ('because . . .'). The latter were divided into several types (*anachronism, *narrative voice), some of which, needless to say, reached well beyond the domain of literary criticism. Now and then, the format so to speak gained a life of its own in that the alleged 'problem' did not really have a toehold in the text under discussion but was primarily intended as an excuse for an elaborate 'solution'.¹²⁸

Prose

The differentiation between poetry and prose played an important role, with *metre being the distinctive criterion (*e.g.* Gorgias 82 B 11.9 D-K), to which Aristotle objected in vain (*Poet.* 1447b13–23). Prose was usually considered poetry's younger and less illustrious sibling. The relevant accounts assumed that prose developed from poetry and came thus after it. Put in *stylistic terms, poetry 'stepped down from its chariot' (*e.g.* Strab. 1.2.6, cf. *sublimity). As one Greek term for prose, *pezos logos*, indicates with perfect candour, prose walks on foot. While it is true that Hellenistic critics devoted more energy to poetry, prose authors were by no means ignored. Callimachus' **Pinakes* included prose *genres, Aristarchus wrote a commentary on Herodotus.¹²⁹ Studies with a

127 On the history of polemics as a critical concept see Stauffer [2003] 1403–1414, with bibl.

128 Gudeman [1927c], Pfeiffer [1968] 69–70, Nünlist [2009a] 11–12. See also Dubischar in this volume.

129 An abridgment has been preserved on papyrus (P. Amh. II 12); see also Didymus' commentary on Demosthenes (Gibson [2002]).

rhetorical focus, in particular, were bound to include oratory, even if many of their examples came from poetry. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Preface* 4) claimed to be the first to describe the characteristics of specific orators and prose authors, but this cannot mean that they had not been studied at all.¹³⁰

Reader-Response Theory

Ancient literary criticism (just like pre-twentieth century criticism in general) primarily focused on the production side of literature, but the reception side was not completely ignored. In addition to the various *emotions that literature created with the reader, critics also discussed the cooperation of the reader and thus adumbrated aspects of modern reader-response theory. Theophrastus (fr. 696 Fortenbaugh) recommended 'that one ought not to elaborate everything in detail, but leave some things for the listener, too, to perceive and infer for himself; for when he perceives what you have left out, he not only is a listener but also becomes your witness, and in addition more favourably disposed. For he thinks himself perceptive, because you have provided him with the occasion to exercise perception'. Aristarchus applied the insight of a rhetorical manual to the interpretation of literary texts and defended their 'gaps' as a regular feature, which was thus perfectly acceptable. Authors made things clear not only 'explicitly' (*rhêtôs*) but also 'tacitly' (*kata to siôpômenon*). The reader was required to 'understand' (*hupakouein*) and thus supplement the points that were not expressly stated. In other words, at least some critics regarded the reader as an active participant in the process of making meaning.¹³¹

Reading Against the Grain

The general consensus on the importance of *authorial intent determined that the prevalent reading strategy was to retrieve it by means of systematic *analysis and close *reading. But in his treatise *How the young man should study poetry* Plutarch urged readers to pay close attention to possible *contradictions in a text, to speak up in the form of interjections or the like (26b), in short, to be a resisting reader (28d).¹³² A somewhat malicious form of the same strategy could already be found in Aristophanes' *Frogs*. The numerous questions and interjections sometimes blatantly fail to do justice to the passage under consideration. Stripped of the comic exaggeration, what is left is a form of reading against the grain. Likewise, some *problems (and solutions) are so

130 On the history of prose as a critical concept see Weissenberger [2005] 321–348, with bibl.

131 On the history of reader response theory see Semsch [2005] 1363–1374, with bibl., for practical examples Nünlist [2009a] 157–173, with bibl. in n. 1.

132 Konstan [2004].

peculiar or even far-fetched that they are hardly compatible with the search for the author's intention.

Reading, Close

Extensive reading (*analysis) went hand in hand with close reading. The *commentaries, in particular, amply document critics' attempts to analyse the text with microscopic accuracy, 'wrestle' sense from difficult or obscure passages, discover particular subtleties, etc. Aristarchus expressly recommended: 'one must look intently at the particular circumstances' of the passage under consideration (*eis tēn enestōsan peristasin atenisteon*, sch. A *Il.* 14.84a *Ariston.*). No wonder he was hailed for his ability to 'divine' (*manteuesthai*) the poems' meaning (Panaetius fr. 93 van Straaten = Ath. 634c). Extensive and close reading also meant repeated reading, which only a truly great piece of art made a rewarding experience (Hor. *Ars P.* 364–365, Ps.-Long. *Sub.* 7.3).¹³³

Realien

A general interest in antiquarian matters could already be found in the sophistic movement (Hippias of Elis) and in the works of Aristotle.¹³⁴ The writing of running *commentaries required Hellenistic critics to deal with all kinds of questions that the text under discussion posed. These included *Realien*, which were thus regularly commented on. In connection with his concern for possible *anachronism, Aristarchus made a great effort to reconstruct the 'living conditions' of the heroic age as accurately as possible because this was the *condicio sine qua non* for a proper understanding of the text. The explanation, for instance, that the Homeric shield was carried by means of a strap slung around the shoulder (and not by means of a handle, as in later times) loses its apparent insignificance as soon as one realises that it determines the correct sequence of Homer's type scene 'arming' (*formulaic language). Aristarchus' comment (sch. A *Il.* 3.334–335a *Ariston.*, with *test.*) was meant to refute Zenodotus, who had altered the sequence. The discussion of much scientific detail (geography, astronomy, medicine, zoology, etc.) should also be read against the backdrop of literature's *educative function.

Realism, Lifelike

Alcidamas perceived a direct relationship between literature and 'real life' when he referred to the *Odyssey* as a 'beautiful mirror of human life' (quoted by Aristotle *Rh.* 1406b11–14). A similar correspondence, though not necessarily

133 On the history of close reading as a critical concept see Boone [1994] 257–259, with bibl.

134 Pfeiffer [1968] 51, 79–84.

one of exact identity, is the basis of the theories of art which circled around the concept of **mimêsis* (cf. e.g. Aristotle's recommendation that *characterisation should fulfil the criterion of likeness, that is, general comparability of characters and readers/spectators). A correspondence between art and life also contributed to the latter's *plausibility. Comparable to Alcidamas' point, a theory (probably of Peripatetic origin) saw comedy as 'imitation of life'. It was the springboard for Aristophanes' of Byzantium famous question whether Menander's comedies imitated real life or *vice versa*.¹³⁵ The praise for lifelike realism was, however, not bestowed on comedy alone (cf. **enargeia*). A related topic was the question what enabled an author to present scenes that were so gripping. One possible answer was that he must have been present himself (i.e. autopsy). Other critics, however, saw that it was enough to give the impression that he had been there himself (i.e. imagination, see *visualisation).¹³⁶

Rhetoric

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, there was a considerable overlap between rhetoric and literary criticism, in that the latter often had a decidedly rhetorical outlook. The main difference was that rhetoric primarily aimed at producing texts and literary criticism at interpreting them. One might also say that the two subjects fertilised each other. Rhetorical handbooks often illustrated the respective *figure of speech, literary device, etc. with examples taken from poetry (most often Homer) and thus in turn influenced criticism.¹³⁷ How this might work in practice can be documented, for instance, with the famous line that foreshadows Patroclus' death in the *Iliad* (11.603). In his handbook Trypho (111 203 Spengel) first defined *proanaphônêsis* ('prolepsis, foreshadowing') and then quoted the Iliadic passage as an example. Aristarchus' relevant note had used exactly the same term (sch. A *Il.* 11.604b *Ariston.*; for another example see *style). More complex rhetorical notions such as *stasis* theory equally recurred in criticism.¹³⁸ The Patroclus example also demonstrates that, although rhetorical analysis might *a priori* be assumed to have a particular affinity to speech, it was unhesitatingly applied to the narrative parts too.¹³⁹

135 Pfeiffer [1968] 190–191.

136 On the history of realism as a critical concept see Lampart [2005] 621–640, with bibl., for practical examples Nünlist [2009a] index s.v. realism.

137 Classen [1994], [1995].

138 Heath [1993].

139 On the history of rhetoric see Kalivoda (*et al.*) [2005] 1423–1740, with bibl.

Scholar-Poet

The first part, in particular, of the period and subject under consideration is characterised by the number of *hommes de lettres* who made their mark both as scholars and poets.¹⁴⁰ With Antimachus of Colophon as their precursor, Philitas of Cos, Simias of Rhodes, Alexander Aetolus, Lycophron, Callimachus and Apollonius of Rhodes are among the names that come to mind.¹⁴¹ Given that they were all active and, in some cases (*e.g.* Callimachus), immensely prolific scholars, it is no surprise that their poetry, too, displays intimate knowledge of the questions that were discussed or even debated in scholarly circles (*influence). Arguably, the so-called 'Alexandrian footnote' owed its existence to this fusion of scholarship and poetry (cf. Callim. fr. 612 Pfeiffer).

Sense of Proportion

Several entries above (*ambiguity, questions of *authenticity, *consistency, *formulaic language, *textimmanente* *interpretation) make it clear that the systematic and comprehensive *analysis whose goal was to uncover rules, recurrent patterns (*custom) and the like did not automatically turn the critics into pedants. All in all, their principal methods were applied with some flexibility and a healthy sense of proportion.¹⁴²

Simile (parabolé)

Recognised as a distinctive feature of Homer's poetic style, the simile received much attention. Hellenistic critics identified the different parts (comparable to Fränkel's *Wie-Stück* and *So-Stück*) and debated whether the individual simile had a single or multiple points of comparison. Moreover, they produced a wealth of interpretations in which they pointed out the simile's aptness, *appropriateness, **enargeia*, *variety, etc. Not least they saw that the world of the similes was different from that of the heroes (*anachronism) and thus allowed a glimpse into Homer's own world. The latter was by comparison more domestic and 'humble', both conceptually and lexically (cf. *solemnity).¹⁴³

140 See Novokhatko and Montana in this volume.

141 Pfeiffer [1968] 88–104, 123–151, who, however, exaggerates their anti-Aristotelian agenda.

142 Contrast West [2002] 45, who speaks of 'an air of pedantry in the concentration on textual *minutiae*'.

143 On the history of simile as a critical concept see Heiningner [1996] 1000–1009, with bibl., for practical examples Nünlist [2009a] index s.v. simile, esp. 282–298, with bibl. in n. 17.

Solemnity (*semnotês*)

A text such as Aristophanes' *Frogs* is indicative of a keen awareness that individual poets or genres made use of different registers. Aeschylus, for example, 'built the towering structures of solemn words' (*Ran.* 1004). This topic had deeper implications and should not be limited to a notion primarily of style, though style was an important part of it (*e.g.* Arist. *Poet.* 1458a18–22). Given the general popularity of dichotomies, the relevant views were regularly expressed in the form of a vertically oriented opposition of pairs: 'high' vs. 'low', 'grand' vs. 'plain' (cf. the theory of the three *styles), 'solemn' (*semnos*) vs. 'base' (*tapeinos*) or 'mean' (*eutelês*). These opposing pairs could thus be exemplified accordingly: poetry vs. *prose, tragedy vs. comedy, etc. In a similar vein critics regularly discussed the question in what way a specific text displayed (or not) the register that was typical of this particular *genre, author, etc. (cf. *simile). Solemnity (*semnotês*) represented as seen the 'high' side and the corresponding genres. It can therefore be aligned with similar concepts such as 'elevation/sublimity' (*hupsos*), which was later to receive its authoritative treatment in the well-known monograph falsely attributed to Longinus.¹⁴⁴

Style

Neither in the *Poetics* nor the *Rhetoric* did Aristotle put particular emphasis on the importance of style as such. Both treatises, however, contained relevant sections (*Poet.* chapters 20–22 [on diction, the fourth qualitative part of tragedy: *characterisation], *Rh.* book 3 [originally a separate work?], chapters 1–12) which proved to be very influential. The latter text, in particular, treated stylistic questions in the framework of composition, a topic *rhetorical treatises had a great deal to say about (*e.g.* Ps.-Demetrius or Dionysius of Halicarnassus). Rhetorical handbooks also tried to systematise, define and illustrate with examples the confusingly rich repertoire of *figures of speech, literary devices, etc. Most examples came from 'classical' poetry. The corresponding remarks in literary criticism displayed noticeable similarities (both conceptually and terminologically). For instance, the repetition of the half-line 'though his (Achilles') hands are like flame' in *Iliad* 20.371–372 was a standard example of *epanalêpsis* or *epanaphora* in rhetorical handbooks and treated accordingly in Aristarchus' commentary.¹⁴⁵ Apart from dealing with individual stylistic qualities of a text (*clarity, *conciseness, *solemnity, etc.), an important branch of

144 On the history of solemnity and sublimity as critical concepts see Kallendorf (*et al.*) [1994] 1357–1389, with bibl.

145 Rhetoric: see the *test.* collected by Hajdú on Ps.-Herodian *fig.* 39; Aristarchus: sch. A *Il.* 20.372b *Ariston.* (cf. the *test.* collected by Erbse on 5.734–736).

rhetoric developed several *classifications of style, for instance, the theory of the three styles (grand, middle, plain). Here again it was not uncommon to illustrate them with Homeric characters (Odysseus, Nestor, Menelaus) instead of orators (Demosthenes, Isocrates, Lysias).¹⁴⁶ Similarly, rhetoricians put together authoritative lists of virtues of *style. Moreover, critics like Aristarchus also developed a sense for the individual style of a particular author.¹⁴⁷

Style, Virtues of

Taking up the ideas of his teacher Aristotle, Theophrastus (fr. 684 Fortenbaugh, with comm.) codified a system which consisted of four virtues of style: (grammatical) correctness, *clarity, *appropriateness and ornamentation. This and comparable lists (which included, *e.g.*, *conciseness) proved to have a lasting impact on *rhetoric, which in turn influenced literary critics. The latter were less concerned about developing a canonical system as such, but the individual virtues frequently recur in their analyses of style. Not surprisingly, rhetoric also identified faults of style (*e.g.* the frigid, the affected, the arid and the coarse in Ps.-Demetrius' otherwise unorthodox theory of four styles), which were equally taken up by literary critics.¹⁴⁸

Sublimity

See *solemnity.

Synaesthesia

The entry on **enargeia* demonstrates that it was very common to describe literature, which was aural, in terms of visual qualities. A notion comparable to the modern metaphor 'taste' can be found in an undatable note (sch. Ar. *Plut.* 515b) which argues that a line in Aristophanes' last play *Wealth* 'already smells (*ozei*) of Middle Comedy' (*literary history). Even closer is the suggestive comparison between reading and tasting food that opens Plutarch's treatise *How the young man should study poetry* (14d–f).¹⁴⁹

146 Sch. AbT *Il.* 3.212 *ex.* (omitted by Radermacher [1951] 6–9).

147 Pfeiffer [1968] 220. On the history of style as a critical concept see Sowinski [2007] 1393–1419, Mayer (*et al.*) [2009] 1–83, each with bibl., on the three styles Spang [1994] 921–972, with bibl., for practical examples Nünlist [2009a] index *s.v.* style, esp. ch. 9, with bibl.

148 On the history of virtues of style as a critical concept see Hamsch [2009] 1143–1164, with bibl.

149 On the history of synaesthesia as a critical concept see Ribicki – Fröhlich [2009] 344–349, with bibl.

Tradition, Literary

An important indicator whether an author had taken the subject-matter of his text from tradition (*hê paradedomenê historia*, lit. ‘the handed-down story’) or invented it himself were the names of the characters. Names known from mythology (typical of epic and tragedy) pointed to tradition, unknown names (typical of comedy) to invention (cf. Arist. *Poet.* 1451b11–25). Like many other scholars Aristarchus had a strong interest in the names and genealogies of the characters. This allowed him to give a differentiated description of Homer’s technique in these matters. While Homer took the names of his main characters from tradition, he could also be shown to be a ‘giver of names’ (*onomatothetikos*), with the clear implication that the respective characters were a Homeric invention.¹⁵⁰ The implicit premise of this distinction must be that there was a tradition (*i.e.* texts) before Homer. Support for this interpretation comes from Aristarchus’ notes that either presuppose prior knowledge among the audience (*e.g.* sch. A *Il.* 14.434a *Ariston.*) or argue that Homer’s characterisation ‘hinted at’ the traditional depiction (here of Odysseus: sch. A *Il.* 11.430b *Ariston.*). Another point of interest among critics was the question whether or not an author followed the traditional version of a particular myth (*mythology).

Unity

The comparison of a literary text with a living organism had already been made by Plato (*Phdr.* 264c6–9), but it was Aristotle who in his *Poetics* (esp. chapters 7–8) developed it into the fundamental concept that a work of art ought to possess unity. The fact that the unity was that of a living organism was crucial because it tied in with Aristotle’s teleological philosophy. According to this worldview, tragedy, Aristotle’s example for the best possible work of literary art, grew until it reached its perfection as shown by its organism-like unity, size, proportions, balance, etc. This also meant that tragedy could produce the *pleasure that was conform to its nature. The most important factor whether a literary text fulfilled the necessary conditions was the unity of its *plot. As is well known, the influential doctrine of the three unities (action, time, room) was not developed until Aristotle’s *Poetics* was rediscovered in early modern times. Only the first of them has truly ancient origins. It recurred, for instance, in the *Ars Poetica* of Horace (1–41), who probably took his cue from Neoptolemus of Parion. In practical criticism, the concept was put to use, for

150 For *onomatothetikos* see *e.g.* sch. A *Il.* 5.60a *Ariston.*; cf. Nünlist [2009a] 243–244, with bibl. in n. 20.

example, when critics addressed the question whether or not a particular passage contributed to the text's narrative *coherence.¹⁵¹

Variety (poikilia)

Variety or, put negatively, avoidance of monotony was one of the most common and popular concepts of literary criticism. Critics almost universally recognised it as a virtue when an author broke away from uniform patterns which might have exhausted the reader. A potential problem was that a stylistic principle which was essentially Hellenistic could clash with texts that conformed to other aesthetic standards, esp. the formulaic lines and other repetitions in Homer. It should, however, be emphasised that the Alexandrian critics accepted Homeric repetitions to a higher degree than is sometimes recognised (*formulaic language). Needless to say, critics found plenty of opportunities where they could praise his variety too.¹⁵²

Visual Arts, Comparison of Poetry with

The early Greek poets themselves implicitly made the comparison by means of their poetological imagery, which also contained a hint of competitive rivalry (e.g. Pind. *Nem.* 5.1–5). Simonides (test. 101 Poltera, 47b Campbell) famously called painting poetry that is silent and poetry painting that is speaking. The comparison then played a particularly important role both in Plato's trenchant critique in the *Republic* and in Aristotle's defence in the *Poetics* because the two philosophers agreed that **mimêsis* was essential to all types of art. In criticism the comparison was made use of in order to praise the text under discussion for its visual quality (**enargeia*). Probably the best-known example of the comparison in criticism is Horace's winged word *ut pictura poesis* (*Ars P.* 361, with Brink's note). The equally well-known anecdote (e.g. Polyb. 30.10.6) that Phidias' magnificent statue of Zeus in Olympia was triggered by the *Iliad* also posited close ties between literary and visual arts. That the Hellenistic period, in particular, reflected on this relationship can be deduced, among other things, from the fact that the *scholar-poets tried their hand on *carmina figurata* (axe, egg, wings, syrinx, etc.), that is, attempted to combine the two types

151 On unity in ancient criticism see Heath [1989], on Horace specifically Brink [1971] 75–85.

152 On the history of variety as a critical concept see Celentano [1996] 1525–1527, Fekadu [2009] 1006–1012, each with bibl., for practical examples Nünlist [2009a] index s.v. variety, esp. 198–202, with bibl. in n. 16.

of art.¹⁵³ What is more, chances are that Aristarchus thought about the fundamental difference between linear and non-linear forms of art, that is, between poetry and, say, painting.¹⁵⁴ For his interest in visual arts see also *mythology.¹⁵⁵

Visualisation

The concept of visualisation obtained both to the author and reader. First the author: for Aristotle, thinking resulted in generating mental images (*phantasiai*), a process which he also called 'to put before one's eyes' (*pro ommatôn tithesthai*, *Mem.* 1, cf. *De an.* 3.3). This type of visualisation was expressly recommended in the *Poetics* (1455a22–26) because it allowed authors not only to avoid *contradictions, but also enabled them to observe the principle of *appropriateness. Given that poetry and rhetoric both intended to have their audiences feel *emotions, each author aimed to transfer his mental images to the audience because they enabled the generation of emotions.¹⁵⁶ All three aspects, the visualisation of the author, that of the reader and their interrelation, were regularly discussed in Hellenistic criticism. As to the reader's side specifically, this included the observation that an aural sensation could be turned into an image (cf. **enargeia*).¹⁵⁷

Word Order

The most extensive analysis of word order is the treatise *On Composition* by Dionysius of Halicarnassus. A recurrent argumentative pattern of this treatise is 'transposition' (*metathesis*): Dionysius illustrates the different effects in that he changes the original word order and juxtaposes the two versions. For the modern reader the exact implications of these arguments can at times be difficult to follow. The same testing method (for which see also Ps.-Demetr. *Eloc.*, e.g. 28, 48, 184–185) could already be found in *euphonist theory, which used it in order to explore the various sound-effects. More generally, as native speakers ancient readers and critics alike could not help noticing when a literary text departed from the natural word order. (Cf. Aristotle's point that the iambic

153 On the *carmina figurata* see most recently Luz [2010]. The term *technopaignia* is not ancient (Pfeiffer [1968] 90 n. 2).

154 Sch. pap. *Il.* 2.788 (p. 169 Erbse), with Lundon [2002a]. Needless to say, a similar idea is the subject of Lessing's *Laokoon* (1766).

155 On the history of comparing poetry with visual arts see Asmuth (*et al.*) [1994] 10–30, with bibl., Jacob [2009] 997–1006, with bibl., for practical examples Nünlist [2009a] 195 with n. 3.

156 Meijering [1987] 19–20, with reference to *Rhetoric* 1382a21–22, 1385b13–16.

157 On the history of visualisation/imagination as a critical concept see Beil [2003] 927–943, with bibl.

trimeter came closest to natural speech: *Poet.* 1449a24–28.) Thus *hyperbaton* (first used in this sense by Plato *Prt.* 343e) became a standard *figure of speech in rhetorical handbooks.¹⁵⁸ A related notion underlay the inconspicuous but frequent notes that explained the relevant passage by restoring the natural word order.¹⁵⁹

158 Interestingly, Homeric ‘tmesis’ was also considered a form of *hyperbaton* (e.g. Apol. *Dysc. Synt.* *GG* II/2, 447.1–7).

159 On word order see de Jonge [2008] ch. 5 and index *s.v.*

SECTION 3.2

Grammar

• •

Description of the Constituent Elements of the (Greek) Language

Pierre Swiggers and Alfons Wouters

- 1 *Introduction: Parts of Grammar and Parts of Language*
- 2 *Plato: The 'Art of Grammar' and the 'Parts of Speaking'*
- 3 *Aristotle and the 'Parts of Diction'*
- 4 *The Stoics: Word Classes and Logical Contents*
- 5 *The Alexandrian Philological School: Grammatical Codification at the Service of Text Explanation*
- 6 *The Constitution and Evolution of Ancient Greek Grammar: Methodological and Epistemological Issues*

1 Introduction: Parts of Grammar and Parts of Language

Any treatment of the organization of grammar in (Greek, and also Latin) Antiquity is faced with the problem of defining its object. Whereas in our modern(ist) view of grammar, we automatically associate the organization of grammar with the division of grammar books or grammatical descriptions in general, such a view is untenable with respect to the ancient study of language, for a variety of reasons:

- (a) first, the (systematic) study of language in Antiquity is hardly restricted to grammar books, and the latter are attested only from a time when the study of language was already a few centuries old;
- (b) second, the concept of 'grammar' (and the contents to be found in grammar books) in Antiquity went through an important evolution (and was not given the same content) in the Greek and in the Roman world, and the content of the ancient concept is far from being coextensive with our modern view of grammar;
- (c) third, whereas present-day linguists make a clear-cut distinction between (theory of) grammar and (theory of) language, it would be anachronistic to project such a distinction back onto Antiquity; as a matter of fact, the approach of language in Antiquity is characterized by the constant

interplay (or, perhaps, confusion) between the organization of language and the organization of its study, hence the intertwining of language and grammar, and of their respective 'parts'. To this intertwining one should add the interplay between categories of thought and categories of language (cf. Benveniste [1958]; Vuillemin [1967]; Lapini in this volume).

It is especially the last reason which has important implications for the present survey: in speaking of 'the parts of grammar' in Greek Antiquity, we cannot limit ourselves to the study of the organization of grammar books, but we have to analyze the ideas of scholars about the 'parts of language', not only from the period preceding the autonomization process of grammar studies, but also from the times when grammar books were already available: discussion of the structure of language is often found in philosophical and rhetorical investigations, *i.e.* in a philosophical or rhetorical context, but this does not detract from their relevance for a study of ancient conceptions on the 'parts of grammar'. We will therefore discuss also views on units and parts of grammar formulated in non-grammatical works, prior but also subsequent to the autonomization of grammar as a discipline.

2 Plato: The 'Art of Grammar' and the 'Parts of Speaking'

In Plato's *Sophist*, the investigation concerns 'being' and the moods of being, and the issue of being vs. non-being reaches a crucial stage at the moment of establishing the multiplicity of predication, and the communality of the γένη (*genera*), *i.e.* the sharing of properties of a higher order which rank above the distinction between (sub)species. At this point, the Eleatic Stranger establishes a comparison with language units: letters / sounds (γράμματα) show combinations and restrictions on combinations. And the Eleatic Stranger points to the fact that in order to know which combinations are possible and which are excluded, it is necessary to dispose of an 'art' or technical knowledge which allows one to have adequate insight into this issue. The art in question is, as Theaetetus states, the art of grammar.

Soph. 253a¹

ΞΕ Ὅτε δὴ τὰ μὲν ἐθέλει τοῦτο δρᾶν, τὰ δ'οὐ, σχεδὸν οἷον τὰ γράμματα πεπονητότ' ἂν εἴη. Καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων τὰ μὲν ἀναρμοστέϊ που πρὸς ἄλληλα, τὰ δὲ συναρμόττει.

1 For the passages quoted from the *Sophist* we use (and at times, adapt) the English translation of Fowler [1987 = 1921].

ΘΕΑΙ Πῶς δ' οὐ;

ΞΕ Τὰ δέ γε φωνήεντα διαφερόντως τῶν ἄλλων οἶον δεσμός διὰ πάντων κεχώρηκεν, ὥστε ἄνευ τινὸς αὐτῶν ἀδύνατον ἀρμόττειν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕτερον ἑτέρῳ.

ΘΕΑΙ Καὶ μάλα γε.

ΞΕ Πᾶς οὖν οἶδεν ὅποια ὅποιοις δυνατὰ κοινωνεῖν, ἢ τέχνης δεῖ τῷ μέλλοντι ὄραν ἱκανῶς αὐτά;

ΘΕΑΙ Τέχνης.

ΞΕ Ποίας;

ΘΕΑΙ Τῆς γραμματικῆς.

Str. Now since some things will commingle and others will not, they are in much the same condition as the letters of the alphabet; for some of these do not fit each other, and others do.

Theaet. Of course.

Str. And the vowels, to a greater extent than the others, run through them all as a bond, so that without one of the vowels the other vowels cannot be joined one to another.

Theaet. Certainly.

Str. Now does everybody know which letters can join with which others? Or does he who is to join them properly, have need of art?

Theaet. He has need of art.

Str. Which art?

Theaet. The art of grammar.

Further on, the investigation on the predication of τὸ ὄν and τὸ μὴ ὄν leads Plato to develop the notion of “otherness” (θάτερον), which has to be conceived as a *relative* concept (viz. ‘other than’). Sentential predication crucially hinges on the concept of otherness: it can only be *significant* when it says something about something else, and it is only possible by a combination of forms which are not identical. A predication, as an utterance taken at its surface value, can be either true or false: in the first case, it is true speech (λόγος), in the second case, it is false opinion (δόξα). The explanation of how this distinction—one of logical or epistemic ‘otherness’—is possible, lies in the fact of multiple communality: speech and opinion can enter in communion (κοινωνεῖν) with τὸ ὄν and also with τὸ μὴ ὄν. The philosophical inquiry concerning the possibility of truth and falsehood brings Plato to discuss, via the dialogue’s protagonists Theaetetus and the Eleatic Stranger, the structure of language at the level of the utterance. At the outset, it is noted that this inquiry is parallel to that concerning the level of the γράμματα (*Soph.* 261d). The analysis of the structure of the utterance yields as its result the decomposition of sentential predications

into two distinct *genera* of vocal signs (δηλώματα or σημεῖα): *naming-signs* and *saying* (so-and-so)-signs. Plato's terms are, respectively, ὀνόματα and ῥήματα, and while it may seem convenient to translate them as 'nouns / names' and 'verbs', it is clear that the terms designate *constituents* of the sentence, or propositional terms, and not word classes as such (cf. Swiggers [1984]). This is clear from the fact that Plato is not interested in their morphosyntactic behaviour and their paradigmatic shapes, but only in their function within a (true / false) sentence and their mutual combination, which he labels (πρώτη) συμπλοκή, *i.e.* '(first / primordial) link / bond'.

Soph. 261e–262c

ΞΕ Ἔστι γὰρ ἡμῖν που τῶν τῆ φωνῆ περι τὴν οὐσίαν δηλωμάτων διττὸν γένος.

ΘΕΑΙ Πῶς;

ΞΕ Τὸ μὲν ὀνόματα, τὸ δὲ ῥήματα κληθέν.

ΘΕΑΙ Εἰπέ ἐκάτερον.

ΞΕ Τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ ταῖς πράξεσιν τὸ ὄν δήλωμα ῥήμά που λέγομεν.

ΘΕΑΙ Ναί.

ΞΕ Τὸ δὲ γ' ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἐκεῖνα πράττουσι σημεῖον τῆς φωνῆς ἐπιτεθὲν ὄνομα.

ΘΕΑΙ Κομιδῆ μὲν οὖν.

ΞΕ Οὐκοῦν ἐξ ὀνομάτων μὲν μόνων συνεχῶς λεγομένων οὐκ ἔστι ποτὲ λόγος, οὐδ' αὖ ῥημάτων χωρὶς ὀνομάτων λεχθέντων.

[...]

ΞΕ Οἶον “βαδίζει” “τρέχει” “καθεύδει”, καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα πράξεις σημαίνει ῥήματα, καὶ πάντα τις ἐφεξῆς αὐτ' εἴπη, λόγον οὐδὲν τι μάλλον ἀπεργάζεται.

ΘΕΑΙ Πῶς γάρ;

ΞΕ Οὐκοῦν καὶ πάλιν ὅταν λέγῃται “λέων” “ἔλαφος” “ἵππος”, ὅσα τε ὀνόματα τῶν τὰς πράξεις αὐτῶν πραττόντων ὀνομάσθη, καὶ κατὰ ταύτην δὴ τὴν συνέχειαν οὐδεὶς πω συνέστη λόγος. οὐδεμίαν γὰρ οὔτε οὕτως οὔτ' ἐκείνως πράξιν οὐδ' ἀπραξίαν οὐδὲ οὐσίαν ὄντος οὐδὲ μὴ ὄντος δηλοῖ τὰ φωνηθέντα, πρὶν ἂν τις τοῖς ὀνόμασι τὰ ῥήματα κεράσῃ. Τότε δ' ἤρμωσέν τε καὶ λόγος ἐγένετο εὐθύς ἢ πρώτη συμπλοκή, σχεδὸν τῶν λόγων ὁ πρώτος τε καὶ σμικρότατος.

ΘΕΑΙ Πῶς ἄρ' ὧδε λέγεις;

ΞΕ Ὅταν εἴπη τις “ἄνθρωπος μανθάνει”, λόγον εἶναι φῆς τοῦτον ἐλάχιστόν τε καὶ πρώτον;

Str. For we have two kinds of vocal indications of being.

Theaet. How so?

Str. One is called nouns, the other verbs.

Theaet. Define each of them.

Str. The indication which relates to action we may call a verb.

Theaet. Yes.

Str. And the vocal sign applied to those who perform the action in question we call a noun.

Theaet. Exactly.

Str. Hence discourse is never composed just of nouns alone spoken in succession, nor of verbs spoken without nouns.

Theaet. I do not understand that.

Str. I see; you evidently had something else in mind when you assented just now; for what I wished to say was just this, that verbs and nouns do not make discourse if spoken successively in this way.

Theaet. In what way?

Str. For instance, 'walks', 'runs', 'sleeps' and the other verbs which denote actions, even if you utter all there are of them in succession, do not make discourse for that reason.

Theaet. No, of course not.

Str. And again, when 'lion', 'stag', 'horse' and all other names of those who perform these actions are uttered, such a succession of words does not yet make discourse; for in neither case do the words uttered indicate action or inaction or existence of anything that exists or does not exist, until the verbs are mingled with the nouns; then the words fit, and their first combination is a sentence, about the first and shortest form of discourse.

Theaet. What do you mean by that?

Str. When one says 'a man learns', you agree that this is the least and first of sentences, do you not?

Although Plato's approach of language structure is fully subservient to a philosophical project, his remarks on the structure of language are important in that:

- (a) they imply a distinction between two levels of patterning in language, viz. that of the letters / sounds and that of the constituents of speech (λόγος) or utterance. Interestingly, the organization of *both* levels is governed by the principle of possible and impossible combinations;
- (b) they involve a terminology for all the (minimal) parts of both levels of patterning: viz. γράμματα and λόγος, the latter with its two essential types of 'signs', ὀνόματα and ῥήματα.

While these distinctions are insufficient for an adequate account of the grammatical structure of a language, they define a frame, from the lowest formal

units (letters / sounds) to the largest semantically informed combination of such units into what can count as a statement about the real world (or about a fictitious world). It was this frame that served as reference grid to be completed and “filled in” by later generations of scholars interested in the analysis of language.

3 Aristotle and the ‘Parts of Diction’

Aristotle offers an outline of a theory of linguistic expression in the opening section of his *Peri Hermeneias*, but without elaborating an analytical account of its organization. For his views on the structure (or build-up) of language we have to turn to his *Poetics*. It is in chapters XX–XXII, on which there has been a long-standing discussion regarding issues of authenticity,² that we find a discussion of λέξις, i.e. ‘diction’ or ‘expression in / through language’. The content of the term λέξις is defined by Aristotle in chapter VI of the *Poetics*:³

τέταρτον δὲ τῶν μὲν λόγων ἢ λέξις. Λέγω δέ, ὡσπερ πρότερον εἴρηται, λέξιν εἶναι τὴν διὰ τῆς ὀνομασίας ἐρμηνείαν, ὃ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐμμέτρων καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν λόγων ἔχει τὴν αὐτὴν δύναμιν.

Diction is the fourth [of the literary elements]. By diction I mean, as we said earlier, communication by means of language, which has the same potential in the case of both verse and [prose] speech.

In chapter XX of the *Poetics* Aristotle turns to the ‘parts’ of the λέξις, by which one must understand not discrete, fully separate ‘parts’, but organic components of a complex whole.

Τῆς δὲ λέξεως ἀπάσης τὰ δ’ ἐστὶ τὰ μέρη, στοιχείον συλλαβῆ σύνδεσμος ὄνομα ῥήμα ἄρθρον πτώσις λόγος (*Poetics* XX, 1, 1456b20–21).⁴

2 See Swiggers – Wouters [2002b] 101, for an overview of the literature.

3 We quote—occasionally with some slight modifications—the English translation of Janko [1987].

4 The order of the parts of diction in this list does not correspond with the order in which they are treated in detail further on. Hence Janko [1987] xxv (Notes on the text) proposed to change the text here and to read σύνδεσμος ἄρθρον ὄνομα ῥήμα. See, however, Laspia [1997] 106–115 who argues that Aristotle ranged also the copula (exemplified by φημί) under the ἄρθρον and concludes (p. 115) that the order in the initial list (with the ἄρθρον immediately

The parts of diction in its entirety are as follows: (i) the element [*i.e.* letter], (ii) the syllable, (iii) the ‘conjunction’, (iv) the name [*i.e.* noun or adjective], (v) the verb, (vi) the ‘joint’, (vii) the ‘case’, (viii) the utterance.

The list reflects the organization of language in terms of increasingly complex structures, yielding a “bottom-up” approach which starts from the letter and terminates with the λόγος.

We can note here that Aristotle’s description of grammatical structures, as we find it in his *Poetics*, reflects the initial stages of Greek (and, generally speaking, Western) grammar, and more specifically of phonetic and morphological description. This is evident from *two characteristics*:

- (a) the list of (the properly said) ‘parts of speech’ is still a very reduced one (we find only ὄνομα, ῥήμα, σύνδεσμος and ἄρθρον);
- (b) Aristotle has no specific term for the ‘word’ as a lexical-grammatical unit (or better, type of unit), nor for the grammatical notion of ‘word class’ (part-of-speech).

A basic notion which recurs throughout all the definitions of the μέρη τῆς λέξεως is that of φωνή (“sound” or “sound-stretch”).⁵ This notion is an axiomatic concept in Aristotle’s theory, and is thus left without definition here. Aristotle distinguishes between sounds that are intelligible, and which (in the case of such intelligible sounds produced by human subjects) can be written down in a notation system, and sounds that are unintelligible, like noises. He reserves the term στοιχείον for units representing indivisible segments of intelligible sounds (*Poet.* xx, 2).

As an acoustic and articulatory phenomenon, the φωνή is classified in terms of its simplicity or composition; it can be audible on itself—in which case it is a vowel—or audible in combination with a preceding or following vowel, as is the case of the semivowels and the mutes (*Poet.* xx, 3).

This classification—based on the audible nature of sounds taken in isolation (and pronounced as letters of the alphabet!)—should properly be called a classification of στοιχεῖα; it is supplemented with an articulatory classification of their phonetic realization in terms of degree of aperture, of place of articulation, of (non-)aspiration, of length, and of pitch.

after the elements which it demarcates, *viz.* the name and the verb), is the correct one. In our opinion, the term ἄρθρον could indeed include, in Aristotle’s view, propositional “joints” of the type φημί; we would, however, not define such joints as a “copula”.

5 On the concept of φωνή in Greek Antiquity, see Ax [1986].

Ταῦτα δὲ διαφέρει σχήμασιν τε τοῦ στόματος καὶ τόποις καὶ δασύτητι καὶ ψιλότητι καὶ μήκει καὶ βραχύτητι ἔτι δὲ ὀξύτητι καὶ βαρύτητι καὶ τῷ μέσῳ (*Poet.* XX, 4, 1456b31–33).

They differ according to the forms of the mouth, the places [in the mouth where they are produced], aspiration, non-aspiration, length, shortness, and also high, low or intermediate pitch.

The notion of φωνή appears again in the definition of the “high-level” units that constitute the build-up of language, but it should be noted that it occurs with two different functions: in the case of the syllable, the φωνή appears both as a segmental element in its composition, and as the general term for what could be called “the formal aspect of a linguistic unit”.⁶ In the definition of the remaining μέρη τῆς λέξεως, viz. the σύνδεσμος (or “combiner”), the ἄρθρον (or “joint”), the name (ὄνομα), the verb (ῥήμα), the case (πτῶσις), and the phrase (λόγος or λέξις), the concept φωνή only appears with the latter function (and always in correlation with the concept of meaningfulness / meaningfulness). This implies that in Aristotle’s use of the term φωνή, there is either a reference to the phonic composition of a particular linguistic segment, or a reference to linguistic units as signs (composed of a formal and semantic aspect); cf. Weber [1989] 391–393.

The units above the syllable level comprise parts of speech, syntactic relationships (viz. case) and syntactic-semantic combinations: σύνδεσμος, ἄρθρον, ὄνομα, ῥήμα, πτῶσις, λόγος.

The first four are differentiated in terms of (lexical) meaning—the name (ὄνομα) and the verb being φωναὶ συνθεταὶ σημαντικά (composite significant sounds), and the σύνδεσμος and the ἄρθρον being φωναὶ ἄσημοι (non-significant sounds)—, and then in terms of a secondary feature. In the case of the σύνδεσμος vs. the ἄρθρον, the secondary feature is the possibility of constituting a phrase (or syntagm) vs. the property of marking off a phrase or a subsyntagm. The latter characteristic is proper to the ἄρθρον, an element which is thus identified by its “demarcating” function:

6 Hence the twofold use of the term φωνή in the definition of the syllable: συλλαβὴ δὲ ἐστὶν φωνὴ ἄσημος συνθετὴ ἐξ ἀφώνου καὶ φωνῆν ἔχοντος (*Poet.* XX, 5, 1456b34–36): “A syllable is a non-significant *sound* (= sound segment) composed of a consonant and [an element] which has *sound* (= sonority)”.

- (a) σύνδεσμος δέ ἐστὶν φωνὴ ἄσημος ἢ οὔτε κωλύει οὔτε ποιεῖ φωνὴν μίαν σημαντικὴν ἐκ πλειόνων φωνῶν πεφυκυῖαν⁷ συντίθεσθαι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μέσου ἢν μὴ ἀρμόττει ἐν ἀρχῇ λόγου τιθέναι καθ' αὐτόν,⁸ οἷον μὲν ἦτοι δέ.

ἢ

φωνὴ ἄσημος ἢ ἐκ πλειόνων μὲν φωνῶν μιᾶς σημαντικῶν δὲ ποιεῖν πέφυκεν μίαν σημαντικὴν φωνήν (*Poet.* XX, 6, 1456b38–1457a6).

A ‘combiner’ is a non-significant sound which neither precludes, nor brings about, the production of a single significant sound that by nature is composed of several sounds [*i.e.* an uttered sequence], and which can be used at either end and in the middle, but which it is not appropriate to place at the beginning of an utterance on its own, *e.g.* οἷον μὲν ἦτοι δέ.

or [it is]

a non-significant sound which by nature produces, as a result of [uniting together] several sounds that are significant, a single significant sound.

- (b) ἄρθρον δ' ἐστὶ φωνὴ ἄσημος ἢ λόγου ἀρχὴν ἢ τέλος ἢ διορισμὸν δηλοῖ. οἷον τὸ α.μ.φ.ι καὶ τὸ π.ε.ρ.ι⁹ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα.

ἢ

φωνὴ ἄσημος ἢ οὔτε κωλύει οὔτε ποιεῖ φωνὴν μίαν σημαντικὴν ἐκ πλειόνων φωνῶν πεφυκυῖα τίθεσθαι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μέσου (*Poet.* XX, 7, 1457a6–10).

A ‘joint’ is a non-significant sound which marks the beginning [of an utterance], the end or the break, such as ἀμφί, περί and the rest,

or [it is]

a non-significant sound which neither precludes nor brings about the [production] of a single significant sound out of several sounds, and whose nature it is to be put at either end as well as in the middle.

7 We adopt the reading of Rosén [1990] 113. Kassel [1965] reads πεφυκυῖα.

8 For this reading, see Dupont-Roc – Lallot [1980] 323 and Laspia [1997] 85. Kassel [1965] reads αὐτήν (referring to ἀρχή).

9 Kassel [1965] prints τὸ ἀμφί καὶ τὸ περί. We keep here the readings of ms. A (cod. Parisinus 1741; saec. 10th/11th). Laspia [1997] 94 assumes that already the copyist of the “hyperachetype” did no longer understand the examples for the term ἄρθρον which in his days indicated the article only.

This highly problematic passage¹⁰ contains two consecutive definitions of the σύνδεσμος and two definitions of the ἄρθρον. We will briefly comment on the text.

(1) The first definition of the σύνδεσμος is a combined definition, the first part of which defines the nature of the σύνδεσμος in a negative way, whereas the second part refers, in positive and negative terms, to positional characteristics. The second definition of the σύνδεσμος is a definition in terms of “efficient causality”, with reference to (lexical) semiotic properties (the σύνδεσμος produces by combination a meaningful φωνή). The first definition of the ἄρθρον is mainly a positional one (cast in positive terms), whereas the second one is, again, a combined definition. These double definitions of σύνδεσμος and ἄρθρον should not be seen as alternative definitions: they should be read as descriptions of two concrete manifestations of the linguistic operators σύνδεσμος and ἄρθρον. The σύνδεσμος, for instance, has a ‘coordinative’ aspect (which the first definition captures) and a ‘binding’ aspect (cf. the second definition). And whereas the first definition of the ἄρθρον singles out its ‘delineating’ function, the second definition stresses its status in terms of constitutive and positional characteristics.

(2) In Antiquity it was already pointed out that nowhere else Aristotle does mention the ἄρθρον as an autonomous part of speech: ancient writers such as Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Comp.* 2) and Quintilian (*Inst.* I 4, 18) objected that Aristotle recognized only three “parts of speech”, viz. ὄνομα, ῥήμα and σύνδεσμος. This objection is not a valid one: the μέρη τῆς λέξεως dealt with by Aristotle in his *Poetics* should not be equated with the μέρη τοῦ λόγου of the later grammatical tradition.¹¹ In his *Poetics*, Aristotle is not offering a systematic treatment of word classes, but offers us a list of definitions of elements constitutive of the λέξις.

(3) In the enumeration of the μέρη τῆς λέξεως at the beginning of ch. xx (*Poet.* 1456b20–21), the ἄρθρον is inserted between ῥήμα and πτώσις, and is separated from the σύνδεσμος. A possible explanation for this order may be that Aristotle first listed non-significant sounds with a purely relational function (σύνδεσμοι), then composite significant sounds (nouns and verbs), followed by the units through which they function in discourse, viz. ἄρθρα and πτώσεις, and then the larger resulting unit, viz. λόγος.

Although Aristotle’s ‘merology’ is not one of parts of speech¹² (or word classes—as grammatical-semantic ‘typisations’), we should ask ourselves in

10 See Swiggers – Wouters [2002b] 107–112.

11 See also Schenkeveld [1994] 271–272 and Ildefonse [1997] 103–105.

12 This is also clear from the fact that λόγος itself is considered to be a μέρος τῆς λέξεως.

what way the *μέρη τῆς λέξεως* correlate with (various) word classes (or subgroups of word classes). Because the text provides only for two of the four definitions a few (relatively certain)¹³ examples—*μέν, δέ, ἦτοι* for *σύνδεσμος* (first definition), *περί* for *ἄρθρον* (first definition)—it is not clear which word categories Aristotle had exactly in mind for each group. We can conjecture that the first definition of *σύνδεσμος* would cover the connective (including disjunctive) particles, the second definition of *σύνδεσμος* the (plain) conjunctions, both grouping then the conjunctions and (trans)phrasal particles. The *ἄρθρον*, in its two definitions, would then cover articles, relative pronouns, prepositions (and postpositions), and expletive adverbials or particles, as well as (trans)phrasal joints such as *φημί*.

The two *φωναί συνθεταί σημαντικαί* on the level of separate words are the *ὄνομα* ('noun') and the *ῥῆμα* ('verb').

ὄνομα δέ ἐστὶ φωνή συνθετὴ σημαντικὴ ἄνευ χρόνου ἢς μέρος οὐδέν ἐστι καθ' αὐτὸ σημαντικόν· ἐν γὰρ τοῖς διπλοῖς οὐ χρώμεθα ὡς καὶ αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτὸ σημαῖνον, οἷον ἐν τῷ Θεόδωρος τὸ δωρος οὐ σημαίνει (*Poet.* XX, 8, 1457a10–14).

A name [*i.e.* noun or adjective] is a composite significant sound without [an indication of] time, no part of which is significant in itself. For in double names we do not use [any part] as being significant in and of itself: *e.g.* in 'Theodore' [*i.e.* "gift of god"] *dore* is not significant.

ῥῆμα δέ φωνή συνθετὴ σημαντικὴ μετὰ χρόνου ἢς οὐδέν μέρος σημαίνει καθ' αὐτό, ὡσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων (*Poet.* XX, 9, 1457a14–16).

A verb is a composite significant sound with [an indication of] time, no part of which is significant in itself, just as in the case of names.

The noun and the verb are defined as having an *undivided* meaning,¹⁴ and they are differentiated by a single secondary semantic feature, *viz.* reference to time, which is proper to the verb (*Poet.* XX, 9).

The concept of *καθ' αὐτὸ σημαίνειν* (or *καθ' αὐτὸ σημαντικόν*) is used for the reference (or indication) expressed by words or their components; it should

13 From the text-critical point of view.

14 This is what Aristotle understands by *φωνή συνθετὴ σημαντικὴ* [...] ἢς μέρος οὐδέν ἐστι καθ' αὐτὸ σημαντικόν.

not be confused with lexical meaning as carried by a (meaningful) part of a compound word.¹⁵

Aristotle then proceeds to what he calls *πτῶσις*, a concept which is *not* defined (a) in terms of a *φωνή*, endowed with or deprived of meaning, and (b) as indicating a primary category. As a matter of fact, the term *πτῶσις* is used for identifying grammatical values attached to one of the two *μέρη τῆς λέξεως* which have a “compound” phonemic shape (*φωνή συνθετή*) and which have meaning, viz. the noun and the verb.

πτῶσις δ' ἐστὶν ὀνόματος ἢ ῥήματος ἢ μὲν κατὰ τὸ τούτου ἢ τούτῳ σημαίνον καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα, ἢ δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἐνὶ ἢ πολλοῖς, οἷον ἄνθρωποι ἢ ἄνθρωπος, ἢ δὲ κατὰ τὰ ὑποκριτικά, οἷον κατ' ἐρώτησιν ἐπίταξιν· τὸ γὰρ ἐβάδισεν ἢ βιάδιζε πτῶσις ῥήματος κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ εἶδη ἐστίν (*Poet.* XX, 10, 1457a18–23).

An inflection of a name or verb is either (a) the inflection according to the [part] that signifies ‘of him’, ‘for him’, etc., or (b) that according to the [part] that signifies ‘one’ or ‘many’, e.g. ‘person’ or ‘persons’, or (c) that according to the delivery, e.g. according to [whether it is] a question or an order; for ‘did he walk?’ or ‘walk’ is an inflection of the verb according to these kinds.

Three sorts of *πτῶσις* are illustrated here:

- (a) syntactic dependency-relationships, marked by cases on nouns;
- (b) semantic-referential determination of lexical terms (Aristotle illustrates this sort of *πτῶσις* only with the example of singular vs. plural in nouns; it may be that he regarded this as the principal instance of semantic-referential determination, and that he thought of number in the verb as following from the [nominal or pronominal] subject number, implicit or overtly expressed);¹⁶
- (c) modality-imposition on the bare content of a verb (or of a proposition, since it is not clear from this text whether Aristotle thought of modalities

15 The latter aspect is at stake in Aristotle’s discussion of simple and compound nouns: compound nouns can consist of parts which all have (lexical) meanings (*Poet.* XXI, 1–4). It should be noted that this passage in fact implies an analysis into units corresponding to what we would call ‘morphemes’, although Aristotle has no formal discovery procedure for segmenting a string into morphemes.

16 For a detailed discussion, see D’Avino [1975–1976].

as being “cases” of the unmarked indicative forms, or of the noetic content contained in the entire expression).

The final level considered to be a ‘part’ of the λέξις is the λόγος, a term which can be translated as ‘phrase’, in its most general sense (*i.e.* stretch consisting of combined meaningful units), but which could perhaps also be understood as ‘discursive expression’ or even ‘utterance’.¹⁷

λόγος δὲ φωνῆ συνθετὴ σημαντικὴ ἢς ἔνια μέρη καθ’ αὐτὰ σημαίνει τι (οὐ γὰρ ἅπας λόγος ἐκ ῥημάτων καὶ ὀνομάτων σύγκριται, οἷον ὁ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὀρισμός, ἀλλ’ ἐνδέχεται ἄνευ ῥημάτων εἶναι λόγον, μέρος μέντοι αἰεί τι σημαῖνον ἕξει) οἷον ἐν τῷ βαδίζει Κλέων ὁ Κλέων (*Poet.* XX 11–12, 1457a23–28).

An utterance is a composite significant sound, some parts of which signify something in themselves. For not every utterance is composed of verbs and names, *e.g.* the definition of a human being, but there can be an utterance without verbs. However, an utterance will always have a part that signifies something [in itself], *e.g.* ‘Cleon’ in ‘Cleon walks’.

The λόγος is a φωνῆ συνθετὴ σημαντικὴ, a meaningful phonemic stretch obtained by combination; its uniquely defining characteristic is not the extension of the combination¹⁸ (extension of the combination is the defining characteristic of the meaningless complex, *viz.* the syllable), but the fact that—contrary to the noun and the verb—it has a ‘divided meaning’, which means that the compounding parts will have meaning by themselves. This ‘meaning-compositionality’ is typical for all the instances of what Aristotle calls λόγος.

17 Ax [1993] 29 proposes to translate the term, in its widest extension, as “text”. This is certainly in conformity with Aristotle’s view (according to which the entire text of the *Iliad* could be called a λόγος).

18 As Aristotle points out, the combination can be a verbless phrase (as is the case of nominal definitions), a noun-verb combination (*i.e.* a minimal sentence), or even a (very long) text. Aristotle observes that the unit ‘phrase’ can thus have a twofold semantic-propositional status: it can either express one concept, or it can state a complex state-of-affairs (and its changes through time). εἰς δὲ ἔστι λόγος διχῶς, ἢ γὰρ ὁ ἐν σημαίνων, ἢ ὁ ἐκ πλείονων συνδέσμων, οἷον ἢ Ἰλιάς μὲν συνδέσμων εἰς, ὁ δὲ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τῷ ἐν σημαίνειν (*Poet.* XX, 13, 1457a28–30). “An utterance can be single in two ways, either (a) by signifying one thing, or (b) by a conjunction of several things. *E.g.* the *Iliad* is one by a conjunction [of many things], but the definition of a human being is one by signifying one thing” (Janko [1987] 28).

The foregoing analysis of chapter XX of Aristotle's *Poetics* allows us to draw the following conclusions:

- (a) Aristotle distinguished eight 'parts' (μέρη) of the λέξις, ranging from the most elementary unit (στοιχείον) to the largest meaningful whole (λόγος). The 'parts' in between are combinations of letters, and integrating parts of the λόγος; they correspond to meaningful or plainly functional word classes or their formal parts (e.g. syllables) or marks affecting them in order to function within the λόγος.
- (b) More importantly, Aristotle in his analysis of the μέρη τῆς λέξεως proceeded by applying a number of distinctions:
 - (1) the distinction between indivisible sounds and compound sounds (some instances of πτώσις do not even involve segmental sounds);
 - (2) the distinction between units without meaning and units with meaning;
 - (3) the distinction between word status and non-word status;
 - (4) the distinction between phrase-formative and phrase-demarkating (opposing the σύνδεσμος to the ἄρθρον);
 - (5) the distinction between divided meaning (λόγος) and undivided meaning (in ὄνομα and ῥῆμα);
 - (6) the distinction between time-reference and its absence.

4 The Stoics: Word Classes and Logical Contents

Grammatical studies were part of the Stoics' attempts to account for the structure of utterances in Greek (cf. Frede [1978], [1987b]). The Stoics took up Aristotle's heritage and continued his reflections on types of sentences (declarative utterances, problematic statements and fallacies, commands, prayers, etc.), and on grammatical categories.¹⁹ However, grammar was always subordinated to logic (or dialectics) in their view, and the general approach of grammar was a semiotic-logical one: in dialectics, a study is made of how linguistic expressions signify logical contents.

Our information on the Stoic contribution to grammar is to a large extent secondary: apart from fragmentary testimonies (in the form of quotations), we have at our disposal—at least for the development of Stoic *philosophy*—the doxographical account of Diogenes Laertius (cf. Mansfeld [1986]) and the polemically cast description of Sextus Empiricus. But in spite of the lack of

¹⁹ Cf. Montana, Pagani, Lallot, and Lapini in this volume.

extensive and authentic source materials, it is clear that the Stoics made an important contribution to grammatical studies.

This especially holds for Chrysippus (ca. 280–207 BC), who wrote extensively on various topics of grammar and semantics. Judging from the list of writings attributed to him by Diogenes Laertius (VII, 189–202), we can distinguish three main areas of grammatical research or, better, of research touching upon issues relevant for the grammarian, such as:

- (a) types of sentences: Chrysippus seems to have written on affirmative, negative, indefinite, disjunctive, hypothetical and consequential judgements, and also on types of sentences not corresponding to the status of *axiômata* (simple judgements): imperatives, questions and queries, answers to questions;
- (b) predicates and classes: these writings (D. L. VII, 192–200) concern topics relating to types of predicates, like classification into *genera* and *species*, the status of contrary terms and other topics;
- (c) words and word classes: Chrysippus not only dealt with the origin of words (in a more historical vein), but also with the distinction into word types, and with grammatical characteristics of words. With regard to the issue of word classes, it should be stressed that the Stoics were not primarily interested in framing a theory of word classes. Their central aim was to construe a conceptually based theory of meaning, *i.e.* a theory of how linguistic expressions signify reality-based concepts. Stoic theory of meaning operated with three entities: the utterance, the λεκτόν (Latin equivalent: *dicibile* “sayable”) and the objects. But these entities come into play only at the level of the proposition: the proposition consists of the combination of a predicate (predicates signify things incorporeal) and of a subject term (either an appellative noun or a proper name). The subject term is corporeal (signifying an entity in the world), and is therefore subject to case-inflection; just like objects are affected in the real world, their expressive counterparts in language are affected by grammatical cases. Apart from the category of case, the Stoics were also strongly interested in the category of tense, since this expresses the relationship between our utterances and temporal stages of states-of-affairs in the real world.

Given the lack of direct source materials, we cannot say anything definite about the Stoics’ view on the organization of grammar. Following Diogenes Laertius’ account (book VII, more particularly in the sections devoted to Zeno), it seems that the view of grammar held by the Stoics included (at least) three main divisions:

- (a) a division dealing with the phonetic dimension of language;
- (b) a division dealing with words and word types;
- (c) a division dealing with utterances and the (basic) structure of sentences.

In addition, the Stoics seem to have dealt with stylistic aspects, with phraseology, and with the distinction between prose and poetry.

In the field of the analysis of sounds—which the Stoics seem to have studied as part of a larger investigation of (the elements occurring in) nature²⁰—a number of Stoic philosophers are said by Diogenes Laertius to have made a contribution to this field: Archedemus (who seems to have written a treatise *Περὶ φωνῆς*), Antipater, and Chrysippus (who apparently dealt with sounds in his *Φυσικά*). Human voice was defined by the Stoics in terms of “articulation” produced by a body; hence voice is also corporeal. At the level of the sounds occurring in language—more precisely, in the Greek language—the Stoics established 24 units or elements (*στοιχεῖα*). To the Stoics we owe the clear distinction not only between spoken and written language—writing being the symbolization of meaningful sound(s)—, but also the distinction between (a) the minimal unit of language / speech, viz. *στοιχείον*; (b) its written representation, by a letter (*χαρακτήρ*); (c) its name (*ὄνομα*). The Stoics also classified sounds (as represented by letters) into types. Diogenes Laertius mentions the distinction between “vowels” (*φωνήεντα*), viz. α, ε, η, ι, ο, υ, ω, and “mutes” (*ἄφωνα*), consisting of the six plosive sounds β, γ, δ, κ, π, τ. Although Diogenes Laertius does not mention any other subdivision, we may assume that the Stoics also distinguished further subclasses for the remaining 11 sounds (including a liquid, a sibilant and a vibrant, nasals, aspirates and affricate sounds). The Stoics introduced the view of multiple layering in language, as distinct from sound production on itself: first, there is the layer of sounds as belonging to a language—here we enter into the distinction between *φωνή* and *λέξις*—; second, there is the level of a verbal expression that has meaning on its own, e.g. in the form of a word uttered in its quotation form (the nominative singular case for nouns); third, there is the layer of ‘saying something’, i.e. of making a statement about states of affairs. The latter are defined in terms of “contents that happen to occur”. We can reconstruct the (early) Stoic view of

20 This can be inferred from the general definition of *phoné* as quoted (and attributed to Diogenes of Babylon) by Diogenes Laertius (VII, 55): ἔστι δὲ φωνὴ ἀήρ πεπληγμένος ἢ τὸ ἴδιον αἰσθητὸν ἀκοῆς, ὡς φησι Διογένης ὁ Βαβυλωνίος ἐν τῇ Περὶ φωνῆς τέχνῃ. “Now voice is a percussion of the air or the proper object of the sense of hearing, as Diogenes the Babylonian says in his handbook *On Voice*”. We quote—occasionally with some slight modifications—the English translation of Hicks [1991=1931].

the layered organization of language from Diogenes Laertius' account given in his report on Zeno, Diogenes of Babylon, Chrysippus and Antipater:

Ζῶου μὲν ἐστὶ φωνὴ ἀήρ ὑπὸ ὀρμῆς πεπληγμένος, ἀνθρώπου δ' ἔστιν ἔναρθρος καὶ ἀπὸ διανοίας ἐκπεμπομένη [...]

Λέξις δὲ ἐστὶν, ὡς φησι Διογένης, φωνὴ ἐγγράμματος, οἷον Ἡμέρα. Λόγος δὲ ἐστὶ φωνὴ σημαντικὴ ἀπὸ διανοίας ἐκπεμπομένη, οἷον Ἡμέρα ἐστὶ. [...]

Διαφέρει δὲ φωνὴ καὶ λέξις, ὅτι φωνὴ μὲν καὶ ὁ ἦχος ἐστὶ, λέξις δὲ τὸ ἔναρθρον μόνον. Λέξις δὲ λόγου διαφέρει, ὅτι λόγος αἰεὶ σημαντικὸς ἐστὶ, λέξις δὲ καὶ ἄσημος, ὡς ἡ βλίτυρι, λόγος δὲ οὐδαμῶς. Διαφέρει δὲ καὶ τὸ λέγειν τοῦ προφέρεσθαι. Προφέρονται μὲν γὰρ αἱ φωναί, λέγεται δὲ τὰ πράγματα, ἃ δὴ καὶ λεκτὰ τυγχάνει. (D. L. VII, 55–57).

While the voice or cry of an animal is just (a percussion of) air brought about by natural impulse, man's voice is articulate and comes forth from the mind/intellect. [...].

Reduced to writing, what was voice, becomes a verbal expression, as 'day', so says Diogenes. A statement or proposition is speech that issues from the mind and signifies something, as 'it is day' [...].

There is this difference between voice and speech that, while voice may include just noise, speech is always articulate. Speech again differs from a sentence or statement, because the latter always signifies something, whereas a spoken word, as for example βλίτυρι,²¹ may be unintelligible—which a sentence never is. And speaking (in sentences) is more than just uttering, since [in speaking] sounds are uttered, and things are spoken of, which instantiate thought contents.²²

As to word classes, this field of study was dealt with by the Stoics in the general frame of semantic (and semantico-logical) contents expressed by linguistic forms. The boundaries between what we today call morphology and syntax are thus blurred, since the focus of interest for the Stoics was the λεκτόν ("verbal expression", or, better, "sayable content"). An overall distinction was made between complete and incomplete λεκτά; the former can be sentences or autonomously standing nouns or proper names (in the nominative singular form), the latter are predicates of which one or more 'places' have to be filled in (*e.g.* 'sleeps' requiring a subject term; 'sees' requiring a subject and an

21 This sequence became in later centuries one of the classical examples for a 'meaningless word'. Cf. Kotzia [1994].

22 Hicks translates this last sentence as: "And to frame a sentence is more than just utterance, for while vocal sounds are uttered, things are meant, that is, matters of discourse".

object term). The Stoics elaborated the basis for a logical syntax, grounded in the notion of λεκτόν (and its predicative content), and although we lack information on the details of their views concerning the structure of propositions, we can at least assert that

- (a) they viewed propositions as a (complex) predicate;
- (b) they identified semantically autonomous and non-autonomous constituents within a proposition;
- (c) they studied morphosyntactic phenomena (such as case²³ and tense-marking) as an integral part of their logico-syntactical investigations.

Also, the Stoics—in line with Aristotle's analysis of types of speech acts (cf. *Peri Hermeneias* / *Poetics*)—went beyond a merely logical analysis of language: they recognized, next to judgements, other types of sentences (or phrases):²⁴ interrogations, inquiries (which require a linguistically articulated answer), and imperatives, adjuratives, optatives, and vocatives. These distinctions belong primarily to the domain of rhetoric (and, secondarily, to that of grammar), but the Stoics do not seem to have undertaken a properly linguistic analysis of sentence types: judging from Diogenes Laertius' account they approached these sentences rather from a semiotic-discursive point of view, defining, e.g., an imperative as a signal conveying a command, and the vocative as an expression marking the fact that you address yourself to the interlocutor:

Προστακτικὸν δὲ ἐστὶ πρᾶγμα ὃ λέγοντες προτάσσομεν, οἷον “σὺ μὲν βιάδιζε τὰς ἐπ’ Ἰνάχου ῥόας”.

An imperative is something which conveys a command, e.g., ‘Go thou to the waters of Inachus’.

<Προσαγορευτικὸν> δὲ ἐστὶ πρᾶγμα ὃ εἰ λέγοι τις, προσαγορεύοι ἄν, οἷον “Ἀτρεΐδῃ κύδιστε, ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγάμεμνον”.

23 Cases were analyzed by the Stoics in terms of their relationship with predicative contents; see D. L. (VII, 64–65).

24 The Stoics made a distinction between a signified content which is a judgement (ἄξιωμα), and a signified content which is an object (πρᾶγμα). Judgements always have a truth value; objects exist (or cease to exist). Interrogations and inquiries are always about judgement-contents (but they are neither true nor false); the other types of sentences can be about judgements or about objects.

A vocative utterance is something the use of which implies that you are addressing someone, for instance: 'Most glorious son of Atreus, Agamemnon, lord of men.' (D. L. VII, 67)

In their analysis of *axiōmata*, the Stoics proceeded as logicians, although some of their conclusions are syntactically relevant: *e.g.*, the distinction between simple (ἀπλᾶ) and not simple (οὐχ ἀπλᾶ) propositions, and the recognition of the function of negation and double negation, as well as the positing of the general structure of predication, *viz.* a noun / a noun phrase in the nominative case [a demonstrative syntagm; or indefinite syntagm] and a (verbal) predicate. Also, the Stoics identified the distinctive function of conjunctions such as εἰ, ἐπεὶ, ἤτοι, etc. But their analysis of the function of these conjunctions is a logical one, as can be seen from the following example:

Διεzeugμένον δέ ἐστιν ὃ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἤτοι διαzeugτικῶς συνδέσμου διέzeugται, οἷον ἤτοι ἡμέρα ἐστὶν ἢ νύξ ἐστὶν. Ἐπαγγέλλεται δ' ὁ σύνδεσμος οὗτος τὸ ἕτερον τῶν ἀξιωματῶν ψεῦδος εἶναι.

A disjunctive (proposition) is one constituted by the disjunctive conjunction ἤτοι, as in 'Either it is day or it is night'. This conjunction announces that one or other of the (alternative) propositions is false. (D. L. VII, 72)

Between the domain of the *stoicheia* and that of the *axiōmata* lies the domain of the word. The Stoics probably used λέξις as the general term for 'word', in line with Aristotle's terminology. Although it is not clear whether the Stoics took much interest in the classification of word classes, they are mentioned by Diogenes Laertius for having made the distinction between proper name and common noun, as separate parts of speech. Also, the Stoic author Antipater framed the term μεσότης for an additional word class, most likely the adverb. Diogenes Laertius' account can be found in his chapter on Zeno, although he is reporting here on the doctrines of later Stoics:

Τοῦ δὲ λόγου ἐστὶ μέρη πέντε, ὡς φησι Διογένης τ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ φωνῆς καὶ Χρῦσιππος, ὄνομα, προσηγορία, ῥῆμα, σύνδεσμος, ἄρθρον. Ὁ δ' Ἀντίπατρος καὶ τὴν μεσότητα τίθησιν ἐν τοῖς Περὶ λέξεως καὶ τῶν λεγομένων.

There are, as stated by Diogenes in his treatise *Peri phonês*, and by Chrysippus, five parts of speech: proper name, common noun, verb, conjunction, article. Antipater in his *On words and their meaning* adds the *mesotês*. (D. L. VII, 57)

The splitting up of the former *onoma*-class into two word classes, viz. proper name and (appellative) noun is fully understandable within the philosophical perspective of the Stoics: proper names are names of individual entities, not named on the basis of a shared quality, whereas appellative nouns refer to classes that are instantiated by objects sharing a common quality. Proper names cannot be defined as to their content, whereas common nouns can be defined in terms of a noetic content.

The division of the class of nouns into proper names and common nouns is not only based on epistemological and logical grounds (with proper names functioning as the normal instantiation of the subject term of an existential proposition, and with common nouns corresponding to general [nominal] predicates); there certainly was also a cultural (and literary) background to it: proper names referred to individual heroes of the epic and dramatic literary texts of the past, as well as to key figures in Greek history. Although the cultural justification for the distinction does not appear from Diogenes Laertius' account, we may assume it played a role, given the Stoic interest in literary style and in rhetorics (Diogenes Laertius mentions "Rhetoric" as one of the six divisions of philosophical doctrine according to Cleanthes; cf. VII, 41).

The three remaining parts of speech distinguished by both Diogenes of Babylon and Chrysippus (cf. D. L. VII, 57), viz. verb, conjunction (σύνδεσμος) and article (ἄρθρον) were already present in Aristotle's classification, but—contrary to the problematic text of Aristotle's *Poetics* (cf. *supra*)—the class of the 'articles' seems to have been narrowly defined by the Stoics;²⁵ according to Diogenes Laertius' account, it comprised the (definite) article, although one may suspect that the relative pronoun (as a "postponed" article) was also included under the ἄρθρον. The σύνδεσμος was defined by the Stoics as a linking element between parts of a proposition, and given the Stoic interest in complex propositions, one is justified to assume that elements linking one element to another were also included under the σύνδεσμος class. As a matter of fact, the term σύνδεσμος was used by the Stoics for referring to the conjunction εἰ in conditional sentences, if Diogenes Laertius' account can be read as a quotation or summary from Chrysippus and / or Diogenes of Babylon:

25 As shown by Matthaios [1999] 614 ss., [2002f], the prepositions were first subsumed under the ἄρθρα (as reported also by Priscian, *G.L.* III, 501.10), but starting with Chrysippus the ἄρθρον class was narrowed down, and the prepositions were assigned to the σύνδεσμος class, an evolution for which Apollonius Dyscolus (*G.G.* II, 1, 214) provides evidence. Cf. Matthaios [1999] 616, [2002f] and Sluiter [1990] 117, [1997a] 234. This evolution took place between Chrysippus and the period of activity of Posidonius of Apameia (ca. 135–51 BC).

Τῶν δ' οὐχ ἀπλῶν ἀξιωματῶν συνημμένον μὲν ἔστιν, ὡς ὁ Χρύσιππος ἐν ταῖς Διαλεκτικαῖς φησι καὶ Διογένης ἐν τῇ Διαλεκτικῇ τέχνῃ, τὸ συνημμένον διὰ τοῦ 'εἰ' συναπτικοῦ συνδέσμου.

Of propositions that are not simple the hypothetical, according to Chrysippus in his *Dialectics* and Diogenes in his *Art of Dialectic*, is one that is formed by means of the conditional conjunction 'if'. (D. L. VII, 71)

The five parts of speech recognized by Diogenes of Babylon and Chrysippus are defined as follows in Diogenes Laertius' summary:

- (a) the προσηγορία: the part of speech signifying a common quality (μέρος λόγου σημαῖνον κοινὴν ποιότητα);
- (b) the ὄνομα: the part of speech expressing an individual quality (μέρος λόγου δηλοῦν ἰδίαν ποιότητα);
- (c) the ῥῆμα: the part of speech signifying a non-compound predicate / expressing something that can be joined to one or more (persons / subjects) (μέρος λόγου σημαῖνον ἀσύνθετον κατηγορημα / σημαῖνόν τι συντακτὸν περί τινος ἢ τινῶν);
- (d) the σύνδεσμος: the (indeclinable) part of speech that binds together the (other) parts of speech / of the utterance (μέρος λόγου ἄπτωτον, συνδουὺν τὰ μέρη τοῦ λόγου);
- (e) the ἄρθρον: the (declinable) "element" of speech that distinguishes the genders and numbers of the nouns / names. Diogenes Laertius uses ὄνομα, but this seems to be a loose designation here for ὀνόματα and (especially) προσηγορίαι (στοιχείον λόγου πτωτικόν, διορίζον τὰ γένη τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ τοὺς ἀριθμούς).

Probably the most interesting aspect of Diogenes Laertius' account is the fact that he mentions the subsequent extension of the early Stoics' repertory of five parts of speech with a sixth class: the μεσότης ("mean / intermediate"), a term which Diogenes (VII, 57) attributes to the later Stoic philosopher Antipater of Tarsos (ca. 150 BC).

ὁ δ' Ἀντίπατρος καὶ τὴν μεσότητα τίθησιν ἐν τοῖς Περὶ λέξεως καὶ τῶν λεγομένων.

To these Antipater in his *On words and their meanings* adds the μεσότης.

This sixth part of speech was probably the 'adverb' and the designation μεσότης may refer to the fact that, in terms of inflectional characteristics, the

adverb occupies a mid-field position between the (normal) declinable parts of speech—sharing the degrees of comparison with the adjectival *προσηγορία*—and the indeclinable parts of speech. Another, more sophisticated explanation of the term *μεσότης* would be that the (later) Stoics considered the adverbs as standing midway between elements with a lexical content (categorematic units) and elements with a grammatical content (syncategorematic units). While it may be that *μεσότης* included only a subset of what we consider (today) as ‘adverbs’, there is no evidence for this in Diogenes Laertius’ text. Also, it is unclear whether Antipater’s innovation was accepted by the mainstream of Stoic linguistic-philosophical thought.²⁶ It should be noted, finally, that another term for ‘adverb’ transmitted by the Graeco-Latin grammatical tradition is *πανδέκτης*, which may well be a secondary, derivative designation. We find this term attested in Charisius’ account of the parts of speech system:

[...] cum adverbium Stoici [...] *pandecten* vocent, Nam omnia in se capit quasi collata per saturam concessa sibi rerum varia potestate (Barwick [1964] 252.28–31).

[...] because the Stoics [...] call the adverb *pandectes*, ‘all-receiver’. For it receives all things, as if they are collected without distinction, because it has been granted power over all sorts of things (transl. Schenkeveld [2004] 95).

5 The Alexandrian Philological School: Grammatical Codification at the Service of Text Explanation

In the third century BC the Ptolemaic dynasty founded a philological school in Alexandria, which became the most prominent centre of learning in the Greek world.²⁷ The school was linked to the famous library which had been founded by Ptolemy I. It is in Alexandria that a corporation of scholars (philologists),

26 Priscian’s account (in *G.L.* II, 54. 8–13) might reflect the later canonical Stoic position, reverting to five word classes. Priscian explicitly mentions: “nec etiam adverbium nominibus vel verbis connumerabant et quasi adjectiva verborum ea nominabant”; the latter addition might constitute another explanation for Antipater’s term *μεσότης*: the adverbs would be a class intermediate between noun and verb. For this interpretation, see Schreiner (1954: 82).

27 Alexandria became a centre of learning in all fields of knowledge: mathematics, astronomy, philosophy, geography, and textual philology (see Montana in this volume). In fact, the ancient notion of ‘philologist’ is a very comprehensive one: it refers to a ‘scholar’, or ‘learned man’ in general. See in this volume, the chapter on ‘Definitions of Grammar’.

involved in the edition and commentary of classical texts, contributed to the autonomization of grammar, which loosened its ties with philosophy and rhetorics, and developed into a descriptive science dealing with the language of the great literary texts of the past.

The first Alexandrian philologists who contributed to grammatical terminology and to the elaboration and the codification of grammatical doctrine were Aristophanes of Byzantium (ca. 255–180 BC) and his disciples Callistratos and Comanos (both active in the first half of the second cent. BC).²⁸ These scholars were responsible for extending the inventory of word classes.

- (a) Aristophanes of Byzantium may have been the first to posit the preposition as a separate word class, as can be concluded from Apollonius Dyscolus' treatise on syntax (*G.G.* II 2, 443.8–10):

Διὰ τοῦτο οὐδ' οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀριστοφάνη ἠξίωσαν βαρύνειν τὰ μόρια κατὰ τὴν Αἰολίδα διάλεκτον, ἵνα μὴ τὸ ἴδιον τῆς προθέσεως ἀποστήσωσιν, λέγω τὴν ἀναστροφὴν.

This is also why Aristophanes refused to draw-back-the-accent (*barunein*) of prepositions in the Aeolic dialect [where all words otherwise have a recessive accent, much like Latin], so as not to lose the special feature of prepositions, liability to anastrophe (transl. [and comment] Householder [1981]).

- (b) Somewhere between Aristophanes and Comanos, the class of pronouns was set apart, and received its designation *ἀντωνυμία*, indicating its close relation with the *ὄνομα*:

Ἐκφεύγοντάς φασι τὸ Αἰολικὸν τοὺς περὶ Κομανὸν ἀντωνομασίας καλεῖν, εἶγε τὸ μὲν ὄνομα οὐ κοινόν, τὸ δὲ ὄνομα (*Apol. Dysc. Pron.*, *G.G.* II 1, 4.18–19).

They say that Comanus and his disciples called [the pronouns] *ἀντωνομασῖαι*, because the general Greek term [for 'noun'] is *ὄνομα*, and not *ὄνομα*.

- (c) One must reckon with the possibility that already in the period of Callistratos and Comanos the participle was recognized as a separate part of speech and was then the object of a closer study (cf. Matthaios [1999] 425 and Swiggers-Wouters [2007]).

²⁸ See Montana in this volume.

The immediately subsequent generation of Alexandrian scholarship is represented by Aristarchus of Samothrace (ca. 215–145 BC).²⁹ Although Aristarchus did not leave us an outline of his grammatical doctrine, careful study of the fragments transmitted from his philological writings (cf. Matthaïos [1999]) has amply demonstrated the existence of a well articulated grammatical concept in Aristarchus' mind (cf. Ax [1982], [1991]). More specifically we are indebted to Aristarchus (a) for the first attestation of the term *μετοχή* ('part-taker') as the appropriate designation for the word class of the participle, and (b) for the definitive establishment—at least in grammatical-philological circles—of the 'adverb' as a separate word class (cf. Matthaïos [1999] 520–521). The term used by Aristarchus as a designation of the adverb was *μεσότης*; it was replaced by *ἐπίρρημα* in the later Alexandrian tradition.³⁰

Matthaïos' careful study [1999] allows us to establish with certainty that the extension of the (five) parts-of-speech system of the Stoa with four new classes, viz. the preposition, the pronoun, the adverb and the participle was accomplished by the time of Aristarchus.

Aristarchus' pupil, Dionysius Thrax, is credited with having composed the oldest grammatical manual in Greek Antiquity.³¹ The work has survived in medieval manuscripts under the title *Technê grammatikê*. There is a long-standing controversy concerning the authenticity, the dating and the extension of the originally preserved sections of the *Tekhnê*,³² but most of these issues are irrelevant for our analysis in the present context. There is general consensus about the authenticity of paragraphs 1–5. What can be affirmed with certainty are the following points:

- (a) within the philological tradition of the Alexandrian school, a grammatical manual was written by a pupil of Aristarchus, viz. Dionysius Thrax;
- (b) this manual codified and systematized, in the form of a short handbook (for schooling and for consultation), grammatical concepts and grammatical terminology elaborated by generations of Alexandrian philologists, and already constituting a body of grammatical knowledge at the time of Aristarchus;

29 See Montana in this volume.

30 On the terms *μεσότης* and *ἐπίρρημα*, see Matthaïos [1999] 520–521; 559; the first uncontroversial attestation of the term *ἐπίρρημα* should be attributed to Trypho in the first century BC (cf. Matthaïos [2002f] 166).

31 Cf. Valente (section 11) and Wouters-Swiggers in this volume.

32 For a sample of opposing views, see Law – Sluiter [1995]. Cf. also the recent surveys of the discussion by Matthaïos [2009a], Callipo [2011] 28–34, and Pagani [2010b] 393–409, [2011] 30–37.

- (c) the manual was intended to help the φιλόλογος³³ with putting grammatical concepts and terms, of daily use in philological practice, into a comprehensive frame, containing short, but useful definitions and offering a brief exemplification;
- (d) the manual of Dionysius stands at the beginning of a tradition characterized by the presence of an “art of grammar”, *i.e.* of a grammar as a descriptive object cast in an expository format. It is this format that we will focus on in the following.

The *Technê* is articulated not in terms of combination, nor in terms of concatenation, but in terms of *divisions*.³⁴ Divisions are the structuring principle of the grammar:

- (a) at the macro-level, the grammatical analysis deals, successively, with the following divisions within language structure:
 - prosodic signs / punctuation marks
 - segmental elements (*stoicheia*)
 - syllables
 - parts of speech
- (b) at the micro-level, the analysis proceeds either by enumerating extant types instantiating a higher-level division, or by enumerating categories, which in their turn are then analyzed into their various realizations.

33 This is clear from the opening lines of the *Technê* which are in any case authentic. Grammar is defined and divided into six parts, which are a perfect summary of the activity of the (ancient) philologist studying and commenting Greek literary texts (see the contribution “Definitions of grammar”). The Greek text reads as follows: Γραμματική ἐστὶν ἐμπειρία τῶν παρὰ ποιηταῖς τε καὶ συγγραφεύσιν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ λεγομένων. Μέρη δὲ αὐτῆς ἐστὶν ἕξ· πρῶτον ἀνάγνωσις ἐντριβῆς κατὰ προσωδίαν, δεύτερον ἐξηγήσις κατὰ τοὺς ἐνυπάρχοντας ποιητικούς τρόπους, τρίτον γλωσσῶν τε καὶ ἱστοριῶν πρόχειρος ἀπόδοσις, τέταρτον ἐτυμολογίας εὔρεσις, πέμπτον ἀναλογίας ἐκλογισμὸς, ἕκτον κρίσις ποιημάτων, ὃ δὴ κάλλιστόν ἐστι πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ (G.G. 1 1, 5–6.10). “Grammar is the empirical knowledge of the expressions commonly used among poets and prose-writers. Its parts are six [in number]: first, the skillful reading in conformity with the prosody; second, the exegesis of the occurring poetic phrases; third, the straightforward account of rare words and *realia*; fourth, the discovery of the etymology; fifth, the establishing of analogical patterning; and sixth, the judgement on poems, which is the finest part of all those [contained] in the art [of grammar]”. See the most recent comment on this definition by Callipo [2011] 91–99.

34 The technique of ‘division’ has its roots in Plato’s method of διαίρεσις, which basically operated on the basis of *dichotomies*; this method was also used by Aristotle (*An. post.* II, 13, 96b, 15–97b, 23; *Top.* VI, 5, 6). The Stoics refined the terminological apparatus (adding the terms ἀντιδιαίρεσις and ὑποδιαίρεσις) and they opposed conceptual analysis to division of objects or substances.

The overall organization of the grammar format can be schematized as follows:

(I) PHONETIC-GRAPHETIC PART

- accents (τόνοι): three types, viz. *acutus*, *gravis*, and *circumflexus*
- punctuation marks: three types, viz. end point, middle point, subscript point
- “elements”: 24 letters (and their values)
 - categories:
 - vowels (α, ε, η, ι, ο, υ, ω)
 - diphthongs (αι, αυ, ει, ευ, οι, ου)
 - consonants
 - hemiphona* (ζ, ξ, ψ, λ, μ, ν, ρ, σ)
 - aphona* (β, γ, δ, κ, π, τ, θ, φ, χ)
 - syllables (types: short, long, common)³⁵

(II) MORPHOSYNTACTIC PART: the μέρη τοῦ λόγου

listing of eight parts of speech

separate treatment of each part of speech in terms of characterizing categories (“accidents”, παρεπόμενα) and their realizations

- (a) noun
 - accidents*: gender; species; figure; number; case
- (b) verb
 - accidents*: mood; diathesis; species; figure; number; person; tense; [the conjugation class]³⁶
- (c) participle
 - accidents*: gender; species; figure; number; case; diathesis; tense; [the conjugation class]
- (d) article
 - accidents*: gender; number; case
- (e) pronoun
 - accidents*: person; gender; number; case; figure; species
- (f) preposition
 - accidents*: ∅ (there is only listing of monosyllabic and bisyllabic prepositions)

35 The *Technê* (§§ 8–10 = G.G. I 1, 17–20) specifies under which conditions each of these three syllable types occurs. Common syllables are syllables that can be treated as long or short by the poets.

36 This accident is, in fact, a differential characteristic *within* the verb class.

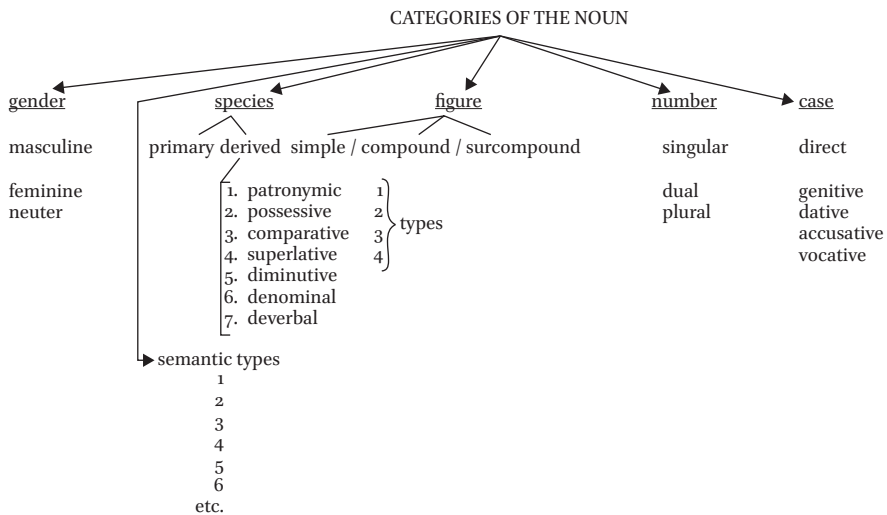
(g) adverb

accidents: figure; (semantic) species

(h) conjunction

accidents: \emptyset (listing of different semantic-syntactic types).

The different accidents receive further specification in terms of their realization; *e.g.* number can be realized as singular, plural or dual; gender as masculine, feminine or neuter. This results in a hierarchical top-bottom account, proceeding from the word class and its definition, the latter containing the relevant accidents, which are then specified separately. The hierarchical structure³⁷ can be represented as follows, taking the noun as an example:



How are the various word classes defined? In Dionysius' *Technê* the definition of each word class starts with assigning it to an overarching concept—either 'word' (λέξις) or 'part of speech' (μέρος λόγου)—, and then defines its nature by summing up its essential formal and semantic properties. This results in a string of minimal definitions for the eight parts of speech posited in the *Technê*.

37 In Swiggers – Wouters [2011b] we have discussed in detail the mnemonic and didactic virtues of this 'staircase-like' model of grammatical description.

(1) For the noun:

Ὄνομά ἐστι μέρος λόγου πτωτικόν, σῶμα ἢ πρᾶγμα σημαίνον, σῶμα μὲν οἶον λίθος, πρᾶγμα δὲ οἶον παιδεία, κοινῶς τε καὶ ἰδίως λεγόμενον, κοινῶς μὲν οἶον ἄνθρωπος ἵππος, ἰδίως δὲ οἶον Σωκράτης.—Παρέπεται δὲ τῷ ὀνόματι πέντε. γένη, εἶδη, σχήματα, ἀριθμοί, πτώσεις (§ 12).

A noun is a part of speech, with case-inflection, signifying a (concrete) substance or a(n abstract) thing—a (concrete) substance like ‘stone’, a(n abstract) thing like ‘education’—, taken in a common or particular sense—in a common sense, *e.g.*, ‘man’, ‘horse’, in a particular sense, *e.g.*, ‘Socrates.’—There are five accidents of the noun: genders, species, figures, numbers, cases.

(2) For the verb:

Ῥῆμά ἐστι λέξις ἄπτωτος, ἐπιδεκτικὴ χρόνων τε καὶ προσώπων καὶ ἀριθμῶν, ἐνέργειαν ἢ πάθος παριστάσα. Παρέπεται δὲ τῷ ῥήματι ὀκτώ, ἐγκλίσεις, διαθέσεις, εἶδη, σχήματα, ἀριθμοί, πρόσωπα, χρόνοι, συζυγίαι (§ 13).

A verb is a word without cases, accepting tenses, persons, and numbers, and signifying an activity or an undergoing. There are eight accidents of the verb: moods, diatheses, species, figures, numbers, persons, tenses, conjugation classes.

(3) For the participle:

Μετοχή ἐστι λέξις μετέχουσα τῆς τῶν ῥημάτων καὶ τῆς τῶν ὀνομάτων ἰδιότητος. Παρέπεται δὲ αὐτῇ ταῦτ᾽ ἅ καὶ τῷ ὀνόματι καὶ τῷ ῥήματι δίχα προσώπων τε καὶ ἐγκλίσεων (§ 15).

A participle is a word sharing the characteristics of both the verbs and the nouns. It has the same accidents as the noun and the verbs, except for persons and moods.

(4) For the article:

Ἄρθρον ἐστὶ μέρος λόγου πτωτικόν, προτασσόμενον καὶ ὑποτασσόμενον τῆς κλίσεως τῶν ὀνομάτων. καὶ ἔστι προτακτικόν μὲν ὁ, ὑποτακτικόν δὲ ὅς. Παρέπεται δὲ αὐτῷ τρία: γένη, ἀριθμοί, πτώσεις (§ 16).

An article is a part of speech with case-inflections, which precedes or follows the inflection of the nouns. There is the prepositive *ho* ['the'], and the postpositive *hós* ['that, which']. It has three accidents: genders, numbers, cases.

(5) For the pronoun:

Ἄντωνυμία ἐστὶ λέξις ἀντὶ ὀνόματος παραλαμβανομένη, προσώπων ὠρισμένων δηλωτική. Παρέπεται δὲ τῇ ἀντωνυμίᾳ ἕξ· πρόσωπα, γένη, ἀριθμοί, πτώσεις, σχήματα, εἶδη (§ 17).

A pronoun is a word used instead of a noun, and indicating definite persons. The pronoun has six accidents: persons, genders, numbers, cases, figures, species.

(6) For the preposition:

Πρόθεσις ἐστὶ λέξις προτιθεμένη πάντων τῶν τοῦ λόγου μερῶν ἔν τε συνθέσει καὶ συντάξει (§ 18).

A preposition is a word which is placed before all the parts of speech, in compounding and in construction.

(7) For the adverb:

Ἐπίρρημά ἐστὶ μέρος λόγου ἄκλιτον, κατὰ ῥήματος λεγόμενον ἢ ἐπιλεγόμενον ῥήματι. Τῶν δὲ ἐπίρρημάτων τὰ μὲν ἐστὶν ἀπλά, τὰ δὲ σύνθετα· ἀπλά μὲν ὡς πάλαι, σύνθετα δὲ ὡς πρόπαλαι (§ 19).

An adverb is an uninflected part of speech, used with respect to a verb or added to a verb. Of the adverbs some are simple, others are compound; simple, like *pálai* ['long ago'], compound, like *própalai* ['very long ago'].

(8) For the conjunction:

Σύνδεσμός ἐστὶ λέξις συνδέουσα διάνοιαν μετὰ τάξεως καὶ τὸ τῆς ἐρμηνείας κεχηγὸς δηλοῦσα. Τῶν δὲ συνδέσμων οἱ μὲν εἰσι συμπλεκτικοί, οἱ δὲ διαζευκτικοί, οἱ δὲ συναπτικοί, οἱ δὲ παρασυναπτικοί, οἱ δὲ αἰτιολογικοί, οἱ δὲ ἀπορρηματικοί, οἱ δὲ συλλογιστικοί, οἱ δὲ παραπληρωματικοί (§ 20).

A conjunction is a word linking together the thought, with order, and showing the void of the expression. Of the conjunctions some are copulative, others disjunctive, others synapctic, others parasynapctic, others causal, others dubitative, others syllogistic, others expletive.

The *Technê* of Dionysius Thrax provided subsequent generations with a grammatical codification which included

- (a) a definition of grammar and of its subdivisions;
- (b) a general frame of organization for grammatical description, and for the teaching of grammar;
- (c) a basic set of grammatical terms;
- (d) the (essential) list of word classes and their accidents.

As we have expounded elsewhere in more detail (cf. Swiggers-Wouters [2011b]), manuals for the study of grammar in Antiquity are characterized by (i) uniformity and recursiveness, (ii) preoccupation with clear (technical) terminology (or metalanguage), and (iii) illustration of classes and categories through succinct exemplification. The *Technê* of Dionysius illustrates quite appropriately these three fundamental properties.

In the core part of grammar, viz. the part dealing with the parts of speech, we find a didactically useful “layering”, which allows teachers to proceed from word classes to categories (accidents) and to the various realizations of each category. The presentation of the various parts of speech in a grammatical manual thus came to assume the following format:

- (1) definition of each separate part of speech
- (2) identification of its characteristics (= accidents)
- (3) specification of the realizations of the accidents (and, whenever applicable, further subspecification).

This format is exemplified by the *Technê* and by the other Greek and Latin manuals of grammar in Antiquity; we deal here with a general format allowing for a number of variations (depending upon individual grammarians / grammar teachers, as well as upon the specific needs of the public aimed at).³⁸ Such variations occur, *e.g.*, with respect to the number and order of the accidents, the amount and specific nature of the examples given, the possible

38 See Valente (section II) in this volume.

inclusion of further information concerning particular issues (from a descriptive or a didactic point of view).³⁹

These facts testify to an important new stage reached in the history of ancient grammar, viz. its institutionalization as a discipline within ancient education and, more particularly, its “manualization” or codification of contents into manuals for instruction.

In order not to engage into a discussion concerning the dating of Dionysius’ *Technê* (cf. *supra*) and concerning the complex issue of influences and dependencies between texts, we will limit ourselves to highlight three points.

(1) The first point to be stressed is the existence of a large quantity of grammar manuals preserved partially on papyrus, which cover a period of four to five centuries. The following list may serve as sufficient proof for the long continuity of didactic instruments used in teaching (the rudiments of) grammar:

Grammatical papyri of the 1st–2nd century AD

- (1) *Pap. Yale* 1.25 (= Wouters 1979, no. 1)
- (2) *Pap. Brooklyn inv.* 47.218.36 (= Wouters 1979, no. 8)
- (3) *Pap. Heid. Siegmann* 197 (= Wouters 1979, no. 6)
- (4) *Pap. Oxy. ined.* [offering a detailed treatment of the noun]
- (5) *Pap. Oxy. ined.* [dealing with the adverb, the preposition and the noun]
- (6) *Pap. Oxy. ined.* [discussing the noun]

Grammatical papyri of the 2nd century AD

- (7) *Pap. S.I. inv.* 503 (= Wouters 1979, no. 7)
- (8) *Pap. Osl.* 2.13 (= Wouters 1979, no. 9)
- (9) *Pap. Iand.* 83a (= Wouters 1979, no. 10)
- (10) *Pap. Harr.* 59 (= Wouters 1979, no. 11)
- (11) *Pap. Oxy. ined.* [containing an exposition on the ἐπιθετικόν]

Grammatical papyri of the 3rd–4th century AD

- (12) *P. Berolinensis* 9917⁴⁰
- (13) *Pap. Heid. Siegmann* 198 (= Wouters 1979, no. 12)
- (14) *Pap. Lit. Lond.* 182 (= Wouters 1979, no. 2)

39 For a detailed study of a case in point, viz. the treatment of the adverb in the Greek and Latin tradition, see Swiggers – Wouters [2002a] and Wouters – Swiggers [2007].

40 Edited by Wouters [2012].

- (15) *Pap. Iand.* 5.83 (= Wouters 1979, no. 13)
- (16) *Pap. Oxy. ined.* [a concise τέχνη γραμματική]
- (17) *Pap. Oxy. ined.* [chapter on the noun]
- (18) *Pap. Amh.* 2.21 (= Wouters 1979, no. 15)
- (19) *Pap. Ant.* 2.68 (= Wouters 1979, no. 14)
- (20) *Pap. Köln* IV 176
- (21) *Pap. Köln* IV 177

Grammatical papyri of the 5th century AD

- (22) *Pap. Hal.* 55A (= Wouters 1979, no. 4)
- (23) *Pap. S.I. inv.* 1.18 (= Wouters 1979, no. 5)
- (24) *Pap. S.I. inv.* 7.761 (= Wouters 1979, no. 16).

(2) The second point is that in the overall structure of the manuals we can discern recurring patterns (cf. Wouters [1979] 42–43); typologically speaking, we find two main types or patterns, which in fact exploit, in a different way, the “layered” organization frame referred to above:

Type I: Definition of the part of speech + enumeration of features or subdivisions, and possible discussion of these.

Specific subtype: Discussion of the features or subdivisions (of one particular part of speech)

Type II: Enumeration of realizations of accidents (of one or several parts of speech) with exemplification, and possible definition of the realizations of the grammatical categories.

Interestingly, these two types show that in the teaching of grammar two opposed paths could be followed (and, in actual practice, both were used in order to drill beginning students): either starting from the general and moving to the particular, or proceeding from the particular and climbing up to the general. The latter directionality was of course the one taken in dealing with concrete items found in texts (cf. the procedure of ‘parsing’, which reaches back to the ancient exercise of *partitiones*).

(3) The third important point to be stressed is that these grammatical manuals are the (fragmentarily) preserved top of an iceberg, viz. of a much more extensive body of (practical) grammatical writings, which are known to us in the form of exercises, paradigm lists, conjugation exercises (not to mention more elementary didactic texts) which have been conserved to a very limited extent. This, again, shows that grammar was a subject for (systematic) instruction, and was, as such, exposed to variation and adaptation, in accordance with

diverging interests (both of the teacher and respective schooling traditions) and needs (of the public), and with changing social, political and linguistic contents.

Notwithstanding this, the papyrological documentation focusing on the “doctrinal” presentation of grammar—*i.e.* those texts that can be considered τέχλαι or part of a τέχλη—not only confirms the centrality of the “morphological” component, providing only some room for grapho-phonetic information and excluding almost completely any systematic information, but it also shows a remarkable continuity with the contents and terminology of the Alexandrian grammar of the second and first century BC. This is clear from the following facts:

- (a) the conservation of the general organization frame in terms of word classes, their categories and the respective realizations of the latter;
- (b) the adoption of a bipartition between the parts of speech that show inflection and the parts of speech that are non-inflected (*viz.* the preposition, the adverb and the conjunction);
- (c) the continuation of the discussion concerning the reduction or non-reduction of common noun and proper name to a single word class ‘noun’.⁴¹

The latter fact should be kept in mind before making too hastily a statement about the dating and authenticity of Dionysius’ *Technê*, as if this text (transmitted by textual testimonies that are, in any event, very late with regard to the presumed original text) were an invariably transmitted “codification of Alexandrian grammatical knowledge”. As a matter of fact, we still find in the fourth-century *P. Amh.* 2.21 a discussion⁴² concerning the well-foundedness of distinguishing nine or eight parts of speech (depending upon the treatment of ὄνομα and προσηγορία as separate parts of speech or not).

Morphology was the central part of ancient Greek grammars, almost to the point of exclusivity. While it is true that—given its importance for the rudiments of Greek instruction—grapho-phonetic information was included in (most of) the τέχλαι, this part was briefly dealt with and was in fact not linked with the analysis of the structure of the Greek language, but with the (correct) pronunciation and reciting of literary texts. As to syntax, it was not treated

41 See also Swiggers – Wouters [2014a].

42 Cf. Wouters [1979] 188–197, n. 14, ll. 13–16: μέρη τοῦ λόγου ἐστὶν κατὰ μὲν τενας [I. τινὰς] θ, / κατὰ] δὲ τὴν συμπεφωνημένην ἀκριβῆ (I. ἀκριβῆ) π[αράδοσιν] / η. “According to some the parts of speech are nine in number [...] but according to the generally accepted and correct tradition, there are eight parts”.

as a distinct section in grammatical manuals (cf. Donnet [1967b]; Swiggers-Wouters [2003b]), but syntactic problems (and concepts) may pop up on occasion. Significantly, the highly original and insightful treatise on syntax⁴³ written by Apollonius Dyscolus in the second century AD, was never integrated within the grammatical manuals of the ancient Greek tradition. It should also be stressed that Apollonius' syntax (next to which we have his detailed studies on parts of speech such as the pronoun, the conjunction and the adverb)⁴⁴ cannot be considered a manual of syntax:⁴⁵ it is a problem-oriented discussion of syntactic issues, as they can be found in literary texts, but not an exposition on the principles of Greek syntax.⁴⁶ Both the style and the terminology of Apollonius made his work hardly useful for grammatical instruction. In fact, school practice proceeded in syntactic matters in a very empirical, "casuistic" way: the school book *Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 37533* (third cent. AD),⁴⁷ one of the rare texts that contain "syntactic" information from a didactic context, testifies to a very narrow-minded conception of syntax (provided there was some kind of conceptualization!) in that its focus is on inflection-bound combinations, such as cases governed by (types) of verbs, moods governed by conjunctions. Word order, if treated at all, was never systematically dealt with; in fact, its study seems to have been left to stylistics and rhetorics.

6 The Constitution and Evolution of Ancient Greek Grammar: Methodological and Epistemological Issues

Grammar constituted itself as an autonomous discipline in Greek Antiquity, and became a cornerstone of Western civilization. The autonomization process, which took place over several centuries, consisted in the separation of grammar from philosophy and rhetorics (cf. Swiggers-Wouters [1997b]), and in the definition of a proper object and a specific methodological and terminological status of the discipline of grammar. In the preceding section we have

43 Edited by Uhlig, in *G.G.* II, 2 [1910]. Translations by Householder [1981], Bécarea Botas [1987] and Lallot [1997].

44 Apollonius' works on these parts of speech, dealing with their morphological and syntactic characteristics, have been edited by Schneider, in *G.G.* II, 1 [1878–1902].

45 For this to be the case, it would have been necessary for Apollonius to have a clear view of sentence-constituency (something which he lacks), and to have a grasp of (basic) syntactic "functions" (for divergent opinions on this, see Bécarea Botas [1987] 36 ff. vs. Lallot [1997] I 62–73).

46 See Lallot in this volume.

47 Edited by Kenyon [1909].

outlined the contents of the discipline in its more or less systematized form, as it was elaborated by the Alexandrian grammarians. This outline has to be supplemented with the discussion of a number of theoretically important issues.

The first issue to be raised is that of the evolutionary course of grammar in Greek Antiquity. The above given outline, focusing on the contents of grammar, has left aside the intricate question of the enduring relationship between grammar and other disciplines, such as philosophy and rhetorics.⁴⁸ The development of the parts-of-speech system, the core part of ancient Greek grammar, may give the impression of a rectilinear, irreversible evolution. In fact, this has been for a long time the prevailing view (cherished by various authors, independently of the opinion they held regarding the authenticity of the *Techné* of Dionysius Thrax). This view can be summarized, following the important overviews by Robins [1966], [1986] into a rectilinear sequence in which the system of word classes developed from a binary one to one involving eight parts of speech:

<i>First stage</i> (Plato):	ὄνομα, ῥήμα
<i>Second stage</i> (Aristotle):	ὄνομα, ῥήμα, σύνδεσμος
<i>Third stage</i> (first generation of Stoics):	ὄνομα, ῥήμα, σύνδεσμος, ἄρθρον
<i>Fourth stage</i> (second generation of Stoics):	ὄνομα, προσηγορία, ῥήμα, σύνδεσμος, ἄρθρον
<i>Fifth stage</i> (third generation of Stoics):	ὄνομα, προσηγορία, ῥήμα, μεσότης, σύνδεσμος, ἄρθρον
<i>Sixth stage</i> (the <i>Techné</i>):	ὄνομα, ῥήμα, μετοχή, ἄρθρον, ἀντωνυμία, πρόθεσις, ἐπίρρημα, σύνδεσμος

Tracing such a sequence would be, however, oversimplifying the actual history of the parts-of-speech history. On the one hand, the above sketched sequence ignores the essential role played by philosophical discussions (of different backgrounds: Aristotelian, Stoic or even Platonic) in the development of grammar during the last centuries BC and the first centuries AD; on the other hand, as shown already above (cf. the discussion of the grammatical information provided by the papyrological documentation), even after having received systematization and codification by the first generations of Alexandrian scholars, the development of grammatical doctrine was characterized by variation in contents and terminology.

48 See Lapini and De Jonge in this volume.

Recent work (*e.g.* Ax [1993]; Schenkeveld [1994]; Matthaios [1999], [2002f]) has demonstrated the intertwining of various philosophical orientations in the grammatical views held by Alexandrian grammarians, from Aristarch, over Dionysius Thrax and Tyrannio, to Trypho and Apollonius Dyscolus. In this “renewed” view, based on a close philological study of grammatical manuals and treatises, of the fragmentary texts and of the papyrological material, one has to recognize different layers of philosophical influence, by various generations of Stoic philosophers or grammarians influenced by Stoic views, but also by followers of Aristotelian or even Platonic doctrines. It thus appears that the establishing of a parts-of-speech system was a dynamic and dialectic process, characterized by the interplay between a grammatical-philological approach to language structure and various philosophical approaches to language (as an instrument for expressing meaningful contents). In the light of this—and also in view of the doctrinal non-uniformity in the grammatical papyri (*cf. supra*)—it is a matter of secondary interest to ascertain who⁴⁹ precisely has to be credited with (the fixation of) the eight-parts-of-speech system which we, in retrospect, tend to attribute to Greek Antiquity.

Along the same lines, one should also integrate within this more dynamic and complex evolutionary scheme of the system of parts of speech, the interpenetration of grammar and rhetoric.⁵⁰ This interpenetration goes back to Aristotle, whose rhetorical and poetical works contain a more important contribution to the doctrine of the parts of speech than his philosophical works. Later, an even more important role was played by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who not only provided a “doxographical” report on the history of the word classes (*cf. infra*), but who also developed original views in the field of grammar (*cf.* Schenkeveld [1983]; De Jonge [2008]), although it would be far-fetched to credit Dionysius of Halicarnassus with a “system of (nine) word classes”,⁵¹ let alone a theory of grammar. De Jonge [2008] 145 has accurately defined Dionysius’ status:

In my view, it would be more correct to avoid ascribing any “system” of word classes to Dionysius in the first place. The fact that his classifications in some instances fit into a system of nine and in other instances into a system of five or six word classes (without *ἀντωνυμία* and *πρόθεσις*) does not mean that he is actually using two different grammatical

49 Already testimonies from Antiquity attribute to different authors—Aristarchus, Dionysius Thrax or Trypho—the paternity of the eight-parts-of-speech system.

50 It is likely that the type of *τέχνη ῥητορικὴ*, represented for ex. by Anaximenes of Lampsacus (ca. 380–320 BC), served as a model for the grammatical manual. *Cf.* Fuhrmann [1960].

51 *Cf.* De Jonge [2008] 144–145, against Schenkeveld [1983].

systems. Dionysius is not a grammarian, and he only uses grammatical theories inasmuch as they can help him to clarify his own rhetorical ideas. His rhetorical instructions do not demand that he adopt a specific grammatical ‘system’ of word classes. Therefore, instead of assuming that Dionysius uses a system of nine parts of speech, which he sometimes mixes up with a system of five *μέρη λόγου*, it would be better to accept that Dionysius is not so much interested in the exact number of word classes: he is not concerned with grammatical systems, but with the composition of texts [...]. In fact, Dionysius himself makes explicitly clear that the exact number of *μόρια λόγου* is not important for his purpose, and that he does not support any grammatical ‘system’ at all.

Nevertheless, although Dionysius of Halicarnassus does not intervene nor take a stand in grammatical debates, he appears to be a very interesting figure in the (history of) transmission of grammatical ideas. On the one hand, he can serve as a nice illustration of the intertwining of grammar, philosophy⁵² and rhetorics, even at a period when grammar was already seen and practiced as an autonomous discipline, and, interestingly, we find in Dionysius traces of Stoic and Peripatetic influence (perhaps through a number of grammatical-philosophical sources). On the other hand, Dionysius of Halicarnassus is an extremely interesting witness for the history of grammatical terminology: apart from his use of the pair *ὄνομα* and *προσηγορία*, which he distinguishes in conformity with the Stoic doctrine, he often resorts to Stoic-based terminology (*e.g.* in his discussion of moods and articles, and in his use of the term *συμβεβηκότα*), and he also offers the earliest attestations of grammatical terms such as *ἔγκλισις*. But Dionysius’ view on language is, after all, that of an analyst of style, not of a grammarian; he assumes from his reader sufficient grammatical knowledge and background in order to study the composition of a literary text, which is a matter of putting, in the most fitting and elegant way, a certain type of content into a stylized form.

With Dionysius of Halicarnassus we also touch upon another important feature of the history of grammatical doctrines, which we will deal with here in concluding. The evolutionary course of the parts-of-speech system was itself

52 As such, the case of Dionysius confirms the observations made above with respect to the interplay between grammatical-philological studies and philosophical approaches. Cf. De Jonge [2008] 165, with reference to Matthaios [2002f]): “After Aristarchus, the Alexandrian scholars were deeply influenced by Stoic theories. This Stoic influence resulted in a number of grammatical works that must have combined Alexandrian and Stoic ideas on language. Most of these works are lost, but the few extant fragments of Dionysius Thrax and Tyrannion show that they adopted Stoic views in their classification of the word classes”.

the object of a ‘history’ (as retrospective account). This history ‘of the second degree’ took the form of doxographical accounts (cf. Swiggers-Wouters [2010]), concerning the history, constitution and development of the word classes in Greek (and later, Latin) grammaticography. For the Greek-speaking (or Greek-writing world)⁵³ we can mention two types of doxographical texts (cf. sets A and B in the list below): the first set is that of “full” doxographies, *i.e.* texts intended as an overview of the development of grammatical conceptions (on the parts of speech) and as a brief discussion of the methodological problems involved; the second set comprises doxographical statements relating either to specific topics in the treatment of the parts of speech or to problems involved in the analysis of a particular word class

(A) *Full doxographies*

- 1) Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Comp.* 2, 1–4 (+ summary in *Dem.* 48, 1) [c. 30–10 BC]
- 2) Heliodorus, *Schol. Dion. T.* 356.7–357.26 [8th–9th cent. AD]
- 3) Heliodorus, *Schol. Dion. T.* 515.19–521.3 [8th–9th cent. AD]

(B) *Doxographical statements* (in Greek school papyri [4, 5], in Greek grammars [6])

- 4) *P. Heid. Siegmann* 198 (Wouters [1979] n. 12, ll. 2–3) [3rd cent. AD]
- 5) *P. Amh.* 2.21 (Wouters [1979] n. 14, ll. 13–17) [4th cent. AD]
- 6) Dionysius Thrax, *Technê Grammatikê* (G.G. I 1, 23.1–3) [2nd–1st cent. BC (?)]

This is not the place to go into a detailed study of the doxographical texts (most of them are in Latin, but they cover the macro-evolution of the parts-of-speech system in Antiquity). Here we want to stress their important (meta-)historical function, *viz.* as retrospective statements on the emergence and development of grammatical doctrines (in the head of the doxographical writer), and their methodological interest. All doxographical texts deal with “division” into parts of speech, or with the rejection of a particular division proposed by some ancient scholars; they all reflect a strategy of *μερισμός*, division (of the sentence / of language structure) into basic components. Differences notwithstanding—*e.g.*, a more or less detailed discussion of the respective divisions into word classes; the amount of argumentation found concerning

53 For a full overview and study of Greek and Latin doxographical texts, see Swiggers – Wouters [2010], [2011a].

positions adopted—these texts concord in providing us with a condensed account of doctrines concerning the division into parts of speech, and concerning issues of debate among grammarians. They are thus an important testimony, and constitute some kind of ‘encapsulated memory’ of the complex, and fascinating, history of a cornerstone of ancient (and present-day) grammatical instruction and education (cf. Kramer [2005]): the system of parts of speech.⁵⁴

54 For brief overviews of the history of the word-class system, of the concepts of ‘word’ and ‘sentence’, and of the two basic components of the sentence, viz. noun and verb, see Swiggers – Wouters [2009a], [2009b], [2014a], [2014b], [2014c].

Language Correctness (*Hellenismos*) and Its Criteria*

Lara Pagani

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1 Introduction

The study of language in classical antiquity—the ‘technical’ part of the extended range of knowledge and scholarship embodied by the expression *γραμματική* (sc. *τέχνη*, grammar)¹—can be divided into two major fields of investigation: the doctrine describing the constitutive elements of the language

* English translation by Rachel Barritt Costa. I am very grateful to Albio C. Cassio for helpful comments on a draft of this chapter.

1 Pagani [2011] 17–21, with bibliography.

(letter, syllable, word, part of speech), and that of language correctness,² designated by the term ἑλληνισμός³ (and the corresponding term *Latinitas* in the Roman world). Language correctness dealt partly with determining the correctness of individual words, from the point of view of spelling, prosody (vowel quantity, presence or absence of aspiration, position and nature of the accents),⁴ phonetics, inflection, dialect differences, derivation and meaning (change in word meaning over time and cases of paronymy),⁵ and partly also with word combinations. Therefore it intrinsically concerned the establishment of rules.

In the most ancient phases, this topic became interlinked with philosophical reflections, such as the debate on the ‘correctness’ of names (ὀρθοέπεια) and the related problem of whether language exists by nature (φύσει) or by convention (θέσει or νόμῳ); it also overlapped with concepts belonging to the field of rhetoric, for instance the doctrine of virtues and vices of style (ἀρεταί and κακία τῆς λέξεως). The two major defects of language were identified as residing in βαρβαρισμός (barbarism) and σολοικισμός (solecism). Barbarism was defined as a mistake involving a single word, while solecism was a mistake in word combination and thus occurred on the syntactic level,⁶ although originally the two terms were apparently used without this distinction.⁷ Such defects were the object of specific treatises (as in the case of Περὶ σολοικισμοῦ καὶ βαρβαρισμοῦ by Ps.-Herodian) and were often cited in the definitions of *Hellenismos* as mistakes not to be made in correct modes of speech. Consider the two examples given below:⁸

ἑλληνισμός ἐστι τὸ καθ’ Ἑλληνας διαλέγεσθαι, τουτέστι τὸ ἀσολοικίστως καὶ ἀβαρβαριστῶς διαλέγεσθαι (*Etym. Magn.* 331.37–39).

Hellenismos consists in speaking in the manner of the Greeks, namely without committing solecisms and barbarisms.

2 Ax [1982] 97; Ax [1991] 277–278; Matthaios [1999], 15–16; see also Barwick [1922] 227ff.; Siebenborn [1976] 32ff. Cf. in this volume (Part 3.2) Valente and Swiggers-Wouters.

3 See Casevitz [1991]; Irmischer [1993] for formation and meanings of the term.

4 On these two aspects see the more detailed treatments by Valente and Probert, respectively, in this volume.

5 Blank [1998] 204.

6 See e.g. Quint. *Inst.* 1.5.6; 1.5.16; Apol. *Dysc. Synt.* 3.8; Sext. *Emp. Math.* 1.210; D. L. 7.59.7–9 (who quotes Stoic positions). Further examples in Blank [1998] 232–234 and Hyman [2003]. See also Lallot [1997] II 158–159, 161.

7 See e.g. Arist. *Soph. el.* 3.165b 20–21; Blank [1998] 232–233.

8 Blank [1998] 206.

ἔστι δὲ ἑλληνισμὸς λέξεις ὑγιῆς καὶ ἀδιάστροφος λόγου μερῶν πλοκὴ κατάλληλος κατὰ τὴν παρ' ἑκάστοις ὑγιῆ καὶ γνησίαν διάλεκτον· λέξεις μὲν οὖν ὑγιῆς κατὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν βαρβαρισμὸν ἀντίθεσιν, λόγου δὲ μερῶν πλοκὴ κατὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν σολοικισμὸν (*Sch. Lond. Dion. T. in GG I/111 446.12–15*).

Hellenismos is the correct mode of speaking and proper construction of the parts of speech, appropriate according to the true and correct language of each person: thus speech is said to be correct in antithesis to barbarism, while correct construction of the parts of speech stands in antithesis to solecism.

In certain cases, the incorrect form or construction could be justified, for example if this was due to the typical characteristics of a particular dialect or author. Such cases were described as *σχήματα* (*schemata*), which was another subject frequently addressed in monographic treatises like the works *Περὶ σχημάτων* by Alexander Numenius, Lesbonax and Ps.-Herodian.

The criteria determining whether a construction should be accepted as correct Greek or rejected as a barbarism or solecism vary slightly among the different sources. There was probably a lively debate about these criteria, enquiring into what their merits were, their proper order of application and their mutual interaction.⁹ In general, the main features were held to consist of analogy—a procedure of comparison, with varying degrees of refinement, between an uncertain language form and one ‘similar’ to the latter, used as a reference model—as well as usage, literary tradition, and also etymology and dialect considerations.¹⁰

In a diachronic perspective, delineating the concept of ‘language correctness’ in classical antiquity means considering the question of language study in general, starting from the intersections with philosophy—above all Aristotle and his school and the Stoics—and with philological-erudite research in the Hellenistic period, and continuing up to the first theorizations from the 1st c. BC onwards, and thence to the great systematic codifications of Apollonius Dyscolus and Aelius Herodian (2nd c. AD) and beyond. From at least the 1st c. BC onwards, the Greek model was transplanted into the Roman world, where the concept of *Latinitas*, modelled on *Hellenismos*, was applied to the Latin language in a wealth of specialist treatises.¹¹

9 Desbordes [1991] 41; Blank [1998] 204.

10 On the criteria of *Hellenismos*, see below § 6. Cf. Barwick [1922] 213ff.; Fehling [1956] 250–254; Siebenborn [1976] 56–158.

11 For an overview see Desbordes [1991]; Baratin [1994]; Uhl [1998] 21–40.

Modern scholarship has assumed contrasting positions on several aspects of this topic, mainly due to the difficulty of interpreting the extant data, which, particularly for the most ancient phase, have often been preserved in fragmentary and indirect form, sometimes by sources that present the issues with a polemical thrust (the most evident case is the work *Against the mathematicians* by Sextus Empiricus, 2nd–3rd c.). Thus the contentious arguments may have distorted some aspects of the doctrines discussed. Another well-known example is the debate on the (presumed?) controversy between those who defended analogy as a rule for determination of language correctness (analogists), and the supporters of usage—anomalous and not governable by rules—as the one and only criterion of *Hellenismos* (anomalists). This controversy is explicitly testified in Varro's *De lingua Latina* (books 8–10), but assessment of its true impact in ancient language studies varies widely (see below § 6.1.2).

2 The Concept of Language Correctness in Philosophy and Rhetoric

In the Greek world, the roots of general attention to language phenomena and, more specifically, to language correctness issues can be traced back to the philosophical tradition.¹² Documents from as early as the Presocratics reveal debate on the ‘correctness’ of names (ὀρθοέπεια, ὀρθότης ὀνομάτων), *i.e.* on the correspondence—or lack of correspondence—between the form of a word and the reality it designates, and on the question of whether language exists by nature (φύσει) or by convention (θέσει or νόμῳ). More specifically, the φύσις / θέσις antithesis acts on two levels of the debate: 1) in the doctrine on the origin of language, and 2) in the doctrine on the attribution of names to things in present-day language.¹³ In point 1, the idea (above all Epicurean) that language acquisition was originally a natural process and had only later been regulated by man (φύσει, “by nature”) stood in opposition to the theory that language had been instituted by a single individual or a group—the ὀνοματουργός (“he who creates names”) or οἱ πρῶτοι τὰ ὀνόματα τιθέμενοι (“those who were the first to establish the names”) in Plato's *Cratylus*¹⁴—(θέσει, “by convention”). In point 2, debate focused on whether there existed a causal relation of correspondence

12 For this phase of ancient grammar, see Schmitter [1991a] 57–272; Hennigfeld [1994] 4–124; Blank [2000] 400–404; Schmitter [2000], with additional bibliography; Law [2003] 13–51; de Jonge-van Ophuijsen [2010]. A documented overview, albeit dated, is in Gudeman [1912a] 1781–1791.

13 See Dahlmann [1928] 8; Fehling [1965] 218–229; Siebenborn [1976] 22–24; Coseriu [1996].

14 Pl. *Cr.* 389a–401b.

between the denomination and the object denominated (φύσει), or whether the link was purely arbitrary and casual (θέσει).

The problem of the relation between language and reality can already be perceived, albeit not completely formalized (at least judging from the fragmentary documentation) in Heraclitus of Ephesus (6th–5th c.),¹⁵ Parmenides of Elea (6th–5th c.),¹⁶ Anaxagoras of Clazomenae (6th–5th c.)¹⁷ and Empedocles of Acragas (5th c.).¹⁸ A more extensive discussion can be recognized in the fragments of Democritus of Abdera (5th–4th c.), who is said to have composed a work on orthoepia, possibly restricted to correct language use in Homer.¹⁹ It seems likely that in Democritus' conception, language was not preordained by nature but dominated by chance, as evinced by numerous observations²⁰ and, above all, by the fragment on the discrepancy between ὀνόματα (“names”) and πράγματα (“facts”).²¹

Interest in the nature of language became explicit and intense with the cultural movement known as Sophistic,²² between the 5th and 4th c. BC. In this field a position decidedly in favor of the conventionalism of language, both diachronically and synchronically, was adopted by Protagoras of Abdera (5th c.), who not only appears in the eponymic Platonic dialogue (*Prt.* 322a) as a supporter of the conception that language is an invention of man, but is also known to have identified cases of discrepancy between the grammatical category to which a word formally belonged, and the reality of the object or situation designated by the word.²³

Another significant exponent among the Sophists is Prodicus of Ceus (5th–4th c.), universally known as the inventor of synonymics. He undertook the task of fine-tuning a method for differentiation of synonyms (test. 84 A 16 and 17 D.-K.), an art widespread among the Sophists. This presumably consisted in comparison and contrast among (near-)synonyms and in illustrating the

15 Frr. 22 B 23; 32; 48 and 67 D.-K.

16 Frr. 28 B 8, 38–41 and 19 D.-K.

17 Frr. 59 B 17 and 19 D.-K.

18 Frr. 31 B 8 and 9 D.-K.

19 Test. 68 A 33, 37 D.-K. (Περὶ Ὁμήρου ἢ ὀρθοεπειῆς καὶ γλωσσέων, “On Homer or correctness of words and glosses”): see Siebenborn [1976] 17–19.

20 Frr. 68 B 5; 9 and 125 D.-K.

21 Fr. 68 B 26 D.-K.: see Siebenborn [1976] 19–20; Brancacci [1986]; Schmitter [2000] 354–355; Ademollo [2003].

22 See Gentinetta [1961].

23 Cf. Fehling [1965] 212–217. Examples include test. 80 A 28 D.-K. (cf. C 3, a parodic imitation of Protagoras' doctrine composed by Aristophanes *Nub.* 662ff.: Pfeiffer [1968] 38; Siebenborn [1976] 15) and A 29 D.-K.

specific meanings of each of the different usages, in order to reach the “correct use of words” (ὀνομάτων ὀρθότης, test. 84 A 16 D.-K.).²⁴ However, whether the theoretical background underlying this practice was an aspiration towards an—artificial—construction of a better language (on the presupposition of the conventional nature of language) or an awareness that the fine nuances differentiating presumed synonyms reflected differences in the situations described by the individual terms (conception of language ‘by nature’) remains unclear.²⁵

The concept of ὀρθότης ὀνομάτων in the sense of the correctness of the relation between word form and the reality designated by a given word lies at the basis of Plato’s (428/427–348/347) dialogue *Cratylus*,²⁶ where the two theories ‘by nature’ and ‘by convention’ espoused by the two speakers Cratylus and Hermogenes are both shown to be unsatisfactory as they are incapable of distinguishing ‘true’ from ‘false’ denominations, *i.e.* those that are ‘adequate’ vs. ‘inadequate’ in portraying reality. Plato concludes that knowledge of the true nature of things cannot be acquired through observation of their names, but rather through observation of the things themselves. Examination of the possible correspondence between the form of a name and the reality denominated is performed mainly in a lengthy etymological section (397a–437d), where words are traced back to presumed original forms, which are themselves then decomposed into their minimal elements (στοιχεῖα).

Reflections on language correctness also influenced studies on rhetoric, the field with the earliest known annotation on ‘ἐλλήνιζειν’ in the technical sense, inquiring into what it is and how it may be achieved. The annotation is owed to Aristotle (384–322), who defined good Greek as “a principle of style” (ἀρχὴ τῆς λέξεως) and held it to depend on compliance with five rules: 1) correct utilization of connecting particles; 2) use of specific rather than generic terms; 3) rejection of ambiguous terms; d) proper distinction between the genders of words (with a reference to the precedent represented in this field by Protagoras); 5) concord in number (*Rh.* 3.1407a 19ff.).²⁷ Of these, only points 1, 4 and 5 involve the grammatical level,²⁸ while the other two are more closely concerned with σαφήνεια (“clarity”) of style. On the specific issue of language correctness, ἐλλήνιζειν was discussed by Aristotle in the treatise *On Sophistical*

24 Examples in fr. 84 A 13, 14, 18, 19, B 4 D.-K.

25 Schmitter [2000] 357–358, with additional bibliography.

26 The bibliography is vast. Some recent overviews are in Baxter [1992]; Schmitter [2000] 360–363; Riley [2005]; Aronadio [2011].

27 See Siebenborn [1976] 24–25; Schenkeveld [1994] 281; Blank [1998] 204; Ax [2006a] 229.

28 These issues were to be addressed, later, in works like Ps.-Herodian’s *De soloecismo et barbarismo*.

refutations, at the end of an extended investigation into cases of solecism which mainly involved lack of concord. Here the phenomenon of solecism was explained as “barbarism of expression” (τῆ λέξει βαρβαρίζειν, *Soph. el.* 165b 20–21) and was presented as the opposite of ἑλληνίζειν (*Soph. el.* 182a 14).

In contrast, ἑλληνισμός was maintained carefully separate from σαφήνεια by Theophrastus of Eresus (371–287), to whom we owe a proper rhetorical theory of *virtutes dicendi*:²⁹ according to the testimony of Cicero, Theophrastus argued that style should be characterized by 1) language purity, 2) clarity and simplicity, 3) appropriateness, 4) ornamentation.³⁰ The first characteristic of good style, expressed by Cicero as “*purus . . . et Latinus*”, most likely corresponded to the concept of ἑλληνισμός in the Greek original (*fr.* 684 Fortenbaugh).³¹

The intersections between rhetoric and philosophy in relation to the question of language correctness continued with the Stoics, who took up again and adapted the ideas of Theophrastus and, more generally, of the Peripatus.³² In their elaborate system, the area of knowledge reserved to dialectics and rhetoric included the formal aspects of language, studied in relation to grammatical concepts such as phonetics or the doctrine of the parts of speech, but also covering reflection on the ἀρεταί and the κακίαι λόγου (“virtues and vices of speech”).

We know from Diogenes Laertius (7.59) that the doctrine of Diogenes of Babylon (ca. 230–150) set out five virtues of speech (brevity being added to the four of Theophrastus), the first of which was *Hellenismos*, and two vices, barbarism and solecism, which had by then become fixed in the canonical distinction between the morphological-phonetic level for barbarisms, and the syntactic level for solecisms. Diogenes Laertius testifies to precise definitions applying to each of these concepts:

ἀρεταί δὲ λόγου εἰσὶ πέντε, ἑλληνισμός, σαφήνεια, συντομία, πρέπον, κατασκευή. ἑλληνισμός μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ φράσις ἀδιὰπτωτος ἐν τῇ τεχνικῇ καὶ μὴ εἰκαίᾳ συνηθείᾳ. [. . .] ὁ δὲ βαρβαρισμός ἐκ τῶν κακιῶν λέξις ἐστὶ παρὰ τὸ ἔθος τῶν εὐδοκίμουτων Ἑλλήνων, σολοικισμός δὲ ἐστὶ λόγος ἀκαταλλήλως συντεταγμένος. (Diogenes of Babylon *ap. D.L.* 7.59 = *SVF* 3.24).

29 See Stroux [1912]; Siebenborn [1976] 24; Schmitt [1982] 462; Innes [1985] 256; Blank [1998] 208.

30 See Nünlist in this volume.

31 Siebenborn [1976] 24. See also Stroux [1912] 9ff.

32 The canonical reference work for the Stoics' linguistic studies is Schmidt [1839]. See also Steinthal [1890–1891²] I 271ff.; Pohlenz [1939] and, more recently, Frede [1978]; Sluiter [2000b], with bibliography. On Peripatetic influences, see Ax [1993].

The virtues of speech are five in number: *Hellenismos*, clarity, brevity, appropriateness, ornamentation. And *Hellenismos* is an expression free from mistakes, according to expert and non ordinary usage; [...] while among the defects, barbarism is an expression contrary to the custom of Greeks of good repute, and solecism is speech put together incongruously without proper agreement.

Thus in the earliest known definition of *Hellenismos* attention focused on a “correct manner of expressing oneself”, correctness being assessed by linguistic usage (συνήθεια): not, however, mere ordinary correctness, but “expert” (τεχνική) usage, that of well-educated and socially esteemed Greeks, as can be inferred from the appraisal of barbarism.³³

The tool of etymology, already employed by Plato to reconstruct the original meaning of words, appears to have enjoyed great acclaim in Stoic philosophy.³⁴ The actual name of this procedure is not attested prior to Chrysippus of Soli (281/277–208/204), for whom writings entitled Ἐτυμολογικά (*svf* 2.16.38) are known. The Stoics were convinced that words incorporated within their form a descriptive meaning of the reality they indicated: knowledge of this reality could be acquired by reducing every name to its primitive sounds (πρῶται φωναί). Numerous Stoic etymologies have come down to us, clearly within the frame of philosophical rather than linguistic reflection *stricto sensu*, and revealing, like most ancient etymologies, a somewhat unbridled inventiveness in the phonetic modifications required for the transition from a word in its presumed original state to its known form.³⁵

We also apparently owe to the Stoics the concept of ‘anomaly’, which would play a major role in the subsequent investigation into language correctness (see below § 6.1.2). Thus Chrysippus is said to have devoted a specific work to ‘anomaly’,³⁶ although the meaning attributed to this term was not identical with later practice: for the philosopher, as can be inferred from Varro (*Ling.* 9.1), it probably indicated the discrepancy between the form and meaning of

33 Siebenborn [1976] 25–27; Dalimier [1991] 21; Schenkeveld [1994] 281–282; Blank [1998] 204, 208; Vassilaki [2007] 1124.

34 See Sluiter [1990] 12–13, 18–21; Allen [2005].

35 Cf. *svf* 2.884, 2.886, 2.895 for Chrysippus’ celebrated discussion on the meaning of ἔγῶ (“I”).

36 Entitled Περὶ ἀνωμαλίας *iv libri* (“Four books on anomaly”) according to Varro (*Ling.* 9.1); Περὶ τῆς κατὰ τὰς λέξεις ἀνωμαλίας πρὸς Δίωνα δ’ (“Four books on anomaly in expressions, addressed to Dion”) according to Diogenes Laertius (7.192).

words, the incongruence between signifier and signified highlighted earlier by Protagoras.³⁷

3 The Concept of Language Correctness in Hellenistic Scholarship

From a certain point onwards, in the Hellenistic period, grammatical reflection associated with the philological-erudite tradition developed alongside philosophically oriented language studies, resulting in fertile interaction among these branches of study. According to Sextus Empiricus (*Math.* 1.44), grammar in its fullest meaning had been worked out by Aristophanes of Byzantium (ca. 265/57-190-80), Aristarchus of Samothrace (ca. 215-144) and Crates of Mallus (a probably slightly younger contemporary of Aristarchus), the reference figures of early Hellenistic scholarship.³⁸ Assessment of the linguistic interests of the ancient philologists is a debated issue in modern research. Their primary occupation was emendation, exegesis and study of literary texts, and their attention to grammatical questions arose precisely from this activity, in which grammar effectively constituted a practical application. This contiguity with philology has at times led critics to downplay the linguistic interests of these figures, but it appears reasonable to assume that rather than being conceived as separate and contrasting, the two spheres of study enjoyed a close and fruitful mutual relation.³⁹

3.1 *Aristophanes of Byzantium*

The surviving fragments of the work of Aristophanes of Byzantium⁴⁰ suggest that he was concerned with some aspects of language correctness.⁴¹ Firstly, he perceived the existence of recurrent patterns in noun and verb inflection, which he associated with the fundamental principle of regularity known as ‘analogy’, later also extensively employed by Aristarchus. That Aristophanes was aware of regularity in declension can be inferred from the explanation he proposed for the origin of the heteroclitic dative γερώντοισι (*fr.* 25 Slater), which

37 Lersch [1838-1841] I 51; Siebenborn [1976] 98-100; Frede [1978] 73ff.; Ramelli-Lucchetta [2004] 190ff.

38 See Montana in this volume.

39 See Pagani [2011] for a broader discussion of the problem and the related bibliography.

40 Gathered together in Nauck [1848a] and, more recently, in Slater [1986].

41 See Nauck [1848a] 264-271; Steinthal [1890-1891²] II 73-77, 151 n. (cf. II 181 n.); Pfeiffer [1968] 202-203; Callanan [1987]; Ax [1990]; Schenkeveld [1990] 290-298; Ax [1991] 277-282.

reveals his conviction that nominatives of the same type are declined in the same manner: he maintained that the Aeolians mistook the genitive γέρωντος (from γέρων, “old”) for an -ο declension nominative and, as a result, that they constructed the wrong dative plural γερόντοις.⁴² He also had knowledge of accent shift in declension, as documented in the fragment conserved by *sch. Hdn. Il.* 15.606b (p. 187 Sl.),⁴³ which discusses the accent in the dative plural τάρφρῃσιν in relation to the inflectional pattern to which the word belongs: if the dative comes from the noun τάρφος (“woodland”), the stress is on the antepenultimate syllable (τάρφρῃσιν), the parallel form being βέλος (“javelin”), while if it belongs to the declension of the adjective ταρφύς (“dense”), it is accented on the penultimate syllable, as it happens in the analogical term of comparison, the adjective δξύς (“sharp”) (see below).⁴⁴ More generally, the view that Aristophanes formulated descriptive rules on the prosody of groups of words which conformed to specific prerequisites, such as comparatives ending in -ων (*fr.* 347 Sl.), remains on the level of hypothesis.⁴⁵ As regards verb inflection, we know that Aristophanes must have addressed the issue of use of the dual in Homer, because in numerous cases he established the text with a dual rather than the plural if the passage referred to two persons or objects (*sch. Did. Il.* 6.121 [p. 178 Sl.]; 8.290c [p. 179 Sl.]; etc.).⁴⁶ He also examined irregular verb forms, as emerges from two notes traceable to his collection of *Lexeis* in which examples displaying the same phenomenon are arranged in groups, suggesting a theoretical framework for verb inflection. Thus *fr.* 19 Sl. shows that Aristophanes recorded the use of the -σαν ending for some imperfects, explaining it as a Chalcidian element, and *fr.* 28 Sl. testifies that the imperative forms ἀπόστα and κατάβα were mentioned alongside the respective ‘regular’ forms ἀπόστηθι and κατὰβηθι.⁴⁷

Additionally, he is recognized as using the criterion of analogy,⁴⁸ although it is not possible to support the hypothesis, devoid of documentary source,

42 Callanan [1987] 57–61.

43 This passage involves a textual problem, as Erbse [1960] 401–402 proposed the conjecture Ἀρίσταρχος instead of the transmitted Ἀριστοφάνης. However, the reading of the manuscripts is retained by Nauck [1848a], Slater [1986] and Callanan [1987].

44 Callanan [1987] 26–31.

45 Callanan [1987] 31–32. Callanan’s faith in the possibility of attributing to Aristophanes the formulation of a rule for certain groups of words should be attenuated, both on the basis of *fr.* 347—where statement of the rule clearly goes back to Aelius Herodian, who constitutes the source—and also of *fr.* 346 Sl., where the formulation is even vaguer.

46 Callanan [1987] 53–56 (56 n. 22 for the complete list of passages).

47 Callanan [1987] 62–64.

48 Steintal [1890–1891²] II 73–77; Pfeiffer [1968] 202–203; Callanan [1987] 107–122.

that he devoted a specific work to these topics, entitled *Περὶ ἀναλογίας* (“On analogy”).⁴⁹ The above cited *sch.* Hdn. *Il.* 15.606b shows the establishment of fairly detailed proportional relations designed to determine the correct prosody of one of the elements involved (τάρφεισιν : τάρφος = βέλεισιν : βέλος and ταρφέεισιν : ταρφύς = δξέεισιν : δξύς).⁵⁰ Furthermore, the analogical method was not applied indiscriminately to any word: only words respecting certain conditions could be correctly invoked in an analogical relation. According to a disputed testimony of Charisius (149.26ff. Barwick), closely paralleled in the so-called *Donatiani Fragmentum* (*GL VI* 276.5ff.), Aristophanes listed similarity in gender, case, ending, number of syllables and accent (*fr.* 375 Sl.) as constituting the conditions of analogy.⁵¹ In the view of Varro, one particular case addressed by Aristophanes was that of ‘perfect’ analogies, where the words being compared also had related meanings (*fr.* 373 Sl.). On the other hand, the tendency to invoke the semantic aspect in analogical relations seems to have been common among the earliest Alexandrians.⁵² Finally, there is evidence that he used analogy for a prescriptive intervention concerning the language of his day: the relevant passage is Varro *Ling.* 9.12 (*fr.* 374 Sl.), which states that Aristophanes sometimes tried to introduce linguistic innovations (*i.e.* improvements) based on analogy, against the old usage. Despite some textual difficulties, the general meaning of the fragment is accepted as certain.⁵³ This not only calls into question the image of Aristophanes as a neutral, descriptive and never prescriptive,⁵⁴ observer of language phenomena, but it also presupposes an awareness of the diachronic evolution of language, as further suggested by the section of the *Lexeis* devoted to “Words suspected of not having been said by the ancients” (*Περὶ τῶν ὑποπτευομένων μὴ εἰρήσθαι τοῖς παλαιοῖς, fr.* 1–36 Sl.).⁵⁵

49 The hypothesis goes back to Nauck [1848a] 264–271. For objections to this, see Steinthal [1890–1891²] II 151 n. (cf. II 181 n.); Pfeiffer [1968] 202–203; Callanan [1987] 107; Ax [1990] 12; Ax [1991] 282.

50 See above, n. 43 for the possible textual problems raised by the passage.

51 On the problems raised by scholars concerning this evidence, see below § 6.1.1.

52 Siebenborn [1976] 81–83.

53 The passage, not mentioned at all by Callanan [1987], was pointed out by Ax [1990]: “[...] *artifices egregii non reprehendundi, quod consuetudinem... superiorum non sunt secuti, Aristophanes improbandus, qui potius in quibusdam veritatem [cod. Basiliensis et editio princeps pro ‘veteritatem’] quam consuetudinem secutus?*”. See esp. pp. 7–11 for discussion of the textual difficulties (presenting a parallel with Cic. *Orat.* 155–162) and cf. also Ax [1991] 277–282.

54 Thus Callanan [1987] 103–106 and *passim*.

55 Pfeiffer [1968] 197–200; cf. Ax [1990] 14–15; *contra* Callanan [1987] 75–82.

Another tool utilized—albeit somewhat rarely—by Aristophanes to determine the language correctness of a term is etymology,⁵⁶ to confirm a form or a spelling in comparison with other competing variants, but also to explain rare or obsolete expressions, mainly Homeric.⁵⁷ However, he is unlikely to have formulated rules of etymological derivation.⁵⁸

3.2 *Aristarchus of Samothrace*

The most striking divergences among modern scholars' assessment of the contribution of the earliest philologists to grammatical studies (see above § 3) concern Aristarchus of Samothrace. This is due mainly to difficulty in handling the extant material, which not only is relatively abundant but also lacks, to date, an overall edition of the fragments.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, based on the present state of knowledge, it seems undeniable that although Aristarchus did not have a fully-fledged doctrine of inflection and did not devise a genuine theory of *κανόνες* ("rules"), he did know and utilize the principle of analogy to establish the correct form of a term, in relation to orthography, inflection or prosody.⁶⁰ According to the sources, he added further criteria to those established by Aristophanes of Byzantium for application of the analogical method: prohibition on setting simple words in a relation of analogy with compounds (Char. 149.26ff. B.) and, as appears from three passages of Varro (*Ling.* 8.68, 9.43, 9.91), identity of ending not only in the nominative but also in the vocative.⁶¹

The restrictions proposed by Siebenborn⁶² seem unfounded, both as regards Aristarchus' manner of utilizing analogy (mere comparison of one term with

56 Callanan [1987] 97–102. Cf. Nauck [1848a] 268–269; Pfeiffer [1968] 201 and n. 4, 260; Slater [1986] 19.

57 See Callanan [1987] 97–102 for the examples.

58 In contrast to Reitzenstein's proposal [1897] 184. The passage from Varro (*fr.* 372 Sl.) more likely refers to inflection rather than derivation of one word from another. Slater [1986] 138; Callanan [1987] 97–98; cf. Schenkeveld [1990] 297–298 and Blank [2008] 54ff. for the problem of the meaning of *declinatio* in Varro.

59 On partial collections, an important breakthrough has been achieved by Matthaios [1999], with collection and study of all the fragments concerning the doctrine of parts of speech.

60 Erbse [1980]; Ax [1982]; Ax [1991]; Schenkeveld [1994] 283–287; Matthaios [1999] 28–32. Cf. already Ribbach [1883]. Decidedly more reductive positions are found in Steinthal [1890–1891²] II 112–113; Siebenborn [1976] 30–31, 68–78; Frede [1977] 76. On prosody and orthography, see in this volume (Part 3.2) respectively Probert and Valente.

61 Siebenborn [1976] 81; Blank [1998] xxxvii.

62 Siebenborn [1976] 70ff.

another rather than establishing detailed analogical proportions)⁶³ and the function attributed to analogy (heuristic method adopted mainly in choice of the correct prosody of a word rather than in examining inflection). On the first point, we at least have a few examples documenting Aristarchus' recourse to detailed proportional relations: *e.g. fr.* 92A Matthaios, where the accent pattern of *πείρων* is justified by a parallel with *κείρων*: “as ἔκειρε [he cut] *κείρων* [cutting], so also ἔπειρε [he crossed] *πείρων* [crossing]”). However, it has been rightly pointed out⁶⁴ that the formula ‘as *x*, so also *y*’ should not necessarily indicate a comparison between words linked by a formal relation of analogy: it could also suggest that word *x* presents a characteristic which is *the same as* that of word *y*. Thus some of Aristarchus' presumed two-member analogies could simply be mere examples, free from the formal constraints of analogy. This would explain the apparent violation of the criterion of equal number of syllables in cases like *φωριαμῶν-κιβωτῶν* (*sch. Hdn. Il.* 24.228a) or *φυλακούς-φρουρούς* (*sch. Hdn. Il.* 24.566d¹).⁶⁵ On the second point, Siebenborn's claim that Aristarchus used analogy chiefly, if not solely, to establish the prosody of a word is attenuated if a twofold bias is corrected. Firstly, Siebenborn makes exclusive use of scholiastic material dating back to Aelius Herodian, whereas the evidence from other scholars, such as Aristonicus and Didymus, suggests a different perspective, documenting various instances of analogy used to determine a declined form,⁶⁶ as compared to Siebenborn's single example⁶⁷ (*sch. Hdn. Il.* 5.299b). Secondly, the fact of considering prosody and inflectional characteristics as two separate aspects seems somewhat forced: they may indeed interact, as in *fr.* 52 Matth., where determination of the accent pattern of the form *ψευδέσει* is argued to depend on whether it belongs to the declension of the adjective *ψευδής* (“mendacious”) or the noun *ψεύδος* (“a lie”). That Aristarchus was aware of inflectional considerations can also be inferred from his observations on the nature of the adverb, which is characterized by absence of inflectional forms, application without distinction either to plurals or singulars, and absence of gender (*fr.* 136 Matth.).⁶⁸ Some features of Homer's language were explained by Aristarchus as *σχήματα*, that is, peculiarities which diverged from ordinary

63 Thus already Steinthal [1890–1891²] II 103.

64 Callanan [1987] 116; Matthaios [1999] 30.

65 Siebenborn [1976] 77 saw in these “eine Lockerung der Rigorosität”.

66 *E.g. fr.* 48, 51 Matth.; *sch. Did. Il.* 18.100d¹. For further examples, see Erbse [1980] 238 n. 4.

67 Siebenborn [1976] 71 and n. 2.

68 Ax [1982] 107; Matthaios [1999] 524–525.

forms and widespread usage, a kind of ‘poetic licence’:⁶⁹ for instance, the use of a passive instead of an active verb form, a nominative in place of a genitive for a noun, a simple case instead of a prepositional construction, an adjective instead of an adverb and so on.⁷⁰

Homer’s language was also invoked as a standard of correctness to be applied to Greek in general,⁷¹ because in Homer “everything concerning *Hellenismos* is perfect” (*fr.* 125 Matth.).⁷² Accordingly, in addition to considerations of syntactic tolerability and inflectional analogy, Aristarchus rejected the compound forms of the third person plural reflexive pronoun, which he regarded as incorrect, in favor of the periphrastic forms.⁷³ Some centuries later, Sextus Empiricus (*Math.* 1.202ff.) would reflect ironically on such a criterion, in open opposition to the position adopted by Aristarchus’ pupil, Ptolemy Pindarion (see below § 4), and would ridicule the curiosities that might be said if Homer’s language were taken as a standard of *Hellenismos*.⁷⁴

In Aristarchus’ doctrine, the criterion of analogy apparently interacted not only with Homeric *auctoritas* but also with contemporary language usage, as emerges from the evidence of Varro (*Ling.* 9.1), who held that Aristarchus exercised the rules of similarity in derivation “within the limits allowed by usage” (*quoad patiatur consuetudo*).⁷⁵ This assessment may include some Aristarchean interventions on the Homeric text that were later judged—by Aelius Herodian or other grammarians—as “contrary to analogy” (*παράλογως, παρὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν*).⁷⁶

69 According to the definition of *Sch. Lond.* D.T. in *GG* 1/III 456.23–26, *σχήματα* were “errors committed deliberately by an author as an artistic flourish or for the delight of using an uncommon form”.

70 Cf. the collection of *Fragmenta schematologiae Aristarcheae* by Friedländer [1853] 1–35 (who wrote “... explicare conabor, quibus finibus circumscriptam esse poeticam licentiam quibusque proprietatibus Homeri sermonem a stabilito recentiorum usu differre statuerit grammaticus nobilissimus”); Erbse [1980] 242–243, with examples; Ax [1991] 284; Blank [1998] 230–231; Matthaios [1999] 382ff.

71 On literary use as a criterion of *Hellenismos*, see below § 6.3. In particular, on use of Homer as a linguistic model, see Pontani [2011c].

72 Siebenborn [1976] 31; Ax [1982] 105; Blank [1998] 228.

73 *Fr.* 125 Matthaios. For a discussion on this point, cf. Wackernagel [1876 = 1979] 55; Siebenborn [1976] 30–31; Ax [1982] 105–106; Lallot [1997] 11 146; Matthaios [1999] 479–480; Pagani [2010a] 117–122. The importance of this passage is minimized by Schenkeveld [1994] 286.

74 Siebenborn [1976] 97; Montanari [1995b] 45–49; Blank [1998] 225–232; Boatti [2000] 87–95.

75 Cf. Siebenborn [1976] 30–31; Ax [1982] 109.

76 Examples in Erbse [1980] 241. Cf. also Ax [1991] 287.

Finally, Aristarchus' utilization of etymology for determination of the correct spelling and prosody of a term is recognized, as in the case of *θίς* ("beach") and *ῥίς* ("nose"), which were to be written—in his opinion—with the diphthong *-ει-* and not with *-ι-* since they derived respectively from *θείνεσθαι* ("to strike", "to beat") or *θέειν* ("to run") and from *ῥεῖν* ("to flow") (Hdn. *Orth.* in *GG III/II* 431.1–11 = *EGud.* 30.48–57 Sturz).⁷⁷

Thus in his observations on language Aristarchus did not merely pursue descriptive objectives but also sought to establish rules.⁷⁸ On his involvement and position in the debate between anomalists and analogists, see below § 6.1.2.

3.3 *Crates of Mallus*

Less detailed information is available on Crates of Mallus, traditionally presented as a 'rival' of Aristarchus as regards the method of textual criticism and exegesis, and the attitude to language.⁷⁹ Today this contrast is generally toned down,⁸⁰ although undeniable differences in approach are detectable.

With regard to language issues, the figure of Crates is involved, together with Aristarchus, in the opaque dispute between anomaly and analogy, on which see below § 6.1.2. Besides the Varronian passage that depicts the controversy (*Ling.* 9.1: *fr.* 104 Broggiato; cf. Gell. 2.25.1: *fr.* 105 Brogg., which derives from Varro),⁸¹ two further pieces of evidence are available, again from Varro, seeming to set Crates in opposition to the position of Aristarchus. According to the more traditional vision, Crates did not base the determination of *Hellenismos* on the search for presumed inflectional regularities, because he judged inflection to be dominated by exceptions and anomalies that rendered the analogical method inapplicable. Rather, Crates is seen as attributing greater importance to contemporary language usage (which, however, was a concept not alien to the Aristarchean approach: see above § 3.2).⁸² Thus a reconstruction of Crates' theories on language was proposed in the mid twentieth century by H. J. Mette, starting from a very extended concept of 'fragment':⁸³ utilizing far

77 Siebenborn [1976] 30–31; Schenkeveld [1994] 289. Further examples in Ribbach [1883] 8–9 and Siebenborn [1976] 29.

78 Ax [1991] 287–288.

79 On linguistic aspects, cf. *e.g.* Steinthal [1890–1891²] II 121–126.

80 Cf. Broggiato [2001 = 2006] xxxv–xxxvi and Montana in this volume.

81 Fehling [1956] 223ff., 266; Broggiato [2001 = 2006] 267.

82 Cf. Fehling [1956] 268–269; Pinborg [1975] 109–110, 112; Schenkeveld [1994] 286.

83 Mette [1952], esp. 9–11 and 31–45 for *Hellenismos*. Observations on the nature of this work can be found in Broggiato [2001 = 2006] xiii–xiv.

greater parts of Varro and Sextus Empiricus than those definitely ascribable to Crates, Mette credited Crates with formulating the expression παρατήρησις τῆς συνηθείας (“observation of linguistic usage”) and traced the methodological foundation of Crates’ linguistic theories to the empirical medical school.⁸⁴ But the terminological considerations underlying both hypotheses have proven to be far from decisive.⁸⁵

In the two Varronian fragments—besides that which alludes to the ‘dispute’—where Crates and Aristarchus are presented as holding opposite views, it is said, firstly (*fr.* 102 Brogg.), that the Pergamene erudite wondered why the names of the letters of the alphabet, unlike all other nouns, were not declined, in contrast with the predictions of the rules of analogy, to which the Aristarcheans answered that the names of the letters were not subject to declension because of their Phoenician origin (thus they were not Greek).⁸⁶ Furthermore (*fr.* 103 Brogg.) Varro asserts that Aristarchus opposed Crates on the possibility of considering three proper names which, although having identical endings in the nominative, differed in the vocative, as being analogous.⁸⁷ These passages thus appear to reflect a debate on the criteria and limits of application of analogy.⁸⁸ Interpreted in the perspective of the ‘controversy’ mentioned in the third Varronian passage, the argument would appear to support the above-described traditional opinion. But it is worth considering the proposal by D. Blank, who suggests that Varro or his sources may have cited both Crates and Aristarchus as *representatives of analogy* in a typical argument from disagreement, using the divergence between the two great grammarians on the application of analogy to discredit the entire analogical method.⁸⁹

Recourse to etymology is fairly extensive in the Cratetean fragments,⁹⁰ but it aims mainly at solving problems involving interpretation of the Homeric text.⁹¹

84 Mette [1952] 31–48. The parallel between medicine and grammar is studied extensively by Siebenborn [1976] 116–135.

85 Broggiato [2001 = 2006] xxxvii–xxxviii with references to the previous bibliography. Cf. also Siebenborn [1976] 118ff.; Blank [1982] 1–5; Blank [1994] 153–155.

86 Ax [1991] 292; Blank [1998] xxxvi; Broggiato [2001 = 2006] 265–266; Blank [2005] 225–228.

87 Cf. Fehling [1957] 94; Ax [1991] 292 (who speaks of “Vokativthese”); Blank [1998] xxxvii; Broggiato [2001 = 2006] 266; Blank [2005] 228–233.

88 Broggiato [2001 = 2006] xxxv–xxxvi.

89 Blank [1998] xxxiv–xl; Blank [2005], who goes so far as to hypothesize that the opposition between the two saw Crates defending analogy more strenuously than Aristarchus (pp. 227–228, 232, 238).

90 See Broggiato [2001 = 2006] 329, s.v. “etimologia”.

91 Broggiato [2001 = 2006] lxiii, with observations also on the concomitance of etymological explanations with allegorical interpretations (*fr.* 3, 21, 130 Brogg.); Blank [2005] 222.

Moreover, it focuses predominantly on the semantic aspect, although attention to prosody and orthography is not absent.

4 Theoretical Reflections and Treatises on *Hellenismos*

Starting from the period between the 2nd and 1st c. BC, the issue of language correctness became the object of theoretical speculations, partly within the systematization of the branch of knowledge termed *grammatike*, but also supplying material for definitions, abstract and general considerations, or monographic studies. On the first point, two elements employed as criteria of *Hellenismos*, analogy and etymology, are cited as “parts of grammar” in the celebrated definition of Dionysius Thrax⁹² (170–90 approx.), a pupil of Aristarchus⁹³ who at times seems to have applied the analogical method to exegesis of the Homeric text even more stringently than his master.⁹⁴ Moreover Dionysius’ interest in orthographic problems emerges from the grammatical treatise preserved in the *scriptio inferior* of the palimpsest *Lipsiensis gr. 2* (*olim Tischendorfianus* II) and identified by K. Alpers as the commentary by Oros on the *Orthography* of Herodian,⁹⁵ where the name of Dionysius appears in a list of grammarians who dealt with orthography (22^v ll. 18–26). As a general expression, *Hellenismos* appears in the systematic description of the *grammatike* of Asclepiades of Myrlea (2nd–1st c. BC), an erudite of Pergamene orientation whose work *Περὶ γραμματικῆς* was probably utilized by Sextus Empiricus far more extensively than merely in the three points that explicitly cite Asclepiades (*Math.* 1.47–48; 1.72–74; 1.252–253).⁹⁶ Asclepiades devoted the part of the *γραμματικὴ* defined as “technical” to study of “letters, parts of speech, orthography, *Hellenismos* and related aspects”⁹⁷ (*Sext. Emp. Math.* 1.92, 1.252). His mention, alongside *Hellenismos*, of one of the issues actually addressed in *Hellenismos*, namely orthography, shows he awarded it particular importance, and this fits well with the above-mentioned testimony of the *palimps. Lipsiensis gr. 2*, where Asclepiades can be recognized among the grammarians

92 Cf. Swiggers-Wouters in this volume (Part 2).

93 On the disputed issue of attribution of the *Techne grammatike* to Dionysius, see Pagani [2011] 30–37 and the bibliography cited therein.

94 *Frr.* 4–7 Linke.

95 See Ascheri [2005], with bibliography.

96 Cf. Pagani [2007a] 31–34, with bibliography.

97 Siebenborn [1976] 32–33; Schenkeveld [1994] 287–288.

listed as having orthographic interests (the name is in lacuna, but the integration, based on the ethnic designation, is traditionally considered certain).

Another pupil of Aristarchus, Ptolemy Pindarion (2nd c. BC), reformulated the theoretical bases of analogy in response to the criticism that it was pointless frippery necessarily appealing to *συνήθεια* (“linguistic usage”) for examples establishing regularity and rules. Pindarion neutralized this objection by arguing that the usage underlying analogy was not the fickle parlance of the speech community but rather the codified language of the Homeric poems, which was guaranteed by the primacy and antiquity of such works (Sext. Emp. *Math.* 1.202ff.: *fr.* 12 Boatti). Thus Pindarion’s reformulation, far from representing a compromise,⁹⁸ reasserted the validity of analogy by capitalizing on the idea, present in Aristarchus, that Homeric language constituted a reference point for *Hellenismos*. Furthermore, that Pindarion had rigorously analogistic leanings is also indicated not only by other fragments but also by the epithet *ἀναλογητικός* (“analogist”) assigned to him by Apollonius Dyscolus (*Conj.* 241.13 Schneider: *fr.* *14 B.), unless this refers to the homonymous grammarian of Ascalon (see below).⁹⁹

Among Aristarchus’ followers, Dionysius of Sidon (second half of 2nd c. BC) was noted by Varro (*Ling.* 10.10) as having recognized the incredible number of seventy-one conditions of analogy (or forty-seven, if limited to conditions on nouns, but see below § 6.1.1 for the exorbitance of these numbers). The same passage of Varro also cites Parmeniscus (2nd–1st c.), for whom the Homeric scholia conserve fragments on prosodic topics, and Aristocles (second half of 1st c. BC), who possibly composed a work *Περὶ διαλέκτων* (“On dialects”) and is the putative author of a couple of fragments of prosodic nature and a definition of analogy, described by Varro as obscure, albeit without citation (*Ling.* 10.74–75). According to Varro, Parmeniscus established eight conditions of analogy, Aristocles fourteen. Varro criticized Aristocles’ definition of analogy, but also that of Aristeas (1st c. BC?), an erudite for whom a fragment on prosody can be mentioned, and that of Aristodemus (1st c. BC), identifiable with the grammarian and rhetor of Nisa.¹⁰⁰

From the 1st c. BC onwards, evidence has survived of treatises on, or on parts of, *Hellenismos*, such as orthography,¹⁰¹ or on criteria for determining

98 Thus, among others, Lersch [1838–1841] I 75; Steinthal [1890–1891²] II 154; discussion of the problem in Montanari [1995b] and Boatti [2000] 93–95, with further bibliography.

99 Cf. Boatti [2000] 96–103 and Pontani [2011c] 93 n. 21, who argues in favor of attributing the epithet to Pindarion.

100 On the above-mentioned grammarians, see the *LGGA*, s.vv.

101 Schneider [1999].

Hellenismos, like analogy. For the period between the 1st c. BC and the 1st AD, Strabo (14.2.28) spoke of τέχνηαι περὶ ἑλληνισμοῦ (“handbooks on *Hellenismos*”) as if this were a known and widespread subject.¹⁰² However, little information on the content of such works can be obtained. The available documentation suggests they addressed such issues as the correct meaning of words, prosody, choice among phonetic-orthographic variants, use of etymological and dialectal considerations, as well as the pursuit of linguistic regularities on the basis of analogical reasoning, whereas no reference attests that these works also dealt with syntax.¹⁰³

The most ancient monograph known to have focused on *Hellenismos* is that of Philoxenus of Alexandria (1st c. BC), of which only two small fragments survive (*frr.* 288 and 289 Theodoridis, cf. *test.* 1), both pertaining to correct word meaning obtainable through recourse to etymology.¹⁰⁴ An etymological approach is also traceable in fragments of what was probably Philoxenus’ main work, Περὶ μονοσυλλαβῶν ῥημάτων (“On monosyllabic verbs”; *test.* 1, *frr.* 1–*215 Th.), founded on the theory that the Greek lexicon ultimately derived from a core of monosyllabic verb roots.¹⁰⁵ The same holds for Περὶ ἀναδιπλασιασμοῦ (“On reduplication”, *test.* 1, *frr.* 219–*284 Th.), where terms were said to have derived from their original roots through syllabic reduplication, and for Περὶ παραγῶγων (“On derivatives”, *frr.* 330 Th.) and Ἐπιματικόν (“On the verb”, *frr.* 354–400 Th.). Additionally, Philoxenus investigated dialects, as testified by works on Ionic dialect (*test.* 1, *frr.* 290–*310 Th.), Roman (*frr.* 311–*329 Th.)—Latin being seen as a derivation from Aeolic¹⁰⁶—, Syracusan (*test.* 1 Th.), Laconian (*test.* 1 Th.). Finally, he did not disregard prosody, as shown by Περὶ προσωδιῶν (“On prosodies”), apparently with reference to the Homeric text (*frr.* 407–411 Th.).¹⁰⁷

A treatise on *Hellenismos* is also attested for Tryphon of Alexandria, an erudite who made a decisive contribution to the development of grammatical thought in the second half of the 1st c. BC,¹⁰⁸ and was considered an authority worthy of frequent mention in the monumental systematization of grammar

102 Cf. Barwick [1922] 182.

103 Schenkeveld [1994] 290; see also below.

104 Cf. Reitzenstein [1897] 382; Siebenborn [1976] 36, 48.

105 For an analysis of the etymological system applied by Philoxenus, see Lallot [1991b] and cf. below § 6.4.

106 This origin of Latin was also defended by Tyrannion and Apion. Cf. Gabba [1963]; Haas, [1977], 176–177; Schöpsdau [1992]; Cassio [2007]. Note that ‘Aeolic’ must have the meaning of ‘East Aeolic’ for these grammarians: Cassio [2007].

107 An overview is in Theodoridis [1976] 8–14 and Razzetti [2003d] with bibliography.

108 Von Velsen [1853]; Wendel [1939d]; Siebenborn [1976] 48–49, 150–151, 161–163; Ippolito [2008].

by Apollonius Dyscolus. Of Tryphon's massive production, only a hundred or so fragments remain, together with some monographs transmitted directly, whose authenticity is doubtful. As with Philoxenus, the fragments attributed to his *Περὶ ἑλληνισμοῦ* (*fr.* 105–108 von Velsen), probably comprising at least five books, contain observations on correct word meaning, this time based on dialectal considerations.¹⁰⁹ The idea that Tryphon integrated his observations on syntax (*fr.* 22, 24–26, 33, 38, 41, 49, 52, 54, 56, 70 V.) into this work has no documentary foundation, although the relevance of such questions to a work on language correctness can justifiably be invoked.¹¹⁰ Individual dialects were investigated in numerous works, including one identifying pleonastic phenomena (insertion of a syllable or consonant within a word) in Aeolic (*i.e.* East Aeolic).¹¹¹ Various works on analogy are also reported:¹¹² *Περὶ τῆς ἐν μονοσυλλάβοις ἀναλογίας* (“On analogy in monosyllables”); *Περὶ τῆς ἐν κλίσεσιν ἀναλογίας* (“On analogy in declension”), of which *Περὶ τῆς ἐν εὐθείᾳ ἀναλογίας* (“On analogy in the nominative case”) perhaps formed part,¹¹³ and *Περὶ ῥημάτων ἀναλογίας βαρυτόνων* (“On the analogy of baritone verbs”, those with unaccented final syllable). Prosodic issues were addressed in *Περὶ ἀρχαίας ἀναγνώσεως* (“On the ancient reading”, *fr.* 94–104 V.), and *Περὶ Ἀττικῆς προσωδίας* (“On Attic prosody”, *fr.* 7–19 V.), which likewise reveal interest in dialect issues. An important theorization on orthography and its criteria was probably contained in *Περὶ ὀρθογραφίας καὶ τῶν αὐτῇ ζητουμένων* (“On orthography and the aspects it involves”, *fr.* 82 V.).¹¹⁴

Περὶ ἑλληνισμοῦ by Seleucus of Alexandria (nicknamed Homericus) dates from the early imperial age. It comprised at least five books, but only two certain fragments survive, both transmitted by Athenaeus: in the first (*fr.* 69 Müller), Seleucus is mentioned, together with Crates of Mallus (*fr.* 111 Brogg.), regarding a line of the comic poet Aristophanes (*Eq.* 631), where the form *σίναπυ* (“mustard”) appears. Whether the subsequent passage is also attributable to Seleucus is uncertain: it explains that no Attic author ever said *σίναπυ*, that the form used by Aristophanes was *νᾶπυ*, and that both terms can be justified

109 Von Velsen [1853] 71–75; Siebenborn [1976] 36, 48–49.

110 Matthaios [2003] 99, 120 and n. 76.

111 Siebenborn [1976] 150–151. P. Bouriant 8 = Wouters [1979] n° 25 contains the remnants of a treatise *Περὶ Αἰολίδος* with quotations from Sappho and Alcaeus, which has hypothetically been traced back to Tryphon: bibliography and discussion in Wouters [1979] 293–297.

112 Von Velsen [1853] 22–23; Wackernagel [1876] 30–32. According to Siebenborn [1976] 33 n. 7 the titles indicated by the *Suda* lexicon (τ 1115) on analogy could refer to *Περὶ ἑλληνισμοῦ*.

113 Von Velsen [1853] 23.

114 Siebenborn [1976] 161–163; Valente in this volume (Part 3.2).

by an etymological examination.¹¹⁵ The second fragment (*fr.* 70 M.) preserves a debate on interaspiration,¹¹⁶ concerning the prosody of ταῶς (“peacock”), a question that was apparently greatly debated in antiquity (cf. *e.g.* Tryphon *fr.* 5 V.¹¹⁷): according to Seleucus, the Attic prosody of this word, with rough breathing and circumflex accent on the final syllable, was “against all rules” (παρὰ λόγως) and “unmotivated” (ἀλόγως).

A work Περὶ ἑλληνισμοῦ ἤτοι ὀρθοεπίας (“On *Hellenismos* or language correctness”), in 15 books, is attributed by the *Suda* lexicon (π 3038) to Ptolemy of Ascalon, a grammarian of the Aristarchean school whose chronology can plausibly be placed in the first imperial age.¹¹⁸ No part of this treatise survives,¹¹⁹ but we have a few fragments of a prosodic work devoted to Homer (Προσῳδία Ὀμηρικὴ, *Sud.* π 3038), which addressed questions of accent, breathing, quantity, word division, orthography and punctuation¹²⁰ and probably represented an important reference point for the work of Aelius Herodianus. Ptolemy also composed a monograph on meaning differences between similar expressions (Περὶ διαφορᾶς λέξεως),¹²¹ a topic not unknown in reflections on *Hellenismos*, as seen above. Overall, in the surviving fragments of Ptolemy there emerges intense and rigorous use of analogy:¹²² thus he could well deserve the epithet ἀναλογητικός (“analogue”) attributed by Apollonius Dyscolus (*Conj.* 241.13 Schneider) to a Ptolemy¹²³ who, however, could conceivably be Ptolemy Pindarion (see above).

A certain Didymus Claudius is credited by the *Suda* (δ 874) with two monographs on analogy, possibly attributable, according to a suggestion by M. Schmidt, to Didymus of Alexandria, nicknamed Chalcenterus (1st c. BC–1st c. AD).¹²⁴ These works were entitled Περὶ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων παρὰ τὴν ἀναλογία Ἰουκυδίδη (“On the mistakes made by Thucydides against analogy”), of which

115 Thus Müller [1891] 49; Siebenborn [1976] 49 and n. 5, who, however, misunderstands the meaning of the passage from Athenaeus. On Seleucus see also Razzetti [2002b]. On linguistic Atticism see below § 5.3.

116 On this phenomenon according to the ancient grammarians, see Lehrs [1882³] 300–325; Ribbach [1883] 9–10 and, more recently, Schironi [2004] 507–510.

117 Further examples in von Velsen [1853] 9.

118 Baege [1882] 2–6 and others after him: overview of the studies in Boatti [2000] xviii–xxi, 80–83 and in Razzetti [2003e].

119 Baege [1882] 11–12.

120 Baege [1882] 9–11.

121 Baege [1882] 15–21, with the indispensable updates by Palmieri [1984].

122 Numerous examples in Baege [1882] 27–30.

123 Baege [1882] 30–31; Boatti [2000] 101–103.

124 Schmidt [1854] 345–349.

nothing has survived, and *Περὶ τῆς παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἀναλογίας* (“On analogy among the Romans”). Fragments of the latter are known from Priscian, who attests the author’s tendency to draw comparisons with Greek in explaining Latin grammatical and syntactic phenomena.

A link between *Hellenismos* and Atticism seems to appear in Minucius Pacatus Irenaeus (1st c. AD), who widely studied Attic dialect and usage in connection with *Hellenismos* and can be regarded a kind of forerunner of linguistic Atticism.¹²⁵ The *Suda* ascribes to him the works *Ἀττικά ὀνόματα* (“Attic names”), *Περὶ Ἀττικῆς συνηθείας τῆς ἐν λέξει καὶ προσῳδίᾳ κατὰ στοιχείου* (“On Attic usage in expression and prosody, in alphabetical order”), *Περὶ ἀττικισμοῦ* (“On Attic style”), *Περὶ ἰδιωμάτων τῆς Ἀττικῆς καὶ τῆς Δωριδος διαλέκτου* (“On peculiarities of Attic and Dorian dialects”) (*Sud.* εἰ 190 and π 29); furthermore the *Etymologicum Gudianum* (317.16 De Stefani) designates him as ὁ Ἀττικιστής (“Atticist”). His fragments are evidence of a chiefly descriptive approach and set Irenaeus far from the strictly prescriptive purism of the Atticists of 2nd–3rd c. AD. Such an attitude perhaps can be seen *in nuce* in his monograph dedicated to the dialect of Alexandria (*Περὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων διαλέκτου*, “On the dialect of the Alexandrians”), in seven books and ordered alphabetically. The tradition has handed down two different ‘subtitles’ for this book: ἡ περὶ ἑλληνισμοῦ in *Sud.* π 29 and ὅτι ἔστιν ἐκ τῆς Ἀτθίδος in *Sud.* εἰ 190. The title of Irenaeus’ treatise thus would have been respectively “On the dialect of the Alexandrians, or on *Hellenismos*” or “On the dialect of the Alexandrians, showing that it comes from Attic”. From the first option some critics have concluded that in Irenaeus the word ἑλληνισμός meant everyday Greek spoken in Alexandria;¹²⁶ nevertheless the overall context suggests, rather, that Irenaeus’ work aimed at demonstrating the origin of Alexandrian dialect from Attic by comparing the two, and that this issue was an element of language correctness.¹²⁷ The few surviving fragments traceable to this monograph (*frr.* 1–3 and perhaps 5, 9, 12, 15 Haupt)¹²⁸ indicate it chiefly addressed issues concerning phonetic-orthographic variants,¹²⁹ based on etymological and analogical considerations. That even Irenaeus considered *Hellenismos* to represent correct Greek can likewise be inferred from another work testified by the *Suda* (εἰ 190), entitled *Κανόνες ἑλληνισμοῦ* (“Rules of *Hellenismos*”), in one book only. Nothing of this

125 Reitzenstein [1897] 382–387. On Irenaeus see also Regali [2007b].

126 Cf. e.g. Thumb [1901] 4 n. 3; Canfora [1987] 83, 112.

127 Reitzenstein [1897] 383.

128 That *frr.* 5, 9, 12 and 15 are to be attributed to this work and not to the *Περὶ Ἀττικῆς συνηθείας* was argued by Reitzenstein [1897] 383.

129 Cf. also Siebenborn [1976] 47.

survives, but it apparently had a strongly theoretical approach: Reitzenstein proposed comparing its content with later codifications of the rules of *Hellenismos* and orthography (see below § 5.3).¹³⁰

In the same years, similar reflections arose in the Latin grammatical tradition:¹³¹ indeed, most of the above cited authors were also active in Rome. We know of a *De sermone Latino* (“On Latin speech”), with an analogist approach, by Marcus Antonius Gniphō (1st c. BC), a *De proportione* (“On analogy”) by Staberius Eros (1st c. BC), the important *De analogia* (“On analogy”), in two books, by Caius Iulius Caesar (1st c. BC), the *De lingua Latina* (“On Latin language”) by Varro (1st c. BC), a writer cited several times above for his information on the history of Greek grammatical thought, the *De latinitate* (“On *Latinitas*”) by Pansa (1st c. BC / 1st c. AD) and, later, by Flavius Caper (2nd c. AD),¹³² a *De dubio sermone* (“On doubtful speech”), in eight books, by Pliny the Elder (1st c. AD);¹³³ to these can be added the chapter of the *Institutio oratoria* by Marcus Fabius Quintilian (1st c. AD) devoted to *Latinitas* (1.6).¹³⁴

The grammarians’ formulation of rules for determining correct Greek was not without its critics, above all empirically oriented criticisms, questioning the aim, validity and usefulness of this approach.¹³⁵ One example is the section Πρὸς γραμματικούς (“Against the grammarians”) within the work Πρὸς μαθηματικούς (“Against the mathematicians”) by Sextus Empiricus¹³⁶ (uncertain datation, between 2nd and 3rd c. AD),¹³⁷ already mentioned several times. In his demolition of the claimed *techne* of grammarians, the concept of *Hellenismos* was a major target of his criticism, occupying §§ 176–247. To this should be added the discussion on how to establish the gender of a noun in § 153 (orthography occupies §§ 169–175). *Hellenismos*, portrayed in his argument as the culminating element of the ‘technical’ part of grammar, was to be distinguished into two types: one separate from common usage, regulated exclusively by grammatical analogy and consequently castigated as useless, and one based on the usage of all Greeks and obtained through assimilation and observation in conversation. Sextus aims to highlight the absurdities produced by applying grammatical analogy—cf. the example of Ptolemy Pindarion,

130 Reitzenstein [1897] 384–386.

131 On *Latinitas*, see the bibliography cited above, n. 11.

132 Barwick [1922] 182–186, 200–210.

133 Siebenborn [1976] 33–34; Ax [1996] 116 n. 15, with bibliography; Blank [1998] 203.

134 See Coleman [2001].

135 Cf. Blank [1998] xvii–xxiv.

136 Dalimier [1991]; Blank [1998].

137 Blank [1998] xv.

above—and reaches the conclusion that since common usage is replete with anomaly, the rules of analogy should be abandoned in favor of attention to the forms of common usage (§ 240). He likewise rejects the view that the criterion for speaking good Greek rests on etymology, employed by grammarians to determine not only correct spelling but also correct word meaning.¹³⁸ Sextus' report is clearly polemical and presents an extreme picture of the grammarians, who, as we have seen, by no means made exclusive recourse to analogy at the expense of usage as a criterion of *Hellenismos*.

5 Systematization of Language in the 2nd c. AD and Beyond

5.1 *Apollonius Dyscolus*

From the 2nd c. AD onwards, reflection on *Hellenismos* became part of broader theorizations on the overall language system. The activity of the most influential grammatical thinker of Greek antiquity, Apollonius Dyscolus (first half of the century) and his son Aelius Herodian (era of Marcus Aurelius) dates from this period.¹³⁹

Apollonius is the first author of whom we have treatises on linguistic topics not transmitted fragmentarily by the indirect tradition, but surviving entire (or almost).¹⁴⁰ His *Περὶ συντάξεως* ("Syntax"), in four books, the last of which lacunose, is regarded as his masterpiece: it studied the combination of parts of speech in creating a sentence, an aspect to which grammarians had previously devoted no specific attention.¹⁴¹ Another three treatises concern pronouns (*Περὶ ἀντωνυμίας*), adverbs (*Περὶ ἐπιρρημάτων*) and conjunctions (*Περὶ συνδέσμων*). Additionally, he composed works on orthography, dialects, prosody, and the parts of speech overall and individually, of which the titles and some fragments survive.¹⁴² Underlying Apollonius' entire system is the question of language correctness, and his general approach to language has rightly

138 Sextus does not explicitly say how etymology was used in determination of *Hellenismos*: Schenkeveld [1994] 289.

139 See Matthaios in this volume.

140 The main recent reference points on Apollonius are: Blank [1982]; Sluiter [1990]; Kemp [1991] 316–331; Blank [1993]; Blank [1994]; Lallot [1997]; Blank [2000]; Dalimier [2001]; Brandenburg [2005], all with further references. A constantly updated bibliography is on the Internet website edited by A. Schmidhauser (<http://schmidhauser.us/apollonius/>).

141 Kemp [1991]; Blank [1993] 713; Schenkeveld [1994] 293–298; Matthaios [2003]; Lambert [2011].

142 See the list of *Sud.* α 3422. Cf. Schneider [1910] vii–x; Blank [1993] 712–713; Kemp [1991] 318; Blank [2000] 414.

been described as the highest manifestation of ancient “analogical grammar”.¹⁴³ This definition refers to his conviction that grammar is governed by general and rational rules and that apparent violations can be explained as the result of regular and reconstructable corruptions.¹⁴⁴ The idea that both lexical and syntactic phenomena observable in usage derive from original forms that have undergone changes (*πάθη*) reveals links to etymology, and more specifically to the system of ‘pathology’ applied by grammarians in analyzing dialectal characteristics and morphology.¹⁴⁵ Corruption was held to affect only the formal aspect, not language content. This distinction, which goes back to Stoic logic, is also reflected in the organization of the material of Apollonius’ three ‘minor’ treatises.¹⁴⁶ His main aim, it appears, was to explain irregular forms by their derivation from regular forms rather than seeking to modify either common usage or poetic texts.¹⁴⁷ In Apollonius the evidence of reason was not in conflict with observation of language use. He thus stood in marked opposition to empiricist orientations, and he sought to obtain theoretical understanding of the language system through rational presuppositions. In the absence of such understanding, purely practical knowledge of language would have been unable to state what is or is not correct (*Synt.* 1.60).

This search for regularity in irregularity is governed, in Apollonius’ conception, by various heuristic methods, such as the theory that the most frequent phenomenon acts as the rule for less frequent forms, which derive from the former by corruption,¹⁴⁸ or that certain forms are absent in language—either to avoid confusion with other homonymous forms or by pure chance—even if their existence is predictable by analogy.¹⁴⁹

Apollonius’ rationalist vision involves every level of the language system, from letters to syllables to words to sentences, each of which is subject to similar types of corruptions (*πάθη*). It is therefore hardly surprising that Apollonius explicitly presents syntax in parallel with orthography (*Synt.* 1.8): just as orthography examines problems concerning correct spelling of words, so

143 Cf. Blank [1993]; Blank [2000].

144 Cf. Blank [1982] 45; Lallot [1995a]; Brucale [2003] 21–44.

145 Wackernagel [1876]; Siebenborn [1976] 108–109, 150–151.

146 Wackernagel [1876] 11; Blank [1993] 719–724; Schenkeveld [1994] 293–294; Blank [2000] 414.

147 Wackernagel [1876] 48–51; Thierfelder [1935] 81; Blank [1982] 12–19; Blank [1993] 716; Blank [2000] 413; Pontani [2011c] 99.

148 Cf. *e.g.* *Pron.* 7.2.6. Thierfelder [1935] 28ff.; Blank [1993] 717; Blank [2000] 413–414.

149 Thierfelder [1935] 20ff. and *passim*; Blank [1993] 717.

syntax has to do with debated or debatable syntactic constructions.¹⁵⁰ More specifically, syntax pertains to the intelligibles which arise from words and studies their combinations designed to constitute a sentence with complete meaning (*Synt.* 1.2). But proper combinations are possible only if the intelligibles inherent in the words that combine to form a sentence are mutually ‘congruent’ (*κατάλληλα*): one cannot combine a personal pronoun conveying the meaning of second person with a verb form presupposing a first person.¹⁵¹

An example from the *Syntax* is emblematic not only in portraying Apollonius’ attitude towards language irregularities, but also the criteria he adopted to address such issues. The opening section of book 3, on syntactic regularity and irregularity (*καταλληλότης* and *ἀκαταλληλότης* or *ἀκατάλληλον*, respectively),¹⁵² discusses the case of a neuter plural subject governing a singular verb. After demonstrating the irregularity of this construction, Apollonius explains why it is nevertheless accepted and not banished from use (3.50–53). He starts by noting that if a masculine or feminine plural subject were combined with a singular verb, the irregularity of the construction would be immediately obvious, whereas this is not the case if the subject is neuter. Why? One may first suggest it is an instance of poetic license, as occurs in Pindar (the so-called *Πινδαρικών σχήμα*), but this does not clarify why the irregularity of a neuter plural subject constructed with a singular verb passes unnoticed. Evidently, it is the gender of the subject that makes the difference, although the reason is unclear, since verbs do not distinguish genders and thus should not require different constructions if combined with subjects of different genders (3.51). However, verbs are sensitive to number and should appear in the plural when the subject is plural (3.52). Apollonius concludes with an explanation resting on homophony between neuter nominative and accusative plural: the sentence *γράφει τὰ παιδιά* (“the children write”), with neuter plural subject and singular verb, does not sound strange, and although it is more normal for *τὰ παιδιά* to represent the object of the verb (“he draws the children”), the expression can also have the role of subject without any strikingly obvious syntactic irregularity (3.53). What thus emerges is that Apollonius clearly identifies the construction under discussion as *ἀκατάλληλον* (“irregular”), but he merely

150 Based on this comparison, D. Blank felt it was hardly surprising that the *Syntaxis* does not offer a systematic treatment of all possible constructions for each part of speech, treating only specific problems relating to doubtful constructions (Blank [1982] 7–10, with bibliography; Blank [1993] 720; Schenkeveld [1994] 293; Blank [2000] 415).

151 See Frede [1977] 353ff.; Blank [1982] chapters 3 and 4; Blank [1993] 724ff.; Blank [2000] 415, with additional bibliography.

152 On these concepts, see Blank [1982] 27–28; Blank [1993] 724–725.

recognizes that it has entered into common usage and proposes an explanation for this development, yet without branding it as incorrect. Usage becomes the reference point in Apollonius' approach, and is studied with the rational tool of analogy. Finally, as can be inferred from the reference to the Πινδαρικὸν σχῆμα, the literary tradition was a further element considered in Apollonius' system.¹⁵³

In this context, he too awarded major importance to Homer's poetry, from which he took the overwhelming proportion of his examples.¹⁵⁴ But unlike previous grammarians and his son Aelius Herodian (see below § 5.2), Apollonius did not seek solutions to textual or linguistic aspects of the Homeric poems: rather, he used them to support grammatical rules.¹⁵⁵ He made use of poetic syntax to explain prose constructions (*Synt.* 3.166),¹⁵⁶ or to invoke syntactic rules found in prose to demonstrate that poetic syntax was a corruption of these rules (*Synt.* 1.57):¹⁵⁷ accordingly, Apollonius often explained unusual or aberrant Homeric forms in relation to poetic license (cf. *Synt.* 1.62), thereby absolving Homer of suspected solecism. Moreover, he sometimes defined typically Homeric forms as "more ancient" (ἀρχαϊκώτερα), revealing his awareness of diachronic development of language (*Pron.* 44.11–13; *Synt.* 2.90).¹⁵⁸

Apollonius' great theoretical construction thus reconciles everyday language usage with that of Homer and, more generally, of literature, and with analogy seen as rational explanation of language phenomena.

5.2 *Aelius Herodian*

An important contribution to reflections on language correctness also comes from Apollonius' son, Aelius Herodian (era of Marcus Aurelius), whose activity probably first concerned prosody, namely study of the correct pronunciation of words. Herodian composed a monumental treatise entitled *Καθολικὴ προσωδία* ("General prosody"), containing a systematic presentation, with rigorous rules addressing above all accent patterns (books 1–19) but also quantity and breathing (book 20) and equipped with a sort of appendix on word accent within the sentence. Herodian, it appears, had at least one predecessor in this field, Heraclides of Miletus (1st/2nd c. AD), of whose *Καθολικὴ προσωδία* roughly

153 Blank [1982] 61; Schenkeveld [1994] 298; Pontani [2011c] 99ff.

154 Lallot [1997] 1 18.

155 Erbse [1960] 311–370; Blank [1993] 718; Pontani [2011c] 99, 101.

156 Erbse [1960] 355; Blank [1993] 717–718; Lallot [1995a] 119–120; Lallot [1997] II 258–259.

157 Erbse [1960] 360–361; Blank [1993] 718; Viljamaa [1995] 176; Lallot [1997] II 38–39.

158 Pontani [2011c] 101; Lallot [2011] 247–248.

sixty fragments survive.¹⁵⁹ The systematic comprehensiveness of Herodian's enterprise undoubtedly distinguished it from any other similar work, supplied as it was with accent rules for about 60.000 Greek words (*GG* III/I 7.18–19). This colossal collection is known mainly thanks to two epitomes: one falsely attributed to Arcadius and one entitled 'Ιωάννου γραμματικῶν Ἀλεξανδρέως Τονικὰ παραγγέλματα ("Precepts on accent by the Alexandrian grammarian John"), both present in numerous manuscripts.¹⁶⁰ The treatment defined various rules indicating the accent pattern characteristic of different word categories, identified through peculiarities such as ending, syllable number, gender, etc. (see below). Such rules were based either on "the commonly recognized language" or "the criterion of the analogical rule" (*GG* III/I 5.3–4). Here is an example:

Τὰ εἰς δῶν δισύλλαβα ὀξύνεται καὶ βαρύνεται· βαρύνεται μὲν, ὅσα ἐστὶν διὰ τοῦ ντ κλινόμενα καὶ φύλαττοντα τὸ ὦ κατὰ τὴν γενικὴν, χωρὶς τῶν συνημιπτόντων πόλει οἶον κῶδων, Φαίδων, . . . ὀξύνεται δὲ τὰ διὰ τοῦ ο μόνον κλινόμενα οἶον Μυγδῶν, . . . (*GG* III/I 24.15–25.3).

Disyllables ending in -δων have either oxytone or baritone accent: oxytones are those declined with -ντ- and preserving the -ω- in the genitive—except those coinciding with a city—like κῶδων ("rattle"), Φαίδων... whereas oxytones are those declined only with -ο- like Μυγδῶν,...

Herodian also composed works on prosody in specific sectors, such as "Attic prosody" ('Αττικὴ προσωδία), of which exiguous fragments remain (*GG* III/II 20–21),¹⁶¹ "Prosody of the *Iliad*" ('Ιλιακὴ προσωδία: *GG* III/II 22–128) and "Prosody of the *Odyssey*" ('Οδυσσειακὴ προσωδία: *GG* III/II 129–165), of which more extensive fragments are found in the respective scholiographic *corpora*. The latter two treatises addressed prosodic difficulties in the Homeric

159 The title is attested in two passages only: Apoll. Dysc. *Synt.* 4.10 (*fr.* 1 Cohn) and Ammon. *Diff.* 336 Nickau (*fr.* 4 C.). It appears from the latter that the work probably comprised more than one book.

160 It should be borne in mind that the content of A. Lentz's edition in the *Grammatici Graeci* series is, similarly to that of Herodian's other works, an erudite attempt to reconstruct the grammarian's thought rather than a genuine critical edition. It includes integration of parts of other works of Herodian himself and even of other authors such as Stephanus of Byzantium, Theodosius, Choeroboscus etc. (Lentz [1867–1870]). For an overview of the problems posed by this method, cf. Dyck [1993a]. In addition to the above-mentioned epitomes, there are another two that preserve portions of books 5–7 (ms. Vindob. Hist. gr. 10: Hunger [1967a]) and of book 5, respectively (P.Ant. II 67: Wouters [1979] 216–224).

161 Additionally, Hunger [1967a] 14–15; cf. Dyck [1993a] 786.

poems, dealing especially with explanation and discussion of choices made by Aristarchus of Samothrace and other previous grammarians. These were then evaluated by relating the issues in question to the corresponding ‘canon’.¹⁶² The difference in Herodian’s approach to the Homeric text emerges clearly from an example in *Sch. Il.* 15.365 (cf. *GG* III/II 95.24–32) on whether the epithet of Apollo ἦιε was or was not aspirated: Aristarchus maintained it was, since he derived it etymologically from ἔσις (“send out”, from the verb ἦμι), as in shooting darts, while Crates of Mallus considered it unaspirated, linking it to the word ἴσις (“recovery”). The latter argument was endorsed by Herodian, but on completely different grounds, maintaining that “*eta* before a vowel is always unaspirated”. Thus the specific case was assessed through comparison with the appropriate general rule and governed accordingly.¹⁶³

The same principles underlie Herodian’s approach in other fields of language study, starting from the doctrine on nominal inflection, on which he composed *Περὶ κλίσεως ὀνομάτων* (“On noun inflection”, *GG* III/II 634–777).¹⁶⁴ We have knowledge of what Herodian considered to be the rules for grouping words together as ‘similar’ and consequently subject to the same type of declension:¹⁶⁵ gender, type (appellatives or genuine nouns), form (simple or compound nouns), number, accent, case, ending, penultimate syllable, duration (prosodic quantity), syllabic quantity, often also consonant clusters (specifically, the consonant with which the ending was combined): for greater detail, see below § 6.1.1.

A theorization of the functioning of this system is found in Herodian’s only integrally surviving treatise, *Περὶ μονήρους λέξεως* (“On lexical singularity”),¹⁶⁶ which explains that the mass of words of a language can be subdivided into groups on the basis of some similarity (ὁμοιότης) among their members (*GG* III/II 908.3). The grouping criteria are listed more succinctly and with some discrepancies compared to those mentioned in *Περὶ κλίσεως ὀνομάτων*: in addition to the ending, syllable number, accent and penultimate syllable, the antepenult is also mentioned (*GG* III/II 908.4–7). However, some words are

162 Herodian’s approach to the Homeric text, as compared to that of Apollonius, is studied by Erbse [1960] 311–370, esp. 363; cf. Siebenborn [1976] 77; Dyck [1993a] 784.

163 Cf. Broggiato [2003] 67–69; Schironi [2003] 75–77; Blank [2005] 222.

164 Lentz’s reconstruction is based mainly on Choeroboscus’ scholia to the *Canones* of Theodosius and on the material presented by Cramer [1835–1837] IV 333–338. To this one can add at least the epitomes contained in ms. Vindob. gr. 293 and in P.Flor. inv. 3005 (Wouters [1979] 231–236): cf. Dyck [1993a] 789.

165 Cf. Siebenborn [1976] 73.

166 The most recent discussion on the content of this work is in Sluiter [2011], with bibliography. Cf. also Siebenborn [1976] 84, 90, 108 and Dyck [1993a] 790–791.

refractory to any attempted systematization, as they cannot be aggregated with any group, each one forming an individual group: these are the ‘singular’ words (μονήρεις).¹⁶⁷ Far from being rare or *hapax* terms, these are ordinary and normal words, well attested in common usage and/or literature, which however do not conform to any rule: they constitute their own rule.

κρίσις δὲ ἔστω τῆς προκειμένης λέξεως μονήρους ἢ πολλῆ χρήσις παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς καὶ ἢ συνήθεια ἔσθ’ ὅτε ὁμοίως τοῖς παλαιοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐπισταμένην χρῆσιν. (*GG* III/II 910.6–8).

Let this criterion of lexical singularity be frequent use among the ancients and everyday usage, which sometimes represents a usage comparable to that of the ancient Greeks.

Therefore usage is invoked not as a language correctness criterion but to determine which words can constitute a single-element class rather than representing sporadic and eccentric phenomena. Singularity is presented by Herodian not so much as an exception to a rule but as something subject to a rule (κανών) obeyed by no other word. He does not view such phenomena as errors, nor does he castigate their utilization. Rather, he devises an exhaustive system of rules based on analogy whereby even words which—apparently—constitute exceptions can be fitted within the framework. Particularly striking is the image of analogy which “with its art, holds together, as in a network, the variegated voice of the language of man” (*GG* III/II 909.20–21).

Additional aspects of language correctness explored by Herodian include orthography, where he achieved a decisive systematization (see the contribution by Valente [Part 3.2]), and the description of language change, to which he devoted a treatise Περὶ παθῶν (“On linguistic changes”).¹⁶⁸ The system of ‘pathology’ concerned the phonological and morphological changes (πάθη) words had undergone through evolution from their presumed original form to the known and commonly used form. Here too, Herodian’s arguments were

167 This concept was already used by Varro (*Ling.* 10.82; cf. 9.53): see Fehling [1957] 67 and Sluiter [2011] 294.

168 Lentz’s distinction between this work (*GG* III/II 166–388) and a Ἑπόμνημα τῶν περὶ παθῶν Διδύμου (“Commentary of Didymus’ *On linguistic changes*”: *GG* III/II 389) has long been regarded as artificial. Furthermore, the insertion of numerous fragments of varied and sometimes uncertain provenance, and even of authors other than Herodian, together with an ordering of the material not matching that of the original, make it particularly difficult to deal with the content of this treatise (cf. Dyck [1993a] 786–788, with bibliography).

dependent on the analogical method, and the behavior of certain terms was quoted for comparison, in order to justify the behavior of others regarded as 'analogous'. Despite the ecdotic problems affecting the fragments of this work (see n. 168), an examination of the vocabulary Herodian used for describing word modifications suggests his system was more complex than the traditional four-part system of addition, deletion, permutation and substitution.¹⁶⁹

A work on solecism and barbarism, the two main defects of diction, is attributed to Herodian, but it is spurious (see below § 5.3), as occurs for many other works.¹⁷⁰

5.3 *Linguistic Atticism*

The period between the 2nd and 3rd c. AD saw the greatest flourishing of a phenomenon that exerted notable influence on the concept of language correctness: grammatical and linguistic Atticism (Ἀττικισμός).¹⁷¹ Its roots lay much earlier, when, in the 1st c. BC, Dionysius of Halicarnassus launched the fashion of imitating the style of the authors of classical Athens, a city enjoying renown and prestige. With the advent of the Second Sophistic movement, especially from the 2nd c. AD onwards, stylistic Atticism merged with linguistic Atticism. The latter was characterized by rejection of the *koine*¹⁷²—a standard language of the post-classical age deriving from an evolution of Attic stripped of salient Attic features and comingled with elements from other dialects, mainly Ionian—but also by a purism based on the quest for grammatical forms and syntactic constructions occurring in classical Attic authors, seen as the only guarantee of correct expression. For the social and political *élites*, compliance with this linguistic and rhetorical model became an element of self-identification and distinction.¹⁷³

Studies on Attic dialect are documented considerably before the 2nd c. AD for authors including Ister the Callimachean, Eratosthenes, Aristophanes of Byzantium, Philemon of Athens, perhaps Crates of Mallus.¹⁷⁴ However, they display no trace of the rigorously rule-based approach of the Atticistic movement,

169 On the system known as “*quadripertita ratio*” see Ax [1987]; for a study on Herodian's system, see Nifadopoulos [2003b] and [2005].

170 Reitzenstein [1897] 379ff.; Dyck [1993a].

171 Dihle [1977]; Swain [1996] 17–64.

172 On the different meanings of this term in the Greek world over the centuries, see Versteegh [1987].

173 On the socio-political aspects of Atticism and the relation between the rise of this tendency and the spread of Latin, see Swain [1996] 33–42, with previous bibliography.

174 Cf. Broggiato [2001 = 2006] xlii–xlvi.

in which the literary tradition, already applied as a criterion for determining good Greek, underwent a drastic and targeted restriction to a specific list of canonized Attic authors. Which names deserved to be included was a crucial aspect, and precise information is given by one of the most intransigent Atticists, Phrynichus Arabius, whose models were Aristophanes, Cratinus and Eupolis, and also Plato, Thucydides and Demosthenes (114 and 286 Fischer). But while Phrynichus strongly rejected any other name, broader selections are not unknown, as in Julius Pollux and the so-called *Antiatticist*.

The main works in this context were the lexica, *i.e.* word collections, where the Attic terms were often presented in opposition to their—supposedly incorrect—non Attic counterparts. Such works were prescriptively oriented and endeavored to systematize and categorize an undoubtedly rather complex linguistic situation. Examples include the collections of Aelius Dionysius, Pausanias, Phrynichus, Julius Pollux, Moeris, Philemon, Ps.-Herodian's *Philetaeros*, the so-called *Antiatticist* and, much later (5th c.), Oros of Alexandria.¹⁷⁵ The *Antiatticist* (2nd c.) was a lexicon which, compared to Phrynichus' canon allowed a far greater range of authors as models of language purity, such as Simonides, Sappho, Pindar, and also Aristotle and Theophrastus (hence the modern title *Antiatticist*).¹⁷⁶ In the work of Moeris, probably composed in the 3rd c., in addition to contrast between the uses “of Greeks” versus “Attics” (the latter sometimes indicated as “the ancients”) a third element occasionally appeared: “common” use, plausibly the language of the less educated.¹⁷⁷

Given this framework where the literary tradition was crucial for achieving language purity, the exclusion of Homer may seem surprising.¹⁷⁸ One would have expected Homer to belong to a canon of model authors, based on his authoritativeness, his impact on Greek culture and education, and his temporal primacy. In the Hellenistic era, Homeric usage had been invoked as the reference point for language correctness (see above §§ 3.2 and 4); in the 2nd c. AD Telephus of Pergamum, a grammarian focusing on language study and Attic authors, argued in a specific monograph “that only Homer among the ancients expressed himself in correct Greek” (“Οτι μόνος Ὁμηρος τῶν ἀρχαίων

175 For Aelius Dionysius and Pausanias see Erbse [1950], for Phrynichus see Fischer [1974], for Julius Pollux see Bethe [1900–1937], for Moeris see Hansen [1998], for Philemon see Osann [1821] 285–301 and Reitzenstein [1897] 392–396, for the *Philetaeros* see Dain [1954], for the so-called *Antiatticist* see Bekker [1814–1821] I 75–116 and III 1074–1077, for Oros see Alpers [1981]. Additional bibliography is available in the respective *LGGA* index cards.

176 Sicking [1883] 2.

177 Swain [1996] 51–52.

178 On the use of Homer as a linguistic model, see Pontani [2011c].

ἐλληνίζει). To this can be added a problematic passage from *De soloecismo et barbarismo* by Ps.-Herodian (311.5–10 Nauck), which—allowing for the numerous textual difficulties and conceivably late redaction date,¹⁷⁹—asserts that for some “*Hellenismos* is the poet (*sc.* Homer)” (see below § 6.3). The Atticists reacted either by relegating Homer to the array of non canonical literary figures, as did Phrynichus, or treating him as a proto-Attic author, as Moeris contended.¹⁸⁰ On the other hand several grammarians, starting with Aristarchus and his pupils Dionysius Thrax and Ptolemy Pindarion, believed, partly for linguistic reasons, that Homer was an Athenian.¹⁸¹

One aspect worth underlining is the distorted perspective this approach placed on earlier or non Atticist grammatical material. Within the Atticist horizon, such labels as Ἀττικὸς were synonymous with “linguistically correct”, whereas for erudites who did not closely embrace this tendency, Attic was one among many dialects and identifying an expression as Attic implied no claim that it was correct. Correspondingly, many Atticist authors misunderstood the position of non Atticists (like Herodian), assuming that even in their works every reference to Attic dialect should signify an assessment of language correctness.¹⁸²

5.4 *Later Authors*¹⁸³

Subsequently, the earlier ideas on *Hellenismos* underwent a systematization aimed at building a comprehensive framework of rules, often for educational purposes, capable of governing any and all occurrences.

In the 4th–5th c., a collection of rules on noun and verb inflection, entitled *Κανόνες εἰσαγωγικοί περὶ κλίσεως ὀνομάτων καὶ ῥημάτων* (“Basic rules for inflection of nouns and verbs”) was composed by Theodosius of Alexandria.¹⁸⁴ It drew on the grammatical system of the *Techne grammatike* attributed to Dionysius Thrax, also building on explicitly cited acquisitions of Apollonius Dyscolus and Aelius Herodian. That the *Canons* were founded on a more ancient doctrine is in agreement with their interesting (albeit problematic)

179 Pontani [2011c] 96, with the associated *Excursus* on the textual tradition, pp. 102–103.

180 Swain [1996] 55–56.

181 Pfeiffer [1968] 228; Pontani [2011c] 91–92, with further bibliography.

182 Probert [2011], with examples.

183 See Matthaïos and Pontani in this volume.

184 Hilgard [1889–1894]; Robins [1993] 111–115; Robins [2000] 418–419; Matthaïos [2002a]; Pagani [2006b]; Dickey [2007] 83–84 (with bibliography). See also Dickey and Matthaïos in this volume.

link-up to the content of inflectional tables preserved in papyri from before the 4th c.¹⁸⁵

The work of Theodosius comprises two sections, which contain lists of noun declensions and verb paradigms respectively, where, in pursuit of exhaustiveness, every theoretically possible form is represented even if never attested. A discussion on accent patterns in noun inflection (Περὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς πτώσεσι τόνων, “On accents in the cases”) accompanies the part on nouns. Theodosius’ procedure started from a base form, the nominative singular for nouns and first person singular indicative for verbs, describing the subsequent forms through variations, additions or suppressions.

The *Canons* exerted noteworthy influence in Greek linguistic doctrine, constituting right up to the Renaissance the main source for handbooks on grammar, thanks especially to the commentary by George Choeroboscus (see below). Attribution to Theodosius of the treatise on prosody (Περὶ προσωδιῶν) added as supplement to the pseudo-Dionysian *Techne* remains conjectural,¹⁸⁶ as does authorship of an epitome of Herodian’s *General prosody* attributed to Theodosius in some manuscripts.¹⁸⁷

We do, however, have a work of the latter type entitled *Τονικά παραγγέλματα* (“Precepts on the accent”), by John Philoponus of Alexandria¹⁸⁸ (6th c.), who also composed a treatise on homonymous (or homophonous) words distinguishable only by their accent,¹⁸⁹ and a study on dialects (Περὶ διαλέκτων)¹⁹⁰ that represented one of the sources of Gregory of Corinth (see below).

A significant contribution to this field was made by George Choeroboscus (8th–9th c.), with a commentary on Theodosius’ *Canons* (see above).¹⁹¹ Designed for teaching purposes, it exceeded in importance the work it examined. Choeroboscus additionally wrote an exegetic work on the earlier mentioned Περὶ προσωδιῶν which acted as a supplement to the *Techne* attributed to Dionysius Thrax, and a work on orthography.

Among later Byzantine authors, Michael Syncellus (8th–9th c.) wrote a handbook of grammar specifically devoted to syntax of the parts of speech (Μέθοδος περὶ τῆς τοῦ λόγου συντάξεως, “Treatise on discourse structure”).¹⁹²

185 Cf. Oguse [1957]; Wouters [1979] 214, 237–240.

186 Kaster [1988] 367; Matthaios [2002a].

187 Kaster [1988] 367.

188 Kroll [1916] 1781–1788.

189 Daly [1983].

190 Consani [1991].

191 Hilgard [1889–1894].

192 Robins [1993] 149–162, with bibliography.

The same topic was addressed, again with a teacher's approach and style, by Gregory of Corinth (12th–13th c.) in his *Περὶ συντάξεως λόγου ἥτοι περὶ τοῦ μὴ σολοικίζειν* ("On discourse syntax, or on not making syntactic mistakes").¹⁹³ His production further included a study on dialects (*Περὶ διαλέκτων*),¹⁹⁴ which drew on the works of Tryphon (see above § 4) and John Philoponus on this topic.

6 The Criteria of *Hellenismos*

It is far from easy to present a synchronic account of the criteria used in the ancient world to determine language correctness, because they vary (as noted above § 1) depending on the source and were probably the object of extensive debate; furthermore, their use undoubtedly changed over time. In this chapter, observations on the rules of *Hellenismos* are outlined in the 'historical' description (see above §§ 2–5): they will now be explored individually, in order to acquire an overall and systematic view.

6.1 *Analogy*

One crucial criterion was analogy,¹⁹⁵ taken not only as the mechanism capable, with a greater or lesser degree of refinement, of deriving information on the correct form of a word (from the prosodic, orthographic or inflectional perspective) through comparison with another regarded as 'similar', but also as the more general principle of rational regularity thought to preside over the general language system.

In the Greek world, the concept of 'analogy' originated in mathematical and geometric studies, where it indicated a proportion between magnitudes or terms.¹⁹⁶ Regarding its application to grammar, the Greek sources attest to over a dozen definitions—mainly of late date—and a further twenty or so are documented by the Latin tradition.¹⁹⁷ Indeed, the form of Varro's reference to the definitions of analogy provided by the grammarians Aristeas, Aristodemus and Aristocles (*Ling.* 10.74–75, see above § 4) may suggest he was quoting the beginning of a list, alphabetically ordered, conceivably much longer in the

193 Robins [1993] 163–172, with bibliography.

194 Bolognesi [1953].

195 Cf. Fehling [1956] 219–250, 264–270; Siebenborn [1976] 56–84; Sluiter [2011] 296–299.

196 Siebenborn [1976] 57–59.

197 Cf. Fehling [1956] 219 and 222–223.

original source.¹⁹⁸ Despite this multiplicity and the inevitable differences in formulation, there is considerable agreement in the content of these attestations: they view linguistic analogy as “the associating of similar terms” (ἡ τῶν ὁμοίων παράθεσις, *Sch. Marc. Dion. T. in GG I/III 309.9–11*; similar expressions are found in *Sext. Emp. Math.* 199, 202 and 236 and in several other passages of the scholia to the *Techne grammatike*), from which the corresponding rules can be stated (*Sch. Lond. Dion. T. in GG I/III 454.16 passim*).¹⁹⁹ A special case concerns the definition of analogy attributed to the Greeks by the so-called *Donatiani Fragmentum* (*GL VI 275.16ff.*; cf. *Char. 149.21ff. B.*), which initially speaks of “combination of corresponding proportions” (σμπλοκή λόγων ἀκολουθῶν), but then states that in linguistics, analogy is the “combination of corresponding proportions, in inflection of the parts of the expression” (σμπλοκή λόγων ἀκολουθῶν ἐν κλίσει μερῶν λέξεως), thus explicitly linking analogy to inflectional doctrine.²⁰⁰ The far from few definitions of analogy documented in the Latin world—Quintilian, Charisius and various authors who, according to Fehling, all depend on Varro—seem to add nothing new:²⁰¹ analogy is described either as “comparison of similar terms” (*e.g. comparatio similitum* in Pompeius [*GL V 197.22–23*]) or as regularity in inflection (*e.g. similitum similis declinatio*, “similar inflection of similar terms”, *ibid.* and elsewhere).²⁰² The functioning of the tool of analogy is explained rather clearly by Quintilian:

eius [sc. analogiae] haec vis est, ut id quod dubium est ad aliquid simile de quo non quaeritur referat, et incerta certis probet.

Its strength [*sc. of analogy*] lies in relating something doubtful to something similar but not open to doubt; thus demonstrating the uncertain by the certain. (Quint. *Inst.* 1.6.4).

Concretely, this heuristic tool based on associating similar terms had various realizations. It could involve a simple comparison among two members if the doubt concerned prosody, morphology or grammar, taking as model another word classified as ‘analogous’ according to specific criteria (see below) and free from any doubtful aspect; the accidents of the original term are then defined

198 Reitzenstein [1897] 65; Fehling [1956] 237–238.

199 All references are in Fehling [1956] 238.

200 Fehling [1956] 238–239; Siebenborn [1976] 65–66.

201 Fehling [1956] 239.

202 References in Fehling [1956] 237.

on the basis of the model.²⁰³ Another, more sophisticated, procedure intervenes when inflected or derived terms are involved: it consists in building a four-fold proportion involving the base forms of two ‘analogous’ words and the respective inflected or derived forms. If one of these is unknown or problematic, it is determined via its homologue.²⁰⁴ Varro offers numerous examples, with a lengthy treatment in book 10. Finally, in a procedure requiring greater abstraction and generalization, each term is traced back, via its formal characteristics, to the general rule (κωνών) it belongs to, from which its morphological, prosodic or grammatical accidents are then derived.²⁰⁵ This approach was systematized by Aelius Herodian (see above § 5.2) and then crystallized in Theodosius’ *Canons* (see above § 5.4). The suggestion that this reflects diachronic evolution of the doctrine of inflection, divided into three stages,²⁰⁶ is viewed skeptically among scholars.²⁰⁷

6.1.1 The Conditions of Analogy

Establishment of an analogical relationship among words—with the ensuing consequences for determination of their linguistic accidents—was not based on generic similarity, but was admitted only when they had precise characteristics in common. However, the list of such characteristics varied notably in Greek and Latin antiquity.²⁰⁸ One element they tacitly shared was that ancient grammarians appeared to focus mainly on noun declensions when discussing the conditions of analogy.²⁰⁹

A problematic testimony by Charisius (149.26ff. B.), paralleled by the so-called *Donatiani Fragmentum* (GL VI 276.5ff.),²¹⁰ describes the conditions of analogy identified by Aristophanes of Byzantium and Aristarchus of Samothrace (see above §§ 3.1 and 3.2). For Aristophanes they comprised: coinciding gender, case, ending, number of syllables and accent. Aristarchus added the prohibition on comparing simple words with compounds, and imposed

203 Cf. Siebenborn [1976] 63–64.

204 Cf. Siebenborn [1976] 64–66.

205 Cf. Siebenborn [1976] 67.

206 Thus Siebenborn [1976] 63ff.

207 Cf. Fehling [1979] 490; Erbse [1980] 244; Matthaios [1999] 30 and n. 87.

208 Fehling [1956] 240–250; Siebenborn [1976] 72–83; Blank [2005] 228 n. 46.

209 Fehling [1956] 241ff.

210 It was considered doubtful by Steinthal [1890–1891²] II 181 n. But cf. also Nauck [1848a] 269–270; Barwick [1922] 179ff.; Fehling [1956] 240–250; Siebenborn [1976] 72ff.; Fehling [1979] 489 and n. 2; Schenkeveld [1990] 295.

greater restrictions on the ending, with identity required both in the nominative and vocative (Varro *Ling.* 8.68; 9.43; 9.91).²¹¹

A general overview of the situation between the 2nd and 1st c. BC can be gleaned from Varro's passage on *genera similitudinis* (*Ling.* 10.9–10), although he may mistakenly have grouped together unrelated aspects. Varro contends that for Dionysius of Sidon the conditions of analogy numbered seventy-one if all possible distinctions were taken together, but only forty-seven if attention was limited to words having case, namely nouns. Aristocles is said to have established fourteen conditions, Parmeniscus eight (see above § 4), other scholars various different counts. Dionysius' number of seventy-one (or forty-seven) conditions appears excessive, suggesting that Varro was referring not to conditions of analogy but to *κλόνες* identified through analogy, *i.e.* groups of words sharing certain characteristics and inflectional rules.²¹² Moreover, Varro's statement regarding Aristocles could suggest he was identifying fourteen classes of nouns, distinguished by their final syllable, rather than fourteen conditions of analogy.²¹³ On the other hand the number proposed by Parmeniscus does correspond to the subsequent canonical count of analogy conditions.

This number recurs in Caesar (*fr.* 11 Funaioli), where the conditions regard nouns and are subdivided into those concerning accidents and those related to syllable characteristics. Six are classified among accidents: *qualitas* (taken as difference between noun and appellative), *comparatio* (alluding to degrees of comparison characteristic of the adjective), *genus* ("gender"), *numerus* ("number"), *figura* ("distinction between simple and compound words"), *casus* ("case"); additionally, there is *exitus syllabarum* ("ending") and *paenultimarum ratio* ("letters and quantity of the penultimate syllable").²¹⁴

Varro's position on the conditions of analogy may well have reflected the number eight, but the passage in question (*Ling.* 10.21–26) is affected by lacuna at the end of § 23, making interpretation of an already rather ambiguous text somewhat uncertain.²¹⁵ Varro mentions, firstly, four conditions: *genus* ("gender"), *species* (distinction between noun and adjective, normally indicated by *qualitas*), *casus* ("case"), *exitus* ("ending") (*Ling.* 10.21); there follows a disquisition on the doctrine of inflection, totally unrelated to the problems of analogy conditions (*Ling.* 10.22–23), and interrupted by the lacuna. The text then

211 Siebenborn [1976] 81; Blank [1998] xxxvii.

212 Fehling [1956] 248.

213 Fehling [1956] 248–249 n. 2.

214 Fehling [1956] 246.

215 See Fehling [1956] 248–249 with n. 1 and 2.

resumes midway through a new list of conditions, which refers to number (§ 24) and cites *figura* (here indicating possible modifications at the beginning, end or in the middle of a word, affecting the verb rather than the noun, § 25) with the related criterion “*sunt animadvertendae ... etiam quae proxumae sunt neque moventur*” (that is to say, “the syllables surrounding the modified element should also be considered”, § 26). The lacuna eliminates the introduction to the second sequence, possibly obscuring the reasons why Varro presented two separate lists; it may also have obliterated the eighth condition. Equally unclear is the reason behind Varro’s modification in the criterion of the *figura*, resulting in a duplicate of *exitus*, at least for nouns, which show modifications only in the final part.²¹⁶

Some have argued²¹⁷ that Varro drew on a source common to Caesar and Aelius Herodian. Herodian provided a list and discussion of criteria for grouping nouns into classes when determining the rules for inflection, in a work entitled Περὶ κλίσεως ὀνομάτων (“On noun inflection”).²¹⁸

τὸ ὅμοιον ἐν τοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἢ γένει ἢ εἴδει ἢ σχήματι ἢ ἀριθμῶ ἢ τόνῳ ἢ πτώσει ἢ καταλήξει, ἐν παρατελεύτῳ συλλαβῇ· ἐν χρόνῳ, ἐν ποσότητι συλλαβῆς, πολλακίς δὲ καὶ ἐν ἐπιπλοκῇ συμφώνου· εἰ δὲ παρὰ ταῦτά τι γένοιτο, ἀνόμοιος ἢ κλίσις γίνεται.

Similarity among nouns concerns gender, type, form, number, accent, case, ending, penultimate syllable, duration, syllable quantity, often also the consonant cluster. If something is in contrast with these criteria, the declension is not similar (GG III/II 634.6–9 = *Anecd. Ox.* IV 333.6ff. Cramer).

What exactly is meant by the various expressions—not all equally perspicacious—is clarified by Herodian with examples (GG III/II 634.9–24). “Gender” (γένος) refers to a noun’s characteristic as masculine or feminine; “type” (εἶδος) alludes to the difference between appellatives and nouns; “form” (σχῆμα) distinguishes between simple and compound nouns; “number” (ἀριθμός) designates singular and plural; “accent” (τόνος) indicates whether a

216 Fehling [1957] 74–75, who explains: “Aber auch hier hat Varro es nicht lassen können, durch eigene Variationen und Erweiterung das in seiner Quelle Vorgefundene zu verändern, und wiederum führt jede Veränderung zu Unstimmigkeiten und Fehlern” (p. 74). Cf. Siebenborn [1976] 74.

217 Fehling [1957] 75; cf. Fehling [1956] 246–247.

218 Cf. Fehling [1956] 246–247 n. 2; Siebenborn [1976] 73.

noun is baritone or oxytone. “Case” (πτῶσις) refers to the inflectional forms of the noun; “ending” (κατάληξις) concerns word termination; “duration” (χρόνος) indicates whether the final / penultimate syllable is short or long; “syllable quantity” (ποσότης συλλαβῆς) pertains to the number of syllables of a noun during its declension; “consonant combination” (ἐπιπλοκή συμφώνου) indicates the consonant the ending combines with. Thus enumerated, these conditions amount to eleven, but some of the criteria mentioned towards the end of the list clearly do not constitute independent conditions but special cases of already mentioned conditions. One hypothesis is to consider all elements introduced by the preposition ἐν as subcategories of the condition mentioned just before, κατάληξις (“ending”),²¹⁹ giving a total of seven conditions. Another interpretation would see the last three (χρόνος, “prosodic quantity”, ποσότης συλλαβῆς, “syllable quantity”, ἐπιπλοκή συμφώνου, “consonant combination”) as special cases linked to the penultimate syllable (παρατέλευτος συλλαβή), the latter taken extensively as “everything that precedes the ending”, thereby reinstating the traditional count of eight conditions.²²⁰ A further alternative reduces only the criteria χρόνος (“prosodic quantity”) and ἐπιπλοκή συμφώνου (“consonant combination”) to subcategories of the parameter κατάληξις (“ending”).²²¹ Finally, the criteria underlying the analogical method in inflection are presented by Herodian far more concisely and with some discrepancies compared to the above picture in his work Περὶ μονήρους λέξεως (“On lexical singularity”). Here, in addition to the ending, syllable number and accent, mention is made not only of the penult but also the antepenult (GG III/II 908.4–7).

Later, in Theodosius’ systematization (see above § 5.4), the main criteria considered are accent, syllable number, distinction between proper name and appellative, distinction between simple and compound words, condition of the penult, membership of only one or of several genders. Also acknowledged are the question of whether nouns are contracted, and distinctions pertaining to the typology of the twenty-four classes of semantically based nouns listed in the *Techne grammatike* attributed to Dionysius Thrax.²²² Interestingly, this is not the only case where nouns sharing inflectional rules are grouped together by content-based criteria (cf. Quint. *Inst.* 1.6.13; Char. 117.20ff. B.; 128.17ff. B.),²²³ and there is evidence that the early Alexandrian philologists, particularly Aristophanes, did consider the semantic aspect of terms assessed in an

219 Colson [1919] 28.

220 Fehling [1956] 246 n. 2.

221 Siebenborn [1976] 73 and n. 2.

222 Fehling [1956] 244–245; Siebenborn [1976] 70, 74–75.

223 Siebenborn [1976] 75.

analogical relationship, and favored establishment of so-called ‘perfect’ analogies where words are comparable both in form and meaning.

6.1.2 The Analogy/Anomaly Controversy

An ancient tradition holds that in the Greek world a veritable controversy raged between supporters of analogy (*ἀναλογία*) as the correctness criterion for inflection and word derivation (embodied by the figure of Aristarchus of Samothrace) versus those who recognized language irregularity (*ἀνωμαλία*) as the leading principle and thus invoked usage (*συνήθεια*) to determine *Hellenismos* (represented by Crates of Mallus). The only source providing evidence of this wrangle is Varro, as the parallel passage of Aulus Gellius (2.25.1), by its author’s explicit admission, was taken from Varro himself, while although Sextus Empiricus’ *Against the grammarians* debates the validity of the analogical method, it makes no mention of a dispute between analogists and anomalists.²²⁴ A fuller picture is obtained from books 8–10 of Varro’s *De lingua Latina*, which present the theory of *declinatio verborum* (including inflection, derivation and composition) according to the rhetorical model of ‘*disputare in utramque partem*’, whereby arguments against analogy are presented first (book 8), followed by those in favor (book 9).²²⁵ There are two key passages:²²⁶ in *Ling.* 8.93, Varro presents the issue anonymously, merely stating that “on this topic Greeks and Latins wrote many books” (*de eo Graeci Latinique libros fecerunt multos*); in *Ling.* 9.1–2 the protagonists of the dispute are explicitly identified as Aristarchus and Crates, arguing that the latter misunderstood both Chrysippus’ concept of analogy—to which Crates referred—and Aristarchus’ view of analogy—which Crates contested. Effectively, the Stoic philosopher saw anomaly as the discrepancy between the form and meaning of a name²²⁷ (see above § 2), whereas Aristarchus by no means excluded respect for *consuetudo* (“usage”) in applying analogy. In both cases Varro proposed to reconcile the two ‘factions’ by considering analogy as valid only for inflection and anomaly only for derivation.

224 Siebenborn [1976] 2–3; cf. De Marco [1957]; Broggiato [2001 = 2006] xxxviii.

225 Ax [1995].

226 Several additional passages, likewise relevant to the theme, were cited above §§ 3.2 and 3.3 and still others are found in Ax [1991] 291.

227 According to Siebenborn [1976] 97–102, even anomaly understood in this sense (and not as inflectional irregularity) is not unconnected with an opposition to the ‘Alexandrian’ analogy, since the latter tended to be applied, at least at the beginning, to terms similar not only by virtue of formal but also semantic considerations. Besides, it is not clear from Varro’s passage exactly what Crates’ position was (cf. Blank [1998] xxxv and n. 84; Blank [2005] 236–237).

The true historical dimension of this ‘contest’ is still debated.²²⁸ Originally regarded as a protracted phenomenon of central importance in ancient linguistic reflection,²²⁹ less extensive evaluations of its chronology and scope were subsequently given,²³⁰ to the point, with D. Fehling, of casting doubt on its very existence, at least as portrayed by Varro.²³¹ Since then, Varro’s reliability has been partly rehabilitated, but many scholars remain markedly skeptical.²³² Furthermore, as suggested earlier, the positions of Aristarchus and Crates may reflect debate on the criteria and limits of application of analogy rather than two opposing conceptions of language (see above § 3.3).

6.2 Usage

Common usage (*συνήθεια*),²³³ taken in a schematic and manichean vision of ancient tradition as a criterion antithetical to the analogical method, was nevertheless employed together and in interaction with the latter.²³⁴ One of the criticisms of the analogical method lay precisely in its recourse to usage for examples in devising its rules. The polemical conclusion of Sextus Empiricus was that analogy thus became a pointless artifice, to be abandoned in favor of observing speakers’ common usage (see above § 4). Grammarians, however, or some grammarians, reconciled the two methods by combining them together. Such was apparently the approach of Aristarchus of Samothrace, who—according to Varro (*Ling.* 9.1)—applied the rules of analogy “within the limits allowed by common usage”. Predominant attention to observing usage (*παρατήρησις τῆς συνηθείας*) for determination of correct Greek is traditionally attributed to Crates of Mallus, but this may have formed part of reflection on applicability of the analogical method without necessarily involving its rejection (see above §§ 3.3 and 6.1.2). The value of usage in assessing *Hellenismos*

228 The bibliography on the topic has become very extensive: here mention is made only of the main contributions, to which the reader is referred for in-depth information and further references.

229 Lersch [1838–1841].

230 Steinthal [1890–1891²]; Colson [1919]; Barwick [1922].

231 Fehling [1956–1957]; cf. the interpretation of Ax [1991] 293–294.

232 Collart [1963] 129ff.; Pinborg [1975] 106–112; Blank [1982] 1–4; Taylor [1987] 6–8; Schenkeveld [1990] 293; Ax [1991] 294–295; Blank [1994] 149–158; Schenkeveld [1994], with caution; Ax [1996] 117–118.

233 According to Versteegh [1987] 260–264, who recognizes a situation of diglossia in the Greek world, as also in the Latin and Arabic world, this term was used by grammarians to indicate the standard use, on an elevated level, of the language of their time and not the colloquial usage of the common people.

234 Siebenborn [1976] 53–55, 90–92.

would appear to have been central among Stoic philosophers, especially Diogenes of Babylon, who regarded “expert and non ordinary usage” as a watchdog for error-free expression, and anything in contrast with the “(language) customs of Greeks of good repute” as a signal of error (see above § 2).

A synthesis between usage, as a reference point in language analysis, and analogy, seen as a rational tool where phenomena observed in use can be studied and understood, was offered by Apollonius Dyscolus. He believed language was governed by general and systematic rules: accordingly, violations observed in speakers’ general practice resulted from regular and reconstructable corruptions, and should not be expelled from usage (see above § 5.1). A conciliation between the two criteria is also found in Aelius Herodian, who not only rightly considered them as joint points for prosodic determination (*GG* 111/1 5.3–4), but combined them in a theoretical foundation of the treatment of exceptions (μονήρεις λέξεις, “singular expressions”) (see above § 5.2).

In linguistic reflection within the Latin world, the usage criterion was designated by the term *consuetudo*.²³⁵ Varro spoke of *consuetudo* as something “evolving” (*in motu, Ling.* 9.17), and identified three species: one belonging to the ancients, now forsaken, one contemporary and one characteristic of poets (*Ling.* 10.73). *Consuetudo* can thus be taken as “the particular, occasional, and idiosyncratic ways in which speakers make use of their language”.²³⁶ Believing that both individuals and people in general should correct their usage if it was incorrect (*mala consuetudo, Ling.* 9.6; cf. 9.11), Varro distinguished between correct use (*recta consuetudo*), which included analogy and should be followed, and distorted use (*depravata consuetudo*), to be avoided like any other bad example (*Ling.* 9.18). This line of reasoning probably had a parallel in Caesar’s distinction of usage defined as *consuetudo vitiosa et corrupta* (“improper and corrupt usage”) versus *pura et incorrupta* (“pure and flawless usage”) (*Cic. Brut.* 261).²³⁷ The field where *consuetudo* reigned supreme as the criterion of correctness was, according to Varro, the *declinatio voluntaria*, i.e. word derivation (*Ling.* 10.15), but its predominance was recognized more generally in the Latin world in contexts where regularity was harder to discern, like inflection of monosyllables or Greek loan words or certain parts of verb inflection.²³⁸ In other fields, irregularities were destined to disappear through improvements introduced by scholars in the name of coherence and uniformity guaranteed by analogy. A typical case is the integration of defective forms, achieved by

235 Siebenborn [1976] 96–97, 109–116.

236 Taylor [1975] 50.

237 Siebenborn [1976] 112.

238 Siebenborn [1976] 109–111.

analogy even if not attested by usage.²³⁹ A position basically more favorable to *consueduto* is found among orators, as compared to grammarians.²⁴⁰ Thus Cicero was polemical towards forms recommended by grammarians and Atticists on the basis of analogy or etymology: instead, he endorsed the forms of *consuetudo*, which please the ear, unlike certain analogical constructions (*Orat.* 155–162). Quintilian likewise seems to have placed trust in *consuetudo*, calling it “the most trustworthy educator of speech” (*certissima loquendi magistra*, *Inst.* 1.6.3), basically equating it to analogy. In Quintilian’s view, analogy was not grounded in reason but in examples and therefore was produced by nothing other than usage; it should therefore not be considered as law but rather as observation of language (*Inst.* 1.6.16).

6.3 *Literary Usage and Tradition*

One criterion that interacted with common usage was that of the literary tradition,²⁴¹ designated in various ways by grammarians over time: παράδοσις—though in philology this term denoted the overall textual tradition—, ἱστορία, or χρῆσις, which means “usage”, although the latter, sometimes associated with phrases like παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς (“among the ancients”) or τῶν παλαιῶν (“of the ancients”), seems to refer specifically to literary use, as suggested both by the passage from Herodian *GG* III/II 910.6–8 and by numerous examples from the *Etymologici*.²⁴² A general statement in the *Etymologicum Magnum* (792.1–10, s.v. φῆσις) asserts that ἱστορία, taken as “evidence from ancient and scholarly men”, was invoked when it was impossible to determine the correctness of an expression by other criteria. This explains why the criterion in question was generally mentioned last in the lists.²⁴³ However, the most ancient phase shows little sign of this awareness.

When grammarians appealed to literary use to establish correct Greek, the reference author enjoying pride of position was Homer, in line with his centrality in Greek culture and education.²⁴⁴ This was already the case in Aristarchus of Samothrace, who claimed that in Homer “the aspects concerning language

239 Examples from Scipio, Antonius Gniphio, Caesar and Varro in Siebenborn [1976] 111–115.

240 Siebenborn [1976] 116.

241 On the complex relations between the two parameters, cf. Siebenborn [1976] 27–31, 85–89; Sluiter [1990] 60–61; Viljamaa [1995]; Pontani [2011c] 99.

242 Siebenborn [1976] 85–91.

243 Siebenborn [1976] 90–91.

244 Naturally, mentions of other authors are not lacking: thus Tryphon (see above § 4), in seeking to determine the meaning of certain words, included not only the authority of Homer but also Pindar (*fr.* 105 V.) and Xenophon (*fr.* 106 V.): cf. Siebenborn [1976] 89. On Homer as the reference point of *Hellenismos*, cf. Pontani [2011c].

correctness are perfectly accomplished” (*fr.* 125 Matthaïos, see above § 3.2). Apparent oddities in Homer’s language compared to common usage were justified by the grammarian as “poetic licenses” (σχήματα). Similarly, Aristarchus’ pupil Ptolemy Pindarion challenged empirically-oriented criticisms against analogy, objecting that the “use accepted by everyone” on which analogy was founded was that of Homer’s poetry. But this argument, according to Sextus Empiricus, who handed down and criticized Pindarion’s position, did not solve the problem of whether the reference point for correct Greek should be usage or analogy: rather, it further complicated the problem by introducing the additional parameter of Homeric usage. Moreover, it involved the risk of ridiculous modes of expression, by reproducing peculiarities of Homeric language fallen into disuse (*Math.* 1.205ff.).²⁴⁵ The idea that Pindarion genuinely intended to promote Homeric usage in everyday life is undoubtedly an excess due to the provocative tone of Sextus’ argument,²⁴⁶ which, on the other hand, is emblematic of the overlapping and possible conflicts among the criteria of *Hellenismos* (see above § 4).

A position akin to Pindarion’s also emerges from a problematic passage of Ps.-Herodian’s *De soloecismo et barbarismo*.

ἔνιοι μὲν λέγουσιν ἑλληνισμὸν εἶναι τὸν ποιητὴν, ἔνιοι δὲ τὴν κοινὴν διάλεκτον, ἥτις ἐγένετο συνελθόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰς Ἴλιον, ἄλλοι δὲ τὴν ἐτυμολογίαν . . .

Some say that *Hellenismos* is the Poet, others that it is the ‘common language’ which arose when the Greeks gathered at Troy, still others etymology (311.5–10 Nauck).

The statement that “*Hellenismos* is the Poet” seems to allude to the predominance of Homeric authority as the criterion of good Greek, presumably without implying adoption of Homeric language in everyday usage.²⁴⁷ However, the text of the manuscripts has raised doubts among scholars. J. F. Boissonade conjectured τὴν ποιητικὴν (*sc.* τέχνην) (“the art of poetry”), instead of τὸν ποιητὴν, while A. Nauck proposed, albeit doubtfully, the alternative τὴν ποιητῶν (“the [language?] of the poets”).²⁴⁸ In both cases the criterion of literary authority appears to be invoked generically, without explicit reference to Homer. Likewise interesting is the idea that *Hellenismos* resided in the common language of the

245 Blank [1998] 230–232.

246 Cf. Versteegh [1987] 265; Blank [1998] 228.

247 Versteegh [1987] 265.

248 Cf. Boatti [2000] 93.

Achaean heroes at Troy. That the Greek warriors all spoke the same language, unlike the case of their enemies on Trojan territory, is repeatedly underlined in the scholia. This concept lies on a different plane in comparison to the view, itself widespread in antiquity, that Homer as a poet combined different varieties of Greek into a common language.²⁴⁹ However, there is some suspicion that the redaction of the paragraph in question, which is not present in manuscript evidence from before the beginning of the 15th c., is of a late date²⁵⁰ (see above § 5.3).

General reference to literary usage and to Homer in particular also clearly emerges in the work of Apollonius Dyscolus,²⁵¹ who, having no interest in solving textual or linguistic problems in works of the ancients, used the latter, especially the Homeric poems, as a source of examples to support grammatical rules. The predominance of Homer is evident in Apollonius' repartee to a grammarian of the Augustan age called Habron, who supported a linguistic position by quoting examples from Plato diverging from Homeric usage: but, according to Apollonius, "the existence of a use in Plato is no more trustworthy than its absence in Homer" (*Pron.* 72.15–19). Furthermore, following the path indicated by Aristarchus, Apollonius reacted to the objection against the adoption of Homer as a model of *Hellenismos* by justifying the unusual forms or constructions in Homer's language either as poetic license (*σχημα*) or due to their antiquity (see above § 5.1).

A phenomenon in which, between the 2nd and 3rd c. AD, the literary tradition played a crucial role was linguistic Atticism, whereby the idea of language correctness was equated, *tout-court*, with adoption of a literary model. Here the reference point consisted of a canon covering a certain number of classical Attic authors, of which numerous versions existed; it sometimes included Homer as an example of a proto-Attic author (see above § 5.3).

The corresponding Latin criterion was identified as *auctoritas*,²⁵² with the most ancient description dating back to Varro (*fr.* 268 Funaioli). Analogously to the Greek sphere, *auctoritas* was understood as the final rule of language correctness, to be invoked when all others failed. Varro reasoned that this was because *auctoritas* derived from nothing other than an opinion founded on a reading of the ancient writers, who, challenged to justify their language choices,

249 Pontani [2011c] 97–98, with bibliography; Montanari [2012a].

250 Pontani [2011c] 96.

251 Erbse [1960] 311–370; Blank [1982] 61; Blank [1993] 717–718; Schenkeveld [1994] 298; Pontani [2011c] 99ff.

252 On which, cf. Siebenborn [1976] 93–96.

were unable to provide an answer.²⁵³ The type of reference authors—only prose writers or also poets—and the period they belonged to constituted aspects on which Latin grammarians assumed different positions. Quintilian (*Inst.* 1.6.2) regarded the criterion of *auctoritas* as founded exclusively on orators and historiographers, ruling out poets because the latter, for metrical reasons, could resort to special forms or constructions; other scholars also countenanced poets as models of *auctoritas*, assigning an important role to Virgil (*e.g.* *Char. Gramm.*, *passim*). Decisions concerning model authors may also have been influenced by the various scholastic canons accepted in different periods.²⁵⁴ In particular, the issue of whether the authors considered should be ancient or recent interacted with the problem involving the relation between the criteria of *auctoritas* and *vetustas*, which Quintilian (*Inst.* 1.6.1) mentioned together. Conceivably, the two principles were to be interpreted in parallel with the way a grammarian such as Caper indicated the classical authors (*auctores*) and the preclassical poets (*veteres*), respectively.²⁵⁵ However, the fact that Quintilian mentioned Cato alongside more recent authors, in the paragraph on *auctoritas* (*Inst.* 1.6.42)—rather than on *vetustas*—casts doubt on this explanation. The treatment given by Quintilian himself suggests that *vetustas* more probably had the aim of guaranteeing occasional utilization of archaic words, recommended to orators to embellish and dignify their speeches, as compared to the normal principle of *consuetudo*, in which avoidance of such forms would have been advised (*Inst.* 1.6.39–41 and 8.3.24–30).²⁵⁶

6.4 *Etymology (and Dialect)*

Searching for the origin of a term to understand its true meaning was a characteristic of early philosophical reflections on language correctness and on the natural or conventional status of language.²⁵⁷ This tendency was in agreement with the remote practice of poets, from Homer onwards, whereby nouns, especially proper nouns, were considered significant and were explained through etymological procedures.²⁵⁸ Thus the investigation, central to Plato's *Cratylus*, on the correspondence between the form of a name and the reality it indicated was founded on an etymological study that traced words back to their primitive—or presumed primitive—constituent elements (397a–437d) (see

253 See Collart [1963] 125–127.

254 Cf. Barwick [1922] 188ff.

255 Fragments in Charisius: see Siebenborn [1976] 95. Cf. Barwick [1922] 213–214.

256 Siebenborn [1976] 95–96.

257 For etymology as a criterion of *Hellenismos*, see Siebenborn [1976] 140–146.

258 See *e.g.* the considerations of Irigoien [1991] and Lallot [1991a].

above § 2).²⁵⁹ In ancient practice, this reconstructive procedure frequently implied distortions of the signifier, often quite unrestrained, due to suppression, addition, transformation or movement of phonetic elements. This typological pattern of changes, known as ‘*quadripertita ratio*’,²⁶⁰ is widespread in rhetoric and ancient grammar, although it does not exhaust all the possibilities of complex systems like that of Aelius Herodian (see above § 5.2 and below). *Insouciance* as regards the alterations presupposed in etymological reconstruction, alongside a predominant interest in the philosophical value of such a practice, is found in the Stoics, who made massive use of etymology in the conviction that each word concealed within itself the meaning of the reality it indicated, which could be uncovered by reduction to the original sounds (πρώται φωναί)²⁶¹ (see above § 2).

For grammarians of the Hellenistic age, etymology was mainly applied to solve exegetic or textual problems of the Homeric poems, and was invoked both to explain rare or antiquated words and also to legitimate a spelling, form or prosody versus other alternatives in the literary texts commented upon. This was the case for Aristophanes of Byzantium, Aristarchus of Samothrace, who displays an uncommon quest for precision in the phonetic alterations implied by etymological reconstruction,²⁶² and Crates of Mallus, whose etymological analyses show predominant attention to the semantic aspect²⁶³ (see above §§ 3.1, 3.2, 3.3).

The considerable importance awarded to etymology in the *grammatike* of the Hellenistic age emerges from its mention by Dionysius Thrax as the fourth part of grammar (Sext. Emp. *Math.* 1.250, cf. *Techne* § 1; see above § 4); moreover, etymological investigation, sometimes associated with attention to dialect phenomena, appears as a constant in subsequent reflections on *Hellenismos*. This characteristic is observed in the only two known fragments of Περὶ ἑλληνισμοῦ by Philoxenus of Alexandria, who had also attempted a global etymological overview in his work *On monosyllabic verbs*. Here he traced words back—with the familiar *nonchalance* in distortion of the signifier—to a restricted number of monothematic verbs. These can be interpreted as conventional forms used by the grammarian to represent what we would call a

259 On the utilization of etymology in *Cratylus* see Sedley [1998b] and [2003a], Aronadio [2011] 83–183.

260 Cf. Ax [1987].

261 See Sluiter [1990] 12–13, 18–21; Allen [2005].

262 Thus Schironi [2003].

263 For observations on philologists' use of etymology see Lallot [1991a] and [1991b] and, specifically on Aristarchus and Crates, Broggiato [2003] and Schironi [2003].

root syllable recognizable in the words of a given etymological group, symbolizing a semantheme common to the family.²⁶⁴ Attention to etymology and/or to dialect peculiarities clearly also emerges, in relation to *Hellenismos*, in the fragments of later grammarians, such as Tryphon of Alexandria, Seleucus of Alexandria, Minucius Pacatus Irenaeus (see above § 4).

More generally, the criterion of etymological research underlies the system of pathology that forms the basis of the entire linguistic mechanism conceived by Apollonius Dyscolus (see above § 5.1). A comprehensive theorization of the functioning of pathology, which must have constituted the foundation for subsequent etymological practice, was given by Aelius Herodian, who composed a treatise *Περὶ παθῶν* (“On language changes”) analyzing possible word modifications, probably starting from a more complex framework than the traditional ‘*quadripertita ratio*’ (see above § 5.2).

The same categories of pathology also came into play in the study of dialects, which was widely practiced in ancient Greek grammar, with particular focus on the specificity of a form in the various dialects.²⁶⁵ A grammarian like Tryphon, attentive to dialect varieties, devoted an entire treatise to investigating a specific *πάθος*, pleonasm, in a specific dialect, Aeolic. The relation of reflection on dialects to etymology was not limited to use of the same mechanisms: dialectology was considered useful to etymology since a particular dialect form was sometimes held to facilitate recognition of the origin of a word (*Sch. Lond. Dion. T. in GG I/III 470.18–20*). Furthermore, from a certain time onwards, dialect considerations became a veritable criterion of orthographic correctness of the standard common language (*koine*), as “the dialects ... reveal the correct spelling because of their modifications” (*Sch. Lond. Dion. T. in GG I/III 470.22–24*).²⁶⁶

The criterion of etymology, taken together with analogy as a tool of the technical part of grammar, was lambasted by Sextus Empiricus (*Math. 1.241–247*), who polemically declared that it had no *raison d'être* because it was superfluous when it agreed with common usage, and should be ignored when in conflict with the latter, exactly as occurs for analogy. Furthermore, Sextus launched an attack based on infinite regression: if one aims to demonstrate that a word is good Greek because the word it derives from is likewise good Greek, then it will be necessary to trace the etymological derivations back neverendingly: the etymological sequence could be interrupted only on encountering a term

264 Lallot [1991b].

265 Versteegh [1987], esp. 256ff.

266 Siebenborn [1976] 146–151, according to whom this innovation may have been due to Tryphon, and who offers a treatment of dialect as a self-standing criterion of *Hellenismos*.

demonstrably correct by virtue of a criterion other than etymology, and this reveals the pointlessness of etymology itself (see above § 4).

In the Latin world, etymology played a fundamental role in the work of Varro. In his vision, etymology, together with inflection and syntax, constitutes the first of the three aspects characterizing language (*Ling.* 8.1); it also appears massively in his other works, especially those of antiquarian interest (*Antiquitates humanae* and *Antiquitates divinae*, “Human antiquities” and “Divine antiquities”, *De agri cultura*, “On agriculture”). Varro’s etymological method is described mainly in books 5 and 6 of *De lingua Latina*,²⁶⁷ where he states that names were imposed on things following observation of the nature of reality, in order to make it manifest (*Ling.* 8.27). Accordingly, he believed there existed a close relation between words and the entity they designated, thus attributing a cognitive value to the etymological process, although he was aware of its limits. He acknowledged that the field of etymology is partly obscure because not every coined word (*impositio verborum*) has survived, some of the surviving terms have undergone distortions, some of the original forms are not Latin, and many words have undergone meaning change over time (*Ling.* 5.3). Furthermore, changes are not predictable and do not follow pre-established rules (only in some cases of derivation, like the creation of abstract nouns, can one appeal to an analogical proportion); therefore the ultimate origin of a word cannot always be determined. Even so, tracing back just a portion of the path that led to the formation of a term can be useful, allowing establishment of links between words and thus, in Varro’s framework, between the kinds of reality denominated by the terms. Such an achievement, in turn, increases knowledge on such aspects of reality. This accounts for the presence of etymology in Varronian works of antiquarian character: if some aspects of reality have been lost or forgotten, information concerning them can still be obtained by etymological examination of the name that identified them.

Considerations on etymology are also found in Quintilian, who explicitly associated them with analogy as a ‘rational’ criterion for language study (*Inst.* 1.6.1). Etymology could be adopted either to give a correct definition of a term, as this tool was useful to clarify the term’s meaning (*Inst.* 1.6.29), or, sometimes, to distinguish correct from ‘barbarous’ forms (*Inst.* 1.6.30), in which case etymology may become the handmaiden of *consuetudo* (see above § 6.2). But overall, Quintilian’s attitude to etymological investigation was somewhat skeptical (*Inst.* 1.6.32–38):²⁶⁸ he argued that scholars studying such phenomena went to great lengths to determine the true form of a word, with a variety

267 On the status of etymology in Varro’s thought, see above all Blank [2008].

268 Siebenborn [1976] 140, 146.

of methods, yet without achieving anything more than “the most hideous absurdities”.²⁶⁹ He thus held a decidedly disenchanting attitude, which, however, was destined to be superseded in later centuries when the Late-Antique and Byzantine world experienced a flourishing of studies and anthologies of an etymological nature.

7 Conclusions

We have outlined a chronologically vast and multifaceted field, which explored innumerable strands of enquiry according to the type of approach and the end pursued. The figures populating this universe are philosophers who sought answers to the nature and status of language, rhetors who investigated the vices and virtues of expression, philologists who scrutinized literary texts, and scholars who studied linguistic phenomena *stricto sensu*. Since the various figures involved in reflections on *Hellenismos* varied widely in their aims and methods, it is difficult to draw all-embracing conclusions. Nevertheless, some crucial nodes of the question can be highlighted. Perhaps the most important is the conflict between a very general and generalizing theoretical background, based on the search for unifying principles, versus recognition and treatment of individual linguistic facts. Abstractly speaking, *Hellenismos* should, in an all-embracing perspective, cover poetry as well as prose, the common language of the *koine* as well as the various dialects. For the Alexandrian erudites, however, it was in Homer that “everything concerning *Hellenismos* is perfect” (Aristarchus, see § 3.2). Accordingly, Homer became the underlying model for all possible rationalistically oriented examination of language (Ptolemy Pindarion, see § 4), whereas a philosopher like Diogenes of Babylon elected “expert and non ordinary usage” as his reference framework, stigmatizing “anything in contrast with the (language) customs of Greeks of good repute” as a negative example to be avoided (see above § 2). In this case, the rule to be observed was a *συνήθεια* embodied by an elevated *koine*, the standardized language fixed since the Hellenistic age as a means of communication of the institutions and the educated classes.

Another aspect that can clearly be perceived is the problem the authors faced in reconciling the different criteria that played a role in determining *Hellenismos*: how should usage, basically taken as elevated Hellenistic prose, be harmonized with the literary—primarily poetic—tradition? And with the strict deductions springing from application of the analogical method?

269 Transl. Butler [1963–1968].

In what cases should one or the other parameter be made to prevail? This dilemma was an easy butt of empirically inspired polemics against the quest for *Hellenismos* (Sextus Empiricus, see § 4): why appeal to criteria such as analogy and etymology when, demonstrably, the reference point of both of these was usage, and why invoke the literary authority if this results in forms or constructions so distant from usage as to appear ridiculous? The art of combining the different aspects without grotesque distortions was a tribute to the grammarian's intelligence. It was successfully achieved, perhaps, by the brilliant intellect of Apollonius Dyscolus, who devised a system which, while solidly grounded in rational knowledge of language and its rules (explicitly rejecting a purely practical approach: *Synt.* 1.60), admitted—albeit, not without painstaking reconstructions—irregular forms that had been accepted into general usage; at the same time he assumed a constructive and far from uncritical attitude towards the *auctoritas* of Homer and the literary tradition (see above § 5.1). Furthermore, the coexistence of rules and exceptions—of what can be explained rationally according to the rules, alongside what is right because “that’s the way it’s used”—is a quandary that inevitably confounds the approach to any language system. Here we have endeavored to show the kind of answers offered in this regard by the classical world.

Syntax

Jean Lallot

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1 Introduction: σύν-ταξις

1.1 *Syntax and Grammar*

Is syntax a part of grammar? Answers to this question, which might at first seem irrelevant, vary noticeably across the ages. Take the definition of grammar in Knowles' dictionary [2006]:

the whole system and structure of a language or of languages in general, usually taken as consisting of syntax and morphology (including inflections) and sometimes also phonology and semantics.

In this modern definition, syntax is clearly conceived as an integral part of grammar—it is even the first named, while phonology does not benefit from the same treatment.

Conversely, in the *Techne*, σύνταξις is absent from the enumeration of the six parts of grammar and does not appear elsewhere in the manual. If we consider two intermediary testimonies, we will see that the *Port-Royal Grammar*¹ includes a short chapter (24) entitled “On syntax, or the construction of words together”, while the *Greek Grammar* of Schwyzer-Debrunner is divided into two heavy volumes respectively entitled, 1. *Allgemeiner Teil, Lautlehre, Wortbildung, Flexion*, and 2. *Syntax und syntaktische Stilistik*.

This brief survey clearly shows that syntax, at first separate from γραμματική, makes a modest entrance into the latter notion (with Port-Royal), and is then installed with a dignity equal to that of phonetics and morphology (Schwyzer-Debrunner), before assuming the primary place (along with morphology but not phonetics) in a contemporary dictionary.²

¹ *I.e.* Arnould-Lancelot [1660].

² It is interesting to observe how matters have evolved in the Greek tradition. Babiniotis [1998] gives an initial definition of the γραμματική: “(in the traditional view) the study of the language from the point of view of its sounds, words (parts of speech, inflections) and etymology (by opposition to the study of the syntax and lexicon)”, then he adds another: “the ensemble of rules whose observance guarantees the good formation of words and phrases (morphology-syntax)”. The coexistence of the two definitions highlights the tension, in the Greek domain, between Alexandrian tradition and modern reorganisation. In practical terms, until very recently, the names of Greek works devoted to the language, both learned and for classroom use, faithfully reflect the ‘traditional view’: ‘Γραμματική’ treats sounds, letters, morphology, while ‘Συντακτικό’ treats syntax. (The *Λεξικό της κοινής νεοελληνικής*, dictionary of the Triantafyllidis Institute [1998], *s.v.* γραμματική, roughly reflects the same point of view as Babiniotis. The article juxtaposes without commentary three definitions: 1. a system of rules which describe the phonological, morphological and syntactic structure of a language;

1.2 *Apollonius Dyscolus, Obligatory Reference*

Whatever the organisation of the disciplinary field in which it was situated, syntax was not unknown among the Alexandrian grammarians. Our understanding of Alexandrian syntax, without direct access to more varied sources, rests essentially on our reading of the *Περὶ συντάξεως*—hereafter *Syntax* or *Synt.*—of Apollonius Dyscolus (2nd c. AD). It is to this work, then, that we refer almost exclusively in the present chapter.³ We may well regret this limitation to a single source, but, beyond the fact that it is imposed on us by the state of the documentation, we shall find good reasons to console ourselves. First, Apollonius frequently gives the opinions of his predecessors in order to discuss them, and second, he was recognised by the Latin and Byzantine traditions as the indisputable master on the subject of syntax⁴—we cannot seriously doubt that the source available to us is the best and most representative possible source.

Let us turn, then, to the Alexandrian master.

1.3 *The Programme of the Syntax*

In the first lines of the *Syntax*, Apollonius thus announces his programme:

In our previous lessons, we studied the doctrine of the word-forms (...). The study which now follows will treat the *syntaxis* of these forms, organised congruently into complete sentences; my intention, carefully considered, is to discuss the subject in depth, since this is absolutely necessary for the explanation of poetic texts. (*Synt.* I 1, 1.1)

Ἐν ταῖς προεκδοθείσαις ἡμῖν σχολαῖς ἢ περὶ τὰς φωνὰς παράδοσις (...) κατείλεκται ἢ δὲ νῦν ῥηθησομένη ἔκδοσις περιέξει τὴν ἐκ τούτων γινομένην

2. the discipline which treats the phonology, morphology and derivation of a language, also the corresponding manual; 3. a work which presents the rules describing the phonological, morphological and syntactic structure of a language. It is pleasant to state that this last definition is illustrated by an example: *The Neohellenic Grammar of M. Triantafillidis*—a work which does not include syntax!).

3. We will of course occasionally refer to what the author's other works tell us about syntax: the treatise *On Conjunctions* (*Περὶ συνδέσμων*), valuable for the syntax of complex phrases, the treatises *On the Pronoun* (*Περὶ ἀντωνυμίας*) and *On Adverbs* (*Περὶ ἐπιρρημάτων*), certain theoretical parts of which complete the content of the *Syntax*.

4. Priscian repeatedly calls Apollonius the greatest (*summus, maximus*) Greek grammarian; cf. *IG III 24.6: Graecorum doctissimi... et maxime Apollonius, cuius auctoritatem in omnibus sequendam putavi*. "the most learned of the Greeks..., and above all Apollonius, whose authority I have thought should be followed in all matters".

σύνταξιν εἰς καταλληλότητα τοῦ αὐτοτελοῦς λόγου, ἦν πάνυ προήρημαι, ἀναγκαιοτάτην οὔσαν πρὸς ἐξήγησιν τῶν ποιημάτων, μετὰ πάσης ἀκριβείας ἐκθέσθαι.

We may take two points from this preliminary text:

1. The object of syntactic study is the ‘complete sentence’ (αὐτοτελής λόγος) considered as a congruent (cf. καταλληλότης) arrangement (σύνταξις) of forms (φωναί). The reference to ‘preceding lessons’ gives us to understand that the ‘forms’ in question are none other than the eight μέρη λόγου ‘parts of the sentence’ to which Apollonius has devoted separate treatises. Thus, syntax appears closely united to the grammatical classification of words (μερισμός), which the *Techne* reveals to be a central task of γραμματική. It might be further said that syntax is the exact *synthetic* counterpart of the *analytical* procedure of grammar (in the strict sense).⁵
2. The deeper study of syntax is “absolutely necessary for the explanation of poetic texts”. Such an assertion, in a programmatic introduction, draws our attention to the strict overlap in ancient grammatical practice between ‘technical’⁶ grammar and philology:⁷ it was in response to their daily challenges as editors of past texts, and especially of poetic texts, that such great philologists as Aristophanes of Byzantium, Aristarchus, Dionysius Thrax and their rivals had to elaborate their τέχναι of reference. Apollonius explicitly situates his *Syntax* within this disciplinary setting: its aim is to help with the rigorous establishment and correct

5 This symmetrical relation between grammar and syntax clearly emerges from the passage of the *Techne* (chapter 11) where we find definitions of ‘word’ (λέξις, a term freely varied with μέρος λόγου in the *Techne*) and sentence (λόγος): Λέξις ἐστὶ μέρος ἐλάχιστον τοῦ κατὰ σύνταξιν λόγου. Λόγος δὲ ἐστὶ πεζῆς λέξεως σύνθεσις διάνοια αὐτοτελή δηλοῦσα “A word is the smallest part of a properly constructed sentence (κατὰ σύνταξιν, lit. ‘according to the [correct] arrangement’). A sentence is a combination (σύνθεσις, lit. ‘put together’) of words in prose conveying a meaning which is complete in itself” (Kemp’s translation). We will return later to the coexistence, in this double definition, of σύνταξις and σύνθεσις.

6 This epithet designates the systematic part of the grammatical discipline, which is recorded in the works, called τέχναι, composed by the τεχνικοί. These works, which aim at the methodical description of the constituent elements of (what we call) the *language*, are distinguished from another category of grammatical works, those devoted to the study of *texts* (typically, the ὑπομνήματα of Aristarchus). For definitions of *Techne grammatike* and typology of grammatical treatises see, respectively, Swiggers-Wouters (section 11) and Valente (section 11) in this volume.

7 See Montana, Swiggers-Wouters (section 11), and Pagani in this volume.

interpretation of the great texts of the Greek literary heritage.⁸ One is struck, in reading the work, by the importance it accords to the discussion of literary citations, the great majority of which are Homeric.⁹

1.4 Σύνθεσις / σύνταξις λόγου

The word σύνταξις, which gives its name to Apollonius' treatise, and which survives as a borrowing in modern languages, is found once in competition with σύνθεσις. In chapter 11 of the *Techne* (see n. 5), σύνταξις and σύνθεσις seem to coexist in free variation. The scholia on this passage are at a loss. Sometimes they condemn an improper usage of σύνθεσις, which they say should be applied only to the composition of nouns, the correct term for the juxtaposition of words being παράθεσις (*Sch. Dion. T.* 355.24). Elsewhere they construct an (*ad hoc?*) opposition between two terms, where σύνταξις refers "only to the agreement of parts of speech" while σύνθεσις refers to the structure of thought: σύνθεσις τῶν λέξεων ἢ διάνοια (*ibid.*, 214.9). It is more probable that the two definitions which match λέξις (part of λόγος) and λόγος (formed from λέξεις), perhaps inherited from distinct sources, both retain the traces of a former synonymy, which later usage eliminated in principle by specifying σύνθεσις in the sense of nominal composition. Despite this, a variation in the use of the two terms has persisted—see, in Apollonius himself, *Synt.* III 14, 280.3, *Conj.* 214.7, 221.19. We recall also that Dionysius of Halicarnassus' treatise on stylistic composition is entitled *Περὶ συνθέσεως ὀνομάτων*.

Σύνταξις etymologically includes the idea of *order* or *rank* (τάξις), specified by the associative prefix συν-, a little redundant in this case, which adds the sense that the order governs the arrangement of a whole. Apollonius did not invent the word. As an action-noun derived from the verb συντάττω "put in order together" (*LSJ*), σύνταξις is well attested in the classical era in various senses (military, political, literary, etc.), all related by the common seme of "ordered arrangement"—the formation of an army, institutional structure of a régime, organisation of the constituent parts of a text, and so on. The Stoic philosopher Chrysippus had written a treatise in four books entitled *Περὶ συντάξεως τῶν λεγομένων*, without any doubt devoted to the logical analysis of propositions. A similar use of σύνταξις in a linguistic sense prepared the word for its

8 This rooting of grammar in philology doubtless explains a good part of why Alexandrian grammar was exclusively a grammar of *Greek*. The questions to be resolved were posed by Greek texts, and the scholars who attempted to answer them, even if they were polyglot in Hellenistic and Roman Alexandria, never dreamed of leaving the strictly Hellenic field which defined their corpus.

9 See Pagani in this volume.

entry into the technical vocabulary of the grammarians. In adopting it many centuries later—centuries which were particularly fruitful in the domain of grammar—and in making it the title of his treatise, Apollonius charged the word ‘syntax’ with precise grammatical connotations which remained so strictly attached to it that it could cross the centuries without being obscured by Latin adaptations¹⁰ or other modern forms. It is certain that, for Apollonius, the seme of ‘order’ carried by τάξις helped to justify the adoption of the composite σύνταξις: in his view, order had a particular relevance to everything concerning language and its description (metalanguage). To construct a sentence or compose a grammar did not involve accumulating or heaping up, but lining up, arranging and ordering.

2 Congruence (καταλληλότης)

Every arrangement presupposes a principle. The principle which governs syntactic arrangement is called καταλληλότης, that is, “mutual” (-αλληλο-) “agreement” (κατ-), or “congruence”. This word and others of the same family—the adjective κατάλληλος “congruent” and its antonym ἀκατάλληλος “incongruent”, the derived adverb (ἀ)καταλλήλως “(in)congruently”, the noun ἀκαταλληλότης or ἀκαταλληλία “incongruence”—are attested 107 times in the surviving works of Apollonius, and it is telling that, with only six exceptions, all of these instances are found in the *Syntax*. Congruence is a fundamentally semantic notion: if, as is said at the outset of the *Syntax* (p. 3.1), ἐκ τῆς καταλληλότητος τῶν νοητῶν ὁ αὐτοτελής λόγος “the complete utterance comes from the congruence of mental objects”, then it is rather things of the realm of thought (νοητά) that should be arranged in a congruent manner. What are these νοητά? Of what nature is the congruence to which they should be subject?

2.1 Conjoined Signifieds (παρυφιστάμενα νοητά)

Apollonius does not define the νοητά. More problematically, apart from its three occurrences in *Synt.* 1.2, this substantivised participle of the verb νοεῖν is completely absent from the grammarian’s surviving works. We therefore have

10 *De constructione sive ordinatione* is the title given by Priscian to Books XVII and XVIII of his *Grammatical Institutions*, in which he treats a great part of the material of the *Περὶ συντάξεως* of Apollonius. The more faithful Latin calque of σύνταξις would have been *coordinatio*, but one does not find this word among the Latin grammarians; the introduction of *coordination* into French grammatical vocabulary, notably in the syntagm *conjonction de coordination*, is very late (1888).

no choice but to find out what it means for ourselves. Many modern interpreters have understood it as an altered form of the Stoic λεκτά or “expressibles”.¹¹ Although plausible in itself, this connection is only of limited help to us, since it does not explain why Apollonius might have substituted the one word for the other, abandoning the Stoic usage of a technical term of dialectics which has no place in grammar.¹² On the other hand, Apollonius himself somewhat clarifies the term νοητόν by inserting it, a little later, into the syntagm τὸ ἐξ ἑκάστης λέξεως παρυφιστάμενον νοητόν “the νοητόν which is the signified conjoined to each word” (*Synt.* I 2, 2.10). What is he talking about?

Without any possible doubt, he is referring to the lexical signification of words constructed to form an intelligible utterance. But also, at a more abstract level, to the categorial signifieds attached to the “parts of the sentence” *such as they are*. The partition of the λόγος effectively produces lexical entities which are differentiated functionally and predisposed to play a certain role in syntactic construction. Thus it is because two words are a noun and a verb that they can combine to form a complete proposition: ἄνθρωπος ἔπεσεν “(a) man fell”. Again, it is because ὅς is a postpositive article (*i.e.*, a relative pronoun) that it can connect a noun to a secondary verb which follows it: ἦλθεν γραμματικός ὅς διελέξατο, “a grammarian has arrived **who** has argued” (*Synt.* I 143); it is because παρά is a preposition that it can precede a noun, either in juxtaposition: παρά νόμον, “against (the) law”, or in composition, παράνομος, “illegal” (*Synt.* IV 13), and so on. No congruence is possible if we are unaware of the functional predispositions of the parts of the sentence—for instance, if we put a prepositive article in place of the postpositive: *ἦλθεν γραμματικός ὁ διελέξατο, “* a grammarian has arrived **the** has argued”.

But this is not all: the “signifieds conjoined” (παρυφιστάμενα) to words include also the grammatical significations linked to the ‘accidents’ (παρεπόμενα) of the parts of the sentence, and notably those which are inflected. The inflecting form indicates number, case and gender for the constituents of the nominal group (noun, participle, article, pronoun), and person, number, tense, mood and diathesis for the verb (and partially for the participle). Bearing these

11 Cf. Frede [1987a] 354f.: “In translation, Apollonius would say: corresponding to each word there is an element in the *lekton*; in putting the words together we put the elements of the *lekton* together, *i.e.*, construct a *lekton*. Whether we get a syntactically proper sentence depends on whether the *lekton* we construct satisfies the syntax of the *lekta*.”

12 Λεκτόν is absent from the *Syntax*. Apollonius uses it sometimes in his other surviving treatises, always in the same kind of context: when he underlines that a phonetic accident (typically, aphaeresis of an initial vowel, for instance in κείνος for ἐκείνος) affects only the form (φωνή) of a word, never its sense (λεκτόν).

significations, the inflected forms when constructed together must obey the rules of what we would call ‘co-occurrence’. Although the distinction is not made by Apollonius, it may be a question of the rules concerning either, to use the terms of Port-Royal (Arnauld-Lancelot [1660] chap. 24), the syntax of *convenance* (agreement in case and number between an adjective and the noun which it determines, or in person and number between a verb and its nominative term (subject); restriction in the usage of adverbs of time depending on the verbal tense;¹³ etc.) or the syntax of *régime* (distribution of the oblique cases assigned to verbal or nominal determination; governance of prepositions, etc.). The “fundamental cause of incongruence” (συνεκτικωτάτη αἰτία τοῦ ἀκαταλλήλου), Apollonius tells us (*Synt.* III 13, 279.5), lies in the incorrect combination of inflected forms.

2.2 *Solecism*

This incorrect combination is called “solecism” (σολοικισμός).¹⁴ The verbs σολοικίζω and βαρβαρίζω have been known since Herodotus (III 57, IV 117), where they mean “to speak (Greek) badly”. In Aristotle σολοικισμός and βαρβαρισμός also denote vices of language, the former an abuse of rare words (*Poet.* 1458a26), the latter an incorrect, “barbarous” utterance (*Soph. el.* 165b20). It is apparently with the Stoics that the two words formed a contrasted couple (cf. D. L. VII 59), later adopted by the grammarians. Barbarism is when a lexical form deviates from good usage, solecism when a proposition is constructed in an incongruent manner: λόγος ἀκαταλλήλως συντεταγμένος (Diog. Bab. *ap.* D. L., *l.c.*), the Stoic formula faithfully reflected in Apollonius (*Synt.* I 8, 7.12): τῶν στοιχείων τοῦ λόγου ἀκαταλλήλως συνελθόντων.

Reflection on the solecism leads Apollonius to observations of the greatest importance for syntactic theory. The one concerns the limits of syntax, the other the limits of incongruence.

2.2.1 Error of Syntax and Error of Deixis

The Alexandrian grammarians debated the following problem: does one commit a solecism when, upon being struck by a woman, one declares, “He has struck me”? Apollonius’ response to this question is neat and categorical (*Synt.* III 10): by contrast to “*She have struck me”, which is an obvious solecism (a mismatch in number between the verb and the subject), “He has struck me”

13 In this last case, the congruence is established between verbal inflection and adverbial lexemes.

14 Cf. Pagani in this volume.

is an utterance which is irreproachable in itself. The choice of a masculine deictic to refer to a feminine being has nothing to do with the domain of syntax:

Incongruence and congruence lie not in the referents, but in the construction of words which must adapt their form to the necessities of correction (275.6)

οὐ (...) ἐν τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις τὸ ἀκατάλληλον ἐστὶν ἢ κατάλληλον, ἐν δὲ τῇ συντάξει τῶν λέξεων, αἷς παρέπεται τὸ μεταποιεῖσθαι εἰς τὸ δέον.

The inflectional adaptation (μεταποιεῖσθαι) of words in construction is therefore the keyword of congruence. On this point, Apollonius is inflexible. Thus, the famous rule in our grammars, τὰ ζῶα τρέχει, literally “the animals runs”, meaning that in Greek a neuter plural subject takes a singular verb, seemed to him an utter outrage; all he can say about it is that here the solecism is masked by the lack of morphological differentiation between nominative and accusative in the neuter case, which makes γράφει τὰ παιδιά (“draws” + “the children”) a correct construction if we interpret it as “<(s)he> draws the children” (which is possible in Greek) (*Synt.* III 50–53).¹⁵

2.2.2 A Limit of Incongruence: “Formal Coincidence” (συνέμπτωσης)

There is, however, one case where the demands of congruence must be relaxed: when, due to a deficiency of the morphology, the perfect mutual adaptation of the words is made impossible. Examples of this are numerous;¹⁶ one will suffice to illustrate the principle. One of the functions of the pronoun is to distinguish the three grammatical persons. But it happens that, for the first person plural, Greek can use the reflexive ἑαυτοῦς which is formally in the third person, literally, “themselves”: ἑαυτοὺς ὑβρίσαμεν lit. “we insulted themselves”, meaning “we insulted ourselves”. Apollonius (*Synt.* III 23, 290.5) writes:

15 Hardly convincing in itself, this explanation loses all relevance when the verb is intransitive and so forbids any interpretation of the neutral form as a complement of the object: τρέχει τὰ παιδιά = “(s)he runs the children”. Thierfelder [1935] n. 23 reproaches Apollonius for wanting at all costs to explain “a construction which is completely irrational in the eyes of a scholar ignorant of comparative grammar”. One imagines that Apollonius, ignorant of comparative grammar, could ask the modern grammarians, who are familiar with it, if it is fully satisfying to explain a disconcerting common turn *solely* by comparative diachrony.

16 Apollonius studies a long series of them, *Synt.* III 22–34.

the usage would be wrong if there existed an *ἔμαυτούς [1st pers.] to reveal the mistake in grammatical person. Such a proof being impossible, the construction of ἑαυτούς applied to persons [other than the 3rd] is irreproachable.

ὄπερ ἦν ἂν ἐν κακίᾳ, εἰ διηλέγγετο ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔμαυτούς ὡς παρὰ τὸ πρόσωπον ἡμαρτημένον. ἀνεξέλεγκτον οὖν καθεστῶς ἀδεεστέραν τὴν σύνταξιν κατὰ τῶν προσώπων ἐποιήσατο.

The example presented here, regarding which a modern would doubtless speak of ‘neutralisation’, is described by Apollonius in terms of συνέμπτωσις, literally “coincidence”, the theoretical plurality of the forms of a paradigm being reduced to one which, because of this fact, becomes legitimately multifunctional: if *ἔμαυτούς existed, it would ‘betray’ ἑαυτούς ὑβρίσαμεν as incongruent. In its absence, congruence is saved, and the incongruence is only apparent.

In picking out the phenomenon of “coincidence”, the grammarian avails himself of a powerful instrument for revealing that propositions which at first glance seem incorrect are in fact well-formed. Rigorously described and wisely used, this instrument would appear a major weapon in the arsenal of Alexandrian syntax.

3 The Scheme of Functions

The object of syntax is, as we have seen, the study of the λόγος (understood as an assemblage of words to form a complete sense) αὐτοτελής (literally “that which is its own end”, or in other words, that which has no place for any suspense, that which is ‘fastened’—the metaphor of closure often designating syntactic completeness, for instance at *Synt.* I 14, 16.13, on the minimal form of noun (subject) + verb: πᾶς λόγος ἄνευ τούτων οὐ συγκλείεται “without these (two constituents) no λόγος is fastened”). Thus described, the λόγος corresponds rather well to what we call a *sentence*, “A series of words in connected speech or writing, forming the grammatically complete expression of a single thought” (*OED*). Hence the translation chosen here of μέρος λόγου as “part of the sentence”, rather than “part of speech”, the traditional calque of the Latin *pars orationis*.

We have seen above that the parts of the sentence are not a raw material, but rather that each is associated with what we labelled earlier ‘functional pre-disposition’. We must now attempt to define how the Alexandrian grammarian

envisages the ‘functions’ which permit the λόγος-sentence to be formed.¹⁷ It is easy to present the production of a sentence like the playing a game of construction, the game pieces being the parts of the sentence.¹⁸

3.1 *Noun and Verb: Natural Harmony*

The description of the kernel at the base of a sentence goes back to Plato in the *Sophist* (262c), who designates it as (λόγος) πρῶτος τε καὶ σμικρότατος “the first and minimal (sentence)”: a noun in the nominative followed by a verb in the third person, the noun and verb being of the same number: ἄνθρωπος περιπατεῖ “(a) man walks”. The association of the noun (subject), ὄνομα, and the verb (predicate), ῥήμα, is somehow founded in nature on the relations of agent-action (πράττων-πράξις, Plato) or substance-accident (οὐσία-συμβεβηκός, Aristotle): the minimal phrase of (NOMINAL) SUBJECT + (VERBAL) PREDICATE reflects in its own quasi-iconic way the extralinguistic situation in which a substantial entity is affected by a quality, or engaged in an action, which is ‘accidental’. The natural harmony between the noun (subject) and the verb is manifested by the remarkable absence of any conjunctive link between them in an expression:

there is between the noun and the verb a natural harmony which does not involve conjunction (...); just as, in effect, form and matter are linked to each other without conjunction, so the noun has a natural harmony with the verb (*Sch. Dion. T.*, 515, 36)

(τὸ ὄνομα καὶ ῥήμα φυσικὴν τινα ἀρμονίαν ἔχει μὴ δεομένην συνδέσεως (...). ὡς περ γὰρ πρὸς ἀλλήλα ἔστι συνημμένα τὸ τε εἶδος καὶ ἡ ὕλη χωρὶς συνδέσεως, οὕτω τὸ ὄνομα μετὰ τοῦ ῥήματος φυσικὴν τινα ἀρμονίαν ἔχει).

Given this ontologically primary and ‘natural’ link, the entire syntax of a sentence is described as the result of a process of enrichment by accretion, in which all other parts of speech find their usage and justification.

17 The term ‘function’ is used here as a handy and familiar generic word for the modern reader. But we must point out that no single term corresponds to it in the Alexandrian metalanguage.

18 This metaphor is not at all anachronistic: ancient grammarians happily compared the sentence to a material artefact—notably to a ship, in which they distinguished the “parts” properly called (the hull, the rudder, the tackle) from the joining materials (pitch, oakum, nails): likewise the sentence includes parts properly called and conjunctive elements (*Sch. Dion. T.*, 515, 21).

3.2 *Accompaniment and Replacement*

For Apollonius, the first division of functions which appears in the process of enrichment is that between *accompaniment* and *replacement*:

Since all the other parts of the sentence depend on the construction of the verb and the noun (...), we must examine the usage of each, whether it is to accompany or replace them, or both, as for instance, pronouns can replace nouns and accompany them, or again, participles can replace verbs and accompany them, and so likewise for the others parts of the sentence. (*Synt.* I 36, 33.9)

Ἐπεὶ οὖν τὰ ὑπόλοιπα τῶν μερῶν τοῦ λόγου ἀνάγεται πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ῥήματος καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος σύνταξιν (...), δεόν διαλαβεῖν περὶ ἐκάστου τοῦ τε συμπαραλαμβανομένου καὶ τοῦ ἀνθυπαγομένου ἢ καὶ συμπαραλαμβανομένου, ὡς αἱ ἀντωνυμῖαι ἀντὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ μετὰ τῶν ὀνομάτων, καὶ ἔτι αἱ μετοχαὶ ἀντὶ τῶν ῥημάτων καὶ μετὰ τῶν ῥημάτων, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξῆς μερῶν τοῦ λόγου.

- In the domain of the noun,
 - The function of accompaniment is fulfilled by the article above all. More specifically, the article indicates that the noun which it accompanies refers to something already known (προϋφεστῶσαν γνῶσιν, 41.12); this is its anaphoric value shared by the prepositive article: ὁ ἄνθρωπος “the man (already known)” and the ‘postpositive’ article (for us the ‘relative pronoun’), ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὃς ἦλθεν “the man **who** has come”.
 - As its name indicates, the *pro-noun* (ἀντ-ωνυμία) has the function of replacing the noun: “Dionysius came. *He / this one* spoke”. But some of the Greek pronouns (demonstratives, possessives) can also be used as determinants of the noun, and so with an accompanying function: “A grammarian came. *This* grammarian spoke”.
- In the domain of the verb,
 - The function of accompaniment belongs naturally to the *ad-verb* (ἐπίρρημα), which is to the verb what the adjective is to the substantive: a term added (ἐπι-) to the verb (ῥήμα), a more fundamental (θεματικώτερον) constituent than it, and whose presence it presupposes, since a phrase like “Dionysius wrote well” can be reduced to “Dionysius wrote” but not to “*Dionysius well”.¹⁹ Its position in the hierarchy subordinate to the verb is a defining feature of the adverb, and can be expressed in other terms: the

19 *Synt.* I 27, 27.6: τὸ ἐπίρρημα δυνάμει ἐστὶ ῥήματος ἐπιθετικῆς σύνταξης, “the adverb is potentially an adjective constructed with a verb”, cf. *Adv.* 120.19–122.27. The presence of

adverb predicates (*κατηγορεῖ*, *Adv.* 120.19) the forms of the verb, that is, brings a complement to the main verbal predicate.

- The function of replacement is fulfilled by the *participle* (*μετοχή*), a form with nominal inflection constructed on a verbal root, which puts its noun-like morphosyntax in the service of verbal expression. If Agamemnon fought (*ἐπολέμησεν*), and then vanquished (*ἐνίκησεν*), a syntactic rule forbids juxtaposing the two verbs in asyndeton **Ἀγαμέμνων ἐπολέμησεν ἐνίκησεν* “*Agamemnon fought vanquished”, but the participle, by replacing the first verb, solves the difficulty: *Ἀγαμέμνων πολεμήσας ἐνίκησεν* “Agamemnon, **having fought**, vanquished”,²⁰ for nothing prevents the juxtaposition of two declined words in asyndeton: *ὁ ξανθὸς Μενέλαος ἐπολέμησεν* “the blond Menelaus fought”.²¹ We can also see that, although it came about to replace the verb, the participle, thanks to its nominal inflection, acquired the ability to accompany the noun (*Ἀγαμέμνων πολεμήσας*) and the verb (*πολεμήσας ἐνίκησεν*) simultaneously; this latter capacity of the participle is indicated succinctly in *Synt.* I 36, cited earlier: “the participles can replace the verbs and accompany them”.
- Without limitation of domain, the *preposition* (*πρόθεσις*) is a pre-posed accompaniment. Its particularity, intrinsic to its status as a part of the sentence, resides in its double syntactic ability: employed as an autonomous word in juxtaposition (*παράθεσις*), or fused to the word which follows in composition (*σύνθεσις*). The function of accompaniment is thus diversified by sharing it out between syntax properly speaking (juxtaposition of autonomous words) and word-formation (composition).

At the last count, all these parts of the sentence appear subject, in their syntactic employment, to a small number of distributive principles: the noun and the verb are naturally predisposed to associate with each other to form the

σύνταξις in the description of the adverbial function highlights the great relevance of the syntactic criterion when trying to identify the adverb.

20 The example is taken from *Sch.* Dion. T., 415.27. On the service rendered by the participle, see also *Synt.* I 136–137.

21 This last example highlights in passing that there is, among the nouns, a sub-class which has the purpose of accompanying other nouns and that, therefore, while Alexandrian grammar did not isolate the adjective to make it an autonomous part of the sentence, it nonetheless recognised a difference in function between two kinds of noun, later called substantive and adjective noun. It is only because *ξανθός* is of the second kind that it can be juxtaposed with *Μενέλαος*, which is of the first. It will be noted that ‘substantive’, as a designation of a kind of noun, is foreign to Alexandrian grammar, and it is only for convenience that we here use this anachronistic term.

predicative kernel of the sentence; the participle and the pronoun serve the function of replacement; and the article, adverb and preposition function as accompaniments. All, that is, except one: the conjunction stands alone, its specific function being not to assemble words into sentences, but to join sentences together (*Synt.* I 14, 17.5).

3.3 *Transposition (μετάληψις)*

The functional scheme just presented may give the impression of a somewhat mechanistic analysis of syntactic functioning: one place for each word (part of the sentence), one word for each place—the taxonomy (μερισμός) conditions the syntax. But a corrective to this mechanism is manifested when the syntax dislodges the μερισμός, that is, when one word changes its class as a result of its construction. A typical case is that of the article deprived of the noun which it normally accompanies, for instance *Il.* I 12 ὁ γὰρ ἦλθε θοὰς ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν “he [lit. ‘the’] came to the swift ships of the Achaeans”, where, according to Apollonius (*Synt.* II 31), the ellipsis of the name Χρύσης from the base phrase ὁ γὰρ Χρύσης ἦλθε . . . (lit. “the Chryses came . . .”) has caused a transposition (μετάληψις) of the article into a pronoun. At § 33 of the same book, Apollonius enumerates other cases of “parts of the sentence which, abandoning the construction which is proper to them (μετατεθέντα τῆς ἰδίας συντάξεως) to assume the [functions] proper to another, receive the appellation of the latter”: nouns (adjectives or appellatives) becoming adverbs—κάλλιστα “very well”, ἰδίᾳ “in private”, κύκλῳ “around in a circle”—participles becoming nouns—εἰμαρμένη “destiny”—etc. The transposition thus introduces an element of fluidity into the syntactic mechanism.

3.4 *Syntactic Relations*

The syntactic aptitudes just mentioned evidently do not suffice to describe how words are arranged into sentences: we still have to specify *which relations* hold words in construction. It is striking that at the level of elaboration of syntactic reflection observed in Apollonius, the vocabulary for relations between words in construction is excessive and imprecise. The *Syntax* gives us the impression that the formation of a sentence occurs by *accretion*—one word, then another, and so on immediately being added to those which are already present in the basic minimal utterance. Instructive in this regard is the exercise which Apollonius conducts (*Synt.* I 14) on the sentence ὁ αὐτὸς ἄνθρωπος ὀλισθήσας σήμερον κατέπεσεν, lit. “the same man, having slipped today, fell down”, devised especially so that all the parts of the sentence (in Greek) are represented once each. The exercise consists in deconstructing the sentence piece by piece to highlight that nothing is indispensable to it except the minimal NOUN + VERB

kernel ἄνθρωπος ἔπεσεν, lit. “(a) man fell”, which constitutes by itself a finite sentence. The exercise is certainly artificial and is given as such, but it suggests the idea that the natural construction of a sentence follows the reverse path: that, onto the base of a minimal predicative utterance, one ‘adds’ other parts of the sentence, depending on the sense to be expressed. Thus the noun ἄνθρωπος “man” is enriched with the anaphoric article ὁ “the” if the man being spoken of is already known. The verb employed by Apollonius here is προσλαμβάνει—the noun “takes additionally” an article. This verb, understood literally, simply indicates that there is also, beside the noun, an extra word; it is interesting to note that προσλαμβάνω is also used frequently to mean that a word is augmented by a letter, a simple phonetic addition affecting only the signifier. The verb, then, describes the occurrence of a supplementary segment in a chain, without naming the specific relation it entertains with the pre-existing segment which “takes it additionally”.

The corollary of this *additive* conception of syntax is that the immediate proximity of two words implies a relation between them—that the first “goes with” / “has a bearing on” / “is connected to”²² the second. We find a striking example of this in *Synt.* III 72, where Apollonius treats as ADVERB + INFLECTED PRONOUN “constructions” the sequences εἶθε ὑμεῖς / ὑμᾶς / ὑμῶν “ah! if you (nomin./ acc./ gen.)” in εἶθε ὑμεῖς ἀκούοιτε “if you would only listen!”, εἶθε ὑμᾶς θεάσαιτο “if he would only look at you!”, εἶθε ὑμῶν ἀκούοι “if he would only listen to you!”. Such an analysis is not isolated;²³ it doubtless betrays a rather naive first interpretation of syntax as a concatenation of words side by side. But it also occurs to Apollonius to dispel an illusion, in showing that effective relationships can be established at a distance; thus, in *Synt.* I 100–104, he shows with great rigour that, in the sequence ὁ ἐμὸς πατήρ, lit. “the my father”, the article ὁ “the”, contrary to Habron’s claim, is attached not to the first-person pronoun ἐμ- present in the possessive ἐμός which it immediately precedes, but to the noun πατήρ—a crucial demonstration to confirm the general rule that pronouns do not enter into σύνταξις with an article placed before them (I 95–97). From this it is clear that, for Apollonius, the syntactic and syntagmatic levels remain distinct.

22 Rather unspecific notions expressed by various verbs and little or not at all differentiated from a semantic perspective cf. Lallot [1997] I, 67.

23 The plan of Book IV of the *Syntax* is another example. The list of possible sequences PRÉPOSITION + such or such parts of the sentence shows clearly that, by “construction”, one must understand here the material contiguity of the preposition with the word that follows, even if it is an article (IV 54), without asking if any kinds of rapport other than contiguity might be established between two contiguous words, and, if so, of what nature.

The fundamental constituents of the minimal phrase *NOUN + VERB* can therefore be enriched with various determinations by the addition of supplementary words (articles, adverbs, prepositions) or suppletives (participles and pronouns). But what about the minimal phrase itself: how is its relational structure described? Perhaps surprisingly for a tradition which produced the conceptual and terminological *subject-predicate* couple (Aristotle's ὑποκείμενον-κατηγορούμενον),²⁴ the relation of a noun subject to a verb predicate is not designated by any specific terminology. Apollonius describes a sentence like ἄνθρωπος περιπατεῖ, "(a) man walks", as the construction of a noun in the direct case (πτῶσις εὐθεῖα, the usual designation of the nominative) with a verb in a relation of σύννοδος. The word σύννοδος is attested only in the *Syntax*, where it appears 12 times (plus three times in its verbal derivative συνοδεύω); it is also applied to the relation of the article to the noun (116.7), of the particle ᾧ to the vocative which follows it (66.7), and of the accusative to the transitive verb which requires it (121.1), to the junction of the two elements in a compound (450.10; cf. 447.1 and 482.8), or even to the lack of distinction between genders in the morphology of the noun (35.13). It is therefore a rather unspecific term which, like many others compounded in συν-, means that the words "go together". Meanwhile, in the privileged phrase σύννοδος τοῦ ῥήματος (40.17; 213.4; 451.7; 472.5, 8 and 9), the unremarkable σύννοδος seems to acquire a precise meaning: here it designates the agreement in person and number (between a verb and its subject) founded on the co-reference between nominal and verbal person, characteristic of the minimal phrasal kernel. It is worth citing here the passage of the *Syntax* where Apollonius explains the fact that, in the canonical list of the parts of the sentence, the pronoun does not immediately follow the noun,

despite the fact that the pronoun is substituted for the noun so that, in being connected to the verb in turn, it holds the sentence together. An illuminating explanation would be that the pronouns were invented to agree with the verbs. (I 19, 20.3)

εἶγε κατὰ ἀμοιβὴν τοῦ ὀνόματος πάλιν σὺν τῷ ῥήματι συνέχει τὸν λόγον. Περὶ οὗ ἂν προφανῆς ἀπόδειξις γένοιτο ἥδε, ὡς ἔνεκα τῆς τῶν ῥημάτων συνοδου ἐπειροήθησαν αἱ ἀντωνυμῖαι.

This is an allusion to the account given in *Synt.* II 40–44 of the origin of the pronouns, invented to replace nouns incapable of entering into σύννοδος with

24 Cf. Arist. *Cat.* 3, 1b9–15.

verb-forms in the first and second persons. The τῶν ῥημάτων σύνοδος ‘σύνοδος of the verbs’ thus designates here the specific agreement between subject and verb, in which the nominative form, associated with the verb in the same person (σὺν τῷ ῥήματι), holds a λόγος together (συνέχει τὸν λόγον), that is, generates a sentence.

Is this to say that Apollonius fully apprehended and rigorously outlined the positions of the subject and predicate? Another passage provides the answer to that question. Reasoning upon classroom examples, the grammarian asks himself, When are the names of the letters accompanied or not by the article? It should be said immediately that, according to a modern analysis, the absence of the article in τοῦτο α ἔστί “this is (an) alpha” and its presence in τὸ α δίχρονόν ἐστι “the alpha admits of two quantities” are explained by the fact that “alpha” is a predicate in the first sentence and the subject in the second. What does Apollonius tell us?

The letters in both the direct case and the accusative can be employed either without or with the article.

- 1) Without the article, when we say τοῦτο α ἔστί, τοῦτο β ἔστί “this is (an) alpha, that is (a) beta”, with the direct case understood, as when we say τοῦτο ἄνθρωπός ἐστι “this is (a) man (nomin.)”, τοῦτο ἵππος ἐστί “that is (a) horse (nomin.)”. This we learn also from the agreement of the verb, which goes with the direct case. Now the accusative: τοῦτο α προσαγορεύει ὁ διδάσκαλος, τοῦτο β “the teacher calls this ‘alpha’, that ‘beta’”. Here the transitivity of the verb applies to τοῦτο β “that ‘beta’” and the letter is conceived in the accusative, as if we should say: τοῦτον τὸν χαρακτήρα σημαίνει ὁ διδάσκαλος “the teacher is indicating this letter (acc.)”.
- 2) With the article. When we say τὸ α δίχρονόν ἐστι “the alpha admits of two quantities”, τὸ α τελικόν ἐστι θηλυκῶν, καὶ οὐδετέρων “the alpha is a final letter of feminines and neuters”, and, in the accusative: τὸ α ἀπήλειψεν ὁ παῖς “the child rubbed out the alpha”, this corresponds to τὸν χαρακτήρα ἀπήλειψε “he rubbed out the letter (acc.)”. (*Synt.* I 46)

Τὰ τοίνυν στοιχεῖα ἐν εὐθείᾳ καὶ αἰτιατικῇ ἤτοι χωρὶς ἄρθρου λέγεται ἢ σὺν ἄρθρω. καὶ χωρὶς μὲν ἄρθρου, ἡνίκα φαμέν οὕτω, τοῦτο α ἔστί, τοῦτο β ἔστί, νῦν εὐθείας νοουμένης, ὡς εἰ καὶ τις φαίη τοῦτο ἄνθρωπός ἐστι, τοῦτο ἵππος ἐστί. διδάσκει καὶ ἡ τοῦ ῥήματος σύνοδος, συντεινούσα ἐπὶ τὴν εὐθείαν. κατὰ δὲ αἰτιατικὴν, τοῦτο α προσαγορεύει ὁ διδάσκαλος, τοῦτο β, πάλιν ἐκ τῆς μεταβάσεως τοῦ ῥήματος συντεινούσης ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦτο β καὶ τοῦ στοιχείου νοουμένου κατ’ αἰτιατικὴν, ὡς εἰ καὶ οὕτως ἀποφαινοίμεθα, τοῦτον τὸν

χαρακτήρα σημαίνει ὁ διδάσκαλος. σὺν δὲ ἄρθρω, ὅτε οὕτω φαμέν, τὸ α δίχρονόν ἐστι, τὸ α τελικόν ἐστι θηλυκῶν, καὶ οὐδετέρων, καὶ ἔτι κατ' αἰτιατικὴν, τὸ α ἀπῆλειπεν ὁ παῖς, ὡς εἰ καὶ τὸν χαρακτήρα ἀπῆλειψε.

I commented on this in Lallot [1997] II, p. 33: “It is particularly clear throughout this passage that Apollonius is reasoning exclusively in terms of *case*, and never of *function*. Neither in τοῦτο ἄνθρωπος, nor later in τοῦτο α . . . , τοῦτο β, is he careful to distinguish between a subject or complement term (τοῦτο) and a predicate term (ἄνθρωπος, α, β): all that interests him is the fact that the co-referent terms are in the same case. The comparison he proposes between τοῦτο β (object + attribute of the object) and τοῦτον τὸν χαρακτήρα (nominal object group) is particularly convincing in this regard; for another discussion of the syntactic problem posed by sequences of two accusatives (object + attribute), see III 177. From these examples may be grasped the specific technical limitations—fully evidenced by Donnet [1967b]—which characterise a theory of construction content to observe the syntagmatic assemblages of *forms* (inflected or not), without taking into account their syntactic *functions*.”

That said, Apollonius is not content to describe the usages of the letters with and without the article: in *Synt.* I 48, he explains *why* these things are as they are. When the teacher says τοῦτο α ἐστίν, he is revealing to the child what an alpha is, an object not yet known to him, and thus one which cannot be designated by a syntagm with an article (*‘the alpha’*). But when he says, with the article, τὸ α τελικόν ἐστι θηλυκῶν τε καὶ οὐδετέρων “the alpha is a final letter in feminines and neuters”, he is teaching the student something about the alpha already known—the anaphoric article is therefore in its correct place. This explanation is exactly right: even if the matter is not expressed in the general and abstract terms we might prefer, nonetheless, via the schoolroom scenario demanded by the choice of examples, Apollonius well delineates the distinction between the attributive statement where “alpha” is a predicate and the statement in which it is subject to a new predication. This is a reason, then, to refine our negative judgements which deny to Apollonius any sensitivity as to function: instead we must learn to perceive, behind formulations still weakly theorised, the fundamental justness of his intuitions.

4 The Syntactic Domains

Considering the *Περὶ συντάξεως* as it has survived, how might we represent Apollonius’ descriptive procedure—its set of problems and its structure? In other words, is there a ‘system’ of syntax in it? The question, already posed

by Ludwig Lange [1852], admits no single answer perfectly satisfying in all details: Apollonian discourse sometimes follows a winding path. Nevertheless we can find, in its syntagmatics, a major articulation between the traditional domains—the noun and the verb. The first is treated in the first two books of the *Syntax*, which are devoted respectively to the (definite) article, as the accompaniment of a noun, and to the pronoun, as its replacement. The domain of the verb is examined in Book III. Which questions does Apollonius ask in these three books? And what answers does he give?

4.1 *The Domain of the Noun: Article and Pronoun*

We have already mentioned the set of problems at the basis of Book I: what use does the article serve? And when is it added to the noun? The answer to the first question is clear: the noun takes an article when its referent is determined by prior knowledge, whatever the source of this knowledge—immediately prior context (the most common case: ‘the man’ = the one mentioned; ‘the others’ = the totality of the set complementary to the one mentioned; cf. the justification of the presence of an article before the partitive genitive (I 58); acquired knowledge (cf. *supra*: ‘the alpha’ = the object of an earlier lesson; ‘the tyrannicide’, a unique historical person), cultural convention (‘the Poet’ = above all, Homer), etc. This value of the article, anaphoric in the broader sense, has certain corollaries: if I should say *ὁ δοῦλός μου*, lit. “the slave of me”, the person listening to me, even if he knows nothing already, will understand that I’m speaking of the only slave that I have, since the regular usage of the anaphoric article tells him that there might be no hesitation as to the identity of this referent, and this certain identification necessarily implies that the slave is unique. Conversely, *δοῦλός μου*, lit. “(a) slave of me”, without anaphoric article in Greek, implies that the slave I’m speaking of may not be the only one. We see by this example that, even more than its anaphoric movement (towards the already-known), what characterises the article semiotically is the *perfect determination* of the referent of the articulated noun. This is true to such an extent that, paradoxically, the article can indicate an anaphora ‘by anticipation’ (*προληπτικώτερον πρόσωπον ἀναφέρειν*, I 44), and thus by opposition to the already-known. The example is that of a juridical prescription like *ὁ τυραννοκτονήσας τιμάσθω* “let the tyrannicide be honoured”, that is to say, any possible tyrannicide in the future; it must be admitted here that, although the anaphora operates on a virtual level, it identifies perfectly, by its future act, whoever will be *the* tyrannicide.

We can observe a remarkable variety of contextual anaphora in the operation of the *postpositive* article, our ‘relative pronoun’, in modern Greek *ἀναφορική αντωνυμία*. Etymologically different from the prepositive (a fact unknown to

the ancients), the postpositive formally resembles it in the nominative case—*ὃς* compared to *ὁ* (masc. sg.), *ἥ* compared to *ἡ* (fem. sg.), *οἱ αἱ* compared to *οἱ αἱ* (masc./fem. pl.)—and, in certain usages (Homer, Herodotus) certain forms of the latter adopt the function of the former. No more was needed for the relative to be designated as an ‘article’, and this designation indeed does justice to its function, since it is articulated to a noun whose anaphora it assures. Its particular syntax (the construction with a new verb which it introduces, now in a new clause), is described with great precision by Apollonius (I 142–157), who breaks it down into two constituents—a conjunction (which explains the appearance of the new phrase) and an anaphoric pronoun (which accounts for the anaphora)—*παρεγένετο ὁ γραμματικὸς ὃς διελέξατο* “there came the grammarian **who** argued” = *γραμματικὸς παρεγένετο καὶ οὗτος διελέξατο* “a grammarian came **and he** argued”.

The underlying presence of a pronoun in the postpositive article is one index of the functional proximity of article and pronoun. There are others. Thus the pronoun (studied in Book II of the *Syntax*)²⁵ not only replaces a noun, but a noun *accompanied by the article* (I 25; II 30); we have also seen that the article, without the noun, is transposed into a pronoun. What, then, is a pronoun? Without attempting a complete definition here, we will underline one of its genetic characteristics at the syntactic level. Taking the tri-personal verb paradigm *περιπατῶ—περιπατεῖς—περιπατεῖ* “I-walk—you-walk—(s)he-walks”, it is stated that a noun-verb phrase like *Δίων περιπατεῖ* “Dion walks” has no equivalent in the first two persons. According to Apollonius, this is because the noun is of the third person and is therefore excluded from construction with the first and second persons of the verb, *περιπατῶ—περιπατεῖς*: the pronouns *ἐγώ* and *σύ* were invented to replace it in this context. Once the category of the pronoun had been created for the first two persons under a syntactic constraint, the conditions of its use (*i.e.*, the necessary presence of the referent) implied as a semiotic corollary that every pronoun is deictic: in this capacity, the pronominal category was extended to the third person, where the pronoun could be anaphoric²⁶ (*Synt.* II 8)—a property that brings it closer to the article.

Although pronominal syntax is not differentiated from nominal syntax (*Synt.* II 29), it is in the semiotic domain that the originality of the pronoun is affirmed. On the one hand, thanks to the deictic anchoring specific to it, the pronoun assures its reference the greatest possible determination—even

25 We also make use of Apollonius' treatise *Περὶ ἀντωνυμίας* (GG II 1, 3–116).

26 In theory, anaphora and deixis are strictly separate, the first being of a mnemonic nature, the second visual. Nonetheless, Apollonius connects them by describing anaphora as a “deixis of the mind”, *δειξις τοῦ νοῦ* (*Synt.* II 12).

more than the proper name, which is vulnerable to homonymy (I 121). The power of the pronoun is diminished, however, when the person it designates is absent; this is the case, for instance, in a letter, where the referents of *I* and *you* are identifiable only by anaphoric recourse to the proper names appearing in the initial address “Dionysius to Tryphon, greetings!” (II 11). On the other hand, thanks to its characteristic double inflection, both tonic and atonic, the pronoun allows us to distinguish ‘absolute’ reference—*ἔπαισέ με* “he struck me”—from contrastive (*ἀντιδιαστολή*) reference—*ἐμὲ αὐτὸν ἔπαισε* “it’s me that he struck”. Pronominal syntax also permits the expression of reflexivity, when the agent and patient of a process are conflated. Classical Greek uses composite pronouns (*ἐμ-/σε-/ἐ-αυτόν*) for this, although Homeric Greek lacks such forms. An examination of Homeric passages involving reflexive constructions prompts Apollonius to deny the existence of any specifically reflexive form in the poet; the technical study of this question (which has been difficult and controversial since antiquity) provides a nice example of the close overlap between philological procedure (the interpretation of written forms, problems of accentuation) and syntactic analysis (see *Synt.* II 91–102). Apollonius again highlights an interesting function of the pronoun, in its anaphoric form: that of introducing some form of connectedness into a story. He gives the example of *Il.* 13. 1 and 3:

Ζεὺς δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν Τρώας τε καὶ Ἕκτορα νηυσὶ πέλασσαν, (...)
... αὐτὸς δὲ πάλιν τρέπεν ὄσσε φαεινῶ... (*Synt.* II 8)

When Zeus let the Trojans and Hector approach the ships, (...) **he** turned away (from them) his shining eyes...

Apollonius observes that

if someone should replace (v. 3) αὐτὸς “he” by Ζεὺς, the two sentences about Zeus would no longer be connected, but this would mark the beginning of a new sentence. One can say as much of all the pronouns used in this way, for it is certainly possible to put nouns in place of anaphorics, but then one modifies the utterance. (*Synt.* II 11, 135.6)

εἰ γὰρ τις ἀντὶ τοῦ αὐτὸς δὲ πάλιν τρέπεν ὄσσε φαεινῶ ἀντιθῆ τὸ Ζεὺς, οὐ συνάξει τοὺς δύο λόγους κατὰ τοῦ Διός, ὡς ἀρχὴν δὲ λόγου ποιήσεται. ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ λόγος ἐπὶ ἀπασῶν τῶν οὕτως παραλαμβανόμενων· παρὸν γὰρ ἀντὶ τῶν ἀναφορικῶν τὰ ὀνόματα θέσθαι καὶ τὰ τοῦ λόγου ἀλλοιωῖσαι.

Here the grammarian goes beyond the topic of simple intraphrasal congruence to concern himself with what we would call ‘text grammar’.

4.2 *The Domain of the Verb*

4.2.1 The Programme

The verb, identified since Plato as one of the two pillars of the sentence, is also the part of the sentence with the richest and most diverse morphology. As a result, Apollonius builds his programme of study of verb constructions (*Synt.* III 54, 319.3) on the various verbal categories (or “accidents”) as distinguished by their *morphology*:

We must now speak, from a general point of view, of the construction of verbs, which, as it is very diverse, deserves detailed treatment. Here are the points of construction we must explain:

- 1) the moods (ἐγκλίσεις) which affect (the verb);
- 2) the tenses (χρόνοι) which form the subdivisions of the moods;
- 3) the diathesis (διάθεσις), which also affects (the verb), active or passive, as well as the middle diathesis, which is situated between the two, without being reducible to either;
- 4) the persons (πρόσωπα) attached (to the verb), whether they are represented completely, partially or not at all;
- 5) the question of whether all (the verbs) are compatible with the two diatheses, active and passive;
- 6) which are (the verbs) to be attached to oblique cases, and if the choice of case is indifferent or obeys a strict distribution.

There are still other problems of construction, more specific than those I have just enumerated: we will solve these as they appear.

A vast programme, which Apollonius treats in three main parts: 1) moods, tenses and persons (III 55–146), 2) diatheses (III 147–157), and 3) construction of cases with verbs (III 158–190). What is striking in this study, when we examine it in detail, is the extent to which morphological analysis and its subdivisions impact upon the syntactic reflection and condition its conduct. Hence, the long section devoted to the infinitive, with which Apollonius chooses to begin the study of moods (III 55–87), includes detailed discussions aiming to demonstrate that both the infinitive and the impersonals δεῖ and χρή are verbs, and not adverbs. These preoccupations reflect a state of grammatical thought in which the criteria for assigning words to parts of the sentence are still flexible, and decisions about μερισμός remain controversial: should one class the infinitive, δεῖ and χρή with the adverbs because they lack inflection, without

being either prepositions or conjunctions? It is within the framework of these taxonomic problems that Apollonius will develop his argument, which is partly syntactic,²⁷ allowing him to establish his position and reach a decision.

4.2.2 The Infinitive, ‘The Most General’ Mood; Compositionality

Because the infinitive lacks grammatical person and may accept an article (τὸ φιλολογεῖν, lit. “the to study”), Apollonius calls it the “name of the act” (ὄνομα πράγματος, *Adv.* 129.17), or again “the most general mood” (γενικωτάτη ἔγκλισις, *Synt.* III 59, 324.10) of the verb. It is therefore a verb, one which conveys nothing more (that is what its name means: ἀπαρέμφατον) than the name of an act and which, in this capacity, is found as the semantic complement of modal verbs (*to want, to wish, to order...*) which, by themselves, are “as if empty” (ὡσπερὶ κενά, *Synt.* III 58, 324.2). This analysis leads Apollonius to semantically break down the Greek verb moods (indicative, optative, imperative) into a modal operator (of assertion/wish/injunction) followed by an infinitive: περιπατῶ ‘I walk’ = ὠρισάμην περιπατεῖν “I claim to walk” / περιπατοῦμι “may I walk” = ηὐξάμην περιπατεῖν “I wish to walk” / περιπάτει “walk!” = προσέταξα περιπατεῖν “I order [X] to walk” (*Synt.* III 61, 327.9). These semic analyses reveal the most general phenomenon of compositionality (the applications of which are manifold) of several words revealed to be analysable into developed formulas, which could be seen as their underlying syntax: Ἐκτορίδης = “Ἐκτορος υἱός, γοργότερος = μᾶλλον γοργός, etc. (*ibid.*, 327, 1).

Book III of the *Syntax* shows that, for Apollonius, compositionality in the domain of the verb is a syntactic question of the first rank. Having listed the accidents of the verb—eight according to the *Techne*: mood, diathesis, type, figure, number, person, tense, conjugation—he asks, How are they combined among themselves? The global inflectional paradigm of a Greek verb—for instance τύπτω, as it appears in Supplement IV to the *Techne* (GG I 1, 125–132)—shows that not all of the theoretically possible combinations of tense, mood, diathesis and person are realised in practice. Apollonius examines the matter methodically and, as always, devotes himself to giving a rational explanation. The principal problems that he meets are the following:

- Whereas the indicative offers a rich paradigm of temporal and personal forms, it must be noted that the three other finite moods—optative (*Synt.* III 98–100), imperative (101–102) and subjunctive²⁸ (137–139)—are not present

27 Morphology also plays a part: the invocation of the augmented forms ἔδει and ἐχρήν is a strong argument in favour of the verbal status of δεῖ and χρή (*Synt.* III 73).

28 The subjunctive is not a mood like the others: it consists in the product constructed (σύνταξις) by a conjunction (especially ἐάν or ἵνα) with indicative forms, which next

in all the tenses attested for the indicative, while the imperative (103–115) does not exist for all persons. Why? The responses are here of a pragmatic nature: wishes and commands are not easily compatible with the past, and commands can only be addressed to a second person—hence the temporal defectiveness of the optative, and the temporal and personal defectiveness of the imperative. But that is only a first, rough approximation of the answer. In the domain of tense, the morphology contains optative and imperative forms constructed on the temporal stems of the perfect and aorist, stems which, in the indicative, refer to the past. Apollonius admits, then, that there are orders and wishes in the past (*παρωχημένον*), but in paraphrasing these forms, he highlights their perfective (*συντέλεια*) aspectual component; thus his description of the paradoxical combinations MOOD + TENSE leads him to the category of aspect, although still imperfectly and without naming it.

- Another paradox is offered by injunctions in the first and third persons: *φεύγωμεν* “let us flee”, *ἀλλ’ ἄγ’ ἐγὼν . . . ἐξείπω* “Well! let me say . . .” (*Il.* 9.60), *λεγέτω* “let him say”. This last form, which in Greek is morphologically an imperative, is as it were reduced to the norm by Apollonius, for whom it combines two persons, a third and a second, the latter inherent in the imperative:

Forms like *λεγέτω*, then, convey a command to be carried out by persons who are not present, and necessarily a second person must take his turn as a relayer of the command, since, as we have said, a command without a second person is impossible (III 115, 369.2, Householder’s translation)

Τὸ δὴ οὖν *λεγέτω* καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα σημαίνει ἀπόντων προσώπων πρόσταξιν, ἀναγκαίως δευτέρου προσώπου ἐναλλασσομένως παραλαμβανομένου εἰς μετάδοσιν τῆς προστάξεως, ἐπεὶ πάλιν ἢ πρόσταξις ἐκτὸς δευτέρου προσώπου ἀσύστατος ἐστίν.

As for a first-person like *ἐξείπω*, which is morphologically not an imperative, and where no latent second person might be found, Apollonius invents a distinct modality for it, which he calls the “suggestive” (*ὑποθετικόν*).²⁹ The suggestive mood, limited to the first person and expressing suggestions that one

undergo morphological modification. In the formation of the subjunctive, morphology and syntax are inextricably linked (*Synt.* III 132–135).

- 29 According to the modern description, forms of the type *ἐξείπω*, *φεύγωμεν* are subjunctives (with a hortative force). This analysis is not possible for the ancient grammarian, for whom the subjunctive is, as its name indicates, a subordinate (*ὑποτακτική*) mood, including in its form a conjunction (cf. previous note).

makes to oneself, stands in complementary distribution with the imperative, itself limited to the second person (III 111). In the plural (φεύγωμεν), the analysis of the suggestive mood, associated with the description of the first person plural as grouping the first singular with the second or third (*Synt.* III 38), gives rise to a subtle psychological interpretation of the injunction: by using the first plural “we”, the enjoining person associates himself with the addressee and so avoids the aggressiveness of the imperative mood. Thus, when Sthenelus (*Il.* 5.249) says to Diomedes ἀλλ’ ἄγε δὴ χαζώμεθ’ ἐφ’ ἵππων “come on, let us retreat on our chariots”, it is

so as to avoid acting as a superior person and giving an order by saying “retreat!” (*Synt.* III 109, 363.2)

ἵνα μὴ ἐν τῷ ὑπερέχοντι προσώπῳ προστάξῃ ἐν τῷ χάζου.

The grouping (σύλληψις) of persons in the first person plural is a *sui generis* case of compositionality, internal to the same accident, that of person.

4.2.3 Diatheses

The verbal category of diathesis is not an invention of the grammarians. It is tempting to follow Benveniste’s suggestion ([1966a] 67 f.) that this category underpins the three Aristotelian categories of ποιεῖν “to make” (ACTIVE), πάσχειν “to suffer” (PASSIVE), κεῖσθαι “to be in a position” (MIDDLE). Among the Stoics (D. L. VII 64–65), it forms the basis of the classification of the predicates into “direct” (ὀρθά, ex. ἀκούει, ὀρᾷ, διαλέγεται), “reversed” (ὑπτία, ex. ἀκούομαι, ὀρώμαι), “neuter” (οὐδέτερα, ex. φρονεῖ, περιπατεῖ), “reflexive” (lit. “anti-passive” ἀντιπεπονθότα, ex. κείρεται “he shaves (himself)”). It will be noted that, even if Greek morphology has a certain place in this classification (ἀκούει / ἀκούομαι), it is not the basis of it (διαλέγεται!), as the descriptions recorded by Diogenes confirm: the direct predicates are those which are “constructed with an oblique case”, the reversed “with the passive particle”,³⁰ the neuters “with neither of the two”, and the reflexives are those which “being reversed, are active”. Except the reflexive, all these descriptions are syntactic. We will not be surprised, then, that Apollonius, whose debt to the Stoa nobody doubts, devotes a section of his *Syntax* to diatheses.

30 “Passive particle” (παθητικὸν μόριον) must designate the preposition ὑπό which introduces the complement of agent. Hicks’ translation in the Loeb volume (*Diogenes Laertius* II, p. 175), “those construed with *the passive voice*”, is certainly to be rejected.

The term itself, ‘diathesis’, merits some consideration. For Aristotle (*Cat.*, e.g. 8b35), διάθεσις is the substantive corresponding to the middle intransitive verb δικάειμαι “to be in a state”. The word thus designates a state, a disposition (corporal posture, intellectual or moral dispositions, etc.). But disposition, Aristotle also tells us (*Cat.* 6b2), is relative; thus “knowledge is knowledge of something or someone, and position is the position of something or someone (ἡ ἐπιστήμη τινὸς ἐπιστήμη καὶ ἡ θέσις τινὸς θέσις)”. To put it another way, disposition is a qualified relation³¹ involving one or more terms: knowledge is the knowledge of someone about something, position is that of a body in position. Although this may seem a truism, it is in fact of capital importance for understanding the grammatical category of diathesis. It appears in effect that, for Apollonius, διάθεσις désignates³² the semantic content of the verb, insofar as it establishes the relation between the participants of the signified process, called “persons” (πρόσωπα).³³ Whereas in the *Categories*, we find beside διάθεσις only the middle stative verb δικάειμαι, and never the active transitive διατίθημι “to dispose”, for Apollonius this verb, attested in both the active and the passive, is a key term of verbal syntax. For the grammarian, every verb form possesses, in correlation to its semantic content, a diathetic schema which organises the dispositions of the ‘persons’ involved in the signified process—in other words, the syntax of the nouns (or pronouns) designating the actants. The base couple is here that of the persons respectively disposed and disposing (τὸ διατεθὲν καὶ διατιθὲν πρόσωπον, *Synt.* II 141, 237.4, cf. II 70, 177.15, *Pron.* 45.19, etc.), corresponding referentially to the patient and the agent of a transitive process. This binary schema allows Apollonius to describe the active transitive construction (ἐγὼ σε ἔδειρα “I thrashed you”) and its symmetrical passive (σὺ ἐδάρης ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ “You were thrashed by me”), as well as the particular cases represented by 1) the reflexive construction, where the two ‘persons’ become one (fastened transitivity: ἐμαυτὸν ἔπαισα / ὑπ’ ἐμαυτοῦ ἐπλήγην “I struck myself” / “I was struck by myself”) (*Synt.* III 141), and 2) the intransitive construction which produces a complete sentence without any second actant (περιπατεῖ Τρύφων “Trypho walks”) (*Synt.* III 155). The diathesis is at the same time that of the verb—whether active or passive in form (διάθεσις ἐνεργητική / παθητική)—, that of the “disposing / disposed persons” (διατιθὲν / διατεθὲν πρόσωπον), and that

31 It is a subdivision of quality (*Cat.* 8b27).

32 On the complex polysemy of διάθεσις, see Lambert [1978].

33 Originally “face”, “mask / stage character”, in a grammatical context πρόσωπον can designate, sometimes in a rather poorly differentiated way, both an actant (eventually inanimate) of a process and the ‘grammatical person’ (first, second or third, by reference to their roles in conversation).

of the active / passive construction (σύνταξις ἐνεργητική / παθητική, e.g. *Synt.* III 30, 296.6). The active transitive construction with two actants is described in two passages of the *Syntax*, in similar terms, worth citing here:

I 137, 112.8 : the oblique cases are connected with the direct cases by the intermediary of a verb whose diathesis, originating in the direct case associated with it, passes to the oblique.

αἱ πλάγια συντάσσονται ταῖς εὐθείαις μεταξύ πίπτοντος ῥήματος, οὗ τὰ τῆς διαθέσεως ἐπὶ τὴν πλαγίαν μέτεισιν ἐκ τῆς συνούσης εὐθείας.

II 29, 148. 3: as for the oblique cases, they form the end of a construction which begins with the direct cases, the intermediary verbs indicating the diathesis of each.

αἱ γὰρ μὴν πλάγια τὴν ἐκ τῶν εὐθειῶν σύνταξιν ἀναδέχονται, τῶν μεταξύ πιπτόντων ῥημάτων ἐνδεικνυμένων τὴν ἐκάστης διάθεσιν.

The syntactic schema here described is the following: two case-marked actants are related to one another by an ‘intermediary’ verb (cf. μεταξύ πίπτοντος ῥήματος) which is a sort of conveyor of diathesis between the originating actant, in a direct case, and the receiving actant (cf. ἀναδέχονται), in an oblique case. Between the verb and the direct case, we discover, expressed here by the verb σύνειμι (cf. συνούσης εὐθείας), the privileged relation of σύνδοδος τοῦ ῥήματος signalled earlier (§ 3.4). An active transitive sentence, for instance Δίῳν τύπτει Διονύσιον, “Dion strikes Dionysius”, thus reflects in a quasi-iconic way a scenario of action, oriented dynamically between an active protagonist (Dion who strikes) and a passive protagonist (Dionysius who receives the blows); between the two is the process with its source in the first, crossing over to be applied to the second (cf. ἐπὶ τὴν πλαγίαν μέτεισιν). The verb in the active voice thus shows that it shares the diathesis of the actant in the direct case (σύνδοδος). The passive sentence *Dionysius is struck by Dion*, in which the Stoics saw a “reversed” (ὑπίτιον) predicate, presents the same scenario inverted (as if seen in a mirror), but with the same syntactic cohesion: the verb in the passive diathesis still shares the diathesis of the actant in the direct case, in this instance the man who receives the blows.

There is little to say about the middle (μέση) diathesis. Its name signifies that it occupies an intermediary position between the active and the passive. But what does this mean? It should be noted that Alexandrian grammar for-

mulated nothing very illuminating here. By contrast to the active-passive couple, very neatly sketched as we have just seen, the middle is seen essentially as an anomaly, involving a discord between voice and diathesis. As long as we remain within the active-passive opposition, the active and passive constructions bring into play, among other things, a decisive difference in the morphology of the verb between an active voice in $-\omega/\mu\iota$ and a passive voice in $-\mu\alpha\iota$,³⁴ which form parallel and specialised paradigms, each expressing only one of the two diatheses. But Greek possesses forms which do not conform to this bi-univocal relation between voice and diathesis—active or passive forms with double diathesis (διέφθορα “I destroyed / I am destroyed”, βιάζομαι “I violate / I am violated”), passive forms with an active force (μάχομαι σοι “I fight you”, ποιοῦμαι = ποιῶ, ἐγραψάμην = ἔγραψα), etc. The invention of a ‘middle’ diathesis serves essentially to solve this kind of systemic anomaly as best it can. Curiously, one remarkable value of the middle diathesis is not mentioned by Apollonius: this is the *reflexive* force of middles like κείρομαι “I shave (myself)” (vs. κείρω “I shave (someone else)”). However, this value is addressed by the Stoics, who call it an “anti-passive (ἀντιπεπονητός) predicate” and describe it by saying that “he who shaves himself includes himself”, ἐμπεριέχει ἑαυτὸν ὁ κειρόμενος,³⁵ D. L. VII 65. Apollonius mentions the reflexive (ἀντανεκλώμενον)—or “auto-passive”, αὐτοπαθές—only with regards to the compound pronoun of the series ἐμαυτοῦ “myself”, specialised in the analytical expression of reflexivity (*Synt.* II 141, 237.4).

As for the ‘neutral’ predicate of the Stoics, it is found exactly in the “intransitive” construction of verbs (τὸ ἀδιαβίβαστον τοῦ ῥήματος, *Synt.* III 164, 411.9) of the type πλουτῶ “I am rich” and περιπατῶ “I walk”, which do not need an oblique case to furnish a complete sentence.

34 A conventional designation, by the endings of the 1st sing. of the present indicative, above all a paradigm which evidently presents a great variety of other forms. What is important here is that the morphological analysis of the ancients (and largely also that of the moderns) assigns on principle one diathesis and one alone to a given personal ending: thus, for the 1st sing., an ending in $-\alpha$ (ἔτυψα, τέτυφα) is as a rule active, a form in $-\mu\eta\gamma$, $-(\theta)\eta\gamma$ (ἐτυψάμην, ἐτύφθην, ἔδάρην) as a rule passive.

35 There is a great temptation to compare this Stoic formula to that of Benveniste ([1966b] 172): in the middle diathesis, “(the subject) lies within the process of which it is the agent”. That said, the Alexandrian grammarians, unlike Benveniste, did not see in the middle an ‘internal diathesis’ opposed to the active ‘external diathesis’; they say nothing about pairs like νόμους τιθέναι “to establish the laws”—νόμους τίθεσθαι “to give oneself laws” and admit without qualms that the middle says nothing more than the active.

4.2.4 Syntax of the Cases

Diathesis, as the disposition of the actants relative to the verbal process, is inseparable from the syntax of the cases: we have seen that, among the Stoics, the case constructions furnish the very definition of the direct, reversed and neutral predicates. Apollonius retains this fundamental intuition, and elaborates on it in more detail.

Before dealing with the properly syntactic cases, we must say something about the *vocative*. Among the Stoics (D. L. VII 67), it appears as the characteristic—and unique—constituent of the speech act they call προσαγορευτικὸν πρᾶγμα, the address, exemplified by the Homeric address (*Il.* 9.96) Ἄτρεΐδῃ κύδιστε, ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγάμεμνον “Most glorious son of Atreus, Agamemnon, lord of men”. The vocative is not construed, it signals only that the speaker is addressing the bearer of the name in this case. Apollonius, who insists that nouns are in the third person, describes the vocative as the case which “converts third persons into second, by the apostrophe it directs towards the person which has received the name” (ἐπιστρέφει τὴν ἐκ τῶν τρίτων προσώπων θέσιν εἰς τὸ δεύτερον διὰ τὴν ἐξ αὐτῆς γινομένην ἀντιληψιν τοῦ ἀναδεξαμένου προσώπου τὸ ὄνομα, *Synt.* II 43, 157.2). Beyond this function of pragmatic converter, no more is said about the vocative.

The other cases—direct (εὐθεία), accusative (αἰτιατική), genitive (γενική) and dative (δοτική)—are all concerned with verbal diathesis, and particularly with the transitive diathesis which, in the most fundamental dichotomy, contrasts the direct case to the group of the three others, called “oblique” (πλάγιοι). The direct and the oblique cases, as we have seen, share out the reference to agent and patient in the transitive scenario of the sentence, with an inversion of functions when the verb is passive. In the active, the characteristic case of the patient is the accusative, indicating a total passivity: in Δίῳ τύπτει Διονύσιον “Dion strikes Dionysius”, Dionysius receives blows without giving them. In the passive, although the change of verbal diathesis permits the direct case to be that of the patient, Διονύσιος τύπτεται, the conversion does not extend to allowing the accusative to designate the agent, *Διονύσιος τύπτεται Δίῳνα “*Dionysius is struck Dion”. Instead, the preposition ὑπό (the “passive particle” of the Stoics) is used together with the genitive. Διονύσιος τύπτεται ὑπὸ Δίῳνος “Dionysius is struck by Dion”. Apollonius gives this construction as canonical (*Synt.* III 159) but does not comment on it. We may simply state that it confirms the introduction of the genitive into the syntax of verbal diathesis: perhaps it is evident to the grammarian that this case, whose name suggests the idea of an origin—notably familial (cf. γένος and the alternative name of the genitive, πῶσις πατρική “paternal case”, Dion. T. 31.7)—finds its natural place in the

designation of the agent. A simple supposition.³⁶ However, in its use as an oblique case opposite the direct case in the active transitive schema, the genitive will be given an interpretation that takes agentivity into account.

In fact, it is the group of the three oblique cases that Apollonius describes in terms of diathetic gradation. Indeed, depending on the verbs, the second actant can appear in the accusative, genitive or dative, *e.g.* Δίων τύπτει Διονύσιον / ἀκούει Διονυσίου / μάχεται Διονυσίῳ “Dion strikes / listens to / fights with Dionysius (acc./gen./dat.)”. For Apollonius, the choice of oblique case is not at all arbitrary. In the accusative sentence, the activity is entirely with the direct case, the passivity with the oblique (and equally, *mutatis mutandis*, in the corresponding passive sentence). On the other hand, in the sentence with ἀκούει (and the other verbs of perception), it works differently:

The senses receive influences from without, so that a sound which penetrates the ear affects also our entire body—even against our will: the noises of saws or thunder are hardly sounds that the ear accepts willingly! As we have said, the construction in the genitive gets close to passivity, but we are not dealing with a construction with ὑπό [by], since an activity also exists which results from the diathesis. The sense of touch involves an action, and a passive counter-diathesis upon contact with hot, cold or other [objects]. It is the same for the senses of smell and taste . . . (*Synt.* III 170, 417.3)

Αἱ μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῶν αἰσθήσεων διαθέσεις πείσιν ἀναλαμβάνουσι τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξωθεν, εἶγε καὶ ἀκουσίως ἐπεισιούσα τῇ ἀκοῇ ἢ φωνῇ προσδιατίθησι τὸ ὅλον σῶμα· οἷ τε γὰρ τῶν πριόνων ἦχοι καὶ αἱ βρονταὶ οὐχ ὑπεχομένην ἔχουσι τὴν ἀκοὴν τῇ φωνῇ. τοῦ μέντοι πάθους ἐγγίζει ἢ κατὰ γενικὴν σύνταξιν, καθὼς εἶπομεν· οὐ μέντοι μετὰ τῆς ὑπὸ τὰ τῆς συντάξεως γίνεται, καθὼς καὶ ἐνέργεια σύνεστιν ἢ γενομένη ἐκ τῆς διαθέσεως, ἐπεὶ τὸ ἄπτεσθαι μετ’ ἐνεργείας καὶ ἀντιδιατίθεται διὰ τῆς τῶν θερμῶν ἐπαφῆς ἢ ψυχρῶν ἢ ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων. οὕτως ἔχει τὸ ὀσφραίνεσθαι, τὸ γεύεσθαι . . .

As in the passive turn with ὑπό, but less decisively, the genitive characterises an actant which participates in the active mood and thus introduces into the

36 In the Greek tradition we catch a glimpse of speculations where the presence of the genitive with ὑπό in the passive construction is invoked to establish a proximity between the genitive and the direct case, and so to explain its place immediately after the direct case in the canonical list of cases (*Sch. Dion. T.* 548.37).

transitive scenario a “counter-diathesis” (ἀντιδιάθεσις) which in turn affects the actant in the direct case with a certain measure of passivity. However, the diathetic distribution is not conceived as symmetrical: the dominant activity is with the direct case. It is here that we encounter the dative:

The verbs which refer to a symmetrical diathesis, that is, to the equal activity of two persons directed towards each other, take the dative. This is the case with μάχομαί σοι “I fight with you” (*Synt.* III 185, 427.9)

τὰ ἐξ ἴσης διαθέσεως ἀναγόμενα, τουτέστι τὰ ἐν δυσὶ προσώποις τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντα ἐνέργειαν κατ’ ἀλλήλων, ἐν δοτικῇ καταγίνεται, ὡς ἔχει τὸ μάχομαί σοι.

But why the dative? Apollonius asks himself. He responds thus:

because the passive diathesis has already been assigned to the genitive. Thus, the construction of these verbs will have to give up the two cases [sc. accusative and genitive] and admit only the dative—which is ready [to express] the reciprocity of the diatheses (*Synt.* III 186, 428.13)

ὅτι καὶ ἡ γενικὴ ἐμερίζετο εἰς παθητικὴν διάθεσιν. ἀποστήσεται ἄρα ἀμφοτέρων τῶν πτώσεων ἢ τοιαύτη σύνταξις, καὶ οὐκ ἄλλην ἐπιδέξεται ἢ μόνην τὴν δοτικὴν, ἐξ ἧς καὶ εὐέφικτον τὸ ἀντιπεριποιούμενον τῶν διαθέσεων.

Here we note the two kinds of reasons invoked by Apollonius. The first, which is somewhat surprising to us, is that to express symmetrical diathesis we have no choice but to settle for the last available case in the system; syntax is conceived as the customer of a morphological shop whose limited resources must content its clientele! But its wares are well made, and this is the second reason: the dative is precisely the case of rendering service to another (περιποίησης, cf. *Synt.* III 177–178), and so it may easily (εὐέφικτον) be used to express the reciprocity (ἀντιπεριποίησης) characteristic of symmetrical diathesis.

Armed with this interpretive schema (which not only explains to him the entirety of case syntax, but is intended to account for the case of the second actant in the transitive scenario), Apollonius examines a great variety of verbs whose constructions fit it more or less well. This gives him the opportunity to reveal fine nuances in the semantic content of the verb, for example in distinguishing the diathesis of two verbs “to love”, manifested in their construction: φιλεῖν + accusative designates an active love with no implication of reciprocity, while ἐρᾶν + genitive implies that the lover is the object of a counter-diathesis from the loved one (*Synt.* III 172). Among the verbs of perception, the original-

ity of verbs of sight, construed with the accusative, is linked to a singularity of sight with respect to the other senses:

By contrast (to the other senses), the diathesis of the verb “to see” is highly active and has a stronger transitivity, as witnessed by the verse (*Il.* 23.477):

... and your eyes do not throw forth from your head a very piercing glance.

Our sight is not easily affected by counter-sensations from without, for we can shut out this supplementary diathesis by closing the eyes. (*Synt.* III 171)

“Ἡ γέ μὴν ἐκ τοῦ ὀράν διαθέσις ἐνεργεστάτη ἐστὶν καὶ ἐπὶ πλεόν διαβιβαζομένη, ὡς κάκεινο μαρτυρεῖ, ὡς οὐ τέ τοι ὀξύτατον κεφαλῆς ἐκδέρκετον ὅσσε (Ψ 477). οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰς τὸ ἀντιπαθεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν ἕξωθεν εὐδιάθετος, ἐπεὶ τὸ προσδιατιθὲν εἴργεται ὑπὸ τῆς καταμύσεως τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν.

As this last example clearly illustrates, Apollonian syntax was part of a global explanatory procedure, where Homeric philology and physical theories of vision came together. Indeed, the grammarian does not see language as an abstract system: its schemas (especially syntactic) always exist more or less in a mimetic relation to the objects and scenarios that it describes.

4.3 *Uninflected Words*

Of the eight parts of the sentence distinguished by the Alexandrians, three are invariant (*ἀκλιτα*, “not inflected”): the preposition, the adverb and the conjunction. This negative morphological particularity, noteworthy in an inflected language, does not imply any syntactic affinity between the three classes. At most they have in common that the rules of congruence governing them are never rules of morphological agreement. Position (*τάξις*) and sense (*ἔννοια*) are, on the other hand, major variables here.

4.3.1 The Adverb (*ἐπίρρημα*)

Close to the (adjective) noun, from which it is often derived, the adverb is distinguished by its invariance. We saw earlier that its function, as its name *ἐπίρρημα* indicates, is to accompany the verb in order to give it a semantic complement. The Alexandrian grammarians gave no attention to the adjectival (*‘very grand’*) and adverbial (*‘very simply’*) usages of certain adverbs, although these were very common in their language (*λίαν μέγας, λίαν ἀπλῶς*).

As far as the ad-verbal function, it posed a problem of *μερισμός* for invariant words employed in a non-verbal context. Although the case of adverbs like *yes*, *no*, which form utterances by themselves only in a response, could be easily resolved by positing the ellipsis of the verb of the original question (Γράφεις;—Ναί [γράφω] “Are you writing—Yes [I am writing]”), the problem was more delicate with exclamations such as *ouch!*, *alas!*, which some denied to be adverbs,³⁷ and for which Apollonius claims an adverbial status. His argument, expounded in *Adv.* 121.19, consists in saying that exclamations (ἐπιφωνήματα) are uttered under the effect of an emotion which is something like a “verbal disposition”, διάθεσις ῥηματική; thus, potentially (δυνάμει), when I cry out *ouch!*, my cry is an adverb which predicates the implicit *I am in pain*.

In this example can be seen a borderline case of the extension of syntax. It is no coincidence that it is encountered in the domain of adverbial syntax: the adverb is, and has been since antiquity, effectively recognised as a catch-all class (cf. the Stoic epithet πανδέκτης applied to this class), intended to gather up any uninflected word that could not be classified as a preposition or conjunction (to this end, see the reasoning of Apollonius, *Synt.* I 85, 73.4; also III 69). The result is that adverbs include not only *καλῶς* “well”, *πολλάκις* “often”, *οἴκοι* “at home”, *τότε* “then”, *τάχα* “perhaps”, etc., commonly in constructions with verbs, but also, in addition to the aforementioned interjections, we find among the adverbs: *μά/νῆ* + accusative in oaths (*μά τὸν Δία* “no, by Zeus”); *ἕως*, *ὄτε*, *ὥσπερ*, etc., which introduce temporal or comparative clauses; and the likes of *πλευστήον* “we must set sail”, which is a verbal predicate of obligation. Unsurprisingly, some have insisted that *χρή* and *δεῖ* should be admitted into this company (cf. *supra* 4.2.1).

4.3.2 The Preposition (πρόθεσις)

In Alexandrian grammar, no part of the sentence is better defined than the preposition. It is defined in purely syntactic terms as “a word which is placed before [προ-τιθεμένη] all parts of the sentence, both in composition and in construction (ἔν τε συνθέσει καὶ συντάξει)” (Dion. T. 70.2); this allows the grammarian to outline a closed set of eighteen prepositions, to which the surviving part of Book IV of the *Syntax* is devoted. The analysis, which directly follows the definition just mentioned, essentially applies to the formal modalities of the combination of the prepositions with the various parts of the sentence (including with each other): the principal question is that of the division between composition (σύνθεσις) and juxtaposition (παράθεσις). A second question is that of the anastrophe of certain disyllabic prepositions—of, paradoxically,

37 They are found, among the Latin grammarians, in a separate class, that of the *interiectio*.

their *post*-position to the word to which they are juxtaposed (e.g. Ἰθάκην κατά, lit. “Ithaca in”, instead of the usual κατ’ Ἰθάκην “in Ithaca”). It is remarkable that the treatment of these questions—one or two words? the normal order violated—does not in practice allow any room for reflection on the function of prepositions, nor on the variations in their value with respect to the governed cases. This is rather surprising if we recall the beginning of Book I, in the *prolegomena* to syntax:

There are words which, like consonants . . . cannot be pronounced by themselves—this is the case with prepositions, articles, and conjunctions. In effect, words of this kind only ever *consignify*: thus we say, in the genitive, δι’ Ἀπολλωνίου [by Apollonius], which supposes that Apollonius is aware, but, in the accusative, δι’ Ἀπολλώνιον [because of Apollonius], which means that Apollonius is the cause. (*Synt.* I 12, 13.8)

αἱ δὲ ὡσπερὶ σύμφωνα (. . .) οὐ δυνάμεναι κατ’ ἰδίαν ῥηταὶ εἶναι, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν προθέσεων, τῶν ἄρθρων, τῶν συνδέσμων· τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα τῶν μορίων αἰετὸ συσσημαίνει, εἴγε ἐν γενικῇ μὲν λέγομεν δι’ Ἀπολλωνίου, ὡσεὶ γινώσκοντος Ἀπολλωνίου, κατὰ δὲ τὴν αἰτιατικὴν πτώσει δι’ Ἀπολλώνιον, ὡς ἂν αὐτοῦ αἰτίου ὄντος.

Similarly, in the *Adverbs* (182.21), Apollonius declares straightforwardly:

the preposition takes a particular meaning when it is juxtaposed to each of the cases

ἐκάστη πτώσει κατὰ παράθεσιν προσιοῦσα ἢ πρόθεσις ἴδιον ἔχει σημαίνόμενον.

Incidentally, again, at the start of the *Conjunctions* (214.4), he recalls that the Stoic Posidonius addressed the semantic difference between ἐπιδοῦναι “to give” freely, to “offer” and ἀποδοῦναι “to give back, return”, or between ἀπαιτεῖν “to demand back” and προσαιτεῖν “to beg”—a difference that Apollonius does not dream of being in doubt, as shown by his own expression (*Synt.* IV 15, 448.5): τὸ ἐκ τῶν προθέσεων συνδηλούμενον “lit. the *condesignatum* of the prepositions” which is associated with the relational value of the verb (ἢ ἐκ τοῦ ῥήματος παραφισταμένη σχέσις).

It should be noted that neither the semantic value of prepositions, nor the phenomenon of consignification, hold Apollonius’ attention when he devotes a book of his *Syntax* to the construction of prepositions. Instead, this book offers a methodical and detailed examination of questions about cutting the

word-chain, or word-order, with the relevant rules of accentuation: two accents on *παρὰ νόμον* “against the law”, one on *παράνομος* “illegal”, final accent on *κατ(ὰ)* in *κατ(ὰ) Ἰθάκην*, initial accent on the anastrophe *Ἰθάκην κάτα*. Although it is not stated anywhere, we suspect that Apollonius’ entire procedure in *Syntax* IV may well have originated in a graphical problem: in texts in *scriptio continua*, how should the prepositions be accentuated to help the reader parse them properly? This is certainly a very unusual problematic in syntax—but it is inscribed perfectly within the initial project of the *Syntax*: to study constructions in all their detail (*μετὰ πάσης ἀκριβείας*), as required by the philological imperative of explaining poetic texts (*Synt.* I 1, 2.1). If we base our opinion on what Apollonius writes under the heading of “the syntax of prepositions”, we must duly record that Alexandrian *σύνταξις* is, like *γραμματική*, a discipline of writing, of which the rules of accentuation constitute an integral part.

4.3.3 The Conjunction and the Complex Sentence

As the final part of the sentence in the canonical Alexandrian list, the conjunction bears a name—*σύνδεσμος*, lit. “con-nector”—immediately revealing it as a tool which is syntactic above all. In this capacity, it merits particular attention here.

Historically, according to our best witnesses,³⁸ the *σύνδεσμος* is the only part of speech which Aristotle recognised in addition to the noun and the verb, to which it is opposed insofar as it is a *φωνῆ ἄσημος* (*Poet.* 1456b35), a form deprived of lexical meaning. A precise notion cannot be deduced from the (double) definition in the *Poetics* (*loc. cit.*), but we may perceive that the *σύνδεσμοι* were for Aristotle the little words of connection like *μέν*, *δέ* (*Rh.* III 5, 1407a20) and *καί* (*ibid.*, 6, 1407b38), whose function is to unify the plurality in an expression; by contrast, *ἀσύνδετον*, absence of *σύνδεσμος*) produces a pluralising effect (*ὁ σύνδεσμος ἔν ποιεῖ τὰ πολλά, ὥστε ἐάν ἐξαιρεθῆ, δῆλον ὅτι τούναντίον ἔσται τὸ ἐν πολλά, ibid.* 12, 1413b33). The examples given by Aristotle show the *σύνδεσμοι* as assembling propositional limbs into extended wholes. Of these original ideas, the grammar somewhat tautologically retains the notion that the conjunction is “a word holding the thought together” (*λέξις συνδέουσα διάνοιαν*, *Dion. T.* 86.3).

Functionally, the conjunction, in the narrower sense of an interpropositional junctor that the grammarians give it, seems to play a role which is *marginal* to the basic *λόγος αὐτοτελής*. This is what Apollonius underlines, *Synt.* I 14, 17.4: in the example sentence *ὁ αὐτὸς ἄνθρωπος ὀλισθήσας σήμερον κατέπεσεν*, to which he adds the following comment: “all the parts of the sentence are

38 Quint., *Inst.* I IV 18; Dion. Hal., *Comp.* II 1.

present, except *the conjunction, whose addition summons another sentence*” (ἔγκλειται τὰ μέρη τοῦ λόγου παρὰ τὸν σύνδεσμον, ἐπεὶ προστεθεὶς ἕτερον λόγον ἀπαιτήσῃ). For Apollonius the conjunction is therefore a sentential junctor which, when introduced, ‘opens’ the sentence to which it has been added up to another sentence—the simple sentence thus giving way to a complex one.

This understanding of the conjunction gave rise to an important elaboration by the Stoic logicians. Paradoxically, even if they seem to have given only a weak and tautological definition of the σύνδεσμος, as “an undeclined part of the sentence which binds parts of the sentence together” (D. L. VII 58), their theory of ‘non-simple statements’ (ἀξιώματα οὐχ ἀπλᾶ) accords great value to the cardinal syntactico-logical rôle of the conjunctions. We may briefly here recall that, according to Diogenes Laertius (VII 71–75), Chrysippus, followed by Diogenes of Babylon, distinguished seven kinds of non-simple statements, all defined by the use of a specific conjunction joining two simple statements. The “connected” (συνημμένον) statement used the connective conjunction (συναπτικός σύνδεσμος) εἰ—εἰ ἡμέρα ἐστὶ, φῶς ἐστὶ, “if it is daytime, there is light”; the “subconnected” (παρασυνημμένον) statement used the subconnective conjunction (παρασυναπτικός σ.) ἐπεὶ—ἐπεὶ ἡμέρα ἐστὶ, φῶς ἐστὶ, “since it is daytime, there is light”; and so on for the other statements—non-simple copulative (‘*p* and *q*’, συμπεπλεγμένον, συμπλεκτικός σ.), disjunctive (‘*p* or *q*’, διεζευγμένον, διαζευκτικός σ.), causal (‘because *p*, *q*’, αἰτιώδης), and clarificatory of the major or the minor (‘rather *p* than *q*’ or the reverse, διασαφοῦν τὸ μᾶλλον / ἥττον), each being put together by its own conjunction. It is on this base of Stoic logic that the Alexandrians built their grammatical doctrine of the complex sentence.³⁹

What, then, is the syntactic problematic of the Alexandrians on the subject of conjunctions? To answer this question, without a methodical and complete discussion by Apollonius on the subject,⁴⁰ we will be forced to glean information here and there, that is, in the relevant passages of the transmitted works of Apollonius (completed by Priscian *IG*, XVI 1, p. 93.13), to which we should add those of the scholia on the *Techne*, the puzzle-pieces of which we are trying to fit back together.

39 The repeated mention of the Stoics (οἱ Στωϊκοί, οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς) at the start of the Apollonian treatise *On Conjunctions* reveals an Apollonius who, even though he criticises them, has and recognises a considerable debt to the logicians of the Stoa.

40 His treatise *On Conjunctions* survives only in a seriously mutilated form. The *Syntax* makes only sporadic reference to conjunctions (the end of Book IV, which may have dealt with conjunctive constructions, is missing).

The exploration of this corpus leads to a list of 17 classes of conjunctions. To the 7 classes discussed by Diogenes Laertius (which must represent the original Stoic kernel), Apollonius adds:

- conjunctions which appear, in a refined analysis, as variants of those cited by Diogenes:⁴¹ beside the connective (εἰ “if”), the adjunctive (ἐπιζευκτικός: ἔάν “if”, premorpheme of the subjunctive); beside the disjunctive (ἢ exclusive “or”), the subdisjunctive (παραδιαζευκτικός: ἤτοι / ἢ non-exclusive “or”);
- new conjunctions: the final (ἀποτελεστικός: ἵνα), the oppositive (ἐναντιωματικός: ἔμπης), the suspensive or conditional (ἀναιρετικός / δυνητικός: ἄν), the syllogistic (συλλογιστικός = conclusive, ἐπιφορικός among the Stoics: ἄρα), the confirmatory ((δια)βεβαιωτικός: ὅτι), the dubitative (διαπορητικός or ἀπορηματικός: ἄρα, μῶν), the group of expletives (παραπληρωματικοί).

The list of the seventeen classes appears neither logically ordered—we can find no commentary which justifies its order—nor subdivisible into specified sections—and in particular, no distinction is made between coordination and subordination. As far as the total number of conjunctions, there is no consensus among the grammarians, although the mention of dissent (*Sch.* Dion. T. 440.15) indicates at least that a calculation would be legitimate. The inventory of the conjunctions, then, occupies a middle place between the strictly-closed inventory of the 18 prepositions and the open inventory of adverbs.

We have seen that the function of σύνδεσμος was for Aristotle to ‘unify the many’ (ἐν ποιεῖν τὰ πολλά). This idea is revived by Apollonius, *Synt.* I 10, where the conjunctive function is put in parallel with the composition of nouns, which unifies two words into one:

we read as single words πασιμέλουσα (*Od.* 12.70) and κηρессиφορήτους (*Il.* 8.527). In sentences, likewise, conjunctions can unify two or more—see for instance the compound sentences formed of connected, subconnected or coupled [propositions]; and conversely, the omission of the conjunctions breaks sentences up. For instance:

ἦρομεν, ὡς ἐκέλευες, ἀνά δρυμά, φαίδιμ’ Ὀδυσσεύ·
εὔρομεν ἐν βήσσησι τετυγμένα δώματα καλά (*Od.* 10.251–252)

41 In this inventory only the most typical conjunction is indicated as an example of each class.

we crossed the woods, as you ordered, glorious Odysseus;
in a glen we found a well-built palace.

It would have been necessary to use the copulative “and”: “**and** in a glen we found”.

ὕφ' ἐν μέρος λόγου ἀνέγνωμεν τὸ πασιμέλουσα (μ 70) καὶ κηρессиφορήτους (θ 527). Ἄλλὰ κὰν τοῖς λόγοις οἱ παρεπόμενοι σύνδεσμοι ἔσθ' ὅτε ἐνοῦσι δύο λόγους ἢ καὶ πλείους, καθάπερ οἱ συνδεόμενοι λόγοι ἐκ συνημμένων ἢ παρασυνημμένων ἢ καὶ ἔτι συμπεπλεγμένων. ἢ πάλιν ἀποστάντες διάλυσιν τῶν λόγων ποιοῦνται, ὡς ἔχει τὸ ἤρομεν, ὡς ἐκέλευες, ἀνά δρυμὰ, φαίδιμ' Ὀδυσσεῦ· εὔρομεν ἐν βήσσησι τετυγμένα δώματα καλά (κ 251–2). ἔδει γὰρ συμπλέξαι τῷ καί· καὶ εὔρομεν ἐν βήσσησι.

This passage is instructive in many ways. First of all, it highlights a profound difference, both revealed and hidden by the parallelism μέρος λόγου vs. λόγος, between the unification of words by composition and the unification of sentences by conjunction: the former is effected by a simple joining of constituents (the status of the composite sentence being finalised by the reduction in accent, *Synt.* IV 1, 434.6), the latter requires (cf. ἔδει) the presence of a conjunctive word. Here Apollonius reproaches Homer for having erred: by contrast with rhetoric, which can sometimes justify asyndeton (Ps.-Demetr. *Eloc.* 268–9), syntax reveals itself to be intolerant about linking sentences together.⁴² With this question of asyndeton, we brush against the relation between syntax and rhetoric, both of proximity and of differentiation.

Conjunctions, like articles and prepositions (cf. *Synt.* I 12, cited above § 4.3.2), are consignifying words. In this case, Apollonius specifies the modalities of consignification, thus:

As for the conjunctions, they have their own connotations depending on the order or sequence of the sentences. ἦτοι, then, may sometimes be understood as copulative—for instance in:

ἦτοι ὁ γ' ὡς εἰπὼν κατ' ἄρ' ἔζητο (*Il.* 1.68)

42 The scholia on the *Iliad* witness the vigilant attention of the Alexandrian philologists to asyndeton. Meanwhile, rather than censuring the Poet like Apollonius, the scholiast often finds justifications for asyndetic expressions: the insertion of a maxim (e.g. A 216–8.8 Erbse), the language of a ruler (ἀρχοντικός λόγος, e.g. B 8c.3), the effect of anger (e.g. Γ 53a.1), etc.

on the one hand, he, having spoken, sat down,
where it has the force of μέν, whence the inevitable δέ, its counterpart, in
what follows:

τοῖσι δ' ἀνέστη (*Il.* 1.68, immediately following)

on the other hand, arose among them . . .,
Elsewhere, ἦτοι may be disjunctive, for instance:

ἦτοι νέος ἐστὶν ἢ παλαιός

be he *either* young *or* old; (cf. *Il.* 14.108) (*Synt.* I 12, 14.4)

οἱ τε σύνδεσμοι πρὸς τὰς τῶν λόγων τάξεις ἢ ἀκολουθίας τὰς ἰδίας δυνάμεις
παρεμφαίνουσιν, ὅτε συμπλεκτικῶς μὲν ἀκούεται ὁ ἦτοι ὃ γ' ὡς εἰπῶν κατ' ἄρ'
ἔζετο (*A* 68). ἐν ἴσῃ γὰρ δυνάμει τοῦ μὲν παρείληπται, δι' ὃ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐξῆς
συμπλοκὴν ἀναγκαίως ὁ δέ ἐπηνέχθη ἐν τῷ τοῖσι δ' ἀνέστη (*A* 68), ὅτε δὲ
διαζευκτικῶς, ἦτοι νέος ἐστὶν ἢ παλαιός.

Consignification, exemplified here by the disemic conjunction ἦτοι, consists in a suspension of ambiguity by correlation with another conjunction, the second specifying the value of the first. There are many examples of conjunctive consignification, one of the most remarkable being that of the verbal modality, which is affected by the conjunctive context. Given two indicative assertions *p* and *q*, their assertive modality will be suspended in the 'connective' (conditional) proposition *if p, then q*, or the disjunctive *either p or q* (*Synt.* III 124). We see here how the conjunctions, whether connective or disjunctive, introduce alongside (παρεμφαίνουσιν) the verb form the connotation (παρέμφασις, *Nebendeutung*) attached to them. We can go farther: in the case of the subjunctive, even the name of the mood, ὑποτακτική, literally 'subordinative', far from indicating a particular modality like the others (indicative, imperative, optative), merely reflects the fact that it only ever appears after a conjunction (*Synt.* III 125).⁴³

In the foregoing quotation, the expression πρὸς τὰς τῶν λόγων τάξεις ἢ ἀκολουθίας, here translated literally as "in connection with the order or sequence of the sentences", alludes to another essential parameter of conjunctive

43 One consequence of this statement is that the subjunctive appears as a mood with a premorpheme, and that the conjunctive character of the premorpheme was eventually forgotten: *Synt.* III 57.

constructions: the relevance or not of the order in which the simple conjoined sentences appear (the terms *τάξις* and *ἀκολουθία* seem to denote the same reality from two different angles, the first connoting the order of the words, the second a more semantic aspect of consequence, cf. *Sch. Dion. T.* 102.27). The order is irrelevant for *p and q* and *p or q*, but not for *p if q*. These considerations, although derived from treatises on formal logic (and repeated in certain grammatical scholia, e.g. *Sch. Dion. T.* 103.15), sometimes conflict with philological data: Apollonius, doubtlessly following many others, finds fault with the *hysteron proteron* of Homer, as in *Od.* 12.134 *τάς μὲν ἄρα θρέψασά τε τεκοῦσά τε* “having thus raised them and brought them into the world”, condemning any inversion of two verbs. This is one example among others of the inevitable tension between logical norms and philological realities.

One singularity, in the eyes of modern scholars who are otherwise largely in debt to the Alexandrians on the subject of conjunctions, lies in the fact that what we would call temporal (e.g. *ὅτε* “when”) and comparative (e.g. *ὥσπερ* “as”) conjunctions are not classed as conjunctions. It seems strange to us that *p when q* or *p as q* should not be described as conjoined propositions under the same heading as *p because q*. One cause of this situation is certainly that the grammarians did not find the schemes *p when q*, *p as q* in the Stoic list of non-simple utterances. Moreover, the fact that *ὅτε q* or *ὥσπερ q* can be exchanged for adverbs of time or manner like *τότε* or *καλῶς* most likely inclined them to give an adverbial status to invariant words like *ὅτε* and *ὥσπερ* themselves. But whatever the reason, that is what they did, notwithstanding the (in our eyes decisive) fact that the function of adverbs is that of the proposition and not that of the connector. By this example it may be seen that the Alexandrian analysis of complex sentences occurred within a framework of thought materially different from that imposed upon our own grammar; the abstract concept of propositional subordination, in particular, did not exist for the Alexandrian grammarians.⁴⁴ Instead, semantic data carried for them a weight which appears to us unjustified. A single example may be given here, inverse and complementary to the foregoing—words like *ἐνεκα*, *χάριν*, constructed with a nominal genitive in the sense of “because of”, are classed with the conjunctions for the simple reason that their semantic field relates to causation, that is, to an idea which uses conjunctive expressions (the *ἀξιῶμα αἰτιῶδες* of the Stoics). Equally, to our surprise but nonetheless for the same reasons, the propositional

44 Another consequence of this conception of syntax is the absence of individual status, for Apollonius, of the constructions that we call completive, whether they are conjunctives (*ὅτι*) or infinitives; on this point, see Lallot [1996], [1999] and Ildelfonse [2000], [2004].

construction *διά* + accusative, with the sense of “because of” is designated as a “conjunctive construction” (συνδεσμική σύνταξις, *Synt.* IV 30, 461.1).

5 Syntax between Logic and Philology

5.1 Παράδοσις

Whatever one might think of these kinds of oddities—which happen to be rather infrequent—our impression of the Apollonian procedure is that of a constant rationalising effort, of a desire to *explain* the constructions he comes across. It is even a sort of *leitmotif* of the *Syntax* that the mere accumulation and exhibition of examples (παράθεσις) offers no benefit to syntactic theory (λόγος). This is not to say, however, that Apollonius constructs, or even has any intention of constructing, a formal and abstract system. As has already been suggested, his goal of *τεχνικός* is part of his broader project, which he never dreams of denying, to account for as much as possible of the empirical data,⁴⁵ that is, the corpus of the Greek literary inheritance, which he calls the *παράδοσις*. This *παράδοσις*, diversified over time (diachronic changes, imperfections in copying) and over space (variations in dialect), is multiple and variegated—and the grammarian must both respect and master it. Again drawing a parallel between syntax and morphology, Apollonius writes:

There are competing forms among which tradition does not distinguish [the correct from the incorrect]. [...] It seems that here the coherence of the theory will allow us to rule out bad forms. The same will be true for the following examination [*sc.* of the study of syntax]: in the event of doubt, the application of the theory, taken together with a consideration of natural data, will allow us to eliminate incorrect constructions. (*Synt.* I 61, 51.12)

Ἦδη μέντοι καί τινα τῶν κατὰ παράδοσιν οὐ διεσταλμένην ἔχει τὴν προφορὰν, (...) καὶ φαίνεται ὅτι ἢ τοῦ λόγου συνέχεια τὸ ἐν κακίᾳ εἰρημένον παρατρέψει τοιοῦτον οὖν πάλιν τι παρακολουθήσει καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς προκειμένης τηρήσεως· ἀμφιβαλλομένων γάρ τινων τὰ τοῦ λόγου ἐγγεγνόμενα μετὰ τίνος φυσικῆς παρακολουθήσεως ἀποστήσει τὸ οὐ δέον τῆς συντάξεως.

45 See Pagani in this volume.

In this passage, with its neatly normative focus (the correction of texts, διόρθωσις, is one of the enduring tasks of the Alexandrian grammarian),⁴⁶ the keywords are λόγος and παράδοσις. The latter, “tradition”, should be understood in the double sense of a manuscript transmission of texts *and* the tradition of grammatical teaching itself, with its scholarly benefits, but also its uncertainties, its polemics, its contradictions. At any given moment in history, the concrete product of this παράδοσις is typically the group formed by the available manuscripts of a literary oeuvre (for instance, the Homeric poems), together with the grammatical writings which refer to them—exegetical commentaries and technical treatises produced by earlier γραμματικοί and τεχνικοί. Since antiquity this group has offered the professional grammarian, for any given text, a mosaic of concurrent ‘lessons’ and explanations to choose from (cf. ἀμφιβαλλομένων τινών), since, by definition, the παράδοσις does not take a stance (cf. οὐ διεσταλμένην).

5.2 Λόγος

In the face of such diversity, the decision comes down to the λόγος. This, too, has many facets. On one level, it designates an analogical reasoning which, in confronting the unknown with the known, the doubtful with the certain, helps to normalise the language and to correct texts. Of constant use in the study of morphology, analogical reasoning is often designated as such by the adjective ἀνάλογος, the adverb ἀναλόγως or the derived noun ἀναλογία.⁴⁷ One example among many: is ἐμεῖο, the Homeric form of the first-person pronoun in the genitive case correct? Perfectly so (ἀναλογωπάτην), for it stands in exactly the same relation to ἐμεῦ as ἐμοῖο does to ἐμοῦ (*Synt.* II 119, 218.10).⁴⁸ The same reasoning is valid in syntax: in δοῦρα σέσηπεν and σπάρτα λέλυνται (*Il.* 2.135), where after a plural subject the verb is singular in the one case, plural in the other, the (more) regular form (ἀναλογώτερον) is the second, because we say λέγουσι (and not *λέγει) οἱ ἄνθρωποι “the men (masc.) speak” (and not **“speaks”*), and we do

46 See Montana in this volume.

47 We find 45 occurrences of the words of this family in the work of Apollonius, with a remarkable frequency of the comparative ἀναλογώτερος (17 times, plus one of the superlative ἀναλογωπάτην): the conformity to analogy is the object of an appreciation which admits of degrees. For the analogy in ancient grammar see, in this volume, Montana, Valente (section II), and Pagani.

48 ἐμεῦ and ἐμεῖο are two concurrent genitive forms of the first-person pronoun in Homer. Of these two forms the second is problematic. To save it, Apollonius invokes the two concurrent (and non-problematic) genitive forms of the possessive “my”, ἐμοῦ and ἐμοῖο, and constructs the proportion ἐμοῦ : ἐμοῖο :: ἐμεῦ : X, concluding with a perfect rigour that X = ἐμεῖο. This last form is thus legitimised by a flawless analogical reasoning.

not say *φιλοπονῶ *‘‘I work hard’’, but rather φιλοπονοῦμεν παῖδια ὄντα ‘‘we work hard, being children (neut.)’’ (*Synt.* III 51–52, 317.9). Likewise, Μυρμιδόνεσσιν ἄνασσε (*Il.* I 180) is unacceptable (ἀπαράδεκτος) because, just as in βασιλεύω τούτων, the object of all the verbs of domination is in the genitive, not in the dative (*Synt.* III 174, 420.10). Such is the constrictive force of analogy.

But there is, in syntax, another facet of the λόγος, which the φυσική παρακολούθησις of *Synt.* I 61, 52.5 probably refers to, at least vaguely. Beneath this somewhat enigmatic expression of a ‘‘natural intelligence’’, we see an indication that, for Apollonius, syntactic rationality is not at all arbitrary, but has a ‘‘natural’’ foundation to which the grammarian should refer in order to understand whether a given construction is grammatical. Thus we saw earlier that the usage of cases after verbs of perception reflects the different physiological modalities of the various sense-organs. Equally, it should be understood that a transitive base phrase is calqued, more or less, on the AGENT-ACTION-PATIENT scenario that it describes: this is what emerges, in *Synt.* III 86–87, 344.16, from the analysis of constructions with two accusatives of the type συνέβη ἐμὲ φιλεῖν Τρύφωνα, literally ‘‘it happened to me (acc.) to love Tryphon (acc.)’’, where the coexistence of the two accusatives creates an ambiguity about the respective function of each. It is therefore the order in which the two accusatives appear—one before, the other after the verb—that dispels the ambiguity, the first designating the agent, the second the patient—and this order is founded, for Apollonius, on the (onto)logical precedence of the active over the passive (δεύτερα τὰ πάθη τῶν ἐνεργειῶν ἔστιν ‘‘passions are secondary with respect to actions’’, 345.18). The consequence of this analysis is that, in *Iliad* V.85, δὸς δέ τ’ ἔμ’ ἄνδρα ἐλεῖν, ‘‘let me take the man’’, the grammarian finds a hyperbaton, the verb which expresses the transitive diathesis not being in its ‘‘natural’’ place between the pronoun ἔμ’ (agent) and the noun ἄνδρα (patient) (345.20).

5.3 Norm and Figure

This example reveals a characteristic aspect of Alexandrian syntax, that of the normative ‘appeal to order’ when confronted with empirical data. Here the Apollonian metalanguage presents an entire series of terms which have in common that they qualify a form, whether morphological or syntactic, representing a norm of reference, by contrast to all the alterations (πάθη) it can undergo in actual usage. These terms can evoke the following:

- The norm, generally speaking, *viz.* that which should be the case (τὸ δέον, *e.g.* *Synt.* 107.18, opposed here to (Homeric) usage, τὸ σύνηθες), as opposed to its literal contrary (τὸ οὐ δέον, *e.g.* *Synt.* 52.5); or, by a well-worn medical

- metaphor, that which is healthy (ύγιής, *e.g. Synt.* 31.19, opposed here to the deviant, παρεμπίπτων)
- that which conforms to a regularity (ἀκόλουθος), as opposed to that which is irregular (ἀνακόλουθος), *e.g. Synt.* 63.17
 - that which is congruent (κατάλληλον), as opposed to the incongruent (ἀκατάλληλον);
 - that which is complete and integral (έντελής, όλόκληρος), as opposed to that which is elliptical (έλλειπής), defective (ένδεής) or, on the contrary, pleonastic (πλεονάζων), *e.g. Pron.* 38.23, *Synt.* 53.8, etc.;
 - that which is in (good) order (τό έξής), as opposed to that which has suffered a displacement (τό ύπερβατόν), *e.g. Pron.* 41.3.

Although incomplete, this enumeration amply illustrates the normative tools elaborated and used by the Alexandrian grammarians, γραμματικοί like Aristarchus, his disciples and epigones (witnessed in the scholia to literary works), or τεχνικοί, like Apollonius, Herodianus and the later tradition. It remains to study the focus of their procedures. All are aiming firstly to help establish (διόρθωσις), read (ανάγνωσις) and explain (έξήγησις) a transmitted text—above all, the Homeric epics. To this end, they all needed a theoretical (λόγος) and practical (τέχνη) knowledge which might give them a firm grasp on poems composed in an archaic language, and full of variants in the manuscript transmission, poems which, to them, were disconcerting empirical objects. This knowledge was the γραμματική which they discovered and perfected in the last centuries of the pagan era and the first of the Christian era. At Alexandria, like other parallel disciplines then in full flight (medicine, mathematics, mechanics, astronomy, etc.) and in opposition to empiricist currents, it took a resolutely rationalist direction. Apollonian syntax is therefore presented as a reason-based syntax, which confronts empirical textual occurrences (“examples”, παράθεσις) with a theoretical standard (cf. τό άντιπαραπεπηγμένον τόυ λόγου, *Synt.* 1 62, 52.9), and it is by reference to this standard that a number of alterations (πάθη) are diagnosed; then, depending on the instance, each alteration falls under the heading of the error/mistake (άμάρτημα, κακία) or deserves the positive label of “figure” (σχήμα). While faults must be corrected by definition, figures form an integral part of syntactic description, the existence of which they safeguard by serving as a buffer between the theoretical model and the diversity of empirical data that might call it into question.⁴⁹ At the beginning of his *Syntax* (1 3–7), Apollonius underlines that the combination of forms into sentences gives rise to the same πάθη (5.6) as do the forms

49 For the Apollonius’ theoretical method cf. Pagani in this volume.

themselves: reduplication, pleonasm, ellipsis. To these figures can be added others: hyperbaton, already touched upon, affects the order of words, while hypallage is a figure of substitution, for instance of one case for another:

[Words] with five cases demonstrate a hypallage of case, which we can either accept as a figure of speech, when it appears in the ordinary usage of a dialect, or reject as an incongruity. In this instance we dismiss [the latter solution], since [such hypallages] hark back to an archaic usage, and there are innumerable attestations of the same form <e.g. with the substitution of the direct case for the vocative of a different form, as> in:

ἠέλιός θ', ὃς πάντ' ἐφορᾷς (*Il.* 3.277)

and you, sun (nomin., instead of voc.) who see all things,

δός, φίλος (*Od.* 17.415)

give, friend (nomin.),

ὦ φίλτατ' Αἴας (*Soph., Aj.* 977, 996)

o very dear (voc.) Ajax (nomin.),

and similar [turns of phrase] are innumerable. We might say that they illustrate the Attic figure, since, as we have said, the vocative demands another ending. We find the opposite situation when the vocative is used instead of the direct case, following the Macedonian or Thessalian usage, as our predecessors have established, for instance:

αὐτὰρ ὁ αὖτε Θυέστ' Ἀγαμέμνονι (*Il.* 2.107)

lit.: in his turn the (nomin.) Thyestes (voc.) (handed over the sceptre) to Agamemnon,

Here the article also betrays the deviation in case. (*Synt.* III 34, 300.8)

τὰ γὰρ ἀναμερισθέντα εἰς πέντε πτώσεις τὰς ἀνθυπαλλαγὰς τῶν πτώσεων ἐμφανίζει, ἃς παραδεχόμεθα ἢ κατὰ τὸν τῶν σχημάτων λόγον, ἐθιμώτερον διαλέκτου τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐνδειξαμένης, ἢ ἀπαραδέκτους ποιούμεθα κατὰ τὸν τοῦ ἀκαταλλήλου λόγον. οὐχ ὑποπίπτουσα γὰρ ἀρχαϊκῇ χρήσει, ἀπειράκις κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ παρειλημμένη <.....> τὸ ἠέλιός θ', ὃς πάντ'

ἐφορᾶς (Γ 277), δός, φίλος (ρ 415), ὦ φίλτατ' Αἴας (Soph. *Ai.* 977 and 996), ἄπειρα τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια, <ᾶ> τὸ Ἄττικὸν σχῆμα παραστήσει, καθότι, ὡς ἔφαμεν, ἡ κλητικὴ ἕτερον τέλος ἀπήτει. ἢ ἀντεστραμμένως, ὅτε ἡ κλητικὴ ἀντ' εὐθειῶν παραλαμβάνεται κατὰ Μακεδονικὸν ἔθος ἢ Θεσσαλικόν, ὡς οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐπιστώσαντο, αὐτὰρ ὁ αὖτε Θυέστ' Ἀγαμέμνονι (B 107), συνελέγχοντος καὶ τοῦ ἄρθρου τὴν παραλλαγὴν τῆς πτώσεως.

This passage clarifies, using the example of hypallage of case, the procedure of the Alexandrian syntactician as it has been presented here. Let us distinguish the principal contributions: 1) The vocative is normally the case of address. 2) The corpus, both Homeric and classical, offers examples of the nominative functioning as a vocative, and *vice versa*. 3) Is this a fault or a figure of speech? The venerable age and considerable quantity of occurrences of the phenomenon leads us to believe that it is a figure—namely, hypallage. 4) This figure is considered “Attic” in the *nominativus pro vocativo* case; in the inverse case, we may speak of other dialectal usages. The dialectal details do not concern us here; what is important, rather, is that the deviation of case (παραλλαγὴ τῆς πτώσεως) should be identified and recovered for use. The syntactic norm remains safe, while deviations are given as figures, attributable to dialectal diversity.⁵⁰

This chapter has offered a depiction—a simplified one admittedly, but hopefully faithful—of the characteristic features of Alexandrian syntax, as represented by Apollonius Dyscolus: a discourse on the “construction of words together” (as the masters of Port-Royal would say), whose rationalist orientation is continually compromised by empirical data—the whole together aiming to clarify the logic of the language, τὰ τοῦ λόγου, and to “explain poetry”, πρὸς ἐξήγησιν τῶν ποιημάτων (to put it like Apollonius).

50 Idiomatic in other cases: among other singularities, Homer is accustomed to elide his articles (ἔλλειπτικός ἐστι τῶν ἄρθρων, *Synt.* I 42, 38.5).

Ancient Etymology: A Tool for Thinking¹

Ineke Sluiter

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1 Introduction

This chapter will deal with the ancient scholarly and poetic practices of etymology.² Rather than providing a historical overview, its main focus will be on the cultural and historical embedding of these practices, an analysis of the type of discourse they represent, and their cognitive and rhetorical functions. These aspects of etymology remain important throughout antiquity and

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- 1 Parts of this chapter are based on Sluiter [1997b], and on the 'etymology dossier' in Copeland-Sluiter [2009] 339–366 (esp. 339–344). I am grateful to Christopher Pelling, Philomen Probert, and Stephen Halliwell, and to the other colleagues and students in Oxford (where I was allowed to give the Nellie Wallace Lectures in the Spring of 2010 on 'Thinking with Language'); parts of this material were also presented in Leiden, Utrecht (ΟΙΚΟΣ), and the Department of Christiane Reitz at Rostock; it also informed some of my contributions to the team studying 'textual practices', including etymology, at the Max-Planck-Institut für Wissenschaftsgeschichte in Berlin, brought together by Lorraine Daston, Anthony Grafton and Glenn Most in the Summer of 2012. I would like to thank them, and also Gregory Nagy and his wonderful staff and librarians at the Center for Hellenic Studies for providing me with the peace of mind to write this chapter.
 - 2 For historical overviews, see *e.g.* Amsler [1989], Lallot [1991a], and the introductions to Buridant [1998] and Nifadopoulos [2003b].

the Middle Ages and they connect technical, poetic, and general (rhetorical) uses, even though at the same time there is a development in the technical disciplines to use etymology for the more specialized purpose of thinking about morphology and lexicon by organizing words into clusters with a family resemblance.³

Even there, though, it has virtually nothing to do with our modern academic practice of etymology. The first thing to clear out of the way, then, is the possible confusion of ancient etymology and the modern form that has given us our etymological dictionaries, the most recent one for Greek by Robert Beekes [2010]. Such dictionaries ultimately go back to the linguistic discoveries by the *Junggrammatiker* of the 19th century, based on the comparison of different languages, and in particular the realization that a number of them, including ancient Greek and Latin, are related as Indo-European languages. These languages all derive from a reconstructed common ancestor, Proto-Indo-European, and they diverge from that common stock in accordance with strictly defined and strictly conditioned phonological changes (sound laws). These laws describe the situation before and after the sound changes, including the phonological contexts in which at a given moment all phonemes under the scope of the law underwent its influence. Exceptions need to be explained either as the result of later sound changes or on the basis of processes of analogy.

The ancient discursive practice of etymology, on the other hand, is simply a different kind of language game. In antiquity, to the extent that rules are formulated, they are mostly *ad hoc*⁴ and as it were ‘after the fact’, the ‘fact’ being a preliminary *semantic* observation, leading to an interpretive relationship between the *explanandum* and the *explanans*. This is to say that etymologies are mostly put forward to *corroborate* a specific view of what a word ‘really’ means, probably even where they are presented as a tool to *find* the meaning of a word.⁵ There are some attempts to systematize, but as we will see, they are designed to allow maximum amplitude in relating words to other words. This observation is not in any way meant as a disparagement of the ancient practice. Quite to the contrary, its aim is to allow us to value and appreciate that ancient practice for what it really is and purports to do, rather than trying to

3 Philoxenus (1st c. BC) may be our first source to move in this direction, see Lallot [1991b]. We see a similar development in Herodian, the Greek lexicographical tradition (the *Etymologica*), and in the Middle Ages, where it is the branch of grammar called *ethimologia* that subsumes the study of morphology, see Law [1985].

4 There were also some general principles guiding these practices; see below § 3.2.

5 For this heuristic function, see Maltby [2003] and below § 4.

make it conform to what we consider the correct, even the only scientific, way of talking about language.

The differences that we can observe are connected with the different purposes of ancient and modern etymology. Modern etymology is interested in the systematic nature of language change and is a historical discipline relating words to their past forms (the Proto-Indoeuropean roots). Although this may also be useful as a general background to the study of semantic developments, this form of etymology cannot be used reliably to explain the actual usage of a word at any given point in time. It is usually made very clear to students that we should not fall into the trap of confusing diachrony with synchrony: synchronic semantics (and syntax, and phonology) can be described as a system *without reference to* the developments that led to any given state of that system. Diachronic linguistics, on the other hand, needs knowledge of the successive synchronic states to construe the development that led from one to the other. De Saussure used his famous comparison with a game of chess for this purpose: we can completely and adequately describe the positions of the pieces on the chessboard without knowing or caring what moves created those particular positions on the board.⁶

Ancient etymology, on the other hand, is all about synchrony, even though it invokes a discourse that references the past. It is about the relationship between words and their semantic explanation or definition—it wants to know *why* anything is called what it is called, the *reason* for the name, and what *motivates* the namegiver—and the explanations it comes up with are not intended to give us insight into the past, into the historical processes and developments leading to the present situation; rather, and importantly, (ancient) etymology is about *understanding the present*.⁷ So whereas modern etymology does not provide an immediate insight into the contemporary semantics of a word, that is actually precisely what ancient etymology is meant to do. Ancient etymology is primarily about the present, modern etymology is about the

6 De Saussure [1916 (1974)] 124–127. Scholars have pointed out various infelicities in this comparison (*e.g.* Willems [1971]), some of which were already anticipated by De Saussure himself (notably the fact that playing chess is an intentional activity, whereas language change, apart from analogical change, is an evolutionary process (cf. [1916 (1974)] 127). However, the main point referenced above is still an important one.

7 This is true both in technical and non-technical forms of etymology. For the ‘near-absence of considerations relating to the history of the Greek language’ in the Alexandrians, cf. Lallot [2011] *passim*, here at 248; for the same point specifically about etymology, and for etymology as ‘Benennungsgrund’, see Herbermann [1991].

past.⁸ Modern etymology is about phonology, ancient etymology is almost entirely about semantics.

2 Ancient Etymology: ‘Denkform’ and ‘Discursive Practice’

In antiquity, etymology is what we may call a *Denkform* and a ‘discursive practice’, a particular mode of thinking and speaking. Since language is always simply *there*, it belongs to the shared background, or, more technically, the *common ground* of speakers and addressees in any communicative situation. A shared awareness of the language they are using makes language itself readily available as a *topic* of joint reflection and a *source* of arguments: it becomes a ‘tool for thinking’, not in the sense that language offers various possibilities to express our thoughts (for instance, certain grammatical constructions, such as embedding, that facilitate particular types of thought), but as a shared *object of thought* and a common focus of attention: the words we use become ‘intuition pumps’ for how the world they represent functions.⁹ When thinking about and trying to understand the present, whatever the specific issue at stake, one way of getting a grip is by thinking about and trying to understand the language itself that we use to speak about such issues. Hence the attraction of the etymological turn, in which language in general, but particularly names, become the object of research. Such etymological ‘language talk’ is couched in a very recognizable discourse, as we will see in more depth in *Discourse characteristics* below.¹⁰ It is a constant fixture of ancient poetry, but it also occurs in prose texts. Its use by the language disciplines (grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic)

8 For the importance of synchrony and interpretation, see Peraki-Kyriakidou [2002] 480–482. Socrates’ position in Plato’s *Cratylus* is exceptional, but the positions he is arguing against are the typical ones. What is new in Socrates’ position is that he considers etymology a way to *reconstruct* the namegivers’ thoughts and considerations in producing specific names for specific things. This would make etymology a historical type of investigation, leading to knowledge about a situation in the past; Socrates’ attempt to disqualify etymology from contributing relevant arguments to investigations of contemporary issues is virtually unique in antiquity, see below § 3.

9 For the linguistic notion of ‘common ground’, see *e.g.* Clark-Brennan [1991]; ‘tools for thinking’: Dennett [2000]; [2013], where the equally appealing term “intuition pump” is also used. This label is applied primarily to thought experiments by Dennett, but it seems readily applicable to the exploratory character of numerous ancient etymologies.

10 The term ‘language talk’ to describe the various, often informal, discursive practices that take language itself as its starting point and object is inspired by the unpublished Leiden dissertation on ideas on language in Euripides by Christaan Caspers [2011], whose first chapter is about ‘ὄνομα—πρᾶγμα talk’.

is in part similar to the general use, and in part more specifically tailored to talking about issues of morphology and lexicography.¹¹ In the list of the tasks of grammar by Dionysius Thrax, the fourth item is specified as ἐτυμολογίας εὑρεσις, ‘the invention of etymology’.¹² This means that etymology is now (2nd c. BC) a canonical part of grammar, but at the same time, the formulation suggests a link with rhetorical *inventio* and the argumentative role of etymology which is part of its general and poetic use. The reason why it came to be subsumed under the field of grammar is probably precisely because it plays such an important role in poetry—poetry after all is the primary study and teaching material of the grammarian.

2.1 *Anchoring Practices: Etymology, Mythology, Genealogy*¹³

Ancient etymology is best understood as one of the ‘anchoring’ practices by which human beings seek to create points of reference and orientation in past and present. In that sense it belongs with cultural practices such as mythology and genealogy. An important role of mythology is that it provides a group with a set of stories, a narrative construction of formative moments in the past, and thus helps, among other things, to create a sense of group identity in the present. Mythology provides a common frame of reference. Genealogy, too, is a discursive practice that ultimately serves to explain the *status quo* in the present by anchoring that present, in an unbroken line of generations, to a founding moment in the past, *e.g.* a hero or a god.¹⁴ Both mythology and genealogy are forms of cultural memory; both have recognizable generic features, *i.e.* they constitute a genre with its own discursive characteristics, and both, it may be argued, are ultimately more ‘about’ the present than the past, in spite of their ostensive occupation with that past. The same goes for etymology, and in fact, that practice is regularly related to the other two.

For the link between etymology and genealogy, we may think, with Peradotto [1990], of the name of Penelope, who was most probably named after a kind of ‘duck’ (πηνέλοψ)—there are more ancient examples of girls being named after animals. However, as Peradotto points out, it is possible that the name

11 For etymology as a criterion of correctness in ancient prosody and orthography, see Pagani, Probert, and Valente (section III.2) in this volume.

12 Dion. T. *Ars Gram.* GG I 1.6.1–2.

13 I am making use in this section of Sluiter [1997b] for the connection between etymology, mythology, and genealogy. See Manetti [1987] for ancient semiotic practices.

14 The importance of this practice in an oral society was very well described by Thomas [1989]; Leclerc [1993] 258; West [1985] 27; 29 (rightly pointing out the relation between genealogical narrative and *explanations*).

itself became the object of reflection, and was re-etymologized and connected to *πήνη*, “woof”, and *λώπη* “robe, mantle”; this etymology would have been an impulse or mnemonic support to generate the story of a heroine who spun a robe by day and undid her work by night.¹⁵ Of course, the alternative is that the myth was there first, and that a suitable name for its heroine was subsequently devised: this is a chicken-and-egg question, but however that is, there is an undeniable link between the etymology of the name and the mythological story.

In the *Odyssey*, the name of Odysseus, too, is etymologically connected to the role and character of the hero; “Odysseus” is etymologized many times (Rank [1951] 51–63).¹⁶ The most explicit instance links the choice for baby Odysseus’ name to the verb *ὀδύσασθαι* (*Od.* 19.406ff.). *ὀδύσασθαι*, “to hate, to be mad at”, characterizes, it is said, the relationship between Odysseus’ grandfather Autolycus and the world, and it is projected onto the new baby, who gets a name that fits his grandfather.¹⁷ Two implicit references come in the words of Athena to Zeus in *Odyssey* 1.62, where Odysseus has “grown into his name” and

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- 15 Rank [1951] 66 discusses, but rightly rejects, an allusion to an etymology *πήνεα λέπουσα* in Penelope’s story of her wily weaving in *Od.* 19.137 (οἱ δὲ γάμον σπεύδουσιν· ἐγὼ δὲ δόλους τολυπέω “they are urging marriage; but I am weaving tricks”) on the grounds that all basis in assonance is lacking here (see below § 3.2). Peradotto’s view on the content-generating effect of names is reminiscent of Guiraud’s concept of “*rétro-motivation*” [1972], with its dynamic movement from ‘forme’ to ‘fond’ (content) rather than the other way around (where there would be an actual impulse to create a motivated name, *i.e.* ‘motivation’). In “*rétro-motivation*”, the sign literally creates its referent, the ‘word’ brings about the ‘thing’. For names generating myths, cf. further Kraus [1987] 18; Leclerc [1993] 271.
- 16 The etymologies are implicit in that no term such as ‘etymology’ is used (the Greek term goes back to Chrysippus, 3rd c. BC; cf. D. L. 7.200, who lists two books on Ἑτυμολογικά. However, there is signposting, most explicitly in *Od.* 19.406ff., since the issue there is the naming of baby Odysseus. For etymological signposting (*e.g.* through naming constructions), see below § 3.1. For a collection of all the passages with possible connections between Odysseus and *oduromai*, *odussomai*, and other punning relationships of words or endings with part or whole of the name of Odysseus, see Rank [1951] 51ff.
- 17 There are many more literary examples of children who are given speaking names that characterize primarily their fathers or grandfathers, *e.g.* Astyanax, whose name reflects Hector’s role of protector of the city: *Il.* 6.402f. Hector called the boy Scamandrius, ἀντάρ οἱ ἄλλοι / Ἀστυάνακτ’. οἶος γὰρ ἐρύετο Ἴλιον Ἐκτωρ, “but the others called him Astyanax. For Hector was the sole protector of Troy”; Asty- correspond to Ἴλιον, and ἐρύετο to -anax; note that Hector’s name has a perspicuous etymology denoting the same thing, to which Priam alludes in *Il.* 24.499 εἶρτο δὲ ἄστυ καὶ αὐτούς “(my son) who protected the city and the people”. Similarly, Ajax’ son Eurysaces (“Broadshield”) is named after Ajax’ signature military gear (for the connection, see Soph. *Aj.* 574–576).

carries it in his own right, for she asks Zeus: “why, Zeus, are you so mad at him?” (τί νύ οἱ τόσον ὠδύσσαο, Ζεῦ;) The same passage also hints at a link with ὀδύρομαι “to lament”, when Athena says that Circe is holding back poor Odysseus, who is lamenting his fate: δύστηνον ὀδυρόμενον κατερύκει (*Od.* 1.55). Odysseus is not only, like here, frequently in the position of having cause for lamentation himself, in the *Odyssey* he is obviously also the object of the lamentations of those who miss him, notably Penelope, Telemachus, and, in a striking passage, Eumaeus.¹⁸ In this case, we have both a link with the story and a link between etymology and genealogy: Odysseus gets the name that fits his grandfather and only subsequently does that name become appropriate to the man Odysseus as well. The three discursive practices of genealogy, mythology and etymology are all useful in helping to create a mental roadmap of reality, to give people a sense of where they are in the world.

2.2 *Discourse Characteristics*

Etymological discourse has a number of characteristics to which the modern reader should be alerted, since they help diagnose that we are actually confronted with this particular tool for thinking at a given point in the text. I will list them briefly here, and then discuss each of them in more detail.

The first and most prominent feature is the emphasis on *causality, motivation, and explanation*: the reasons and motivations for why a name or a word is what it is. The prominence of this feature deserves separate discussion in the subsection below.

Since ancient etymology is not about the reconstruction of the single, historically accurate, route from word form to word form, but about using language as a tool for thinking about contemporary reality, this intellectual framework does not require just one single and accurate etymology for each word: several

18 Penelope, e.g. *Od.* 14.129f.—where notice the context of the absent husband: καί οἱ ὀδυρομένη βλεφάρων ἄπο δάκρυα πίπτει / ἢ θέμις ἐστὶ γυναικός, ἐπὶν πόσις ἄλλοθ' ἔληται “and the tears fall from her eyelids, while she weeps, as is the way of a woman, when her husband dies afar” (trad. Murray); Eumaeus, a little further on in the same passage, claims that not even his absent parents arouse such weeping and longing in him as does his absent master Odysseus (*Od.* 14.142ff., where ὀδύρομαι evokes the name of Ὀδυσσεύς, a name Eumaeus states he feels socially inhibited using): notice how the explicit reference to naming may be considered a clue to the presence of etymologizing (οὐδέ νυ τῶν ἔτι τόσσον ὀδύρομαι, . . . ἀλλά μ' Ὀδυσσῆος πόθος αἴνυται οἰχομένοιο. / τὸν μὲν ἐγών, ὦ ξεῖνε, καὶ οὐ παρέοντ' ὀνομάζειν / αἰδέομαι . . . ἀλλά μιν ἠθεῖον καλέω “yet it is not for them that I henceforth mourn so much; instead, it is longing for Odysseus, who is gone, that seizes me. His name, stranger, absent though he is, I am ashamed to pronounce; . . . instead I call him ‘honored friend’ ” (trad. Murray-Dimock).

explanations can co-exist, they can be true *simultaneously*, because different ones can elucidate and highlight different aspects of the same concept, and there is virtually always a certain *fluidity* to etymological discourse. Several etymologies can even add up to an *explanatory narrative* that illuminates the workings of a certain concept in society.

Since etymologies frequently have an argumentative function, the construction of the etymological argument is often such that they will be maximally *persuasive*; the rhetorical presentation of the material can sometimes be demonstrated from the use of a certain *bridging technique* to smooth the semantic connection between word and suggested etymology. Etymologies can also be used *polemically*, to underpin different positions in a debate. Since technical terminology is frequently avoided, there are other forms of signposting that should alert us to the presence of etymological discourse: the context often features words for “name” or “naming”.¹⁹

To shore up the explanation that is being offered, there will always be a phonological or, in this case better, phonetic link between the *explanandum* and the *explanans*: the phrase that is offered as an etymological explanation of the word will have some sounds or letters²⁰ in common with the word that is being explained. The explanation will sometimes detail the path of transformation to the word-form under discussion (*phonetic bridging*).

We will go into the *discourse of motivation* separately, and then illustrate the features mentioned above through a close reading of one case study, taken from Plato’s *Cratylus*.

2.3 *Emphasis on Causality and Motivation*

The fact that ancient etymology serves as a tool for thinking and an orienting device explains a constant feature of etymological discourse both in literature in general and in the language arts (grammar, rhetoric, dialectic): it is strongly

19 See O’Hara [1996] 60 and 75ff. on “naming constructions as etymological signposts” (in Vergil); we just saw an example in the Eumaeus passage *Od.* 14.142ff. (see n. 18). Another example: *Ov. Fast.* 3.725ff., is about explaining the *causae*, the reasons why the vine-father summons (*vocet*) the people to his cakes. The combination of *causa* and *vocare* is enough to prime an ancient audience for the presence of etymologies: there follows a connection between *liba* and *Liber*, but the real connection comes at 733–736: *Liber* explains the name *libamina*, and then states *liba* “are so called, because” [again causal language calling attention to the etymology] *part* of them (*i.e.* of the *libamina*) is dedicated. This must be a playful etymology: *liba* forms part of the word *libamina*, and that fits the actual sacrificial procedure. For the phrases ἀπὸ τοῦ or παρὰ τό as signposts, see Peraki-Kyriakidou [2002] 482.

20 These are never clearly distinguished in antiquity; the term γράμμα or στοιχείον can cover both or either. φωνή is usually reserved for (inarticulate) sound.

marked by the language of causation, motivation, and reasoning. Etymological discourse explains, rationalizes and motivates the meaning of words, it makes explicit the causal relationships obtaining between the thing and the name. *Why* should a word have a particular meaning, *why* has the thing been given that particular name?²¹ Such causal discourse works by linking what is well-known (the word-form that is the starting point) to what is less well-known (the semantic motivation for that word-form); borrowing a term from Fowler, we may call this process “retrospective shaping”.²² This is to say that the etymology will rarely be a heuristic to *find out* what a word means: that meaning, or someone’s opinion on the meaning, is the given, and the etymology is a form of reverse engineering that will make it possible to read off that meaning from the surface of the word.

The urge to motivate our words may be connected to the impulse to use metaphorical language or other poetic devices: both in etymological discourse and in metaphor (or poetry) we may recognize an attempt to undo the arbitrariness of the linguistic sign by making language essentially motivated.²³ Very few ancient Greeks or Romans would have accepted the claim of arbitrariness, but it takes work to deny it. The same resistance can also be detected in the long tradition of folk etymology that lasts until our own day. This is how etymology is a tool for thinking: it supplies a particular kind of argument and explanation.

This characteristic of etymology is directly reflected in the discourse that expresses it, which is often strongly marked by the presence of causal language (true both in Greek and Latin). Some examples of typical phrases that point to etymologizing are:

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- 21 This is what Herbermann [1991] calls the ‘Benennungsgrund’. For the earliest reflections on words’ origin and meaning in the Greek world, see Novokhatko and Pagani in this volume.
 - 22 For this concept (without the name) applied to genealogy, see West [1985] 11; Fowler [1999], 2 n. 7.
 - 23 See Culler [1988] 11 and 13, pointing out this importance of the urge to motivate. “Precisely because the linguistic sign is arbitrary, discourse works incessantly, deviously to motivate”. For undoing the arbitrariness of the sign through metaphor and poetic language, see Conte [1986] 45, who uses Plato’s *Cratylus* as a parallel for this process. Etymology makes ‘poetry’ out of language, *i.e.* it makes language ‘*substantially motivated*’ (*ibid.*). O’Hara [1996] 3 also adopts this view of Conte in thinking about poetic etymologizing (cf. Conte [1986] 50).

- ἐπώνυμον οὖνεκα . . . [“a significant name because . . .”]
- [(name) x] is “as it were”, or “just like” (ὡσπερεί, οἶονεί, *quasi, velut(i), sicut(i), tamquam*) x [where x “unpacks” the information contained in the name]
- a thing has a particular name, because (*quod, quia*) x
- the reason (*ratio*) or cause (*causa*) for a particular name is x²⁴

Cicero is one of our sources stating this causal principle quite clearly, both when speaking about the Academics and the Stoics (the latter in a very critical passage):

Cic. *Acad.* 1.8.32 (on the old Academy)

verborum etiam explicatio probabatur, id est, *qua de causa quaeque essent ita nominata*, quam ἐτυμολογίαν appellabant; post argumentis quibusdam et quasi *rerum notis ducibus utebantur* ad probandum et ad concludendum id quod *explanari* volebant.

They commanded the explanation of words, *i.e.*, why each thing was called by its particular name (they called this *etymology*). Later they used some of them as arguments and deployed as it were the signs of things as guides to prove and show conclusively that which they wished to have explained.

Cic. *Nat. D.* 3.24.63 (on the Stoics)

. . . vocabulorum *cur quidque ita appellatum sit causas explicare*.

To explain the reasons for the names, why each has that particular name.

24 Some examples: ἐπώνυμον οὖνεκα Hom. *Il.* 9.562; *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 3.372ff.; Hes. *Theog.* 144; ὡσπερεί cf. Pl. *Cra.* 407b; οἶονεί: *e.g.* Heracl. *Gram. Quaest. Hom.* 55 Hermes stands for λόγος, Leto is opposed to him: λόγῳ δὲ παντὶ μάχεται Λητώ, οἶονεί ληθῶ τις οἶσα καθ' ἑνὸς στοιχείου μετάθεσιν “Leto fights all reason, being *as it were* a *letho* [‘forgetfulness’] if one changes one element”; *quasi etc.*: see Isid. *Etym. passim, e.g.* 1 v 3 *oratio dicta quasi oris ratio*; (combined with *quod*): 1 iii 2 *litterae autem dictae quasi legiterae, quod iter legentibus praestent* “litterae [letters] are called as it were *legiterae*, because they show readers (*leg-entibus*) the way (*iter*)”; cf. further phrases such as Isid. *Etym.* 1 xvli 2 (on metrical feet) *ipsi autem pedes habent speciales causas nominum quare ita vocentur. Pyrrhichus dictus est quia . . .* “the (metrical) feet themselves have special reasons for their names, why there are called what they are called. The Pyrrhichus is called that because . . .”; an example of an allusive etymology, betraying knowledge of the Greek tradition is Vergil’s *trunca pedum* “devoid of feet”, as flagged by the grammarian Sacerdos (*GL* 6.477.16): *apes quasi ἄπους quod sine pedibus nascatur, sicut Virgilius de his [Georg. 4.310] trunca pedum ‘apes’ ‘bee’ is as it were a-pous ‘feet-less’, because it is born without feet, as Vergil says about them ‘devoid of feet’.*

The “indications or signs of reality” (*rerum nota*) are used as “guiding principle”, to argue and to underpin whatever explanation is offered.²⁵ This explanation of etymology as the ‘Benennungsgrund’ and motivation for names is clearly expressed by *qua de causa quaeque essent ita nominata*, and *cur quidque ita appellatum sit causas explicare*.

Since the normal order of cause (here: the semantic explanation) and effect (here: the word under discussion) is precisely that, we also see the frequent use of Α ἀπό (τοῦ) Β; (*ducere*) *a(b)* etc.

2.4 The Successful Etymology

The successful mapping of names and world unto each other (the goal of the etymologist) may be flagged by commenting on the appropriateness of the name through terms such as ἔτυμον (ἐτύμως), ἐτητύμως, ἀληθῶς, πρεπόντως, δικαίως, ἐνδίκως, καλῶς, εὐλόγως, ὀρθῶς, each of which may again be followed (or preceded) by a *motivation* of such a declaration of appropriateness. All of these terms (minus the adverb ἐτύμως) can be found as early as the Greek tragedians, and all indicate that a name can be motivated in a satisfactory way, that there is a ‘click’ between the world and the way we speak about the world. Although all of these terms are compliments, indicating a ‘good fit’, they do come from different semantic field. The first three (ἐτύμως, ἐτητύμως, ἀληθῶς) indicate “truth”, *i.e.* they say something about the epistemological status of these names, their reliability, and the extent to which they indicate what really is the case.²⁶ πρεπόντως indicates a certain impression on the senses, it means that the name is *conspicuously* fitting; there may also be an overtone of seemliness. A famous example with both ἐτητύμως and πρεπόντως is the passage where the chorus comments on the truthfulness of the name of Helen and the conspicuousness of that truth in Aeschylus’ *Agamemnon* 681ff. In this case the name-giver had some inkling of what lay in store (*pronoiais*), and the *nomen* proved an *omen*:²⁷

25 See n. 72 for Cicero’s terminology.

26 This aspect of ‘truthfulness’ survives deep into the technical tradition, see, *e.g.*, *Sch. Dion. T.*, *GG I* 3.14.23–24: Ἐτυμολογία ἐστὶν ἡ ἀνάπτυξις τῶν λέξεων, δι’ ἧς τὸ ἀληθές σαφηνίζεται “etymology is the unfolding of the words by which the truth is clarified”.

27 ἐτύμως referring to etymologies is not found as adverb prior to the 4th c. BC, and esp. in prose from the 2nd c. BC onwards, mostly in technical literature. However, both the adverb and the adjective ἔτυμος are used with verbs or nouns referring to types of speech, *e.g.* λέγειν ἐτύμως in Xenophanes, *Fragm.* 8 (West); ἔτυμον ἐρέω, *Hom. Il.* 10.534 ψεύσομαι ἢ ἔτυμον ἐρέω; “shall I lie or tell the truth?”; φάμι ἔτυμον, *Soph. Ant.* 1320; ἔτυμος λόγος, *Stesich.* 15 (Page); *Pind. Pyth.* 1.68; ἔ. ἄγγελος *Aesch. Sept.* 82, ἔ. φήμη, *Eur. El.* 818; ἔ. φάτις *Ar. Pax* 114; ἔ. φθογγά *Soph. Phil.* 205; in later prose referring to etymology, in a text dealing with “allegory” *Heraclitus Quaest. Hom.* 5.1–2 (Buffière) on the word ἀλληγορία: σχεδὸν γὰρ

τίς ποτ' ὠνόμαζεν ᾧδ'
 ἔς τὸ πᾶν ἐτήτύμως·
 μή τις ὄντιν' οὐχ ὀρώμεν προνοί-
 αῖσι τοῦ πεπρωμένου
 γλώσσαν ἐν τύχαι νέμων·
 τὰν δορίγραμβρον ἀμφινει-
 κή θ' Ἑλέαν; ἐπεὶ πρεπόντως
 ἑλένας, ἔλανδρος, ἑλέ-
 πτολις ἐκ τῶν ἀβροπήνων
 προκαλυμμάτων ἔπλευσεν.

who can have given a name so altogether true—was it some power invisible guiding his tongue aright by forecasting of destiny?—who named that bride of the spear and source of strife with the name of Helen? For, it was conspicuously as a Hell to ships, Hell to men, Hell to city that she sailed the sea, stepping forth from her delicate and costly-curtained bower (trad. Weir Smyth/Lloyd-Jones, adapted).

Ἐτήτυμος and ἔτυμος both mean “true”. Modern etymological lexica do not agree about the precise derivation of these words: they are certainly related to an adjective ἐτός (ἐτά is paraphrased in Hesychius as ἀληθῆ, ἀγαθά), which is itself related to ἐτάζω. Ἐτήτυμος may either have an expressive reduplication or it is formed through a combination of ἐτός and ἔτυμος. Both words are only used in connection with the *technical* terminology of etymology (ἔτυμολογία) at quite a late stage: while they obviously indicate an etymology in Aeschylus, the *term* etymology is much later.²⁸ But the principle is clear: Helen has a truth-speaking name. The term *πρεπόντως* in 687 conveys that as she sailed out, she was both “conspicuously” and possibly “fittingly” men-, ship- and city-destroying,

αὐτὸ τοῦνομα καὶ λίαν ἐτύμως εἰρημένον ἐλέγχει τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῆς. ὁ γὰρ ἄλλα μὲν ἀγορεύειν τρόπος, ἕτερα δὲ ὦν λέγει σημαίων, ἐπωνύμως ἀλληγορία καλεῖται; (in a work not dealing with etymology) Artem. 1.4: a dream of a hostel called “the camel” was explained as announcing that the dreamer would break a leg: καὶ τὸ ξενοδοχεῖον κάμηλος καλούμενον τὸν μηρὸν κατὰξειν (sc. ἐδήλου), ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ ζῶον τὸ καλούμενον κάμηλος μέσους κάμπτει τοὺς μηροὺς ὑποτεμνόμενον τοῖν σκελοῖν τὸ ὕψος ἐτύμως κεκλημένον κάμηλος οἰονεὶ κάμμηρος; and ἀληθῶς: Aesch. *Supp.* 315 on the name of Epaphus, derived from ἐφάπτωρ χειρὶ (see vs. 313): “Ἐπαφος ἀληθῶς ῥυσίων ἐπώνυμος “Epaphus, and truly named from laying on of hands” (trad. Weir Smyth).

28 The word etymology is absent from Plato's *Cratylus* and was apparently coined by the Stoic philosopher Chrysippus in the 3rd c. BC. τὸ ἔτυμον for ‘etymology’ is first used by Plutarch, *e.g. Mor.* 278c ἔστι δὲ τοῦ ὀνόματος τὸ ἔτυμον . . . “the etymology of the word is . . .”.

i.e. she behaved in a way appropriate to her name, as if she was somehow socially expected (πρέπει, τὸ πρέπει) to do the right thing by her name. She was certainly *seen* to be doing what her name might suggest. Notice how the ἐπεὶ clause *motivates* the appropriateness of the name.

Δικαίως and ἐνδίκως mean that things are as they ought to be, that regularity and order are preserved.²⁹ Καλῶς comes from the semantic field of aesthetics,³⁰ εὐλόγως of reasonableness,³¹ and ὀρθῶς of correctness, rightness according to a (straight) rule—this of course is the word that will become the 5th-century catchword for correctness of speech.³²

- 29 An example combining ὀρθῶς, ἐνδίκως and ἐπώνυμον is Aesch. *Sept.* 400ff. (Eteocles speaking, on Tydeus' shield emblem of 'night'): καὶ νύκτα ταύτην ἦν λέγεις ἐπ' ἀσπίδος . . . εἰ γὰρ θανόντι νύξ ἐπ' ὀφθαλμοῖς πέσοι / τῷ τοι φέροντι σῆμ' ὑπέροκμον τόδε / γένοιτ' ἂν ὀρθῶς ἐνδίκως τ' ἐπώνυμον "as for this 'night' which you say is on his shield (this will prove prophetic): for if the night of death should fall on his eyes, then his boastful device would prove to be rightly and properly true to its name for its bearer" (trad. Sommerstein). This passage is intriguing because it refers to a σῆμα that is not a linguistic sign (the word 'night'), but rather a graphic representation; it needs to be verbalized, *and* interpreted metaphorically as the night of death before the diagnosis of the 'perfect fit' between sign and reality will hold. For δικαίως, see also Soph. *OT* 1282f.
- 30 For a passage combining ἐτήτυμος and καλῶς, see Aesch. *Cho.* 948ff. ἔθιγε δ' ἐν μάχρᾳ χερὸς ἐτήτυμος / Διὸς κόρα, Δίκαν δέ νιν / προσαγορεύομεν / βροτοὶ τυχόντες καλῶς "and in the battle his hand was guided by her who is in very truth daughter of Zeus, breathing murderous wrath on her foes. We mortals aim true to the mark when we call her ΔΙΚΑ (Justice)" (trad. Weir Smyth, adapted): here the truth of Dika's parentage as daughter of Zeus (the first function of ἐτήτυμος here) is confirmed by her name (Δι [os]- K[or]A), a name given by mortals that is beautifully to the point.
- 31 See *e.g.* Aesch. fr. 6.3 Radt A τί δῆτ' ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὄνομα θήσονται βροτοί; / Β σεμνοῦς Παλικῶς Ζεὺς ἐφίεται καλεῖν. / Α ἦ καὶ Παλικῶν εὐλόγως μένει φάτις; / Β πάλιν γὰρ ἵκουσ' ἐκ σκότου τόδ' εἰς φάος "A So what name will mortals give them? / B Zeus ordains that they be called the holy Palici. / A And will the name of Palici be appropriate and permanent? / B Yes, for they have *come back* from the darkness to this realm of light" (trad. Sommerstein): the etymology is based on πάλιν and ἵκειν—they are "Back-comers" (Sommerstein); cf. also Aesch. *Supp.* 251ff. (εὐλόγως ἐπώνυμον). For linguistic correctness (*Hellenismos*) see Pagani in this volume.
- 32 For ὀρθῶς, see Aesch. *Sept.* 829 οἱ δῆτ' ὀρθῶς κατ' ἐπωνυμίαν / <...> καὶ πολυνεικεῖς ὦλοντ' "who have verily perished in a manner appropriate to their names / ... with 'much strife'" (trad. Sommerstein): the chorus claims that both brothers are "Polyneiceis", and plays on the etymology of that name; Soph. fr. 965 Radt ὀρθῶς δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς εἰμ' ἐπώνυμος κακῶν. / πολλοὶ γὰρ ὠδύσαντο δυσμενεῖς ἐμοί "I am rightly called Odysseus, after something bad: for many enemies have been angry with me". ὀρθῶς is used in particular for the correspondence between expressions and things meant—the crucial point in etymology.

Any name carrying these commendations shares the fact that it is ἐπώνυμος, it is significant, and establishes a meaningful relationship between language and the world. It refers to the fact that something is *named after* something else.³³ The term ἐπώνυμος is used from Homer onwards.³⁴

3 A Case Study: Plato's *Cratylus* on the Name of Apollo³⁵

In the 5th and 4th centuries it became increasingly fashionable to explore and exploit the notion that language itself can somehow be of direct and instrumental use in illuminating the relationship between reality, thought, and language itself, that there is a satisfying fit between language and reality, and that this relationship can be expressed as right, just, true, correct or beautiful, as fits the context. In Plato's *Cratylus*, written in the 4th c. BC, but with a dramatic date in the 5th, Socrates is made to address this fashion in an attempt, in his case, to disqualify language as a direct route to philosophical truth. As in several other dialogues, Socrates dismantles the etymological method only after having proven his unrivalled excellence at this form of discourse.³⁶—Plato always makes sure that the 'sour grapes' argument will never affect Socrates: whenever

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- In Aeschylus, we also encounter the terms *τορῶς* and *σαφῶς* "clearly": these are terms that refer to the auditory domain, the shrillness and clarity of sounds; they are less relevant here.
- 33 For ἐπώνυμος, used for a name in so far as it relates to something else, see Sulzberger [1926], Sluiter [1997b] 157. ἐπώνυμον ends up in the technical tradition as a subclass of nouns (Dion. T. *GG* I 1 38.3 ἐπώνυμον δέ ἐστιν, ὃ καὶ διώνυμον καλεῖται, τὸ μὲθ' ἑτέρου κυρίου καθ' ἑνὸς λεγόμενον, ὡς Ἐνοσίχθων ὁ Ποσειδῶν καὶ Φοῖβος ὁ Ἀπόλλων "an eponym, also called di-onym (double name), is the name that is used for a single referent together with another word that is the proper name, e.g. Poseidon is (also) 'Earthshaker', and Apollo is also 'Phoebus'").
- 34 E.g. Hom. *Od.* 19.409 τῷ δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς ὄνομ' ἔστω ἐπώνυμον "therefore let Odysseus be his (significant) name", "the name by which he is called"; Soph. *Aj.* 430ff. (Ajax speaking) αἰαί. τίς ἂν ποτ' ᾤεθ' ᾧδ' ἐπώνυμον / τοῦμόν ξυνοίσειν ὄνομα τοῖς ἐμοῖς κακοῖς; / νῦν γὰρ πάρεστι καὶ δις αἰάζειν ἐμοί "Alas! Who ever would have thought that my name would come to harmonise with my sorrows? For now I can say 'Alas' a second time" (trad. Lloyd Jones); this is a case of Ajax having "grown into" his name, where the assonance with the interjection of lament *aiai* has suddenly become meaningful; cf. the relationship between Πηνελόπειος and πένθος in Eur. *Bacch.* 367 (without a term like ἐπώνυμος flagging the etymology).
- 35 This example was also discussed with a slightly different focus in Sluiter [1998].
- 36 Barney [1998] for the competitive nature of Socrates' performance; on *Cra.*, see further in particular Baxter [1992]; Silverman [1992]; Barney [2001]; Sedley [2003b], and the commentary by Ademollo [2011].

a particular type of discourse is rejected as a sound way to philosophical truth, (mostly) Socrates is first shown to have absolute mastery of it.³⁷

Probably without intending to do so, Plato gave an enormous impetus to the fashion of ‘thinking with language’ through his *Cratylus*. The dialogue was taken dead seriously throughout antiquity.³⁸ It provided for the first time some sustained theoretical reflection on etymological practice, and this combined with etymology’s status as a fixture of poetry to secure a permanent place for it in the language disciplines: grammar, rhetoric and dialectic.³⁹

There is every reason to think that the discourse deployed in the *Cratylus* gives a reliable depiction of the type of discourse current among ‘etymologists’, in this case probably the people applying it in the context of intellectual debate in sophistic circles; but clearly, they could also rely on an earlier tradition. And, indeed, the parallels between *Cratylus* and both the earlier and later traditions suggest that its presentation of etymological discourse must have been quite recognizable. What is new, is that *Cratylus* provides us with an early example of longer stretches of sustained etymological argument. In order to illustrate the characteristics of etymological discourse, let us take a look at the etymology of the name of Apollo in *Cratylus* 405a–406a:

Pl. *Cra.* 405a–406a: Apollo:

οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὅτι ἂν μᾶλλον ὄνομα ἤρμοσεν ἔν ὃν τέτταρσι δυνάμεσι ταῖς τοῦ θεοῦ, ὥστε πασῶν ἐφάπτεσθαι καὶ δηλοῦν τρόπον τινὰ μουσικὴν τε καὶ μαντικὴν καὶ ἰατρικὴν καὶ τοξικὴν. . . . (b) κατὰ μὲν τοίνυν τὰς ἀπολύσεις τε καὶ ἀπολούσεις, ὡς ἰατρὸς ὢν τῶν τοιούτων, (c) “Ἀπολούων” ἂν ὀρθῶς καλοῖτο· κατὰ δὲ τὴν μαντικὴν καὶ τὸ ἀληθές τε καὶ τὸ ἀπλοῦν—ταῦτόν γάρ ἐστιν—ὥσπερ οὖν οἱ Θετταλοὶ καλοῦσιν αὐτόν, ὀρθότατ’ ἂν καλοῖτο· “Ἀπλου” γὰρ φασί

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- 37 *E.g.* forensic rhetoric in *Ap.*; different types of epideictic rhetoric in *Menex.*, *Symp.*, *Phdr.*, *Prt.*; sophistic discourse in *Thet.*, and *Euthd.*; Other types of discourse, not always rejected for philosophical purposes: symbouleutic rhetoric in the preambles of *Leg.*; cosmological discourse in *Ti.* (with Timaeus as speaker), historiographical discourse (again not with Socrates as speaker) in *Ti.*, *Cri.*, *Leg. III*; legal discourse in *Leg.* See also Nightingale [1995].
- 38 The modern discussion about taking the *Cratylus* seriously or not is probably not quite on target: the use of etymology as a vehicle for philosophical discussion is explored quite seriously; the outcome that it should not be so used is equally serious. None of this precludes a certain playfulness on the way. In antiquity the *Cratylus* was sometimes seen as originating etymological theory, *e.g.* Dion. Hal. *Comp.* 16: πρῶτῳ τὸν ὑπὲρ ἐτυμολογίας εἰσαγαγόντι λόγον Πλάτωνι τῷ Σωκρατικῷ, πολλαχῆ μὲν καὶ ἄλλῃ μάλιστα δ’ ἐν τῷ Κρατύλῳ “Plato the Socratic was the first to introduce the theory of etymology, in many other places, but in particular in his *Cratylus*”.
- 39 Cf. Pagani, Probert, and Valente (section III.2) in this volume.

πάντες Θετταλοὶ τοῦτον τὸν θεόν. διὰ δὲ τὸ αἰεὶ βολῶν ἐγκρατῆς εἶναι τοξικῆ “Αειβάλλων” ἐστίν. κατὰ δὲ τὴν μουσικὴν δεῖ ὑπολαβεῖν [ὡςπερ τὸν ἀκόλουθόν τε καὶ τὴν ἄκοιτιν] ὅτι τὸ ἄλφα σημαίνει πολλαχού τὸ ὄμου, καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὴν ὄμου πόλῃσιν καὶ περὶ τὸν οὐρανόν, οὓς δὴ “πόλους” καλοῦσιν, καὶ [τὴν] περὶ (d) τὴν ἐν τῇ ᾠδῇ ἁρμονίαν, ἣ δὴ συμφωνία καλεῖται, ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα, ὡς φασιν οἱ κομψοὶ περὶ μουσικὴν καὶ ἀστρονομίαν, ἁρμονία τινὶ πολεὶ ἅμα πάντα· ἐπιστατεῖ δὲ οὗτος ὁ θεὸς τῇ ἁρμονίᾳ ὁμοπολῶν αὐτὰ πάντα καὶ κατὰ θεοῦς καὶ κατ’ ἀνθρώπους· ὡςπερ οὖν τὸν ὁμοκέλευθον καὶ ὁμοκοιτιν “ἀκόλουθον” καὶ “ἄκοιτιν” ἐκαλέσαμεν, μεταβαλόντες ἀντὶ τοῦ “ὄμο-” “ἄ-”, οὕτω καὶ “Ἀπόλλωνα” ἐκαλέσαμεν ὅς ἦν “Ὀμοπολῶν”, (e) ἕτερον λάβδρα ἐμβαλόντες, ὅτι ὁμώνυμον ἐγίγνετο τῷ χαλεπῷ ὀνόματι. ὅπερ καὶ νῦν ὑποπτεύοντές τινες διὰ τὸ μὴ ὀρθῶς σκοπεῖσθαι τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ὀνόματος φοβοῦνται αὐτὸ ὡς σημαῖνον φθορὰν τινὰ· τὸ δὲ [πολύ], (406a) ὡςπερ ἄρτι ἐλέγετο, πασῶν ἐφαπτόμενον κεῖται τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεων, ἀπλοῦ, αἰεὶ βάλλοντος, ἀπολούοντος, ὁμοπολούοντος.

For no single name could more aptly indicate the four functions of the god, touching upon them all and in a manner declaring his power in music, prophecy, medicine, and archery... (b) In accordance, then, with his acts of delivering and his washings, as being the physician of such diseases, (c) he might properly be called Apoluon [ἀπολούων, the washer], and in accordance with his soothsaying and truth and simplicity (*haploun*)—for the two are identical—he might most properly be called by the name the Thessalians use; for all Thessalians call the god Aplun. And because he is always by his archery controller of darts [βολῶν] he is ever darting [αἰεὶ βάλλων]. And in accordance with his music we have to understand that *alpha* often signifies ‘together’, and here it denotes moving together both in the heavens about the poles, as we call them, and with respect to (d) harmony in song, which is called concord. For, as the ingenious musicians and astronomers tell us, all these things move together by a kind of harmony. And this god directs the harmony, making them all move together, among both gods and men. And so, just as we call *homokeleuthon* (him who accompanies), and *homokoitin* (bedfellow), by changing the *homo-* to *alpha*, *akolouthon* and *akoitin*, so also we called him Apollo who was Homopolo, (e) and the second lambda was inserted because without it the name sounded of disaster. Even as it is, some have a suspicion of this, because they do not properly regard the force of the name, and therefore they fear it, thinking that it denotes some kind of ruin. But in fact, (406a) as was said, the name touches upon all the qualities of the god, as simple, ever-darting, purifying, and accompanying. [trad. Fowler, slightly adapted]

3.1 *Illustration of Discursive Principles*

This text provides a perfect demonstration of the principles of etymological discourse.

- (1) First of all, here are four etymologies that are clearly meant to give us, collectively, a picture of the roles of Apollo in 5th–4th-century Athens: roles in music, divination, medicine, and archery. The different etymologies do not exclude, but rather supplement each other. None of them is supposed to offer the single true historical derivation of the name, but each of them reveals an aspect of the god. They are *simultaneously true*.
- (2) Second, each of the four gives a *Benennungsgrund*, they motivate the name of the god; each time the *Benennungsgrund* is different in accordance with the different roles of the god. The etymologies are marked by the use of causal language or the suggestion of causal connections.⁴⁰ The etymologies are evaluated, in this case primarily by means of terms such as ὀρθῶς and ὀρθότατ' (405c).⁴¹
- (3) Apart from the causal language, the vocabulary used draws explicit attention to the presence of names (*e.g.* in the very first line of this excerpt: ὄνομα) and the practice of naming (various forms of καλέω are used throughout this text). In the *Cratylus*, with its explicit focus on etymology, this may not cause wonder, but as noted above, such discourse elements may signpost etymologies also in texts that are not explicitly *about* etymology.

All the points mentioned so far can readily be paralleled in the poetic tradition, for instance in the multiple explanations for the name of Ion in Euripides' *Ion*; in the prologue by Hermes we learn that Apollo will make sure that he will be called by the name Ion throughout Greece: as future founder of the *Ionians* (*Ion* 74–75), he will be their “eponymous hero”, *i.e.* they will be named after him; and in fact, Hermes proceeds immediately to call him by that name he is yet to get (80–81). The actual naming is based on Apollo's oracle to Ion's new father Xuthus: whoever encounters Xuthus on his leaving the temple (ἐξιόντι, 535) will be his son, says Apollo, and Xuthus converts the fact that Ion is the

40 In 405b κατά may mean no more than “in accordance with”, “with reference to”, but the implication is clearly that etymology and domain are in accordance with each other; 405b ὡς + ptc. “because”; in 405c, again the use of κατά, especially διά, and again κατά; 405d ὅτι; supplemented with a principle of analogy (405d ὅσπερ . . . οὕτω . . .).

41 The qualification ὀρθῶς is obviously important in *Cra.* given its theme of ὀρθότης τῶν ὀνομάτων. But the other commendations also play a role, *e.g.* ἀλήθεια (vs. εὐστομία ~ καλῶς) Pl. *Cra.* 404d.

first person he saw into the motivation for his name.⁴² “Leaving” or “going (out)” is thus something done by *the father*. When the chorus reports the naming incident, they seem to transfer the “going” to the son—of course, “meeting” is something done mutually.⁴³ Each time, the etymology is signposted by the vocabulary of names and naming, and a causal relationship is suggested between name and motivation. The name also related to what happens in the story. This takes us back to the *Cratylus* example again.

- (4) In the Apollo example, the etymologies together make up a narrative: they are a story about Apollo, in fact, the passage has a neat ring-composition that strengthens that effect (406a picks up 405a). It has frequently been observed that etymology is an important tool in allegory, without completely coinciding with it.⁴⁴ Etymology can provide the building blocks, often based on establishing individual interpretations (or motivations) of names. Put together, these can constitute allegorical narratives. This is what we see happening, for instance, in the 1st c. AD work by Cornutus. However, as we see, etymology by itself also has narrative potential.⁴⁵
- (5) Fifth, the last etymology, with its reference to people who believe that the name of Apollo is somehow related to the verb ἀπόλλυμι “to destroy”, is polemical in tone. It is claimed that the insertion of a second lambda was in fact done on purpose to prohibit such an association. In fact, however, our poetic tradition does indeed offer such an etymology, for instance in Aeschylus’ *Agamemnon* 1080–1082,⁴⁶ where Cassandra calls on Apollo,

42 Eur. *Ion* 661–663 Ἴωνα δ’ ὀνομάζω σε τῇ τύχῃ πρέπον, / ὀθούνεκ’ ἀδύτων ἐξιόντι μοι θεοῦ / ἔχνος συνήψας πρῶτος “I give you the name Ion, a name befitting the happy circumstances, because you were the first when I left (*ex-ion-ti*) the temple of the god, to cross my path”. Notice the causal language (ὀθούνεκ’), the success of the etymological relation (πρέπον), and the assonance between *Ion* and *ex-ion-ti*.

43 Eur. *Ion* 802 (response to the question: what name did his father give him?) Ἴων, ἐπεὶ περ πρῶτος ἦντησεν πατρί (“Ion, since he was the first to encounter his father”), cf. above n. 17 on Hector and Astyanax. The verb ἀντάω is used as a synonym for ἰέναι, which we need to get to “Ion”.

44 Boys-Stones [2003a]; see also Long [1992] 54–58 on Cornutus and etymology.

45 Cf. O’Hara [1996] 58 (about etymology in poetry): “An etymology is a story . . . and poets play with details of the story in a way that may be compared with the way they play with myths”.

46 The destructiveness of Apollo is a topos of the poetic tradition, cf. for instance Soph. *OT* 1329f. (Oedipus) Ἀπόλλων τάδ’ ἦν, Ἀπόλλων, φίλοι / ὁ κακὰ κακὰ τελῶν ἐμὰ τάδ’ ἐμὰ πάθεα “this was Apollo, Apollo, my friends, who brought about these evil evil sufferings of mine”. Note that κακὰ τελῶν again represents a paraphrase of the term ἀπόλλυμι which is necessary for the actual etymology. Another destructive Apollo is encountered in the first book of the *Iliad*, where he brings about the pest.

and claims that he has destroyed her: "Ἀπολλον Ἀπολλον / ἀγυιάτ', ἀπόλλων ἐμός. / ἀπώλεσας γὰρ οὐ μόλις τὸ δεύτερον ("Apollo, Apollo, god of the ways, my *Apollón*:⁴⁷ for you have destroyed me (*apólesas*) without any trouble for the second time"). Notice here too the explicit mention of the *Benennungsgrund*: γὰρ, motivating the name Apollo. The polemic against Aeschylus and others demonstrates that you can *argue* with and with the help of etymologies, and that there is a certain *fluidity* to them. A different etymology will correspond to a different view of the underlying reality, in this case the role of Apollo.

- (6) Finally, this text is also a valuable illustration of the technical aspect of etymology: the linguistic operations that will lead from one form to the next. These deserve separate discussion.

3.2 *Etymological Technique*

- (a) An important aspect of etymological persuasive technique, and a demonstration of its rhetorical use is *semantic bridging*, the semantic transition technique that Socrates uses. For instance, when he speaks about the mantic qualities, the aspects of divination in Apollo's name (405c), he starts with the term *μαντική*—this represents his initial claim that the name of Apollo will somehow reveal this function of Apollo. He then substitutes τὸ ἀληθές "truth"—this is unlikely to be a controversial move, since divination is conventionally about establishing truth, and from there he moves to ἀπλοῦν: this move *is* surprising, but it is the word he needs to make the etymology work. Hence his explicit confirmation that truth and simplicity are really the same thing.⁴⁸ It would not have worked to go straight from *μαντική* to ἀπλοῦν.⁴⁹
- (b) Within etymological discourse any linguistic principle or observation can be put to good use: the etymologist can take recourse to different dialects, as here to that of the Thessalians, 405c, where Aeolic *psilos* helps to bring ἀπλοῦν via ἄπλουν closer to Ἀπόλλων. Socrates also refers to the (correctly identified) similarity of ἀ- and ὁμο-, *i.e.* he realizes that the

47 Here related to ἀπόλλυμι/ἀπολλύω as if from ἀπόλλω.

48 Cf. the use of synonyms and paraphrase.

49 Cf. also 405b6ff., where Socrates introduces the purificatory aspects of Apollo (ultimately using ἀπολούω for "to purify") via the more usual καθαίρω: οὐκ οὖν ὁ καθαίρων θεὸς καὶ ὁ ἀπολούων τε καὶ ἀπολύων τῶν τοιούτων κακῶν οὗτος ἂν εἴη; . . . Ἀπολούων ἂν ὀρθῶς καλοῖτο "Wouldn't then the god who purifies and washes clean and delivers from such evils be him? . . . He would rightly be called Cleanwasher".

alpha may not just be an *α privans* but may also indicate a relationship of “togetherness”. And he uses a principle of analogy: the relation between *ὀμόκοιτις* and *ἄκοιτις* is the same as that between *ὀμοπολῶν* and *Ἀπόλλων*. To say that etymology is a very different language game from our discipline of historical grammar is definitely not to say that there is not a great amount of linguistic observation and knowledge feeding into it.⁵⁰

- (c) This is also our first extant text in which the avoidance of homonymy is explicitly invoked as a reason for linguistic change—in later grammatical theory we will encounter the phrase *ἵνα μὴ συνεμπεσῆ* “in order to avoid coincidence”; *συνεμπίπτειν* refers to the coincidence of forms (*co-in-cide* is actually a ‘calque’ of *συν-εμ-πίπτειν*).⁵¹
- (d) Another issue of the technique of etymology is *phonetic bridging*, the phonetic transition technique that takes us from one word-form to the next. This is connected with the set of rules, also going back to the *Cratylus* that is associated with etymology in antiquity. These rules are asserted quite confidently by Socrates in the passage in the *Cratylus* in which he claims to be under the influence of a strange inspiration. If we wish to understand why a word is called whatever it is called—a clear enunciation of the ancient mission statement of etymology—he says, we should fully focus on the *semantic* aspect. Ultimately, that is the only thing that counts. The *word-form* can undergo all kinds of changes, which will not ultimately affect the meaning. Socrates distinguishes four kinds of change or operations:

Pl. *Cra.* 394b οὕτω δὲ ἴσως καὶ ὁ ἐπιστάμενος περὶ ὀνομάτων τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν σκοπεῖ, καὶ οὐκ ἐκπλήττεται εἴ τι πρόσκειται γράμμα ἢ μετάκειται ἢ ἀφίρηται, ἢ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις παντάπασιν γράμμασιν ἔστιν ἢ τοῦ ὀνόματος δύναμις. (*E.g.* Hector and Astyanax have only a *tau* in common, yet they mean the same thing).⁵²

50 In that sense the criticism of Nifadopoulos [2003b] of the observation that ancient etymology will use anything that will create the desired result is misguided. The recognition that ancient etymology is a particular “tool for thinking” in its own right rather than a precursor of historical grammar is perfectly compatible both with taking it seriously, and with acknowledging that observations of linguistic regularities may feed into it (cf. also Pagani, Probert, and Valente [section III.2] in this volume).

51 See Sluiter [1990] 125–139.

52 See above n. 17.

So perhaps the man who knows about names considers their value and is not confused if some letter is added, transposed or subtracted, or even if the force of the name is expressed in entirely different letters. (trad. Fowler)

Socrates is talking here about an expert in names (a dialectician) who wants to understand what the namegiver has done. The namegiver has expressed in his names a certain principle (in the case of Hector and Astyanax the principle of “protecting a city”). The precise form in which he does so is irrelevant. Socrates himself notes that Hector and Astyanax have only the letter *tau* in common, yet they mean the same thing—the idea is *not*, therefore, that one is somehow ‘derived’ from the other, they both express the same semantic idea in different sounds.⁵³ Aristotle will use the same four categories as an exhaustive explanation of the forms that any change can take: change will come about by addition or subtraction or transposition or substitution (πρόσθεσις, ἀφαίρεσις, μετάθεσις, ἐναλλαγή). And we will find these same four categories throughout the grammatical tradition,⁵⁴ whether discussion is about dialects or accentuation or pathology or syntax; they also underlie the theory of rhetorical tropes and figures. Socrates has a long shadow here.

Two comments should be made here. The first one is positive and constructive: the fact that all these changes are enumerated and that they receive their own labels points at the fact that the causal link constructed between a name and its etymology cannot do without *some* form of material support in the word form. The plausibility of the causal connections that are constructed in this explanatory exercise may depend primarily on the semantic link, but phonological (or rather: phonetic) adstruction is necessary. There needs to be a form of assonance between the *explanandum* and the *explanans*, even if just a very slight one.⁵⁵ Issues of euphony may be invoked to explain why the shift in the ‘soundscape’ of the word took place (*e.g.* 404d), and *phonetic bridging* will often provide a series of subtly changed forms connecting the semantically perspicuous to the semantically opaque one.

On the other hand, it will also be clear that if all these changes are permitted, this means that ultimately we can get from any single word to any single other word or phrase—and that, of course, is precisely the criticism that Socrates himself at a later point in the *Cratylus* anticipates and that will be taken up by

53 Note again that like all ancient thinkers, Socrates does not distinguish between sounds and letters.

54 See Pagani in this volume.

55 See O’Hara [1996] 59 and 60ff. on *paronomasia* (the poetic linking of words of similar sound).

that part of the ancient tradition that is highly critical of etymology (such critics of etymology notably include Aristotle, Cicero and Galen). In Cicero's *De Natura Deorum*, for instance, it is put like this:⁵⁶

Cic. *Nat. D.* 3.24.62f.

enodatio nominum... in enodandis autem nominibus quod miserandum sit laboratis... quamquam, quoniam Neptunum a nando appellatum putas, nullum erit nomen quod non possis una littera explicare unde ductum sit; in quo quidem magis tu mihi natare visus es quam ipse Neptunus. (63) magnam molestiam suscepit et minime necessariam primus Zeno post Cleanthes deinde Chrysippus commenticiarum fabularum reddere rationem, vocabulorum cur quidque ita appellatum sit causas explicare.

The unraveling of names... in unraveling names, what a pitiful effort are you making!... though since you think the name Neptune comes from *nare* "to swim", there will be no name of which you could not make the derivation clear on the basis of one letter. In this matter you seem to me to be more at sea than Neptune himself. (63) A great deal of quite unnecessary trouble was taken first by Zeno, then by Cleanthes, and lastly by Chrysippus, to rationalize these purely fanciful myths and explain the reasons for the names by which the various deities are called (trad. Rackham, adapted).

The criticism is put quite clearly here: if Neptune can be derived from *nare*, any word can be linked to any other by having just one letter in common: one letter will suffice to explain its provenance (*una littera explicare unde ductum sit*). This criticism, too, would be long-lived. It is the basis for Mark Twain's famous dictum on the derivation of the name of the village of "Middletown" from "Moses", "by dropping oses and adding iddletown".⁵⁷

The *Cratylus* passage has provided examples of semantic bridging, of the use of any kind of linguistic observation, of the argument from linguistic economy, and of phonetic bridging with its application of the four categories of change. These will remain important instruments of etymologists throughout antiquity and the Middle Ages.⁵⁸

56 This is part of the same text quoted above, in § 2.3.

57 Taken from Culler [1988] 4.

58 For etymologies *a contrario* of the type *lucus a non lucendo*, not represented in this passage, see e.g. Quint. *Inst.* 1.6.34: etiamne a contrariis aliqua sinemus trahi, ut "lucus" quia umbra opacus parum luceat, et "ludus" quia sit longissime a lusu, et "Ditis" quia

4 Functions of Etymology

If ancient etymology is not a historical discipline with a primary interest in phonological change, what does it *do*? As I argued in this chapter, to understand the intellectual and socio-cultural niche occupied by etymology, it is imperative that we understand its *functions*. Focusing on function rather than on technique has the important advantage that it starts from the Principle of Charity: it gives a maximizing interpretation of the relevance and coherence of the ancient practice before criticizing it.⁵⁹ I will pull together some threads from my earlier discussion in this overview of the functions of etymology.⁶⁰

As we demonstrated above, etymology, just like genealogy and mythology, may support cultural memory: in this mnemonic capacity, the words themselves are turned into repositories of cultural information (Carruthers 1992). But not everyone has the key to these repositories. There is a considerable performative element to etymological discourse.⁶¹ The poets, or later the more technical language specialists, put themselves forward as masters of language, capable of making language ‘special’, ‘marked’, and ‘motivated’, in that any seemingly opaque element of language in their hands becomes transparent and meaningful in and of itself. The masterful unpacking of the information carried by the very words themselves is an instant demonstration of the poet’s superior and playful command of language; it allows him to compete with others in a particular form of power play, and thus to claim his place in a literary tradition.⁶² At the same time, the reader is actively involved in the same language game, particularly where the etymology is signposted, but not fully spelled out. Following the poets’ lead in squeezing knowledge of the world out of their words becomes an aesthetic experience, contributing to the pleasure of the reader. Etymological suggestions also frequently create thematic connections with (poetic) content, and thus support and reinforce the narrative. While these elements are all crucial to the primarily *poetic* and *literary* functions of etymology, they spill over into different areas of ancient intellectual life; in particular, there is an important feedback loop between the production of poetry and Alexandrian scholarship, from which grammar and philology

minime dives?; August. *De dialect.* 6; for their explanation as euphemistic expressions, see O’Hara [1996]; Sluiter [1997b] 159.

59 For the Principle of Charity applied to linguistic thought, cf. Sluiter [1998].

60 The excellent discussion by O’Hara [1996] 103ff. has provided the basis for this section.

61 This is definitely also true for Socrates’ performance in the *Cratylus*; see further Ford [1999].

62 O’Hara [1996] 102–111, here at 103 (“I too am a poet”, cf. Conte [1986] 42).

take their cue.⁶³ And there is a second important feedback loop connecting the language disciplines (grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, philology).

It is in technical grammar (but also in rhetorical contexts) that etymology is also used—or at least presented—as a *heuristic* tool, an ‘intuition pump’ for assessing the meaning or orthography of a word.⁶⁴ This presupposes that the etymology is easy to follow. Varro complains about an etymology in Ennius that presupposes knowledge of Greek to an extent that makes the etymology itself highly obscure.⁶⁵ In the technical grammarians Apollonius Dyscolus and Herodian (2nd c. AD), etymology plays a rather minor role.⁶⁶ However, two passages from Herodian may illustrate the range of its usage.

Herodian, *De Il. prosod.*, GG 3.2.30

“Ἡφαιστον· δασύνεται διὰ τὴν ἐτυμολογίαν· παρὰ γὰρ τὸ ἄπτω ἐγένετο.

Hephaestus: Rough breathing on account of the etymology. For it comes from (the word) *haptō*.

This is the usage traditionally labeled ‘heuristic’: the etymology of the name Hephaestus is used as an argument to settle the question of whether the opening vowel should have a rough or a smooth breathing.⁶⁷ Since ἄπτω has a rough breathing, so should Ἡφαιστος. However, the etymology itself is offered quite apodictically.⁶⁸ There is no argument or motivation for it, *i.e.* the name

63 See Montana in this volume.

64 See e.g. Maltby [2003], 103–118. See further Pagani, Probert, and Valente (section III.2) in this volume.

65 Varro *Ling.* 7.82 (note that Varro does not doubt the correctness of the etymology, but its effectiveness) *apud Ennium “Andromachae nomen qui indidit, recte indidit” . . . imitari dum voluit Euripiden et ponere ἔτυμον, est lapsus; nam Euripides quod Graece posuit ἔτυμα sunt aperta. ille ait adeo nomen additum Andromachae, quod ἀνδρὶ μάχεται; hoc Ennii quis potest intellegere in versu[m] significare “Andromachae nomen qui indidit recte indidit”?* “in Ennius: “whoever gave Andromache her name, gave it rightly” . . . he made a mistake when he wanted to imitate Euripides by giving the etymology. For Euripides’ suggestion in Greek is a clear etymology. He said that Andromache had been given her name, because she *andr-i mach-etai*. But who can understand that this is the meaning of Ennius’ verse “whoever gave Andromache her name, gave it rightly”? (Example from O’Hara [1996] 52).

66 Cf. Pagani, Probert, and Valente (section III.2) in this volume.

67 Cf. Hdn. *Pros.* GG 3.1.543.24, where it becomes apparent that the rough breathing in Hephaestus is exceptional (other words starting with η followed by an aspirate (here φ) have a smooth breathing). The etymology motivates the exception.

68 For comparison: Chantraine (*Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*) calls Hephaestus “nom divin particulièrement obscur”. In Plato’s *Cratylus* (407c) Socrates makes it clear that he’d rather not be forced to discuss his suggestion in detail.

Hephaestus is not motivated through an explicit semantic link with the verb ἅπτω “to touch”. The second example takes a different approach still:

Herodian, *De Il. Prosod.*, GG 3.2.95 (on *Il.* 15.365 ἦϊε Φοῖβε)

ἦϊε· Ἀρίσταρχος δασύνει, ἀπὸ τῆς ἕσεως τῶν βολῶν. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Κράτητα ψιλῶς, ἀπὸ τῆς ἰάσεως. καὶ οὕτως ἐπέισθησαν οἱ γραμματικοὶ πρὸς διάφορον ἔτυμολογίαν διαφόρως ἀναγινώσκειν. ἀγνοοῦσι δὲ ὅτι ὁ χαρακτήρ μάχεται· αἶε γὰρ τὸ η̄ πρὸ φωνήεντος ψιλοῦται, ἦῶς, ἦια.

Aristarchus writes ἦϊε (*ê-i-e*) with a rough breathing, from the shooting (*hesis*) of darts, but Crates and his followers with a smooth breathing, from healing (*iasis*). And thus the grammarians let themselves be persuaded to read this differently in accordance with their different etymologies. But they do not realize that the word-type is inconsistent with this: for *êta* before vowel *always* has a smooth breathing, (e.g.) *êôs, êia*’.

We immediately recognize two of the etymologies attached to Apollo in the *Cratylus* (see above). We also again see that different groups of grammarians use etymology as an argument for (different) orthographical decisions to do with prosody. But Herodian overrules them all because the etymology turns out to be irrelevant: whatever it is, the word would have started with an ‘*êta* + smooth breathing’, because *all* Greek words starting with *êta* before a vowel have a smooth breathing. The technical grammarian works with sweeping rules based on phonological conditions (or at least sequences of letters) which may outweigh etymological considerations. There is no doubt that we are again encountering a performance of mastery in conditions of fierce intellectual competition: but etymology is not the winning weapon here.

As a tool of interpretation and persuasive argumentation, etymology may serve widely divergent causes.⁶⁹ For instance, Ovid rejects an etymology of April that would not support the Augustan political agenda and Julian claims of descent from Venus. The background to his stance is one of politics and poetic patronage.⁷⁰ In rhetoric, etymology is part of *inventio*,⁷¹ the first task of

69 On Stoic etymological interpretation, cf. Long [1992].

70 *Ov. Fast.* 4.85–90 where an etymology of April from *aperire* (of nature in Spring) is rejected in favor of one connecting the name of the month to Venus; cf. Herbert-Brown [1994] 90f. I thank Stephen Heyworth for this suggestion. See Maltby [1991] s.v. *aprilis*.

71 The slightly curious phrasing of the fourth task of grammar in Dionysius Thrax as ἔτυμολογίας εὔρεσις is probably indicative of the place of etymology in precisely this neighboring language discipline, namely rhetoric. See at n. 12.

the rhetorician, in which he *finds* the argumentative structure and material for his speech, not in the sense of inventing, but of discovering what is already there. Etymology is a topos of invention, and has a place in works called *Topica*, both by Aristotle and by Cicero.⁷² The argumentative role of etymology is crucial. An example of such an etymological argument from a legal context, where it may have fulfilled the role of, precisely, an intuition pump, a *prima facie* argument, is the fragment by the Roman legal scholar M. Antistius Labeo (from the time of Augustus).

M. Antistius Labeo, *GRF* 557–63. Fragm. 7
soror appellata est quasi seorsum nascitur

a *soror* “sister” has that name as if she is born *seorsum* “apart”.

The fragment relates the word for “sister” (*soror*) etymologically to *seorsum* “separate” or “apart”. A reasonable guess would be that Labeo used this etymology to argue for the legal status of “sisters”: by nature, that is in natural law, they would be expected to leave the house and the jurisdiction of their fathers when they got married and to go over into the *manus* of their husband. This natural state of affairs appears from their name *soror*, and it means that natural law and positive law are in agreement. This argument would have appealed to the Stoa and may in fact have been inspired by them.⁷³

Finally, there may be a more basic mnemonic function than the one we started out with: etymologies are a helpful support for memory, simply because they can be delightful, clever, and easy to remember. We will end this overview with two examples from the Middle Ages, where yet another type of etymology becomes popular: the syllabic one.⁷⁴ This leads to etymologies such as *cadaver* = *ca-ro da-ta ver-mibus* (“flesh given to worms”) or *fenestra* = *fē-rens n-os extra* (“taking us outside”).⁷⁵ These etymologies are funny and

72 *E.g.* Arist. *Rh.* 1400b17–25; *Top.* 112a32–38; Cic. *Top.* 35–37 *cum ex vi nominis argumentum elicitur* “when an argument is drawn from the meaning of a name”. Cicero experiments with different translations, but rejects the literal *veriloquium* (a ‘calque’ of ἐτυμολογία) for *notatio* (*quia sunt verba rerum notae* “because words are symbols of reality”, relating this choice to Aristotle’s σύμβολον. Cic. *De or.* 2.256–257 provides more examples of *paronomasia* and rhetoric based on etymology (in spite of the philosophical objections raised in *Nat. D.*, see above at n. 56).

73 See Allen [2005] on Stoic etymology.

74 The *Di-ka* ~ *Dios Kora* example discussed above at n. 30 is an early version of this.

75 To be found in Petrus Helias, *Summa super Priscianum* 1 2 (see Copeland-Sluiser [2009], 351); the gloss on Priscian *Promisimus* (Copeland-Sluiser [2009], 356).

memorable, and excellently suited for teaching Latin to non-native speakers, which adds a pedagogic function to our list. And the unorthodox use of the window in particular, if we think not of just staring out of it, but actually using it as an exit, may have appealed to schoolboys in particular.

5 Final Adhortation

Ancient linguistic thought takes all kinds of shapes: etymologizing is one of the most varied intellectual habits of classical antiquity in spite of all the ridicule and criticism it has also invited. But it needs to be engaged on its own terms, and we need to be alert to its often hidden and allusive nature. It is an intuition pump used to demonstrate authority and mastery over language, no longer a random instrument for speaking, but a motivated and meaningful one that helps us explore the *common ground* formed by language itself. It suggests *prima facie* arguments and interpretations, and it supports memory. And most importantly, it can be delightfully clever. But that, admittedly, is also a matter of taste.

Ancient Theory of Prosody¹

Philomen Probert

- 1 *Introduction*
- 2 *Branches of Prosody*
- 3 *Breathings*
- 4 *Vowel Quantities*
- 5 *Types of Accent*
- 6 *Positions for the Word Accent*
- 7 *'Barytone' Words*
- 8 *Classification of Words into Groups with Similar Accentuation*
- 9 *Base Accent and Case Accent*
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- 11 *Concluding Remarks: Prosody as a Part of Ancient Grammar*

1 Introduction

The term 'theory' is used in a number of different senses. In a fairly weak sense, theory involves not just the statement of known facts but some generalisation over those facts. In a somewhat stronger sense 'theory' is used of the *systematic* statement of generalisations over a large and in some way complete body of facts. The second edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary's* definition of 'theory', sense 5, begins, "In the abstract (without article): Systematic conception or statement of the principles of something; abstract knowledge, or the formulation of it: . . .".

A systematic treatment of the facts of ancient Greek prosody was achieved by the second century AD, when Herodian² produced a large work entitled *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* "On prosody in general". Before Herodian, Heraclides of Miletus had composed a work entitled *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*, and therefore presumably also a systematic treatment of the field, in the late first or early second century AD. But we have too scant remains of this work to have

1 I am very grateful to Eleanor Dickey and Stephanie Roussou for helpful comments and corrections.

2 See Matthaïos in this volume.

a clear idea of its scope or structure (see the fifteen fragments assigned to the work by Cohn [1884a] 37–44).

Neither Herodian's *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* nor his other treatises survive complete, with the exception of the *Περὶ μονήρους λέξεως* "On exceptional words";³ but we have two epitomes of the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*. One of these is attributed to Arcadius in some manuscripts and to Theodosius of Alexandria in others; we shall refer to it under the name [Arcadius]. The other is ascribed to Johannes Philoponus of Alexandria and may be an abbreviated version of an epitome Philoponus produced. We also have a body of Homeric scholia deriving from Herodian's *Περὶ Ἰλιακῆς προσωδίας* "On the prosody of the *Iliad*" and *Περὶ Ὀδυσσειακῆς προσωδίας* "On the prosody of the *Odyssey*";⁴ and numerous citations of Herodian in later authors, and other passages whose content can be attributed to Herodian with more or less certainty.⁵

Herodian was dependent on Alexandrian discussions of prosody beginning in the early second century AD (see below), and his Alexandrian predecessors are explicitly mentioned in some of our surviving sources. Aristarchus, in particular, is very frequently mentioned in the Homeric scholia deriving from Herodian.⁶ But we have much fuller information on Herodian's works relating to prosody than we have for those of any of his predecessors. For this reason, the following discussion will focus on the concepts and categories Herodian used in formulating the regularities of ancient Greek prosody, and in stating exceptions to these regularities, but will attempt to show which concepts and categories are known to have been used already in early Alexandrian discussions.

2 Branches of Prosody

Nineteen of the twenty books of Herodian's *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* were devoted to accentuation, while the twentieth book was devoted to vowel quantities and breathings.⁷ For Herodian accentuation, vowel quantities, and

3 See Pagani in this volume, §5.2, 6.1.1.

4 Cf. Matthaios in this volume, §4.1, and Dickey in this volume, §7.2.

5 For an introduction to Herodian's works and to scholarship on Herodian, see Dyck [1993a]; Dickey [2014].

6 See Montana in this volume.

7 See [Arc.] 4. 22–23, the entry for book 20 in the table of contents preserved in all the manuscripts of [Arcadius]. Information on vocalic quantities and breathings, corresponding to this part of the original work, is found only in one manuscript (Par. gr. 2102) of [Arcadius], with no corresponding part in Philoponus' epitome. This part of Par. gr. 2102 is likely to have been interpolated to repair the loss of the information on vocalic quantities and breathings; the compiler may have been Jacob Diassorinus, in whose hand the manuscript is written (see

breathings thus made up the field of ‘prosody’. All these subjects have in common that they pertain to aspects of the pronunciation of Greek which were not represented in writing, or in the case of vowel quantities not fully represented in writing, in ordinary (non-scholarly) written Greek of the Hellenistic or Roman periods. An interpolated passage of uncertain date appearing in two 16th-century manuscripts (Par. gr. 2603 and 2102) of [Arcadius] ([Arc.] 211. 8–216. 2) explains that the marks for accents, vowel quantities, and breathings were invented in order to disambiguate words, and to indicate the ‘singing’ qualities of the voice:

οἱ χρόνοι καὶ οἱ τόνοι καὶ τὰ πνεύματα Ἀριστοφάνους ἐκτυπώσαντος γέγονε πρὸς τε διαστολὴν τῆς ἀμφιβόλου λέξεως, καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλος τῆς φωνῆς συμπάσης καὶ τὴν ἁρμονίαν, ὡς ἐὰν ἐπάδοιμεν φθεγγόμενοι. ([Arc.] 211. 8–12)

The (marks for) quantities and pitches and breathings, which Aristophanes [of Byzantium] created, were devised for the purpose of disambiguating an ambiguous reading and for the singing of the whole voice and the melody, as if we were to sing along to our speaking.

Although the antiquity of the material in this passage is unclear,⁸ the etymology of *προσῳδία* (approximately “singing along”) suggests that in origin the *προσῳδαίαι* were considered to be features of speech ‘accompanying’ the basic

Dyck [1993a] 778–779, with bibliography). Our knowledge of Herodianic doctrine on breathings is consequently the poorer, and work remains to be done in distinguishing Herodian's views from those of his successors (see Egenolff [1903] 39–61; Dyck [1993a] 779), but Lentz [1860] provides a most useful collection and discussion of ancient doctrine on breathings in general, while Egenolff [1903] 39–61 provides a very useful critique of Lentz' [1867–1870] reconstruction of Herodianic doctrine on breathings. Apollonius Dyscolus refers to a work on breathings of his own (called *Περὶ πνευμάτων* at *Synt.* 458. 10, *περὶ δασείας* at *Pron.* 57.6, and *περὶ δασείας καὶ ψιλῆς* at *Adv.* 198. 26–27), and we have a few fragments of a *Περὶ πνευμάτων* by Trypho (see von Velsen [1853] 5–10). Theognostus refers to a *Περὶ πνευμάτων* by Herodian (*An. Ox.* ii. 19. 33), but the relevant part of the twentieth book of the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσῳδίας* may be meant. For Herodianic doctrine on vocalic quantities we are more fortunate in that Herodianic material on vocalic quantities is transmitted as a separate treatise *Περὶ διχρόνων* “On vowels capable of being either long or short”, possibly excerpted from the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσῳδίας* (see Dyck [1993a] 783 with n. 58 and bibliography, and cf. Dyck [1993a] 778–779).

8 For some of the controversy see Pfeiffer [1968] 179 with n. 1 and Nagy [2000a] 15–16 n. 21, both with bibliography. The part of the passage I print here occurs in both Par. gr. 2603 and Par. gr. 2102 (see Lameere [1960] 91), so whatever its origin it was not composed by Jacob Diassorinus (in whose hand Par. gr. 2102 is written) since, as Nagy [2000a] 16 n. 21 emphasises, the consensus is that Par. gr. 2603 is independent of Par. gr. 2102.

sequence of vowels and consonants—a notion not very different from the modern notion of suprasegmental features.

It is possible that the term *προσῳδία* was already used to include breathings in one passage of Aristotle,⁹ but otherwise the attested uses of the term before the Roman period refer to accents only (when the term has anything to do with what we would call phonology).¹⁰ In the first century BC Trypho applied the term to breathings as well as accents, if we can trust a passage of [Ammonius] crediting him with an explanation of the term *ψιλὴ προσῳδία* “smooth prosody” (*i.e.* smooth breathing):

οἱ Δωριεῖς ψίλιον καλοῦσι τὸ ἄκρον, ὅθεν καὶ ἡμεῖς τὴν ἐπ’ ἄκρων χειλέων λεγομένην προσῳδίαν “ψιλὴν” ἐκαλέσαμεν, ὡς φησι Τρύφων. ([Ammonius] 521 Nickau = Trypho fr. 108 von Velsen)

The Dorians call an extremity *ψίλιον*, whence we too call the prosody made with the outermost edges of the lips *ψιλὴ*, as Trypho says.¹¹

Also in the first century BC, however, Dionysius of Halicarnassus refers to vowel quantities and prosodies as if the latter did not automatically include the former:

τὰ γράμματα ὅταν παιδευόμεθα, πρῶτον μὲν τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν ἐκμανθάνομεν, ἔπειτα τοὺς τύπους καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις, εἴθ’ οὕτω τὰς συλλαβὰς καὶ τὰ ἐν ταύταις πάθη, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἤδη τὰς λέξεις καὶ τὰ συμβεβηκότα αὐταῖς, ἐκτάσεις τε λέγων καὶ συστολὰς καὶ προσῳδίας καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια τούτοις.

When we learn the letters, first we learn their names, then their shapes and values, then similarly the syllables and the changes that happen in them, and after this words and their accompaniments, I mean lengths and shortnesses of vowels and prosodies and things similar to these. (Dion. Hal. *Comp.* 25. 41)

9 *Soph. el.* 177b4, but see Gudeman [1934a] 343.

10 The word *προσῳδία* is also used for a song sung to music, for “addressing” a person, and for modulations of the spoken voice more generally. For these senses see LSJ, *s.v.* *προσῳδία*. On the early history of the Greek term *προσῳδία*, see again the useful comments of Gudeman [1934a] 343.

11 This fragment also illustrates the lack of an accurate phonetic understanding of aspiration in the Greco-Roman grammatical tradition.

The first really clear indication, then, that *προσῳδία* applied to the whole triad consisting of accents, breathings, and vowel quantities is the inclusion of all three of these in Herodian's *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσῳδίας*. After Herodian, the definition of *προσῳδία* was extended still further, and eventually the term came to be usable of almost any feature of a text for which a diacritic mark was available. The term appears in this sense in the already-mentioned interpolation in the text of [Arcadius]:

προσῳδίαι εἰσὶ δέκα· ὀξεῖα, οἶον· θεός´, βαρεῖα, οἶον· Πάν` , περισπωμένη, οἶον· πῦρ ~ , μακρά, οἶον· Ἄρης (Ἄρης Schmidt) ¯ , βραχεῖα, οἶον· Ἄρης ˇ , δασεία, οἶον· ἥλιος ´ , ψιλῆ, οἶον· ἠέλιος ´ , ἀπόστροφος, οἶον· ὡς ἔφατ´ ´ , ὑφέν, οἶον· πασιμέλουσα ~ , ὑποδιαστολή, οἶον· Δία δ´ οὐκ ἔχε , νήδυμος ὕπνος. Διαίρουνται δὲ αὐταὶ εἰς τέσσαρα· εἰς τόνους, εἰς χρόνους, εἰς πνεύματα καὶ εἰς πάθη. ([Arc.] 216. 4–11)

“There are ten *προσῳδίαι*: acute, as in θεός (´); grave, as in Πάν (`); circumflex, as in πῦρ (˘); long mark, as in Ἄρης (¯); short mark, as in Ἄρης (ˇ); rough breathing, as in ἥλιος (´); smooth breathing, as in ἠέλιος (´); apostrophe, as in ὡς ἔφατ´ (´); sign of non-word-division, as in πασιμέλουσα (~); word-divider, as in Δία δ´ οὐκ ἔχε , νήδυμος ὕπνος. And these are divided into four classes: into accents, quantities, breathings, and alterations”.

The inclusion of the apostrophe, non-divider (ὑφέν), and word-divider under *προσῳδίαι* is inconsistent with the scope of the work as a whole, and is a sign that this interpolation is composed of at least partly post-Herodianic material (see Lentz [1867–1870] i. xxxiv); the passage is very similar to the beginning of a treatise *Περὶ προσῳδιῶν*, possibly by Theodosius of Alexandria (fourth or fifth century AD) and transmitted as a supplement to the *Τέχνη γραμματική* attributed to Dionysius Thrax (*GG* I.i 105. 3–107. 2). But it provides a good example of a later use of the term *προσῳδία*, in which the meaning of the term has shifted a little away from a concept like that of “suprasegmental feature” to one closer to “diacritic mark”.¹²

In what follows we shall devote most attention to accentuation, which even for Herodian was the main subject of a work on prosody, but we shall first look briefly at ancient theory on breathings and vocalic quantities, and particularly that of Herodian and earlier grammarians.

12 However, Robins [1986] 18, [1997⁴] 48 observes that this use of the term *προσῳδία* groups together a range of phenomena remarkably similar to those of central concern to Firthian prosodic phonology.

3 Breathings

The Ionic alphabet that was normally used for writing Greek in the Hellenistic period did not include a letter for the sound *h*. Breathing marks are an invention of Alexandrian scholarship (whether or not they are actually due to Aristophanes of Byzantium,¹³ as the above-quoted passage implies), and appear sporadically in more scholarly Hellenistic papyri. An interest in establishing regularities for the aspiration of vowels arose in the context of the textual criticism of Homer and other already ancient authors, since correct pronunciation depended on knowing which vowels were aspirated, but not all words were still heard in the Hellenistic period and the texts which had come down to the Alexandrian period did not indicate aspiration on vowels.

Although the transmitted texts did not indicate aspiration on vowels, they did show whether a voiceless stop was aspirated or not when it occurred immediately before a word-initial vowel (often as a result of elision), and in such cases the aspirated or unaspirated status of the stop provided evidence for the aspiration or non-aspiration of the following vowel (see Lentz [1860] 647–649; Wackernagel [1916] 41 n. 1). Thus, Sch. *Il.* 6. 239c (A), deriving from Herodian, shows that the phrase οὗτ' ἔτης in a line of Aeschylus (fr. 281a. 28 Radt), and οὐκ ἔτη in a line of Euripides (fr. 1014 Kannicht), were transmitted as OYTETHΣ and OYKETHI respectively; Herodian argues from the transmitted T (rather than Θ) of οὗτ' and the K (rather than X) of οὐκ that the word ἔτης had a smooth breathing, not a rough breathing.

But not all words whose aspiration or non-aspiration needed to be established were attested in contexts where preceding voiceless stops would provide evidence. For other words general rules were established on the basis of words whose aspiration or non-aspiration was known. Some of the criteria that featured most prominently in these rules were:

- (a) The sequence of vowels and consonants with which the word began (see Lentz [1860] 649–650, 697–700, 718–776). Rules about which sequences received which breathing were produced at least as early as Trypho (see e.g. *Etym. Magn.* 148. 41–2 = Trypho fr. 1 von Velsen: Τρύφων ἐν τῷ Περὶ πνευμάτων φησί, τὸ Α προτασσόμενον τοῦ ΠΙ συστέλλεται καὶ δασύνεται “Trypho says in the Περὶ πνευμάτων that α before ρπ is short and has a rough breathing”). For an example deriving from Herodian see e.g. Sch. *Il.* 6. 348b (b(BCE³)T), stating that ἔρσεε should have a smooth breathing

13 Cf. Montana in this volume, §2.5.

- because a (word-initial) vowel followed by ρσ usually has a smooth breathing.
- (b) Etymological connections between different words or word forms (see Lentz [1860] 649–664). These were considered relevant at least as early as Aristarchus. Thus, the Herodianic scholion Sch. *Il.* 15. 10a (A) reveals that Aristarchus gave the form εἴατο a smooth breathing, taking it to be a form of εἶμι ‘be’, while Herodian gave it a rough breathing, taking it to be a form of ἤμαι ‘sit’ (see Lentz [1860] 654).
- (c) Facts about the aspiration habits of particular dialects (not least the Aeolic habit of not aspirating vowels at all), together with a principle that a word displaying features of some dialect should be consistent with that dialect in its other features too (see Lentz [1860] 700–706). Thus, the Herodianic scholion Sch. *Il.* 9. 6b¹ (A) shows that Herodian argued that ἄμυδις should have an Aeolic smooth breathing because the form had other features he considered Aeolic: the υ in the second syllable, and the recessive accent (see Lentz [1860] 691).

Inevitably, many of the rules governing words beginning in certain ways were valid only by chance for the majority of relevant words with known aspiration or non-aspiration, and the use of such rules to predict the aspiration or non-aspiration of obsolete words was a risky enterprise. Furthermore, when different criteria for determining aspiration or non-aspiration came into conflict, there was no consistent system for deciding which criterion should prevail (see Lentz [1860] 659–661, 697). However, many of the ancient observations on breathings are genuinely insightful. Furthermore, two of them foreshadow, respectively, an important result of modern comparative philology and a point which has received much discussion in modern Homeric scholarship: the observation that (with certain exceptions) no vowel preceding an aspirated stop is aspirated (and nor is a stop followed by vowel plus aspirated stop),¹⁴ and

14 For the generalisation applying to vowels before aspirated consonants see *Lex. spir.* 211. 17–20 and *Etym. Gud.* 573. 13 Stefani (both reading πᾶν φωνῆεν πρὸ δασέος ψιλοῦται “every vowel before an aspirated stop has a smooth breathing”). Related but more restricted generalisations appear e.g. at Apol. *Dysc., Adv.* 209. 22 (οὐδέποτε τὰ φωνήεντα πρὸ τοῦ X δασύνεται “vowels preceding χ never have a rough breathing”) and the Herodianic scholia Sch. *Il.* 12. 260 (A) (πᾶν φωνῆεν πρὸ τοῦ X ψιλοῦται “every vowel before χ has a smooth breathing”); Sch. *Il.* 12. 391a¹ (A) (πᾶν . . . φωνῆεν πρὸ δασέος καὶ τοῦ Ρ ψιλοῦται . . . ὑπεσταλμένου τοῦ ἄθρους . . . “every vowel before an aspirated stop plus ρ has a smooth breathing . . . apart from ἄθρους”). See further Lentz [1860] 652–653, with bibliography. For observations on the avoidance of aspirated consonants in successive syllables, see [Herodian], Παρεκβολαὶ τοῦ μεγάλου ῥήματος 21. 16–21 La Roche, referring to a rule δτι

the observation that Homeric pairs of variant forms, such as ἦμαρ and ἡμέρᾱ “day”, tend to have a rough breathing in at most one member of the pair.¹⁵

The principle that vowels and consonants preceding aspirated stops are unaspirated (as in ἔχω, despite future ἔξω, and genitive τριχός, despite nominative θριξί) is significant not only because it foreshadows the modern discovery of a sound change. It also identifies a respect in which aspiration genuinely merits treatment as not just a unit of sound but a property or suprasegmental feature of a larger unit, such as the word: a feature whose occurrence within the larger unit is subject to some restrictions on the ways it can contribute to the overall shape of that unit.

4 Vowel Quantities

In the Hellenistic period the Greek letters α, ι, and υ represented both long and short vowels; these vowels were termed δῖχρονα “anceps”, i.e. capable of being long or short. Alexandrian grammarians were interested in establishing the correct lengths of these vowels in Homeric and other literary words; the Homeric scholia frequently record the views of Alexandrian scholars on vowel quantities, although usually without an indication as to the reasoning the Alexandrians used to arrive at the correct quantity.¹⁶

By Herodian’s day the distinction between long and short vowels had at least begun to break down, though it is controversial when this distinction was

οὐδέποτε δισύλλαβος λέξις θέλει εἶναι ἐν χρήσει, τῆς προτέρας συλλαβῆς ἀρχομένης ἀπὸ δασέος καὶ τῆς δευτέρας ἀπὸ δασέος “a disyllabic word is not usually in use with the first syllable beginning with an aspirate and the second with an aspirate”); approximately the same rule at Choer. Th. 2. 146. 33–35; see also the discussion at Choer. Th. 2. 146. 16–148. 4 and cf. Choer. Th. 2. 327. 17–19; 2. 327. 25–26. Graßmann [1863] demonstrated that aspiration on a vowel or stop was lost in the prehistory of Greek when an aspirated stop began the next syllable. For more recent discussion, see Collinge [1985] 47–61.

- 15 The Herodianic scholion Sch. *Il.* 9. 6*b*¹ (A) suggests that this observation was already made by Aristarchus or his circle (cf. Lentz [1860] 691, 696); cf. Sch. *Il.* 1. 576 (A), also deriving from Herodian. For modern discussion see Wackernagel [1916] 40–52; Wathelet [1970] 218–221; Chantraine [1988] 184–188; West [1988] 163.
- 16 *E.g.* Sch. *Il.* 2. 53*c*¹ (b(BCE³E⁴T)); Sch. *Il.* 6. 268*b*¹ (A). Cf. Herodian, *δῖχρ.* 13. 16–17, with an observation from Aristophanes of Byzantium’s Ἀττικαὶ λέξεις “Attic words” on the long iota of comparatives in -ίων in Attic.

lost entirely.¹⁷ Vowels continued to be considered theoretically ‘long’ or ‘short’, however, and the distinction remained important for the correct understanding of poetry in classical metres. The distinction was also helpful for correct accentuation. For example, the Greek accent always fell on one of the last three syllables of the word, but if the last syllable contained a long vowel the accent always fell on one of the last two syllables.¹⁸ Thus, the accent fell on the antepenultimate syllable of the word μέλισσα “bee”, with a short α in the final syllable, but moved to the penultimate syllable for the accusative plural μέλισσας, with a long α. The retention of the idea that some vowels were ‘long’ and some were ‘short’ allowed a very simple account of the restrictions on the position of the accent, but the theoretical distinction between ‘long’ and ‘short’ vowels came to be an early example of an abstract phonological feature.

The lengths of many vowels in Greek words are completely unpredictable, but many others can be predicted with the help, as we would say now, of some morphological analysis. For example, a particular suffix may contain a particular (long or short) vowel in all its occurrences, or a suffix may have a lengthening or shortening effect on a preceding vowel. Since most of the inflectional and derivational morphology of Greek involves suffixes, it is particularly vowels near the ends of words whose lengths tend to be predictable. In the Greek grammatical tradition, inflectional and derivational morphology was not analysed in terms of suffixes, but many of the Herodianic rules transmitted

17 The loss of distinctions in vowel quantity appears to have progressed at different rates in different areas of the Greek-speaking world. Orthographic mistakes involving vowel quantity do not become common in Attic inscriptions until about 100 AD (see Threatte [1980] 385–387), but for Egypt the evidence of papyri suggests a significant loss of distinction in vowel quantity already in the Hellenistic period (see Mayser-Schmoll [1970] 117–119; Gignac [1976] 325 with n. 2). The dating of the completion of the process is, however, controversial for all parts of the Greek-speaking world because there is no consensus as to the weight that should be given to apparently relevant spelling mistakes at periods when they are still rare (see Dickey [2009] 151). For an early dating for the loss of distinctive vowel length even in Attic, see Teodorsson [1974] 218–219, but cf. Ruijgh [1978] 84.

18 The accent was also restricted to the last two syllables if the last syllable was closed by a consonant cluster, as in πολυπίδαξ “rich in springs” (see Steriade [1988] 273–275), although not many Greek words end in a consonant cluster. The statement οὐδέποτε, μακρὰς οὔσης τῆς ἐπὶ τέλους, τρίτη ἀπὸ τέλους πίπτει ἢ δεξεία at Io. Philop. *Ton. praecept.* 5. 5–6 may implicitly recognise that the restriction to the last two syllables applies to words with a final consonant cluster as well as words with a long vowel in the final syllable, since the expression τῆς ἐπὶ τέλους needs to be taken with συλλαβῆς understood, and a final syllable was considered ‘long’ if it contained a long vowel or was closed by a consonant cluster (see e.g. [Arc.] 160. 14–15).

in the *Περὶ διχρόνων* apply to vowels occurring in particular terminations a word might have, where we would recognise particular suffixes. In the following example, the vowel in question belongs to a particular present-forming suffix, -άνω:

τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΑΝΩ ῥήματα ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς βαρυνόμενα ἔχει τὸ Α συνεσταλμένον, λιμπάνω, μανθάνω, λανθάνω, λαμβάνω. τὸ μέντοι ἰκάνω καὶ κιχάνω ἄλογον ἔχοντα τὸν πρῶτον χρόνον [τοῦ ἀορίστου] ἐκτείνει τὸν δεῦτερον. (Herodian, *διχρ.* 10. 5–8)

Verbs of more than two syllables in -άνω, with a recessive accent,¹⁹ have the α short: λιμπάνω, μανθάνω, λανθάνω, λαμβάνω. But ἰκάνω and κιχάνω, which have an irregular first quantity (*i.e.* have a light rather than a heavy first syllable), lengthen the second one.

In the following example, the vowel in question does not belong to any particular suffix, but its shortness is predictable from the form of the comparative suffix that follows:

πάν εἰς ΣΣΩΝ λήγον συγκριτικόν, εἰ ἔχει δίχρονον ἐν τῇ πρὸ τέλους συλλαβῇ, συνεσταλμένον αὐτὸ ἔχει, πάσσω, μάσσω, βράσσω, γλύσσω. σεσημειώται τὸ θάσσω καὶ ἐλάσσω ἐκτείνοντα τὸ δίχρονον. (Herodian, *διχρ.* 13. 11–13)

Every comparative ending in -σσω, if it has an *anceps* vowel in its penultimate syllable, has this vowel short: πάσσω, μάσσω, βράσσω, γλύσσω. The words θάσσω and ἐλάσσω are exceptions, having their *anceps* vowels long.

Some of the rules insightfully identify particularly complex morphological alternations:

τὰ εἰς ΡΑ λήγοντα καθαρὸν, εἰ παραλήγοιτο τὸ Υ, ἀμοιβαῖον ποιεῖται χρόνον· εἰ γὰρ ἐκτενίνοιτο τὸ Υ, τὸ Α συστέλλεται καὶ προπαροξύνεται, ὡς ἔχει τὸ ἄγκυρα, Κέρκυρα, ὄλυρα· εἰ δὲ συστέλλοιτο τὸ Υ, τὸ Α ἐκτείνεται καὶ παροξύνεται θηλυκὰ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς ὄντα, Ἐφύρα, πορφύρα. τὸ οὖν κολλύρα κατ' ἀμφοτέρα δίχρονα ἐκταθὲν σημειώδες. (Herodian, *διχρ.* 11. 10–15)

19 On the meaning of βαρυνόμενα (= βαρύτονα), see § 7 below.

Words ending in -ρα preceded by a vowel, if the vowel in the penultimate syllable is υ, alternate their lengths. For if the υ is long, the α is short and the word is proparoxytone, as in ἄγκυρα, Κέρκυρα, ὄλυρα. But if the υ is short, the α is long and feminine words of more than two syllables are paroxytone: Ἐφύρα, πορφύρα. But κολλύρα is exceptional, having both its *anceps* vowels long.

τὰ εἰς ΣΑ λήγοντα θηλυκὰ εἴτε ἐπὶ ὀνομάτων εἴτε καὶ ἐπὶ μετοχῶν, εἰ ἔχοι τὴν πρὸ τέλους συλλαβὴν εἰς δίχρονον καταλήγουσαν, πάντως ἐκτεταμένον αὐτὸ ἔχει, πᾶσα, πτάσα, φύσα, δύσα, Τίσα, Κρίσα, κνίσα· οὐκ ἀγνώω δὲ ὅτι Πίσαν εἶπε τὴν πόλιν κατὰ συστολὴν Πίνδαρος. εἰ μέντοι εἰς σύμφωνον λήγει ἢ πρὸ τέλους συλλαβή, τὸ δίχρονον συστέλλεται, θάλασσα, ἄνασσα, πίσσα, νύσσα, λύσσα. (Herodian, διχρ. 12. 12–17)

Feminine words ending in -σα, whether in nominal forms or in participles, if they have their penultimate syllable ending in an *anceps* vowel, always have it long: πᾶσα, πτάσα, φύσα, δύσα, Τίσα, Κρίσα, κνίσα. But I am aware that Pindar pronounced the name of the city Πίσα with a short vowel. If, however, the penultimate syllable ends in a consonant, the *anceps* vowel is short: θάλασσα, ἄνασσα, πίσσα, νύσσα, λύσσα.

Not all the rules apply to the ends of words. Some apply to word-initial vowels in contexts that we would label purely phonological, not also morphological (e.g. διχρ. 17. 9–11, on word-initial α followed by σ plus stop). The following rule applies to a prefix, ‘alpha privative’, and is noteworthy for its metrical explanation of the long initial ἄ- of ἀθάνατος and ἀκάματος, which provided the starting point for extensive modern discussion of the long ἄ- of these words:²⁰

τὸ Α ἢ στέρησις συστέλλεσθαι θέλει, ἄκακος, ἄσεμνος, ἄφιλος. τὸ γὰρ ἀθάνατος καὶ ἀκάματος ἐξέτειναν τὸ Α διὰ τὰς ἐπαλλήλους τέσσαρας βραχείας, αἱ τινες ἄθετοὶ εἰσιν εἰς ἡρωϊκὸν μέτρον. (Herodian, διχρ. 15. 28–30)

Alpha privative is usually short: ἄκακος, ἄσεμνος, ἄφιλος. For ἀθάνατος and ἀκάματος have the ἄ- long because of the four short syllables in a row, which cannot be fitted into the epic metre.

But the central branch of ancient ‘prosody’, to which we now turn, was the accent, the branch of prosody which yielded the largest number of storable

20 See Schulze [1892] 140–142, with Hoekstra [1978] 3 n. 10 and 25–26, with bibliography.

regularities when treated as a rule-governed ‘accompaniment’ to the sequence of vowels and consonants.

5 Types of Accent

Aristophanes of Byzantium (librarian at Alexandria in the early second century BC²¹) is credited, in the above-mentioned interpolation found in two manuscripts of [Arcadius], with the invention of a system of three written marks for accents: the acute (´), circumflex (ˆ), and grave (`).²² It is impossible to be sure whether Aristophanes really invented the three accent marks, but in all probability they were invented during or not long after his lifetime, since the first surviving papyri with accent marks were produced during the second century BC, and on the rare occasions when earlier authors mention accentuation (see Probert [2006] 16–19) they do so in terms that do not suggest an awareness of the system of three signs (see Laum [1928] 103–114; Gudeman [1934a] 343). We have very few fragments of Aristophanes of Byzantium relating to accentuation (see Slater [1986] 210), but what we have seems to presuppose the system of three signs. We have a considerable number of fragments on accentuation, clearly using the system of three signs, from Aristophanes’ successor but one as librarian at Alexandria, Aristarchus of Samothrace, who died c. 144 BC.²³ Accents were never written consistently on papyri, but sporadically on some papyri of (normally) literary authors, but the written accents we find conform to the system of three signs described in the grammatical tradition.

In the Hellenistic system of three accent marks, the acute was normally called the *δξεία* (*προσῳδία*), the high-pitched prosody. The grave was called the *βαρεία* (*προσῳδία*), the low-pitched prosody. The circumflex was most often called the *περισπωμένη* (*προσῳδία*), the ‘bent’ prosody, and was conceived as a combination of the acute and the grave (as the shape $\hat{\ }^$ suggests, although both the shapes $\hat{\ }$ and $\tilde{\ }$ are found).

A short vowel bearing the word accent was considered to carry an acute accent, and could be marked with the acute. Accented long vowels and diphthongs allowed a contrast between two kinds of accent, one marked with a circumflex and the other with an acute. It is clear that the circumflex represented the word accent on the first half (now often called the first *mora*) of the

21 See Montana in this volume.

22 [Arc.] 211. 8–12; 212. 11–213. 11. Cf. Lameere [1960] 91–92, n. 3.

23 See Montana in this volume.

long vowel, so that over the whole vowel a falling pitch was perceived.²⁴ One might expect the other kind of accent on a long vowel or diphthong, marked with an acute, to constitute the word accent on the second mora of the long vowel or diphthong, and it is clear that grammarians understood a long vowel or diphthong marked with an acute to occur under circumstances where one would expect the second mora to be accented. Thus, if two vowels contract then (other things being equal) the resulting vowel has a circumflex if the first vowel in the sequence was accented before contraction, and an acute if the second vowel was accented before contraction: uncontracted φᾶος “light” gives contracted φῶς, but uncontracted ζῶός “alive” gives contracted ζῶς.²⁵ What is less clear is how the accent represented by an acute on a long vowel or diphthong was pronounced. The assumption that a rising pitch was heard is perhaps the easier one, given the occurrence of this accent where a rising pitch might be expected.²⁶ However, the choice of the same accent mark for this accent and for the accent on a short vowel suggests that what was perceived was rather similar in the two cases. Possibly the word accent on a short vowel was also perceived as a rising pitch, so that the accent that really stood out as sounding different was the accent on the first mora of a long vowel.

In the Hellenistic system the grave accent mark or βαρεῖα προσῶδία designated lack of accent; every syllable that did not have an acute or circumflex accent was considered to carry a grave, and could be marked with the grave accent. In the system of writing accents that had become regular by the Byzantine period, however, the grave is never used when a word is written by itself. Rather, a word that has a final acute when written in isolation is written with a final grave before another non-enclitic word, as long as punctuation does not intervene. Thus, the genitive singular Διός “of Zeus” has an acute on the final syllable when written in isolation or before punctuation or an enclitic; in the expression Διὸς υἱός “son of Zeus”, however, the final syllable of Διός is written with a grave. This use of the grave accent mark is not regular in the Hellenistic and early Roman periods, but examples are found, and there is

24 See Io. Philop. *Ton. praecept.* 6. 19–20, and cf. (in the interpolation already mentioned) [Arc.] 212. 14–213. 4.

25 See Io. Philop. *Ton. praecept.* 6. 19–29; Sch. *Il.* 5. 887a¹ (A), with the parallel passages cited by Erbse *ad loc.*

26 Support for a rising pitch has been seen in fragments of ancient Greek non-strophic music with words, where a long vowel or diphthong with an acute accent is sometimes set to two notes of which the second is the higher, but only very rarely to two notes of which the second is the lower (Devine-Stephens [1994] 193). However, perusal of the Hellenistic and probably non-strophic compositions in Pöhlmann-West [2001] suggests that a long vowel with acute or (in modern notation) grave accent was not set to a rising sequence of notes any more often than a long unaccented vowel.

further evidence that Hellenistic scholars already recognised a special status for the accent on the final syllable of an oxytone word in the sentence. In accented papyri earlier than the third century AD, the most normal practice is to avoid writing any accent on the final syllable of an oxytone word in the sentence—as if the pitch peak is not striking enough to merit an acute sign but not weak enough to merit a grave. When a pause or enclitic follows, however, an acute accent may be written.²⁷ Furthermore, both Apollonius Dyscolus and sources deriving from Herodian suggest that oxytone words (other than interrogative τίς, τί) have a basic acute accent which is erased (or turned into the βαρεῖα προσωδία) when a non-enclitic word follows without intervening punctuation:

τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐγκλινόμενον αὐτὸ μόνον κοιμίζει τὴν ὀξεῖαν,
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ Τυδεΐδης·
 τὸ δ' ἐγκλιτικὸν μετὰ τοῦ τὸν τόνον ἀποσβεννύειν καὶ τὴν <πρὸ> ἑαυτοῦ
 βαρεῖαν ὀξύνει,
 Ἄπολλώνιος μοι, ἐτίμησάς με. (Apol. Dysc. *Pron.* 36. 1–5)

For an enclinomenon [a word with a 'lulled' accent] just lulls its own accent:

αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ Τυδεΐδης·

But an enclitic, in addition to extinguishing its accent, also makes the grave before it acute:

Ἄπολλώνιος μοι, ἐτίμησάς με.

... κανόνος λέγοντος, ὅτι πᾶσα λέξις ὀξύτονος πολλακίς ἐν τῇ συνεπείᾳ²⁸ κοιμίζει τὴν ὀξεῖαν εἰς βαρεῖαν, χωρὶς τοῦ τίς, οἶον· Ζεὺς Ζεὺς δέ· καλὸς καλὸς ἄνθρωπος· σοφὸς σοφὸς ἀνὴρ. πρόσκειται “χωρὶς τοῦ τίς”, ἐπεὶ τοῦτο φυλάττει τὴν ὀξεῖαν, οἶον· τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν. δεῖ δὲ προσθεῖναι τῷ κανόνι “χωρὶς εἰ μὴ ἐπιφέρηται στιγμῇ ἢ ἐγκλιτικόν”. τότε γὰρ οὐ κοιμίζεται ἡ ὀξεῖα εἰς βαρεῖαν, οἶον· ὦκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς· ([Arc.] 160. 20–161. 4)²⁹

27 A large literature on this question was motivated by the controversial thesis of Laum (1928) that the ‘modern’ use of the grave was, in most contexts, a late and purely graphic convention. The papyrological evidence is well collected and presented by Mazzucchi (1979b), with further bibliography.

28 I print the variant *συνεπεία* rather than (with Schmidt) *συνθέσει* ‘in composition’. The sense requires *συνεπεία*, which is also found in a parallel passage at [Arc.] 199. 6.

29 The two discussions of enclitics at [Arc.] 159. 4–162. 9 and (immediately afterwards) [Arc.] 162. 10–169. 23 are thought to be composed (to a greater or lesser degree) of Herodianic

... since the rule says that every oxytone word often lulls its acute to a grave in connected speech, apart from *τίς*, as in *Ζεύς* but *Ζεὺς δέ*; *καλός* but *καλὸς ἄνθρωπος*; *σοφός* but *σοφὸς ἀνὴρ*. The words “apart from *τίς*” are added because this word keeps the acute, as in *τίς πόθεν εἶς ἀνδρῶν*. And one needs to add to the rule, “unless punctuation or an enclitic follows”. For then the acute is not lulled to a grave, as in *ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς*.³⁰

It appears from a Herodianic scholion to the *Iliad* that Aristarchus already made use of the concept of cancelling an acute on an oxytone word in connected discourse:

φθάν δὲ μέγ' ἰππήων <ἐπὶ τάφρω κοσμηθέντες>: ὁ Ἀρίσταρχος βαρύνει, καὶ δῆλον ὅτι ὑγιῶς· κοιμίζεται γὰρ ἢ ὀξεῖα ἐν τῇ συνεπείᾳ· “Ζεὺς δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν Τρώας τε”. (Sch. *Il.* 11. 51b (A))

φθάν δὲ μέγ' ἰππήων <ἐπὶ τάφρω κοσμηθέντες>: Aristarchus makes (φθάν) unaccented, and it's clear that (he does this) correctly. For the acute is lulled in connected speech: “Ζεὺς δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν Τρώας τε”.

As Erbse explains (*apparatus ad loc.*), Aristarchus' treatment of φθάν as βαρύτονος “unaccented” or “grave” (on the terminology see further below) implies the word division φθάν δὲ rather than a reading φθάνδε or φθάνδε. The explanation κοιμίζεται ... ἢ ὀξεῖα ἐν τῇ συνεπείᾳ is due to Herodian, and we do not know whether Aristarchus would have put the matter in these terms, but we can be reasonably confident that he operated with the concept that an acute on a final syllable was cancelled in connected speech.

Modern scholars differ as to the phonetic reality behind the principle that the accent of an oxytone word was turned into a grave in the sentence. The terminology κοιμίζει τὴν ὀξεῖαν εἰς βαρεῖαν ‘lulls the acute to a grave’ suggests complete neutralisation of the acute accent, since the βαρεῖα was the prosody proper to unaccented syllables. On the other hand, Apollonius Dyscolus (quoted above) seems to distinguish between the “lulling” of the accent of an oxytone word (κοιμίζειν) and the “extinguishing” of the accent on an enclitic (ἀποσβεννύειν), as if enclitics might have been more decisively unaccented

material, but enclitics (and the accentuation of connected speech more generally) were originally discussed in a supplement appended to the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* (see [Arc.] 5. 1–14 and Cohn [1895b] 1156)).

30 Cf. the fuller discussion of the same material, ascribed to Choeroboscus, at Sch. Dion. T. 127. 31–128. 10, and see also [Arc.] 5. 6–10; 199. 6–9; Io. Philop. *Ton. praecept.* 3. 23–4. 1; 6. 5–10.

than oxytone words with “lulled” accent. Evidence from fragments of ancient Greek music also suggests that a “lulled” acute was higher in pitch than an unaccented syllable but lower in pitch than an ordinary acute.³¹ The conclusion that a “lulled” accent was a reduced rather than neutralised high pitch may be supported further by the avoidance in accented papyri of either acute or grave accents on syllables with “lulled” accents.³² If oxytone words within the sentence had a reduced high pitch rather than a complete neutralisation of the accent, this point was never quite explicitly recognised in grammatical discussions, but the grammarians’ treatment of oxytone words in the sentence certainly displays a concept of contextual variation. Oxytone words are treated as having a basic or underlying acute on the final syllable, subject to a rule “lulling” the accent in connected discourse. The “lulling” rule does not apply before punctuation or enclitics. Alternatively, enclitics are treated as “waking up” an already “lulled” acute (so Apol. Dyc., *Pron.* 90. 19; [Arc.] 167. 12–14).

6 Positions for the Word Accent

From the Hellenistic period onwards, word accents were classified according to the syllable on which the accent fell, counting syllables from the end of the word, and whether the accent was an acute or a circumflex. The following terms, which have given rise to modern equivalents, go back to the Hellenistic period:³³

ὀξύτονος (oxytone) = having an acute on the final syllable: λιγυρός

περισπώμενος (perispomenon) = having a circumflex on the final syllable:
λιγυροῦ

παροξύτονος (paroxytone) = having an acute on the penultimate syllable: πατέρα

31 See Wackernagel [1896]; Ehrlich [1912] 252; West [1992] 199; Devine-Stephens [1994] 181–183.

32 On the other hand, the practice of avoiding any accent marks on these syllables could, in principle, be due to awareness of an underlying word accent, on the one hand, and of this accent’s lack of phonetic realisation, on the other.

33 Most Hellenistic scholarship on the accent is not preserved in words which we can be confident are the original ones, but see *e.g.* Sch. *Il.* 15. 656b (b(BCE³)T^{il}) = Dion. T. fr. 22 Linke, where the text of the b manuscripts suggests that Dionysius Thrax is being quoted directly. From the first century BC, we have fragments of Trypho in which this terminology appears to be due to Trypho himself (see *e.g.* [Ammonius] 405 Nickau = Trypho fr. 15 von Velsen).

προπερισπώμενος (properispomenon) = having a circumflex on the penultimate syllable: σωτήρα

προπαροξύτονος (proparoxytone) = having an acute on the antepenultimate syllable: λεγόμενος³⁴

The first two terms in this list can also be used of individual syllables within the word: any syllable with an acute accent may be called ὀξύτονος, and any syllable with a circumflex may be called περισπώμενος.³⁵ When applied to whole words, all the terms in the above list take the final syllable of the word as a reference point: a word described as ὀξύτονος is one whose final syllable is ὀξύτονος; a word described as περισπώμενος is one whose final syllable is περισπώμενος; a word described as παροξύτονος is one whose pre-final syllable is ὀξύτονος; and so on. This classification of positions for the accent recognises an important fact about Greek accentuation: positions for the accent need to be reckoned from the end of the word in order to show how words with a similar morphological structure often turn out to be accented in the same way. Thus, nominative singular masculine forms of adjectives with the suffix -ικός- are almost all oxytone: ἠθικός “expressing character”, Αἰολικός “Aeolic”; μαθηματικός “scientific, mathematical”. If the position of the accent is calculated instead from the beginning of the word, ἠθικός is accented on the third syllable, Αἰολικός on the fourth, and μαθηματικός on the fifth; but the reckoning of the position of the accent from the end of the word shows how all these words share a position for the accent. We shall return further on to the importance given to the terminations of words in giving rules determining how individual words are accented.

7 ‘Barytone’ Words

In modern discussions of the ancient Greek accent, it is not considered sufficient to describe morphological classes of words as oxytone, perispomenon, paroxytone, properispomenon, or proparoxytone. The main reason why this classification is insufficient is that many classes of word are accented as far from the end of the word as the limits on the position of the Greek accent

34 In addition to these adjectives, associated active and passive verbs are used: ὀξύνει = “puts an acute on the final syllable”; ὀξύνεται = “is accented with an acute on the final syllable”; περισπᾷ = “puts a circumflex on the final syllable”; περισπάται = “is accented with a circumflex on the final syllable”; παροξύνει = “puts an acute on the penultimate syllable”; etc.

35 See *e.g.* Sch. *Il.* 9. 529d (A).

normally allow: two syllables from the end of the word if the final syllable has a long vowel or is closed by more than one consonant, and three syllables from the end otherwise. Words with an accent as far from the end as these limits allow are called “recessive” in modern terminology. The concept of the recessive accent allows one to express clearly what most finite verb forms, for example, share in their accentuation: they are recessive. Thus in the paradigm of βουλεύω “deliberate” the forms βουλεύω, βουλεύετω, ἐβουλευσάμην, βουλεύομεν, ἐβούλευσα, and βουλευοίμεθα are all recessive, although the first three are paroxytone and the last three proparoxytone.

Herodian was aware of the limits on the position of the Greek accent (see especially Io. Philop. *Ton. praecept.* 4. 28–6. 5), but the concept of the ‘recessive’ accent as a useful category is only partly developed in ancient grammar. A word which might be described as παροξύτονος, προπερισπώμενος, or προπαροξύτονος is often described instead as βαρύτονος. In Philoponus’ epitome of Herodian’s *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσῳδίας*, the term βαρύτονος is explicitly defined as referring to a word with neither an acute nor a circumflex on the final syllable:

ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι καθ’ ἐκάστην λέξιν ἐν μιᾷ συλλαβῇ τίθεμεν ἢ ὀξεῖαν ἢ περισπωμένην, ἐν δὲ ταῖς λοιπαῖς συλλαβαῖς βαρεῖαν· οἷον ἐν τῷ Μένελάδος δευτέρα συλλαβὴ ὀξύνεται, αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ βαρύνονται, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἄλλοῖδος³⁶ ἡ μέση περισπάται, ἡ δὲ πρώτη καὶ τρίτη βαρύνονται. διὸ καὶ βαρύτονα καλεῖται τὰ παροξύτονα καὶ προπαροξύτονα καὶ προπερισπώμενα, διὸ ἡ τελευταία τούτων βαρύνεται. (Io. Philop. *Ton. praecept.* 6. 10–17)

And one must know that for every word we put either an acute or a circumflex on one syllable, and on the other syllables a grave. So in Μένελάδος [Μενέλαος] the second syllable has an acute, and the rest have a grave, and in ἄλλοῖδος [ἄλλοῖος] the middle syllable has a circumflex, and the first and third have a grave. This is also why paroxytone and proparoxytone and properispomenon words are called βαρύτονα: because the last syllable of these has a grave.

Not all words which are βαρύτονος by this definition are recessive. Thus, Philoponus’ example ἄλλοῖος “of another kind” is βαρύτονος but not recessive, as is (for example) πατέρα “father” (acc. sg.). Occasionally, the term βαρύτονος is indeed used for such non-recessive properispomenon and paroxytone

36 I print ἄλλοῖος rather than ἄλοῖος here, as suggested by Dindorf [1825] iv.

words.³⁷ Thus, *ἐκείνος* appears in a list of ‘barytone’ words in the following passage:

αἱ μονοπρόσωποι μονοσύλλαβοι μὲν οὔσαι ὀξύνονται· μὴν καὶ νίν. ὑπὲρ μίαν δὲ συλλαβὴν οὔσαι καὶ μὴ ἔχουσαι τὴν διὰ τοῦ Ι ἐπέκτασιν βαρύνονται· οὔτος ἐκείνος ὄδε... ([Arc.] 203. 19–22)

(Pronouns) of only one person, if they are monosyllabic, are oxytone: *μὴν* and *νίν*. And if they have more than one syllable and are not extended with -ι, they are ‘barytone’: *οὔτος ἐκείνος ὄδε*...

In practice, however, in the vast majority of instances the term *βαρύτονος* (and *βαρύνεται*, etc.) is applied to recessive words. Thus, the practical application of the term *βαρύτονος* suggests an awareness of recessive words as a category, but the awareness does not extend to an explicit recognition of this category in the way in which *βαρύτονος* is defined.

8 Classification of Words into Groups with Similar Accentuation

The preface to [Arcadius]’ epitome of Herodian’s *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* suggests that Herodian thought the following criteria relevant to a word’s accentuation: *γένος* “gender”, *εἶδος* “derivational status (underived or derived)”, *σχῆμα* “compositional status (simple or compound)”, *κατάληξις* “final syllable/termination”, *παράληξις* “penultimate syllable/part before the termination”, *ἀρχή* “beginning”, *χρόνος* “length (*i.e.* the presence of a long or short vowel in a particular position)”, *στοιχεῖον* “letter (*i.e.* the presence of a certain letter in a particular position)”, *πάθος* “change in form” ([Arc.] 1. 9–10). All these criteria, and more, appear in the rules given by [Arcadius], as well as the accentual rules found in other ancient grammatical works. Thus, the following rule covers words with a certain termination (-*ην*), with a voiced stop (*β*, *δ*, or *γ*) before the *η*, and with an *anceps* vowel (one capable of being long or short, *i.e.* *α*, *ι*, or *υ*) or a long vowel in the penultimate syllable:

37 Occasionally, *βαρύτονος* or the associated verb is also used of oxytone words with a ‘lulled’ acute: so [Arc.] 167. 12.

τὰ εἰς HN ἔχοντά τι τῶν μέσων πρὸ τοῦ Η ὀξύνεται, ὅποτε διχρόνῳ παραλήγοιτο, ἢ φύσει μακρᾶ, οἷον· Ὡγγὴν ἀδὴν †άττην†³⁸ ἄτταγγὴν τριβὴν (ὁ τρίπους). ([Arc.] 7. 15–17)

Words in -ην with one of the voiced stops before the η are oxytone, whenever they have an *anceps* vowel in the penultimate syllable, or a vowel long by nature, as in Ὡγγὴν ἀδὴν †άττην† ἄτταγγὴν τριβὴν ('tripod').

The following rule covers words with a certain termination (-ην) that are not compounds, and with an aspirated or unaspirated voiceless stop (π, τ, κ, φ, θ, χ) before the termination:

τὰ εἰς HN λήγοντα μὴ συντεθειμένα ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς HN ῥητῶν, εἰ ἔχοι πρὸ τοῦ HN δασὺ σύμφωνον ἢ ψιλόν, ὀξύνεσθαι θέλει, οἷον· ἀρχὴν εὐχὴν ναυχὴν κηφὴν ὀρφὴν. ([Arc.] 6. 10–13)

Words ending in -ην and not compounded from words in -ην in common use, if they have an aspirated or unaspirated voiceless stop before the -ην, tend to be oxytone, as: ἀρχὴν, εὐχὴν, ναυχὴν, κηφὴν, ὀρφὴν.

However, not all these criteria were regarded as equally important for grouping words likely to be accented similarly. The overall organisation of Herodian's *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*, preserved in [Arcadius]' epitome, divided words first of all into major groups depending on their part of speech: (i) ὀνόματα or nominal forms (both adjectives and nouns), a group which occupied the first fifteen of the twenty books; (ii) verbs; (iii) participles; (iv) pronouns; (v) articles; (vi) prepositions; (vii) adverbs; and (viii) conjunctions.³⁹ Within most of these groups, there are major subdivisions into words with similar terminations. Thus, the citation forms of masculine and feminine nominal forms with more than one syllable are treated in the first twelve books, of which the first deals with words ending in -ν, the second with words ending in -ξ, -ρ, and -ας, the third with words ending in -ης, and so on.⁴⁰ The main divisions within these books are also into words with the same termination. Thus, [Arcadius]' first book deals in order with words ending in -αν, -ην, then more specifically -μην and -ρην, -ιν, -υν, -βων, -γων, -δων, -ζων, -ηων, -θων, -κων, -λων, -μων, then more specifically -αιμων, -νων, -ξων, -πων, -ρων, -σων, -των, -υων, -φων, -χων, various

38 For possible corrections see Schmidt, apparatus ad loc.

39 See [Arc.] 3. 1–4. 21; 6. 1–211. 4; Io. Philop. *Ton. praecept.* 7. 16–42. 25.

40 See [Arc.] 3. 1–4. 6; 6. 1–133. 19; Io. Philop. *Ton. praecept.* 8. 8–9. 18.

further categories of words ending in $-\omega\nu$, then $-\iota\omega\nu$, $-\alpha\omega\nu$, two further categories of words ending in $-\omega\nu$, and $-\alpha\iota\omega\nu$ (see [Arc.] 6. 1–18. 12).

Herodian thus based his rules of accentuation on a large collection of groups of words with the same termination. Aristarchus already, in prescribing accents, thought it relevant to adduce similarly accented words ending in the same way.⁴¹ Material coming at the end of the word remains crucial in modern descriptive and theoretical work on the ancient Greek accent, and there has been considerable discussion of the influence of the last derivational suffix, in particular, on the accent of a word (see Probert [2006] 117–119, 145–148).

9 Base Accent and Case Accent

The paradigm plays an important role in Herodian's organisation of information on the accentuation of nominal forms. The first fourteen books of the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσῳδίας* treated the accentuation of citation forms (the nom. sg. for a noun, and the nom. sg. masc. for an adjective), while the fifteenth book dealt, much more briefly, with the rules for deriving the other forms in the paradigm once the accent of the citation form was known.

Modern descriptive works on ancient Greek accentuation often make use of the notion that, with some exceptions, noun and adjective paradigms have a “persistent” accent.⁴² In a paradigm with persistent accentuation, the accent remains throughout the paradigm on the same syllable, reckoning syllables from the *beginning* of the word, as in the dictionary form (the nominative singular for a noun, and the nominative singular masculine for an adjective). A concept of persistent accentuation is visible particularly in the introductory part of Philoponus' epitome of Herodian's *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσῳδίας*, in the course of an explanation of the limits on the position of the accent:

οὐδέποτε, μακρὰς οὔσης τῆς ἐπὶ τέλους, τρίτη ἀπὸ τέλους πίπτει ἡ ὀξεῖα· ἔνθεν τῆς εὐθείας τοῦ Ὀμηρος καὶ αἰτιατικῆς καὶ κλητικῆς προπαροξυνομένων, Ὀμηρος, Ὀμηρον, Ὀμηρε, ἡ γενικὴ καὶ δοτικὴ, τοῦ Ὀμήρου καὶ τῷ Ὀμήρῳ, διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τέλους μακρὰν παροξύνονται, . . . (Io. Philop. *Ton. praecept.* 5. 5–10)

41 See *e.g.* Sch. *Il.* 8. 355 (A) (Aristarchus made *ἀνεκτῶς* perispomenon like *ἀνδρῖκῶς*); Sch. *Il.* 2. 755b (A) (Aristarchus makes *ἀπορρῶξ* oxytone like *θυλακοτρῶξ*). However, the meaning Aristarchus intended in using the formula “X ὡς Y” in such instances is controversial: see Matthaios [1999] 28–30, with bibliography.

42 See *e.g.* Chandler [1881] 5–6, although the term “persistent” is not used; Probert [2003] 50–51, 54. For a somewhat different conception, see Bally [1945] 29–30.

When the final syllable is long,⁴³ the acute never falls three syllables from the end. Thence, although the nominative, accusative, and vocative [singular] of Ὀμηρος are proparoxytone (Ὀμηρος, Ὀμηρον, Ὀμηρε), the genitive and dative [singular], Ὀμήρου and Ὀμήρῳ, are paroxytone because of the long final syllable.

The principle of persistent accentuation itself is left implicit here, but in order to see why the accent of Ὀμήρου and Ὀμήρῳ requires any explanation at all, we are expected to understand that if it were not for the long vowels in the final syllables of these forms, they would be accented on the first syllable, like the nominative and accusative. In the part of Philoponus' epitome corresponding to Herodian's fifteenth book (Io. Philop. *Ton. praecept.* 9. 19–20. 34),⁴⁴ persistent accentuation in most nominal paradigms is recognised in that the accentuation of most forms is related to that of the nominative singular in the same paradigm (or sometimes the nominative of the same number as the form being discussed). Thus, most accusative singulars and vocative singulars are said to be accented on the same syllable as the nominative singular in the same paradigm (Io. Philop. *Ton. praecept.* 12. 7–13. 1; 13. 8–12). The accentuation of most genitive singular forms is also stated in terms of that of the nominative singular, with allowances for the need for the accent to shift in paradigms such as that of Ὀμηρος, gen. sg. Ὀμήρου (Io. Philop. *Ton. praecept.* 9. 34–10. 2; 10. 14–34). But relationships between pairs of non-nominative case forms are expressed too. For example, any dative singular is said to be accented in the same way as the genitive singular in the same paradigm, provided the two forms have the same number of syllables (Io. Philop. *Ton. praecept.* 11. 6–12). This statement captures a significant generalisation even about paradigms that do not display persistent accentuation: even where the genitive singular is not accented like the nominative singular, as in third-declension words with monosyllabic stems such as nom. πούς, gen. ποδός “foot”, the dative singular is accented like the corresponding genitive singular if the two forms have the same number of syllables: so gen. ποδός, dat. ποδί “foot”.

In addition to recognising the phenomenon of “persistent” accentuation, Philoponus' (and probably Herodian's) method of formulating regularities for the accentuation of oblique cases is an example of the ancient “word and paradigm” approach to morphology, which has found advocates among linguists of

43 On the definition of a ‘long’ final syllable, see n. 18.

44 The corresponding part of [Arcadius] epitome, [Arc.] 146. 9–159. 3, is sometimes taken to be interpolated: see Cohn [1895b] 1156.

our time for its ability to capture significant generalisations about the structure of paradigms.⁴⁵

10 'Basic' Word Accent and Accents due to Enclitics

The concept that oxytone words have a basic acute accent on the final syllable, which is "lulled" in some contexts within the sentence and may be "woken up" in others, has already been mentioned above. Not only oxytone words, however, but all words are considered to have a "basic" accent, a κύριος or ἴδιος τόνος. Their accentuation may be altered not only by the rules applying to oxytone words within the sentence but also by the rules applying to words followed by enclitics.

Enclitics, like other words, were considered to have a basic accent of their own; in fact all enclitics were considered to be either oxytone or perispomenon ([Arc.] 162. 11–12). The normal rules for enclitics apply only to monosyllabic enclitics and to disyllabic enclitics containing not more than one heavy syllable;⁴⁶ the basic accent of these enclitics was considered to be thrown back onto the preceding word in certain contexts:

The enclitic throws its accent back onto the preceding word (to give an acute on the last syllable of that word) if the preceding word is

- (a) proparoxytone: as one might now express the idea, underlying "Ὀμηρος ἐστὶ becomes "Ὀμηρός ἐστι
 - (b) paroxytone with a trochaic ending: underlying τυφθέντα τέ becomes τυφθέντά τε⁴⁷
 - (c) properispomenon as long as the last syllable is not closed by more than one consonant: underlying γυνάικες εἰσὶ becomes γυνάικές εἰσι⁴⁸
- (See [Arc.] 160. 5–17)

45 See Robins [1959] and Matthews [1991²] 185–205, who proposes a modernisation of the ancient model. On the ancient model see further Roussou (2012).

46 A category of disyllabic enclitics with two heavy syllables was also recognised: see [Arc.] 160. 1–5, and cf. Probert [2003] 150–151.

47 This rule is not observed in most modern editions of ancient texts, and is generally suspected of having been stated too generally in the grammatical tradition. For discussion and bibliography see Probert [2003] 148–150.

48 The restriction to words whose last syllable is not closed by more than one consonant is necessary because words such as φοῖνιξ and κήρυξ are properispomenon but do not receive an accent on their final syllables when an enclitic follows (so φοῖνιξ ἐστὶ, not *φοῖνιξ ἐστι: see [Arc.] 160. 14–17).

In other contexts, the enclitic was considered to lose its basic accent while the preceding syllable kept its own basic accent:

The enclitic loses its basic accent while the preceding word keeps its basic accent if the preceding word is

- (a) oxytone: underlying Ζεύς τέ becomes Ζεύς τε
 - (b) perispomenon: underlying καλῶς μοί becomes καλῶς μοι
- (See [Arc.] 160. 17–161. 3)

Alternatively, a preceding oxytone word is considered to have its basic accent “woken up”; one might now express this idea in terms of a derivation in which underlying αὐτός μοί gives first αὐτός μοί and then αὐτός μοι (see [Arc.] 167. 12–16).

Finally, a monosyllabic enclitic following a paroxytone word loses its basic accent, while a disyllabic enclitic following a paroxytone word keeps its basic accent, but in either case the paroxytone word simply keeps its basic accent: underlying πολλάκις εἰσί simply gives πολλάκις εἰσί, while underlying μεταμέλει μοί gives μεταμέλει μοι (see [Arc.] 161. 7–21).⁴⁹

It appears from [Arcadius]’ account that the basic accent of an enclitic was considered to appear, under most circumstances, either on the enclitic itself or on the final syllable of the preceding word. When the basic accent of the preceding word already fell on the final syllable, the accent of the enclitic simply coincided with the basic accent of the preceding word (καλῶς μοι), although if this accent was an acute then the enclitic at least prevented or reversed a change to a grave (αὐτός μοι). In a sequence such as μεταμέλει μοι, however, both the enclitic and the final syllable of the preceding word appear without an accent. [Arcadius] remarks that in such instances τῷ νῶ μόνῳ γίνεται ἡ ἔγκλισις “the enclisis [*i.e.* the ‘throwing back’ of the accent] happens only mentally” ([Arc.] 161. 17–18), and continues with the following explanation:

ταῦτα γὰρ οὔτε τὸν ἴδιον τόνον δύνανται φυλάττειν, οὔτε ἀναπέμπουσιν αὐτὸν τῇ προηγούμενῃ λέξει. ([Arc.] 161. 19–21)

For these [enclitics] neither can keep their own accent, nor do they throw it back onto the preceding word.

It is tempting to compare the whole concept of enclitics having accents that may surface on themselves or on the preceding word with modern autoseg-

49 An exception is made for paroxytone words followed by enclitic pronoun forms beginning with σφ-: see [Arc.] 161. 13–16; 166. 19–22; and cf. Probert [2003] 150.

mental phonology (on which see Goldsmith [1990]). Furthermore, the idea that there is implicit or “mental” enclisis in a sequence such as *μεταμέλει μοι*, with the enclitic unable to keep its own accent or to throw it onto the preceding word, is rather comparable to the notion of floating tones in autosegmental phonology: tones that exist underlyingly but fail to surface in environments where there is no syllable on which the language in question allows them to surface. It would, however, be a mistake to regard Herodian or [Arcadius] as having developed autosegmental phonology in any detail.

11 Concluding Remarks: Prosody as a Part of Ancient Grammar

All branches of prosody formed an integral part of ancient grammar, and ancient theory of prosody therefore depends on larger characteristics of ancient grammatical theory, such as the operation and function of analogy; the theory of *πάθη*; the criteria for establishing etymologies; and the status of different varieties of Greek and shifting approaches to what was ‘correct’. These have been discussed elsewhere in this volume,⁵⁰ and I shall not try to discuss them here with special reference to prosody. But we may finish by mentioning, by way of example, how prosody provided some constraints on the operation of *πάθη*, although *πάθη* themselves were operations applying to vowels and consonants.⁵¹

The Hellenistic grammarians first started to develop a theory of *πάθη*, “changes”, to account for the differences between variant forms of a word in different dialects or different stages of the language, and to describe the hypothetical developments from one word to another in ancient etymologies. The *πάθη* include the addition or deletion of a letter or syllable; the shortening or lengthening of a vowel; and the contraction of two vowels into one or splitting of one vowel into two. It would appear that with this list of possible operations any form could be turned into any other: that ‘anything goes’. Yet there were some constraints on the operation of *πάθη* and therefore on possible etymologies, and one of those was provided by the accent:⁵² the operation of a *πάθος* does not alter the accentuation of a word, unless the *πάθος* would otherwise cause a violation of a general accentual law (such as the limits on the position of the accent) or a specific law applying to the particular class of word

50 See Pagani, Lallot, and Valente (section III.2) in this volume.

51 On *πάθη* and accentuation, cf. Probert [2006] 30–32.

52 On the constraints on *πάθη* in general, see Wackernagel [1876], and for this one in particular Wackernagel [1876] 15–16.

involved. Apollonius Dyscolus appeals to this constraint in order to attack a proposed etymology, one linking the particles ἦ and δῆ:

ἐκεῖνό τε σαφέστατόν ἐστιν, ὡς τὰ ἀφαιρεθέντα συμφώνου ἦ καὶ προσλαβόντα σύμφωνον τύπου μὴ ἀντικειμένου ὁμότονά ἐστιν. οὔτε οὖν ὁ δῆ ἦ ἐγένετο, οὔτε κατὰ πρόθεσιν τοῦ Δ ὁ ἦ δῆ, καθὸ ὁ μὲν περισπᾶται, ὁ δὲ ὀξύνεται. (Apol. Dysc., *Conj.* 256. 29–257. 1)

And the following is most clear: that words that have lost a consonant or acquired a consonant have the same accentuation, unless a general rule opposes this. Therefore δῆ did not become ἦ, nor did ἦ become δῆ by the addition of the δ. For the one has a circumflex, the other an acute.

Breathings, too, could not simply come and go at random when a word was affected by a πάθος. Some πάθη affected breathings, but they did so according to rules that could be stated (see Lentz [1860] 664–697). For example, word-initial ου- normally had a smooth breathing, and when a πάθος turned word-initial ο- into ου-, the resulting ου- received a smooth breathing even if the ο- of the basic form had a rough breathing. Apollonius Dyscolus appeals to this regularity in the course of an argument that the form οὔτοι is derived from τοὔτοι by the deletion of word-initial τ-, a πάθος that causes a rough breathing:

πότε γὰρ ἢ ΟΥ δίφθογγος δασύνεται, ὅπου γε καὶ τὰ δασυνόμενα ἐγγινομένης αὐτῆς ψιλὰ γίνεται, ὄλος οὔλος, ὄρος οὔρος; δασύνεται δὲ τὸ οὔνεκα διὰ τὸ τούνεκα. οὐκ ἂν οὖν ἄλλως δασυνθεῖν τὸ οὔτοι, εἰ μὴ λάβοι ἀπολογίαν τὴν ἔλλειψιν τοῦ Τ. (Apol. Dysc., *Synt.* 153. 21–154. 4)

For when does the diphthong ου have a rough breathing, considering that even aspirated vowels become unaspirated when it appears? (So) ὄλος (becomes) οὔλος, ὄρος (becomes) οὔρος. But οὔνεκα has a rough breathing because of τούνεκα. Therefore οὔτοι would not otherwise have a rough breathing, if it didn't have a reason in the deletion of τ-.

Thus the relationship between prosody and segmental phonology is not exhausted with the correct mapping of one onto another—the way in which the prosody should ‘accompany’ the vowels and consonants. Vowels and consonants, as well as prosodic phenomena, were subject to operations of various sorts, and both prosody and segmental phonology needed to be taken into account for these operations to be properly constrained. Ancient theory of prosody needs to be studied together with other aspects of ancient grammar.

Orthography*

Stefano Valente

- 1 *Introduction*
- 2 *Ancient Origins: From the Beginnings to Aristarchus*
- 3 *The Rise of Greek Orthography: Asclepiades of Myrlea, Trypho and Apollonius Dyscolus*
- 4 *Herodian and the Sistematization of the Greek Orthography*

1 Introduction

Greek orthography was a well-defined part of ancient grammar from the 2nd half of the 2nd century BC onwards. According to the standard definition, initially formulated by Trypho and then repeated with slight modifications by all the Greek grammarians, orthography (ὀρθογραφία) is both the correct spelling of a word and the account of its correctness. It does not address all the spelling problems, as modern orthography does, but only particular ζητήματα (“inquiries”):¹ as Quintilian stresses (*Inst.* 1.7.1), the orthographical art “has all its subtlety in dubious points” (*totam . . . subtilitatem in dubiis habet*)² and examines those cases in which the pronunciation does not help to determine the correct spelling of a word.³

There are three fields of research within Greek orthography: syntax, quality and quantity.⁴ Σύνταξις, “syntax” (or μερισμός, “division”) deals with problems of syllabification, especially with the boundaries of syllables; ποιότης, “quality”, concerns doubts in the spelling of consonants, and ποσότης, “quantity”,

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1 See Wendel [1942a] 1438; Blank [1998] 195.

2 See Ax [2011] 309f.

3 See Apoll. Dysc. *Synt.* 7.6–14 (see below, section 4); see also Wendel [1942a] 1437f.; Blank [1982] 9.

4 See Wendel [1942a] 1554f.; Blank [1998] 199; Hunger [1978] 18; Schneider [1999] 4ff; see also Pagani in this volume.

doubts in the spelling of vowels. The criteria used by grammarians to correct and/or establish spelling are four: analogy, etymology, dialect, and history, or *paradosis*, which refers to literary and textual tradition.⁵

The origins of Greek orthography can be traced back to the Hellenistic period, when the ancient grammarians and scholars began to elaborate upon the first grammatical remarks in the orthographical field. However, it was only in the generation after Aristarchus that orthography was gradually distinguished as an autonomous part of grammar. It developed as a result of the contacts between Greek culture and the Roman world in the 1st centuries BC and AD,⁶ when it became a branch of ancient grammar closely linked to the doctrine of *Hellenismos* (ἑλληνισμός), the correct Greek.⁷ It reached its peak at the end of the 2nd century AD with the grammarian Aelius Herodian: his treatise on *Orthography*, now lost, marked a turning point in ancient orthography, collecting the studies of his predecessors and endowing them with the organization that would become canonical in later centuries. Thus, Late-Antique and especially Byzantine orthographical treatises,⁸ despite the lack of reliable critical editions and studies on their textual traditions, are the primary source for reconstructing ancient orthography, in particular that of Herodian and, to some extent, the doctrines of the orthographers of which he was able to avail himself.⁹ As a matter of fact, Herodian's *Orthography* had for centuries consistently been the main source for all Byzantine orthographers:¹⁰ it was copied, epitomised, revised and criticised, in order to adjust his statements to the changed pronunciation and to the school needs.

Ever since the Hellenistic age, and until the Byzantine period, Greek orthographers had constantly sought to achieve correctness in writing and avoidance of mistakes in spelling deriving from the phonetic changes in the Greek language, which concerned both consonants and vowels (for instance, iotacism).¹¹

5 See Wendel [1942a] 1456; Siebenborn [1976] 53–55, 159–161; Hunger [1978] 18; Pagani in this volume.

6 See Di Benedetto [2007] 417.

7 See below, section 2, and Pagani in this volume. On the history of this word, see *e.g.* Canfora [1987].

8 See Wendel [1942a] 1442–1454; Hunger [1978] 18–22; Alpers [2004] with further bibl.

9 See Dickey in this volume.

10 See Egenolff [1888] 3f.; Wendel [1942a] 1440; Hunger [1978] 18; Alpers [2004] 2f.

11 See M. Victor. 4.58 (p. 80 Mariotti = GL 6.17.13) *orthographia Graecorum ex maxima parte in iōτα littera consistit* (“Greek orthography consists for its most part in the letter iota”; see Wendel [1942a] 1444; Blank [1998] 198). The development of the diphthong epsilon-iota to the sound [i], already (but rarely) attested in the 4th century BC, is quite typical of the Hellenistic period (see Schwyzler [1959³] 193; Meillet [1965⁷] 273, 307f.; Thraette [1980]

Prior to the modern age the Greek language had never undergone any spelling reform that would adapt changes in pronunciation to the written language. However, for centuries grammarians had aimed to preserve the traditional spelling and its rules,¹² thus opposing the historical evolution of the Greek language and formulating new and ever stricter rules and canons of correction.

2 Ancient Origins: From the Beginnings to Aristarchus

Since orthography implies a grammatical background, nothing can be said about Greek orthography in the Archaic period, when the alphabet was borrowed from the Phoenicians,¹³ as well as in the Classical age, when the Ionic alphabet was adopted in Athens.¹⁴ Moreover, we know little of the Athenian school system, and even less of those of other Greek *poleis*.¹⁵ As far as we are aware from epigraphic and literary sources, Greek dialects never had any defined spelling principles, except for Boeotian and its orthographic reform attested in stone inscriptions beginning from the 4th/3rd centuries BC and also in the famous Corinna-papyrus (*P. Berol.* 13284).¹⁶ Nevertheless, the roots of orthography can be traced back to this period, and are related to the philosophical speculations about language theories, and in particular about correct language (ὀρθοέπεια or ὀρθότης τῶν ὀνομάτων/ἑπῶν).¹⁷ These reflections

190–207; Allen [1987³] 70; Adrados [2005] 192f. with bibl.). However, grammarians seem to have begun to handle this phenomenon only in the 2nd century BC (see Wendel [1942a] 1438). It must be stressed that Greek orthographical treatises could represent important (but sometimes neglected) witnesses of the phonetic evolution of the Greek language.

12 Such views have contributed to the increasing dichotomy between the spoken and written language, which brought about the modern distinction between *demotiké* and *katharevousa* (see Adrados [2005] 291ff. with bibl.).

13 See Wendel [1942a] 1438; Jeffery [1961] 1–42.

14 See Threatte [1980] 26–51; Erbse [1994] 82f. with bibl.; Ruijgh [2001] 269f.; Smith [2003] 318. For instance, some passages of Plato's *Cratylus* are based on speculations about the introduction of the Ionic alphabet in Athens (e.g. 398d–e, 410c: see Lebeck [1969] 61).

15 See Marrou [1965⁶] 74–86; Morgan [1998] 9–21. For the history of orthography in the classical age, passages like Xen. *Mem.* 4.2.20, where the knowledge of reading and writing correctly (ὀρθῶς) seems to be limited to primary school education, do not help to recover the rules designed to correct the written (and spoken) language, if indeed such rules existed.

16 See Maas [1922] 1396; Page [1953] 59f., 66f.; Meillet [1965⁷] 96f.

17 See Barwick [1922] 202f.; Fehling [1965] 216; Siebenborn [1976] 14–24; Pfeiffer [1968] 37, 42, 53, 280f.; see also Novokhatko and, especially, Pagani in this volume. For the distinction between correct spelling and correct diction, see for instance Vel. Long. 9f. Di Napoli (= *GL* 7.71f.): see Barwick [1922] 203, 208f.; Siebenborn [1976] 36f.).

are essential for investigation into the further development of *Hellenismos* (ἑλληνισμός)—the correct usage of Greek language—which became a matter of inquiry first for the Peripatetics¹⁸ and Stoics,¹⁹ and later for the Hellenistic scholars.²⁰ According to this theoretical background, the grammarians “took over what they found useful from the Peripatetics, and especially from the Stoics, applying it in their own field and modifying it as they saw fit” (Blank-Atherton [2003] 320).²¹

However, the origins of Greek grammar properly speaking, and consequently orthography, date back to the philological work of the Alexandrian scholars, such as Aristophanes and Aristarchus, who concerned themselves with Homeric textual criticism in particular. Beside problems like the right *divisio verborum*, prosody, explanation of glosses and dialect words,²² they also dealt with the correct spelling to be used.²³ In particular, Aristarchus played a fundamental role in the development of grammatical and linguistic studies for textual criticism:²⁴ he accomplished the process of defining parts of speech, elaborated *in nuce* by Aristophanes of Byzantium,²⁵ and, most significantly, he refined the use of criteria like analogy, etymology, dialect, the (Homeric) usage (the so called *συνήθεια*),²⁶ and *paradosis* (that is the textual tradition).²⁷ These criteria were employed only for practical means, namely for textual criticism. Although some kind of theoretical reflection must necessarily be assumed (and it is unquestionable for the theory of the parts of speech), the complete lack of any systematic and prescriptive treatise on grammar and, less so, on orthography is very likely.²⁸ The quotations of Alexandrian scholars

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- 18 Praxiphanes (fr. 9 Wehli) and Aristoteles (see *Rh.* 1407a20) are cited in *Prol. Vat.* Dion. T. 164.26ff. = *sch. Lond.* Dion. T. 448.13ff., where the origin of this doctrine is referred back to Theagenes of Rhegion (6th century BC, fr. 1a D.-K.): see Pfeiffer [1968] 11, 158 with bibl.
- 19 See Diogenes of Babylon, fr. 24 Arnim (*SVF* 3.214.13 = D. L. 7.59); see Pohlenz [1948–1955²] 1.53, 2.31; Siebenborn [1976] 24.
- 20 See Montanari [1995b] 42ff.
- 21 See also Morgan [1998] 152ff.
- 22 On the notion of dialect in the Classical age and in Hellenistic scholarship, see *e.g.* Latte [1925]; Pfeiffer [1968] 12ff., 41ff.; Morpurgo Davies [1987]; Tosi [1994b] 209; Colvin [1999] 39–89; Ascheri [2005] 440 n. 2 with further bibl.
- 23 See Siebenborn [1976] 27.
- 24 See Matthaios [1999] with bibl. See also Montana in this volume.
- 25 See Fehling [1956] 260; Erbse [1980]; Callanan [1987] 22–25, 97–102; Schenkeveld [1990] 291f.; Matthaios [1999] 588; Ax [2000] 100–102; Di Benedetto [2007] 421f.
- 26 On the idea of *συνήθεια*, see Tosi [1994a] 234f.; Montanari [1995b] 42ff.; Sluiter [2011] 303f.
- 27 See Siebenborn [1976] 27–31; Ax [2000] 107, 138; Pagani in this volume.
- 28 See Siebenborn [1976] 27f.; Taylor [1986] 186.

in the scholia and epimerisms to Homer and in Byzantine lexica with regard to orthographic (and more generally grammatical) problems are more likely due to later grammarians,²⁹ who used them as *auctoritates* both *in bonam* and *in malam partem*, shifting their criteria for textual criticism to a more theoretical and normative perspective. In this respect, some good examples are provided by the Alexandrian discussions on the right spelling of Σκίρων (“Skiron”)—which involved at first Callimachus and Aristophanes³⁰—and on the spelling of θίς (“shore”) and ρίς (“nose”).³¹ On these two latter problematic cases, the primary source is an entry of the *Etymologicum Gudianum* (77.16–21 de Stefani *s.v.* ἀκτίς), which preserves the doctrine of Herodian (*GG* 3.2 431.1–11) through the intermediation of Choeroboscus’ *Orthography*:³²

... τὸ δὲ θίς καὶ ρίς ὁ Ἀρίσταρχος διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου ἀξιοῖ γράφεσθαι καὶ ἀκολουθῶν τῇ ἐτυμολογίᾳ ἔλεγεν ὅτι τὸ θείς παρὰ τὸ θείνεσθαι ἐστὶ, καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ αἰγιαλῷ θείνονται καὶ τύπτονται τὰ κύματα· ἢ παρὰ τὸ θέειν, καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ αἰγιαλῷ τρέχει τὰ κύματα. τὸ δὲ ρείς παρὰ τὸ ρεῖν γέγονε, καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τῆς ῥίνδος ῥέουσι καὶ κατέρχονται τὰ περιτώματα τῆς κεφαλῆς. ἀκολουθῶν οὖν ταύτη τῇ ἐτυμολογίᾳ εἴρηκεν αὐτὰ διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου. ἢ δὲ παράδοσις οἶδεν αὐτὰ διὰ τοῦ ι κτλ.

Aristarchus thinks that θίς (“shore”) and ρίς (“nose”) are rightly spelt with the diphthong epsilon-iota and, following the etymology, he said that θείς comes from θείνεσθαι (“to be struck”), because the waves strike on and hit the beach, or from θέειν (“to run”), because the waves run on the beach; ρείς comes from ρεῖν (“to flow”), because the head secretions flow and run down from the nose. Thus, following such an etymology, he says that these words are spelt with the diphthong epsilon-iota, while the paradisis knows them with iota.

29 See Wendel [1942a] 1439; Desbordes [1990] 165f.; Schneider [1999] 850f.

30 See below, section 4.

31 See Lentz [1867] XCIII; Wendel [1942a] 1439; Siebenborn [1976] 31.

32 See Choerob. *Orth.* 167.15 (*unde plenior Etym. Gud.* 76.13 de Stefani). The direct tradition of Choeroboscus’ *Orthography*—a work in alphabetic order and ἀπὸ φωνῆς, that is to say, notes taken at his lectures or classes—preserves only an epitome of the work, while a fuller version was the source of the Byzantine *Etymologica* (see Alpers [2004] 31ff. with bibl.; Valente [2010a] 639–642). On Choeroboscus’ sources, see Alpers [2004] 33ff. with bibl.; Dickey [2007] 80f. with bibl. and in this volume.

Aristarchus created the spellings $\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ and $\rho\acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma$ on account of their etymology³³ (respectively from $\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ and $\rho\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\nu$)³⁴ instead of $\theta\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ and $\rho\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ of the paradosis. His primary goal was to improve the Homeric text, not to focus on the abstract orthographical problems: later Herodian, in his *Orthography*, set in a wider grammatical canon these (par)etymological spellings introduced by the Alexandrian scholar.³⁵

3 The Rise of Greek Orthography: Asclepiades of Myrlea, Trypho and Apollonius Dyscolus

The development of orthography as an autonomous field within the grammatical art (*γραμματική τέχνη*) and the systematization of the criteria used by the Alexandrian scholars for spelling correction took place a generation after Aristarchus,³⁶ as is confirmed by the grammatical treatise preserved in the *scriptio inferior* (7th–8th cent.) of the palimpsest manuscript *Lipsiensis gr. 2* (*olim Tischendorffianus 2*),³⁷ which Alpers ([2004] 49) convincingly identified with the lost Orus' *Commentary to Herodian's Orthography* (*Ἐπιόμνημα τῆς ὀρθογραφίας τοῦ Ἡρωδιανοῦ*).³⁸ In the fragmentary preface there is a list of grammarians who dealt with orthographic problems (fol. 22^v ll. 18–26),³⁹ but

33 On this (par)etymological spelling, see Apollon. Soph. 86.24 (~ Hsch. θ 591 Latte; see also *Epin. Hom.* 34D^{1,2} Dyck with the testimonia *ad ll.*; Eust. *Il.* 109.4f.). See also Schironi [2004] 276–279.

34 See van der Valk [1964] 145, who deals with the Aristarchean creation of the reading $\delta\iota\nu\acute{\omega}$ instead of the correct $\delta\epsilon\iota\nu\acute{\omega}$ (“terrible”) in *Il.* 20.259, stressing that “we need no doubt that $\delta\iota\nu\acute{\omega}$ originates with Arist[archus]. The latter coined a new word in order to make the text more interesting”, and in n. 282: “we must not forget that a number of similar instances can be mentioned which illustrate Aristarchus’ mentality in this respect. Thus he explained $\rho\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ and $\theta\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ by $\rho\acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma$ and $\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ ”.

35 See Pagani in this volume.

36 Nevertheless, in all the grammatical works up to Herodian the interpretation of texts remained basic and still performed, as can be seen, for instance, in the fragments of Asclepiades of Myrlea, Tyrannion, and Philoxenus (see Montanari [1993b] 256).

37 See Tischendorf [1847] 54–56; Tchernetska [2000] 100f.; Ascheri [2005] 412ff. with further bibl.

38 Formerly, Reitzenstein ([1897] 299ff., [1901] 84ff.) ascribed this text to Herodian (followed by many, like Wendel [1939c] 1179; [1942a] 1441). See also Ascheri [2005] 417–420 with further bibl.

39 I print Reitzenstein’s text [1897] 302: *καὶ γὰρ Πτ[ολεμαῖος ὁ] καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Θραξῆς |²⁰ [καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδης ὁ Μυρλεανός, ἔτι δὲ | [***]φος καὶ Πτολεμαῖ[ος ὁ Ἀσκαλωνίτης, ἀ]λλὰ μὴν καὶ Δημήτρι[ος] καὶ Ἀρχίας ὁ διδάσκαλος | [Δημητρίου, αὐτὸς] τε ὁ Τρύφων καὶ*

not necessarily authors of monographs on this subject.⁴⁰ Beside particular issues, such as the identification (or omission) of specific grammarians in the Leipzig palimpsest,⁴¹ what clearly emerges is that the ancient grammatical tradition, which is probably to be traced back to Trypho,⁴² identifies Dionysius Thrax⁴³ and, possibly, Ptolemaeus Pindarion,⁴⁴ two of Aristarchus' pupils, as the first grammarians to have concerned themselves with orthography. In particular, some of Dionysius' fragments address orthographic problems such as the spelling of the adverb ἤχι/ῆχι ("where", fr. 10 Linke):⁴⁵ he chose the first alternative, following his master Aristarchus, because in Doric it is spelt ἄχι,⁴⁶ but later Apollonius Dyscolus would prescribe the form with iota (*Adv.* 209.25ff.), probably followed by his son Herodian (*GG* 3.2 519.12).⁴⁷

Between the 2nd half of the 2nd century and the beginning of the 1st century BC orthography became a well-defined branch of ancient grammar and was inserted into the technical part (μέρος τεχνικόν),⁴⁸ according to Asclepiades of Myrlea's tripartition,⁴⁹ as far as we are aware through Sextus Empiricus (*Math.*

ὁ τοῦ |²⁵[*** Ἀπολλώνιος τε ὁ τοῦ Ἀρχιβίβ[ου]. Müller [1903] 28f. and Ascheri [2005] 428ff. suggest that this text apparently follows a strict chronological sequence, and thus they proposed different supplements.

40 See Müller [1903] 29; Ascheri [2005] 432f.; the opposite opinion is asserted by Reitzenstein [1897] 302; Wendel [1942a] 1439; Siebenborn [1976] 34; Linke [1977] 10; Desbordes [1990] 56; Schneider [1999] 85of.

41 See Ascheri [2005] 422–441 with bibl.

42 If the supplement αὐτὸς τε ὁ Τρύφων ("and Trypho himself") is correct: see Reitzenstein [1897] 302; Siebenborn [1976] 161; Schneider [1999] 857.

43 On his philological and grammatical activity, see Di Benedetto [2007] 479f.

44 If at l. 19 Müller [1903] 28 is right in suggesting Ὀροάνδου (see Ascheri [2005] 435). See also Montanari [1995b] 41–58.

45 *Sch. Il.* 1.607 a¹ Erbse (~ *sch. Il.* 1.607 a² Erbse, *brevius sch. Il.* 11.76 c Erbse) ἤχι Ἀρίσταρχος τὸ ἤχι χωρὶς τοῦ ι γράφει, καὶ Διονύσιος. παρατίθεται δὲ ὁ Διονύσιος τοὺς Δωριεῖς λέγοντας ἄχι. Linke [1977] 40f. does not recognise the orthographical problem.

46 On the usage of dialect as criterion of correction, see below, pp. 963, 971, and Pagani in this volume.

47 See *Epim. Hom.* η 13 Dyck with test.; see also Dyck [1988a]; Theodoridis [1989b].

48 See Siebenborn [1976] 33f.; Desbordes [1990] 56; Di Benedetto [2007] 418f., 477f.; Matthaios [2007] 13f. with further bibl.

49 See Heinicke [1904] 5f., 8f.; Schenkeveld [1994] 264; Blank [1998] 148; Pagani [2007a] 33. However, orthography is also part of the quadripartite grammar (see *sch. Marc.* Dion. T. 302.7–9 ~ *sch. Lond.* Dion. T. 471.8–10), as a constituent "sub-part" (μόριον) of the "corrective part", i.e. the one pertaining to textual criticism (μέρος διορθωτικόν: see Schröter [1960] 34). See Blank [1998] 263f. For further information on Asclepiades of Myrlea, see Montana in this volume.

1.252).⁵⁰ In particular, grammarians divided and analysed individual issues of grammar within the technical part and produced a range of monographs dealing on one hand with the smallest elements of words (letters and syllables) and parts of speech, and on the other with the doctrine of correct Greek—that is to say, *Hellenismos* (ἑλληνισμός)—which prescribes rules for the proper use of words and phrases through correction criteria including analogy, etymology, dialect, and usage.⁵¹

According to Sextus, Asclepiades states that the technical part of grammar concerns “the letters of the alphabet, the parts of speech, orthography, *Hellenismos*, and what follows from these” (*Math.* 1.92 περί τῶν στοιχείων καὶ τῶν τοῦ λόγου μερῶν ὀρθογραφίας τε καὶ ἑλληνισμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀκολουθῶν). Moreover, Sextus seems to confirm Asclepiades’ orthographical interests, as attested by the Leipzig palimpsest, where he is listed among the orthographers.⁵² Although Sextus’ work does not preserve any definition of orthography, he indicates its fields of inquiry (*Math.* 1.169–175):⁵³

τὴν γὰρ ὀρθογραφίαν φασιν ἐν τρισὶ κείσθαι τρόποις, ποσότητι ποιότητι μερισμῷ. ποσότητι μὲν οὖν, ὅταν ζητῶμεν εἰ ταῖς δοτικαῖς προσθετόν τὸ ι, καὶ εὐχάλινον καὶ εὐώδινας τῷ ι μόνῳ γραπτέον ἢ τῇ εἰ· ποιότητι δέ, ὅταν σκεπτόμεθα πότερον διὰ τοῦ ζ γραπτέον ἐστὶ τὸ σμιλίον καὶ τὴν Σμύρναν ἢ διὰ τοῦ σ· μερισμῷ δέ, ἐπειδὴν διαπορώμεν περὶ τῆς ὀβριμος λέξεως, πότερόν ποτε τὸ β τῆς δευτέρας ἐστὶ συλλαβῆς ἀρχὴ ἢ τῆς προηγούμενης πέρας, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀριστίων ὀνόματος ποῦ τακτέον τὸ σ (...). οὐδὲν γὰρ βλαπτόμεθα, ἐάν τε σὺν τῷ ι γράφωμεν τὴν δοτικὴν πτῶσιν ἐάν τε μή, καὶ ἐάν τε διὰ τοῦ σ τὸ σμιλίον καὶ τὴν Σμύρναν ἐάν τε διὰ τοῦ ζ, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀριστίων ὀνόματος ἐάν τε τῇ προηγούμενῃ συλλαβῇ τὸ σ προσμερίζωμεν ἐάν τε τῇ ἐπιφερομένῃ τοῦτο συντάττωμεν κτλ.

They say that orthography is threefold divided into quantity, quality, and division. Quantity is when we inquire whether iota must be adscribed to datives, and whether εὐχάλινον (“well-bridged”) and εὐώδινας (“fruitful”)

50 “Asclepiades is probably the source of the examples in Sextus” (Blank [1998] 198; see also Calboli [1962] 147ff.; Di Benedetto [2007] 477).

51 See also Barwick [1922] 227f.; Siebenborn [1976] 53–55; Baratin [1989a] 204, [1989b] 215; Matthaios [1999] 14–16; Ax [2000] 128f.; Matthaios [2007] 13f.; Pagani in this volume.

52 See above, p. 954f. Pagani [2007a] 136 rightly reasserts that the ascription of an autonomous orthographical treatise to Asclepiades is groundless (see also Müller [1903] 29; *contra* Barr Reid Forbes-Saks [1996³] 187).

53 I print the text of Mau [1954], except for Dorville’s μόνῳ (see Egenolf [1888] 4) instead of mss’ μόνον. See also Blank [1998] 195–201 and Pellegrin [2002].

must be spelt only with iota or with the diphthong epsilon-iota. Quality is when we inquire whether *σμιλίον* (“scalpel”) and *Σμύρνα* (“Smyrna”) must be spelt with zeta or sigma. Division is when we are puzzled by the word *ἄβριμος* (“strong”), wondering whether beta begins the second syllable or ends the first, and, in the name *Ἀριστίων* (“Aristion”), we are unsure to which syllable sigma must be assigned [...]. We are not injured according to whether we spell the dative case with iota or not, and *σμιλίον* (“scalpel”) and *Σμύρνα* (“Smyrna”) with sigma or zeta, and whether we divide the word *Ἀριστίων* (“Aristion”) assigning sigma to the first syllable or to the following one.

Here Sextus provides no definition of the three parts of orthography—quantity (*ποσότης*), quality (*ποιότης*), and division (*μερισμός*)⁵⁴—but only some practical examples: quantity concerns vowels, in particular the adscription of iota in datives⁵⁵ and the spelling of [i], that is to say whether it corresponds to iota or to the diphthong epsilon-iota;⁵⁶ quality deals with consonants, and the example concerns doubts in the spelling of the sibilant (sigma or zeta) at the beginning of a word (*e.g.* in *σμιλίον*, “scalpel”, and *Σμύρνα*, “Smyrna”);⁵⁷ division focuses on doubts in syllabification, in particular of groups of two or more consonants, as in *ἄβριμος* (“strong”) and *Ἀριστίων* (“Aristion”).⁵⁸ However, Sextus does not mention any criterion for spelling correction.⁵⁹

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- 54 See Hiller [1871] 613f.; Blank [1998] 197–201. This tripartition can also be detected in the orthographic chapter of Quintilian’s *Institutio oratoria* (1.7.1–9; see Colson [1924] 92).
- 55 See Allen [1987³] 84–88. See also Quint. *Inst.* 1.7.17 with Ax [2011] 323f.
- 56 See above, section 2.
- 57 See Threatte [1980] 510, 547–549; Allen [1987³] 45f. In Charax’ *Orthography* (see below, section 4), the spelling of *Σμύρνα* is not only a problem of quality, but also of syntax (see Egenolff [1888] 10). See also Blank [1998] 199, who rightly quotes Luc. *Jud. Voc.* 9 as useful parallel.
- 58 Syllabification was a typical exercise in Classical and Hellenistic primary school: see Guéraud-Jouguet [1938]; Marrou [1965⁶] 229–242; Threatte [1980] 64–73 for a survey of syllabic divisions in inscriptions; Criboire [1996] 269, no. 379 with bibl.; Morgan [1998] 14, who rightly cites Pl. *Plt.* 277e–278c, and 164. See also Callias’ *Alphabet Tragedy* (test. *7 K.-A. *ap.* Ath. 7.276a, 10.453c; Smith [2003] with bibl.). On the word “division” (*μερισμός*), see also *sch. Lond.* Dion. T. 447.25f. (where the focus is on *Hellenismos*); see also *comm.* Melamp. *seu* Diom. *in* Dion. T. 31.6–9 (see Blank [1998] 199 n. 185) ~ *sch. Marc.* Dion. T. 316.31–317.2. See also Quint. *Inst.* 1.7.9 (for *haruspex* and *abstemius*) with Ax’s commentary ([2011] 315).
- 59 See Heinicke [1904] 71. At least analogy, etymology and usage were already part of *Hellenismos* (see for instance Sext. *Emp. Math.* 1.189, 1.241–247). See Barwick [1922] 214, 259; Siebenborn [1976] 54; Baratin [1989b] 213ff.

After Asclepiades,⁶⁰ further important steps towards the development of Greek orthography were undertaken by Trypho.⁶¹ The title of his work *Περὶ ὀρθογραφίας καὶ τῶν αὐτῇ ζήτουμένων* (“*On orthography and its matters of inquiry*”)⁶² shows one of the peculiarities of Greek orthography: it deals only with particular inquiries (ζητήματα) concerning single doubts in spelling, without establishing a complete corpus of rules for all the aspects of correct writing. The first definition we have of orthography, as testified by the Leipzig palimpsest (fol. 22^r ll. 14–21), belongs to Trypho:⁶³

λέγεται¹⁵ τοίνυν ὀρθογραφ[ία διχῶς καὶ ἢ ὀρ]θῶς γεγραμμένη λέξις, καὶ πάλιν ὀρθογρα[φία καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ λόγος ὁ τὴν ἀπόδειξιν] περιέχων τῆς ὀρθο- γ[ραφίας, ὡς φησι Τρύ]ω²⁰ φων, ὥστε τὸ ἀποτε[λοῦν καὶ τὸ ἀποτε]λούμενον ὀνομασθ[ῆναι ὁμοίως.

Orthography has a twofold definition: it is both the word correctly spelt, and the rational account itself containing the demonstration of the orthography, as Trypho says, so that the cause and the effect are called in the same way.

The double definition of orthography as both the correct spelling of a word and the rational account (λόγος) which contains the demonstration of the orthography was subsequently preserved by later grammarians, with slight modifications.⁶⁴ Trypho, borrowing the established tripartition of orthography, may have been responsible for changing the denomination of division (μερισμός) into syntax (σύνταξις),⁶⁵ the standard denomination at least in the

60 We know little of the development of orthographical doctrine after Asclepiades: besides the names given in the Leipzig palimpsest (see above, p. 954 n. 39), we are aware that other grammarians (like Philoxenus and Diocles, that is to say Tyrannion of Stratonikeia) dealt with orthography (see Ascheri [2005] 434 and nn. 3–7 with further bibl.).

61 On Trypho and the different aspects of his grammatical studies, see Dickey [2007] 84f. with bibl.; Ippolito [2008] with bibl.; also Montana in this volume.

62 It is attested in the biographical entry of Hesychius of Miletus in the *Suda* lexicon (τ 1115 Adler; on the relation between Hesychius of Miletus and the *Suda* lexicon, see now Alpers [2009b = 2013²] 151–158 with bibl.).

63 I print Reitzenstein's text [1897] 303.

64 See below, section 4.

65 Müller [1903] 36 and Wendel [1942a] 1442 ascribe this change to Herodian. A syntax problem handled by Trypho is probably attested by *sch. Marc. Dion. T.* 446.16–19 (spelling of στράγγις, “trickle”, with or without iota *mutum*). On the term σύνταξις, see also Lambert [2011].

2nd century AD in Apollonius Dyscolus's works.⁶⁶ Furthermore, since division became quite specific for the identification and definition of the parts of speech within the treatises on *Hellenismos*,⁶⁷ grammarians may have felt the need for a new definition, and the word syntax could easily have been deduced from Asclepiades' terminology—he used the verb συντάττειν (“to put together, assign”, Sext. Emp. *Math.* 1.173).⁶⁸ Additionally, while division seems to imply only syllabification, syntax could concern all the combinatorial possibilities of letters in the building of syllables.⁶⁹ Possible evidence may come from Terentius Scaurus, a Roman grammarian of the generation before Herodian.⁷⁰ In his *Orthography* (*De orthographia*), when dealing with syllabification problems he uses two different words, “conjunction” (*annexio*, 2.5 Biddau = *GL* 7.12.1) and “connection” (*conexio*, 9.1 Biddau = *GL* 7.28.13).⁷¹ This fluctuation may testify to the lack of a firm Latin grammatical tradition on this subject,⁷² and thus may imply that Scaurus was the first Latin grammarian to borrow such terminology from a Greek source, which has not yet been identified with any certainty.⁷³

It is also worth considering that since Trypho dealt with *Hellenismos* and its criteria (namely, analogy, etymology, dialect⁷⁴ and history), he may have been the first grammarian to apply them to orthography. Once again Terentius Scaurus may offer evidence by stressing that “the correction is made on the basis of three criteria: history, derivation, which the Greeks call etymology, and correspondence, which is called analogy in Greek” (3.1 Biddau = *GL* 7.12.5–7: *recorrigitur uero regulis tribus: historia; originatione, quam Graeci ἐτυμολογίαν appellant; proportione, quae Graece ἀναλογία dicitur*), where dialect

66 See below pp. 960ff.

67 In Sext. Emp. *Math.* 1.159–161 division is also used both in a metrical context and for distinction of the parts of speech.

68 See above, section 1. This meaning of the word ‘syntax’ can, additionally, be found *e.g.* in Luc. *Jud. Voc.* 3.

69 See Wendel [1942a] 1442 (on Herodian). See also Dion. T. 6.13–16 (see Lambert [2011] 352).

70 He worked at the court of emperor Adrianus and died about 138 AD (Biddau [2008] XXVIII f.).

71 See Siebenborn [1976] 45, 144, who noticed only the word *conexio*.

72 See Biddau [2008] LIV, 65.

73 See Biddau [2008] LII, 73.

74 On Trypho's dialectological interests and writings, see Wackernagel [1876] 57ff.; Di Benedetto [2007] 417; Ippolito [2008] 4, 7 with bibl. Siebenborn [1976] 149ff., 162 assumes that Trypho was the first to add dialect to the orthographic canons, placing it in the context of usage (συνήθεια).

is predictably missing.⁷⁵ Once again, Scaurus seems to have drawn the doctrine of orthographical canons—*κανόνες* correspond to *regulae*—not from Varro, but from an unidentified Greek source.⁷⁶ The translations of *ἐτυμολογία* (“etymology”) with *originatio* and of *ἀναλογία* (“analogy”) with *proportio* seem to have been well documented, and likewise their use,⁷⁷ but the criterion of *historia* within the grammatical field seems to be otherwise unattested in Latin authors.⁷⁸ Thus if Scaurus’ source was Trypho, we would have a primary witness as to his lost work. Moreover, Scaurus’ order of the orthographical canons, *i.e.* history, etymology and analogy, may be the same as that of Apollonius Dyscolus⁷⁹ and thus may echo that of Trypho. Overall, the first canon of correction remains history, or paradosis, which therefore retains a central role as in the case of the Alexandrian scholars.⁸⁰

In short, the general conclusions of Schenkeveld ([1994] 281) on the development of Greek grammar in the Hellenistic age also apply to the first steps of Greek orthographical doctrine:

after the efforts of Aristophanes and Aristarchus systematization of the material sets in. Dionysius Thrax takes a first step in defining and describing the art of scholarship but genuine systematization of the technical part of *grammatikê* does not come before the next generation. Asclepiades of Myrlea must have been important in this respect, whereas further ordering was undertaken by Trypho. The system of ancient grammar with its part of sounds, word classes, orthography and *hellênismos* is now complete and ready for further refinement.

In the development of Greek orthography before Herodian,⁸¹ his father Apollonius Dyscolus played a leading role.⁸² His *Περὶ ὀρθογραφίας* (*On*

75 See Fehling [1956] 252 with n. 1; Siebenborn [1976] 92; Biddau [2008] 73; *contra* Usener [1913] 296f.

76 See Biddau [2008] 72.

77 See Biddau [2008] LIIf.

78 See Strzelecki [1950] 98; Siebenborn [1976] 54, 92; Schmid [1936–1942] 2837f. (II.B); Biddau [2008] 73.

79 See below, section 4.

80 See Wendel [1942a] 1456.

81 On the orthographic works of Didymus, Alexion, Soteridas, and Dracon of Stratonikeia, see Schneider [1999] 852ff. with bibl.

82 See Wendel [1942a] 1437f., 1440; Schneider [1999] 863–867; Dickey [2007] 73–75; 74; and Matthaios in this volume.

orthography)⁸³ seems to have exerted substantial influence,⁸⁴ but only a few fragments survive,⁸⁵ many of them elsewhere in Apollonius' works. In his *Syntax* (7.6–14), he introduces a parallelism between the topic of this treatise and the orthographical methodology according to the doctrine of *Hellenismos*:⁸⁶

παρεπόμενον ἔστιν ἔσθ' ὅτε ταῖς λέξεσιν καὶ παρὰ τὰς γραφὰς ἀμαρτάνεσθαι, ἃς ἢ προφανῶς ἔστι καταλαβέσθαι διὰ τῆς ἀκοῆς, ἢ ἀδήλου τοῦ τοιούτου ὄντος ἢ κατὰ τὸν ἐπιλογισμὸν ἐξέτασις κατορθοί, ἣν καλοῦμεν λόγον τὸν περὶ ὀρθογραφίας (...). εἴπερ οὖν ἔστιν μαθεῖν τάκριβες τῆς γραφῆς, μαθεῖν ἄρα ἔστι καὶ τάκριβες τῆς συντάξεως τοῦ λόγου.

It is an accident of words sometimes to be spelt incorrectly, errors which are either obvious and which one picks up aurally or which, if they are non-evident, are corrected by examination in accordance with reason, which we call the argumentation of orthography (transl. Blank [1998] 195). [...] Now since it is possible to learn the accurate details of spelling, it must also be possible to learn the accurate details of the construction of the sentence (transl. Blank [1982] 9 and 18).

According to Apollonius, orthography, or “the accurate details of spelling” (τάκριβες τῆς γραφῆς), deals only with “distinctions which were not clear in speech” (Blank [1982] 9),⁸⁷ that is, words whose correct spelling is unclear according to hearing (ἀκοή) and so must be corrected (κατορθοί)⁸⁸ with the “examination in accordance with reason” (ἢ κατὰ τὸν ἐπιλογισμὸν ἐξέτασις), namely, according to analogy.⁸⁹ Elsewhere Apollonius (*Synt.* 51.1–52.5) accounts

83 The title is indicated by Apollonius himself (*Synt.* 388.8, see below n. 90). See Schneider-Uhlig [1910] 7 (*Suda* ε 3422 Adler is quoted, where such work is missing); Wendel [1942a] 1437f., 1440.

84 Especially if he is the Apollonius who begins the list of orthographers in the canon of the *Par. Coisl.* 387 (see Kroehnert [1897] 7; Wendel [1942a] 1440; Alpers [1981] 144; Schneider [1999] 872).

85 See Reitzenstein [1897] 302; Schneider-Uhlig [1910] 7; Blank [1982] 8, 69 n. 83; Schneider [1999] 867.

86 See Blank [1982] 8–10; Lallot [1997] 2.14.

87 See also Schneider [1999] 864.

88 For the idea of correction in the orthographic field, see for instance Apol. *Dysc. Conj.* 213.11–14 and Wackernagel [1876] 48; Dalimier [2001] 223f.

89 See Lallot [1997] 2.14; Schneider [1999] 865. On ἐπιλογισμός (“reason”) used in an analogical context, see also Sophronius' excerpts from Charax' commentary to Theodosius (*GG* 4.2 431.19–21 Hilgard).

for the use of analogy to solve syntactic problems by introducing once again the parallelism with orthography within the doctrine of Hellenism:

καθάπερ οὖν πάμπολλός ἐστιν ἡ εὐχρηστία τῆς κατὰ τὸν Ἑλληνισμόν παραδόσεως, κατορθοῦσα μὲν τὴν τῶν ποιημάτων ἀνάγνωσιν τὴν τε ἀνά χεῖρα ὁμιλίαν, καὶ ἔτι ἐπικρίνουσα τὴν παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις θέσιν τῶν ὀνομάτων, τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ τρόπον καὶ ἡ προκειμένη ζήτησις τῆς καταλληλότητος τὰ ὁπωσδήποτε διαπεσόντα ἐν λόγῳ κατορθώσει. ἤδη μέντοι καὶ τινὰ τῶν κατὰ παράδοσιν οὐ διεσταλμένην ἔχει τὴν προφορὰν, τῶν μὲν δισταζόντων εἰ τὸ εἶρηκας Ἑλληνικὸν ἢ ἔρηκας διὰ τοῦ ε, ἢ ὡς τινες ἀποφαίνονται, Ἑρμεῖ διὰ διφθόγγου, τοῦ λόγου αἰτουήντος τὴν διὰ τοῦ η γραφήν. καὶ φαίνεται ὅτι ἡ τοῦ λόγου συνέχεια τὸ ἐν κακίᾳ εἰρημένον παρατρέψει.

Now just as the collected research on Hellenism is extremely useful, serving to correct readings in poetry and everyday language as well and even judging the imposition of words by the ancients, in the same way the present investigation of syntactical regularity will correct whatever sorts of mistake occur in discourse. Now there are obviously some questions which are not clearly answered by tradition, so that people disagree as to whether εἶρηκας is the correct Greek form or εἶρηκας with an ε, or whether, as some claim, Ἑρμεῖ is to be spelled with εἰ, though reason demands a spelling with η. And it turns out that the flawlessness of reason will correct the fault of speech (transl. Blank 1982, 15 with slight modifications).

Here the grammarian, focusing on a peculiar orthographical question—the adscription of iota in datives (Ἑρμεῖ/-ῆ), a problem he addressed earlier in his *Orthography*⁹⁰—focuses on the value of two criteria shared by *Hellenismos* and orthography: tradition (παράδοσις) and analogy (ἀναλογία). The latter plays the most important role in the solution of grammatical problems,⁹¹ as he stresses in another passage of his *Syntax* (250.5–8),⁹² where he states that analogy rules investigation in the field of tradition-history (ἡ συμπεφωνημένη

90 *Synt.* 388.4–8 ὡς τὰ δεύτερα καὶ τρίτα ὀφείλοντα ἰσοχροεῖν ἢ τὸ αὐτὸ ὠ παραδέξεται ἢ τὸ ἰσόχρονον ἡ συγγραφομένου τοῦ ι, καθὸ ἢ ἐν πρώτῳ γενομένη κατάληξις τοῦ ω τὴν ἐν δευτέρῳ καὶ τρίτῳ προσώποις ἐκφορὰν ἔχει μετὰ φωνήεντος συνόντος τοῦ ι, τοῦ τοιοῦτου ἐντελέστερον ἀποδεικνυμένου ἐν τῷ περὶ ὀρθογραφίας. See Schneider-Uhlig [1910] 6f. (with the quotation of Choerob. in *Theod.* 219.18–24); Lallot [1997] 2.238. See also Schneider [1999] 866, who quotes the so-called ‘Anonymous Cramerī’, *AO* 2.311.5–12 Cramer.

91 See Siebenborn [1976] 54f.; Blank [1982] 24.

92 πῶς δ’ οὐ δοθήσεται τὸ ἔλαττον ὑπὸ τοῦ πλείονος διελέγχεσθαι, οὐ μόνον ἐν παραθέσει τῶν λέξεων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτε ἡ συμπεφωνημένη παρὰ πᾶσιν ἱστορία τὴν παρηλλαγμένην πρὸς τινος οὐ προσίεται, καὶ σχεδὸν ἐπὶ ἀπάντων τὸ τοιοῦτον συμφωνεῖν; (see Lallot [1997] 2.149).

παρὰ πᾶσιν ἱστορία, “the history agreed by all”), in order to discover the incorrect and singular usages to be rejected.

As for Trypho, nothing can be said about the internal organization of his *Orthography* with regard to quantity, quality and syntax. However, besides the two aforementioned quantity problems, Apollonius also seems to have known orthographical syntax, as can be inferred from the *incipit* of his *Syntax* (2.2–10).⁹³ Here, he analyses the different meanings and uses of the word ‘syntax’ in grammar: firstly it concerns the combination (ἐπιπλοκή)⁹⁴ of letters (στοιχεῖα) in building up syllables, then the combination of syllables in building up words (σύνταξις), and lastly the combination of words in the phrase, which is the topic of the treatise.⁹⁵ Once again Apollonius introduces a comparison: the correct construction is basic for grammatical correctness at every stage (syllable, word or phrase). Elsewhere, Apollonius (*Synt.* 449.1–450.1) also uses the word ‘syntax’ (and the related verb συντάσσω) with regard to syllabification, as a parallel for the syntax of the parts of speech, dealing with problems of the letter sigma, and in particular with the spelling of Τίρυσ/Τίρυνς (“Tiryrs”). In searching for a solution to this problem, the grammarian uses the criterion of dialect, taking into account the Argive usage (παρ’ Ἀργείοις πάνπολλός ἐστιν ἡ τοιαύτη σύνταξις).⁹⁶ The passage testifies to the use of this criterion in orthography, while the last criterion, etymology, although not mentioned in an orthographic context, is indeed also considered in his work.⁹⁷

93 ἦδη γὰρ καὶ ἡ πρώτη ῥηθεῖσα ἀμερῆς ὕλη τῶν στοιχείων τοῦτο πολὺ πρότερον κατεπηγγεῖλατο, οὐχ ὡς ἔτυχεν ἐπιπλοκάς ποιησαμένη τῶν στοιχείων, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὸ δέον συντάξει, ἐξ ἧς σχεδὸν καὶ τὴν ὀνομασίαν εἴληχεν. ἢ τε ἐπαναβεβηκυῖα συλλαβῆ ταυτὸν ἀνεδέξατο, εἶγε αἱ ἐκ τούτων συντάξεις ἀναπληρούμεναι κατὰ τὸ δέον ἀποτελοῦσι τὴν λέξιν. καὶ σαφές ὅτι ἀκόλουθόν ἐστι τὸ καὶ τὰς λέξεις, μέρος οὖσας τοῦ κατὰ σύνταξιν αὐτοτελοῦς λόγου, τὸ κατὰλληλον τῆς συντάξεως ἀναδέξασθαι (“for already even the so-called first, undivided matter of the elements of the alphabet [*i.e.* φωνή] demonstrated this long before, insofar as it did not make combinations of elements in just any manner, but only in the construction which was according to the necessity, whence they virtually took their name [*i.e.* στοιχεῖα]; and the syllable, going beyond the element, has accepted this same thing, since the constructions resulting from syllables and filled-out according to the necessity’s law complete the word. And it clearly follows from this that the words too, since they are part of the sentence which is syntactically complete, accept the regularity of syntax”, trans. Blank [1982] 30).

94 See Lallot [1997] 292.

95 See also Dalimier [2001] 34f.

96 See Apol. Dyc. *Synt.* 9.2 (see Dalimier [2001] 34f.); see also *e.g.* [Timotheus of Gaza] *AP* 4.241.10 Cramer (Hdn. *GG* 3.2 393.28 and 395.25).

97 On dialect, see Apol. Dyc. *Conj.* 213.11–14 (see above, n. 88), *Pron.* 94.14–17 (together with paradosis; see Siebenborn [1976] 150), on etymology see *Adv.* 153.8 (quotation of Trypho fr. 67 von Velsen).

In conclusion, Apollonius seems to be aware of orthography as an autonomous, well-defined part of grammar, very likely according to the systematization made by his predecessor Trypho. This enabled him to invoke analogy as a means of creating and strengthening his arguments and, accordingly, to apply it in the grammatical discipline of the syntax of the phrase.

4 Herodian and the Systematization of the Greek Orthography

The peak of Greek orthographical studies was reached with Herodian:⁹⁸ although his *Orthography* is now lost and preserved only in fragments,⁹⁹ its structure and contents, and especially its methodological introduction, can be reconstructed with a certain precision, since it has consistently been the common source of all the Byzantine orthographers. One of them is John Charax (2nd half of the 6th cent.),¹⁰⁰ who wrote a complete and tripartite *Περὶ ὀρθογραφίας* (*On orthography*), still unedited, which is closely dependent on Herodian's *Orthography*.¹⁰¹ His preface reads:¹⁰²

98 See Dyck [1993a] with bibl.; Alpers [2004] *iff.* with bibl.; Dickey [2007] 75–77 with bibl.; Matthaios in this volume.

99 On the title of this work, see Egenolff [1888] 7f.; Schneider [1999] 770, 776f.; the standard but not unchallenged edition is that of Lentz [1967–1970], see Dyck [1993a] 788f., Alpers [2004] *if.* with bibl.

100 On Charax, see Alpers [2004] 19ff. with bibl.

101 See Egenolff [1888] 4ff.; Alpers [2004] 7f.

102 I print the text of Alpers [2004] 6f. with few changes in punctuation: moreover, I adopt Graux' *κατορθούμεν γραφήν* instead of *κατορθώμεν γράφειν* of the manuscripts, and *χίλιοι* proposed by Egenolff ([1888] 20 n. 14) instead of *χιλίος*. See Valente [2010a] 647ff. Another complete preface to orthography (very close to that of Charax) is preserved in the *Grammar* falsely ascribed to the grammarian Theodosius (see Uhlig [1883] xxxvii; Egenolff [1888] 10–13; Alpers [2004] 23ff. with bibl.): this work, a hotchpotch of grammatical materials from many different and heterogeneous sources (some of them still unidentified), was badly edited for the first time by Goettling [1822] (see Alpers [2004] 23–26) on the basis of *Parr. gr.* 2553 and 2555; the orthographic chapters are contained on pp. 61–79. The preface on orthography of Ps.-Theodosius (pp. 61.22–62.26) was also edited by Bekker [1821] 1127f. n. * on the basis of *Vat. gr.* 1370 (see Egenolff [1888] 11; Alpers [2004] 8, 24). The relationship between the latter text and Charax is complex and still unclear: it is generally assumed that they do not derive one from another, but independently use Herodian as the direct source. In particular, Ps.-Theodosius pp. 61.22–62.26 shows a striking coincidence with a passage of Choeroboscus' *Epimerisms on the Psalms* (89.5–30, *unde Etym. Gud.* 499.26–40 Sturz; see Valente [2010a] 642f.), and thus could possibly come from Choeroboscus' lost preface to his *Orthography* (see Hilgard [1894] LXXXI; Alpers [2004] 32 n. 130; Valente [2010a]).

ὀρθογραφία διττῶς λέγεται· ὀρθογραφία γάρ ἐστι καὶ <ή> κατὰ τὴν λέξιν ἠκριβωμένη γραφή καὶ ὁ κανὼν ὁ ἀποδεικτικὸς, ᾧ ἀποδείκνυται ἡ ὀρθῶς γεγραμμένη λέξις. ἐὰν γὰρ τὸ ἔαρινός γράφω διὰ τοῦ ι, καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ λέξις ἡ ὀρθῶς γραφείσα ὀρθογραφία λέγεται. κὰν ἐρωτηθῆς τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς γραφῆς εἶπω· πάντα τὰ εἰς ἰνος καιροῦ παραστατικά διὰ τοῦ ι γράφεται· ἡμερινός, νυκτερινός, καὶ ὁ κανὼν αὐτὸς ὀρθογραφία λέγεται.

εἶδη τῆς ὀρθογραφίας τρία· σύνταξις, ποιότης, ποσότης. σύνταξις μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ ζήτησις στοιχείων περὶ κατάληξιν καὶ ἐπιφορὰν συλλαβῶν, ὡς ὅταν ζητῶμεν, ποῖα συλλαβὴ συντάξομεν τὰ στοιχεῖα, οἶον· ἐν τῷ ἀσθενῆς τὸ σ πότερον ληκτικόν ἐστὶ τῆς πρώτης συλλαβῆς ἢ τῆς δευτέρας ἀρκτικόν; ποιότης δὲ ζήτησις περὶ σύμφωνα καὶ τὴν τούτων μεταβολήν, ὡς ὅταν ζητῶμεν, ποῖόν ἐστὶ στοιχείων ἐν τῷ ἔμπορος, τὸ ν ἢ τὸ μ. ποσότης δὲ ἐστὶ ζήτησις περὶ πλειονα ἢ ἐλάσσονα φωνήεντα κατὰ τὴν λέξιν, τουτέστι περὶ διφθόγγου ἢ μονοφθόγγου, οἶον· τὸ μῖμος πῶς γραπτέον; διὰ τοῦ ι ἢ διὰ τῆς ει διφθόγγου; ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τὰ εἶδη τῆς ὀρθογραφίας.

κανόνες ὀρθογραφίας τέσσαρες· ἀναλογία, διάλεκτος, ἐτυμολογία καὶ ἱστορία. καὶ ἔστι ἀναλογία μὲν κανὼν ἀποδεικτικὸς, ἱστορία δὲ ἡ τῶν παλαιῶν παράδοσις, διάλεκτος δὲ ἰδίωμα γλώσσης, ἐτυμολογία δὲ σύντομος καὶ ἀληθῆς ἀπόδειξις τοῦ ζητουμένου παρὰ τὸ ἔτυμον, ὃ ἐστὶ ἀληθές. καὶ πάλιν ἀναλογία μὲν οὖν κατορθοῦμεν γραφήν, ὅταν κανόνα ἀποδῶμεν, ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἡμερινός ἐφάνη, διαλέκτω δέ, ὅταν τὸ μείλιχος διὰ ει γράφω εἶπω· ἐπειδὴ οἱ Αἰολεῖς μέλλιχος λέγουσι τὸ προσὸν ε ἐν τῇ λέξει ἐκφωνήσαντες, ἐτυμολογία δέ, ὅταν εἰλωτες διὰ τῆς ει διφθόγγου γράφω εἶπω· παρὰ τὸ Ἔλος, ἢ τὸ εἰλικρινῆς παρὰ τὴν ἔλιν, τουτέστι τοῦ ἡλίου αὐγήν· ἱστορία δέ, ὅταν τὸ χίλιοι διὰ τοῦ ι γράφω εἶπω, ὅτι οὕτως αὐτὸ γράφεσθαι βούλεται ἢ παράδοσις. χρὴ μὲν γινώσκειν ὡς ἡ ἱστορία πολλάκις ἐναντιοῦται διαλέκτω· τῶν γὰρ Αἰολέων χέλλιοι¹⁰³ λεγόντων ἀπῆτει διὰ τῆς ει διφθόγγου γράφεσθαι, ἢ δὲ παράδοσις τῶν παλαιῶν τὸ ι ἔχει.

Orthography has two meanings: it is both the exact spelling according to the word and the demonstrative canon which demonstrates the word correctly spelt. For instance, if I spell ἔαρινός ('of spring') with iota, the word itself correctly spelt is called orthography. And if I am asked about the account of the spelling and I say "all the adjectives indicating seasons or moments of the day ending in -ινος are spelt with iota, as ἡμερινός ('diurnal') and νυκτερινός ('nocturnal')", then the canon itself is called orthography.

103 The correct spelling would be χέλιοι (see Hamm [1957] 20, section 27), but χέλλιοι is shared also by *Etym. Magn.* 816.52 and therefore must not be corrected: see below, pp. 969f.

The fields of orthography are three: syntax, quality, quantity. Syntax is the investigation concerning letters at the end and in the sequence of syllables, as when we inquire to which syllable we should assign the letters: for example, does the first sigma in the adjective ἀσθενής ('weak') end the first syllable or begin the second? Quality is the investigation into consonants and their change, as when we inquire which is the letter in the word ἔμπορος ('trader'), my or ny. Quantity is the investigation into the presence of more or fewer vowels in a word, in other words a diphthong or a monophthong: for example, how must the word μίμος ('mime') be spelt? Whether with iota or with the diphthong epsilon-iota?¹⁰⁴ These are the fields of orthography.

The canons of orthography are four: analogy, dialect, etymology, and history. Analogy is the demonstrative canon, history the tradition of the ancients, dialect is a special form of a language, etymology is the concise and true demonstration of the matter of inquiry according to its genuine sense, that is, its true origin. And we correct the spelling by analogy when we enunciate a canon, as has been made clear for the word ἡμερινός. For instance, we use analogy by invoking dialect, as when I spell the word μείλιχος ('gentle') with the diphthong epsilon-iota and I say: "because the Aeolians say μέλλιχος pronouncing the epsilon present in the word", or we make use of etymology, as when I spell εἴλωτες ('helots') with the diphthong epsilon-iota and I say: "it comes from Ἑλος ('Helos')", or εἴλικρινής ('pure') from ἔλη ('warmth of the sun'), that is, the brightness of the sun. On occasion we may also appeal to history, as when I spell χίλιοι ('a thousand') with iota and say that the paradosis has it spelt in this way. It should be borne in mind that history often contradicts dialect: for instance, given that the Aeolians say χέλλιοι, the dialect would require the spelling with the diphthong epsilon-iota, but the paradosis of the ancients has iota.

In the first section Charax gives a definition of orthography which recalls that of Trypho, although he shows slight but significant differences:¹⁰⁵ in Trypho's definition the formula "word correctly spelt" (ἡ ὀρθῶς γεγραμμένη λέξις)¹⁰⁶ appears twice, namely in both parts. On the other hand Charax (or better still his source Herodian) defines orthography first as "the exact spelling according to the word" (ἡ κατὰ τὴν λέξιν ἠκριβωμένη γραφή), introducing Trypho's formula

104 In the translation of these passages I take into account that of Blank [1998] 197.

105 See Reitzenstein [1897] 303; Wendel [1942a] 1437.

106 The same definition occurs in Ps.-Theodosius (p. 61.23f. Goettling [1822], and Bekker [1821] 127 n. *): Valente [2010a] 644f.

only in the second part (ἡ λέξις ἢ γραφεῖσα ὀρθῶς). Furthermore, Charax' second definition is quite different from Trypho's ("the account itself containing the demonstration of the orthography", αὐτὸς ὁ λόγος ὁ τὴν ἀποδειξιν περιέχων τῆς ὀρθογραφίας), since it is defined as "the demonstrative canon which demonstrates the word correctly spelt" (ὁ κανὼν ὁ ἀποδεικτικός, ᾧ ἀποδείκνυται ἡ ὀρθῶς γεγραμμένη λέξις).¹⁰⁷

Moreover, Charax' statement "the correct spelling according to the word" (ἡ κατὰ τὴν λέξιν ἠκριβωμένη γραφή) seems to echo Apollonius Dyscolus (*Synt.* 7.13f.),¹⁰⁸ where the word 'orthography' is paraphrased as "the accurate details of spelling" (τάκριβες τῆς γραφῆς). It can also be compared with two passages: first, with a passage of John Philoponus' introduction of *Τονικὰ παραγγέλματα* (4.7–12 = Hdn. *GG* 3.1 7.17–20),¹⁰⁹ where he reworks Herodian's *Καθολικὴ Προσῳδία* and states that it is necessary to know not only the correct prosody of every word, but also "the exactness according to the orthography" (τὴν τε κατὰ τὴν ὀρθογραφίαν ἀκριβείαν); second, with Hesychius' *Epistula to Eulogius*, where the lexicographer stresses that while compiling his lexicon he followed the accurate orthographical rules given by Herodian (34f. Latte μετὰ πάσης ὀρθότητος καὶ ἀκριβεστάτης γραφῆς κατὰ τὸν γραμματικὸν Ἡρωδιανόν, "with all the correct and most exact spelling according to the grammarian Herodian").¹¹⁰ Thus it can be inferred that Charax follows closely the definition of orthography given by Herodian, who explained the autoschediastic definition of Trypho, focusing on the idea of "exactness" (ἀκριβεία) already pointed out by his father Apollonius. Further, a similar process can be seen in

107 Here, Ps.-Theodosius' definition (p. 61.24f. Goettling [1822], and Bekker [1821] 1127 n. *) is close to that of Charax: ὁ κανὼν ὁ {ἀποδοτικός καὶ} (Bekker : *om.* Goettling, *seclusi*) ἀποδεικτικός τῆς ὀρθῶς γεγραμμένης λέξεως, "the demonstrative canon of the word correctly spelt" (Valente [2010a] 644f.). A quite different definition of orthography is testified to by the ms. *Vindob. phil. gr.* 240 (see Egenolff [1888] 13; Wendel [1942a] 1449): αὕτη ἡ ὀρθογραφία ἐστὶ στοιχείων διὰ τῆς γραφῆς φανέρωσις τῶν διὰ τῆς φωνῆς δηλουμένων. διαιρεῖται δὲ εἰς τρία· εἰς σύνταξιν, εἰς ποιότητα καὶ εἰς ποσότητα, ἔχει δὲ κανόνας τέσσαρας· ἀναλογίαν, ἱστορίαν, διάλεκτον καὶ ἐτυμολογίαν ("this orthography is the written manifestation of letters revealed through the voice. It is divided into three parts: syntax, quality and quantity; it has four canons: analogy, history, dialect and etymology"). On the influence of Greek definitions of orthography on Latin grammarians, see Wendel [1942a] 1437.

108 See above, section 3.

109 ... ἀναγκαῖόν τε πρὸς τούτοις εἰδέναι ἐκάστην λέξιν ἐπὶ ποίας συλλαβῆς τὸν τόνον ἔχει· ὅπερ ἐν ἔξ μυριάσιον Ἡρωδιανῶ πεπραγμάτευται· τὴν τε κατὰ τὴν ὀρθογραφίαν ἀκριβείαν κτλ. On the relationship between this work and Herodian, see Dyck [1993a] 777 and nn. 23f. with bibl.; Dickey [2007] 81f. with bibl.

110 See Lentz [1867] XCIX, 7 app. l. 19f.; Schneider [1999] 781.

the substitution of Trypho's λόγος ("account") with κανών ("canon"): the more general rational account of the correct spelling, still present in Apollonius Dyscolus (*Synt.* 7.6–14),¹¹¹ is replaced by a stronger grammatical (and strictly analogical) demonstrative canon (κανών ἀποδεικτικός). In particular, the adjective ἀποδεικτικός ("demonstrative") may be seen as an allusion to the 'apodeictic' method of Galen, which would later be adopted by Apollonius¹¹² and was mostly based on analogy, while the substantive κανών ("canon") refers to the building of grammatical paradigms through the systematic use of the four orthographic canons (analogy, dialect, etymology, and history). Consequently, the spelling of a single word (like ἐαρινός, "of spring") is assured by its inclusion in a wider grammatical canon (like "all the adjectives indicating seasons or moments of the day ending in -ivos are spelt with iota etc.").¹¹³

In the second section, Charax defines the three orthographical as "investigations", ζητήσεις (see also the formula "when we inquire", ὅταν ζητῶμεν), a word which immediately recalls the title of Trypho's work: *Περὶ ὀρθογραφίας καὶ τῶν αὐτῆς ζητουμένων* (*On orthography and its matters of inquiry*). Their names (with the aforementioned exception of syntax) and the examples show striking coincidences with Asclepiades,¹¹⁴ thus demonstrating once again the strict conservatism of Greek orthographical theorization.

Syntax concerns the division of groups of two or more consonants into contiguous syllables. As in Asclepiades, the example deals with the division of a group of two consonants (σθ) into two syllables per each word (ἀσθενής): the question is to determine where the first syllable ends (ἄ- or ἄσ-) and the second begins (-θε- or -σθε-).¹¹⁵ Similar problems are often discussed by Herodian¹¹⁶ and by later orthographers using his *Orthography*.¹¹⁷

111 See above, n. 3.

112 See Blank [1982] 14; Dalimier [2001] 28.

113 See Fehling [1956] 237; Siebenborn [1976] 67.

114 Herodian (and not Trypho, according to Scaurus) probably reversed the order given by Asclepiades (Wendel [1942a] 1442).

115 See Ps.-Theodosius p. 62.2–7 Goettling [1822], and Bekker [1821] 1127 n. *: Valente [2010a] 644f.

116 See for example Hdn. *Orth.* fr. 1 GG 3.2 407.5–10 in Prisc. *GL* 2.3.5ff. *si antecedens syllaba terminet in consonantem, necesse est etiam sequentem a consonanti incipere, ut 'artus'; 'ille'; 'arduus'; nisi sit compositum, ut 'abeo'; 'adeo'; 'pereo'. Herodianus tamen de orthographia ostendit rationabilius esse sonoriusque quantum ad ipsam vocis prolationem in compositis quoque simplicium regulam in ordinandis syllabarum literis servare, see Charax in Egenolff [1888] 9 *πᾶσα συλλαβὴ ἐν μιᾷ λέξει εἰς σύμφωνον λήγουσα ἔχει τὴν ἐξῆς ἀπὸ συμφώνου ἀρχομένην, οἷον ἄρτος ἄνθος ἀρχῶν ὄρχος ὄρμος ὄρκος*.*

117 See e.g. Egenolff [1888] 6ff.; Wendel [1942a] 1441; Alpers [2004] 21f.

Quality deals with consonants and their change (μεταβολή) in their mutual combinations.¹¹⁸ The example concerns the spelling of ἔμπορος (“trader”) with my or ny.¹¹⁹ Another famous and similar problem of quality is the spelling of ἄμ βωμοῖσι (“upon altars”) in *Il.* 8.441:¹²⁰ Chrysippus’ spelling (*SVF* 3 fr. 771) as a single word (ὕφ’ ἔν) was challenged by Aristarchus, who recognised two different parts of speech (δύο μέρη λόγου). He was followed by Herodian, who added that the first must be spelt with my (διὰ τοῦ μ γράφεται), even if they are separated (παράθεις), giving the reason for this spelling in his *Orthography* (fr. 4, *GG* 3.2 408.16–21).¹²¹

Quantity concerns vowels and, especially, the spelling of homophones:¹²² for instance, the question of whether the sound |i| in the word μῖμος corresponds to a monophthong, *i.e.* iota, or to the diphthong epsilon-iota.¹²³ However, as in Asclepiades, Trypho and Apollonius,¹²⁴ quantity also deals with the problem of iota adscript, as is attested also in the fragments of Herodian’s *Orthography* (*e.g.* the dubious spelling of δῶσι/δῶσι, “he grants”, in *Il.* 1.129).¹²⁵

In the section following these observations, Charax introduces the four orthographical canons which assure correct spelling.¹²⁶ A useful parallel is provided by an entry of the *Etymologicum Magnum* (816.52):¹²⁷

118 On spelling problems concerning consonants in Attic inscriptions, see Threatte [1980] 434–643.

119 See Siebenborn [1976] 39 with n. 6, who rightly quotes M. Victor. 4.53 (p. 79 Mariotti = *GL* 6.16.6) and 4.70 (p. 82 Mariotti = *GL* 6.19.12); Threatte [1980] 595–597.

120 See *sch. Il.* 8.441b¹ Erbse (~ *Etym. Gen.* α 614 Lasserre-Livadaras, *unde Etym. Magn.* α 1048 Lasserre-Livadaras = 81.15 Gaisford) ἄμβωμοῖσι· Χρύσιππος (fr. l.) ὕφ’ ἔν προφέρεται, ὁ μέντοι Ἀρίσταρχος δύο μέρη λόγου παραλαμβάνει καὶ προπερισπᾶ· λέγει γούν καὶ ἀλλαχού “χρύσειοι δ’ ἄρα κοῦροι εὐδμή των ἐπὶ βωμών” (*Od.* 7.100). χρῆ μέντοι γινώσκειν ὅτι διὰ τοῦ μ γράφεται, κἂν παράθεις ἦ, ὁμοίως τῶ “ἄμ φόνον, ἂν νέκυας” (*Il.* 10.298). τὸ δὲ αἴτιον ἐν τοῖς Περὶ ὀρθογραφίας εἴρηται (Hdn. l.l.). See also Threatte [1980] 616f., 620–623.

121 See Lentz [1867] CI; Hiller [1871] 614.

122 On spelling problems concerning vowels in Attic inscriptions, see Threatte [1980] 120–434.

123 See also M. Victor. 4.58 (p. 80 Mariotti = *GL* 6.17.13; see Siebenborn [1976] 40 n. 2).

124 See above, section 3.

125 See *sch. Il.* 1.129a¹ Erbse (Hdn. *Orth.* fr. 48, *GG* 3.2 419.1–9); see Erbse [1960] 91.

126 See also Choerob. *Epim. Ps.* 89.5–30 Gaisford: see above, n. 102.

127 Hilgard [1894] LXXXI points out that this entry may come from the lost preface to Choeroboscus’ *Orthography* (see Choerob. *Orth.* 275.19 ~ *Etym. Gud.* 566.26–36 Sturz [Hdn. *GG* 3.2 604.30]); see Alpers [2004] 8 n. 26, 32 n. 130; Valente [2010a] 641 n. 9; however, the similarities with Charax’s introduction [see above, n. 102] could suggest a different interpretation). Alpers ([2004] 8 n. 26) suggests that the similar definitions of the four canons in *sch. Lond.* Dion. T. 454.14 (dealing with the 12 canons of ἀνάγνωσις,

χίλιοι· ὅτι τεσσάρων ὄντων τῆς ὀρθογραφίας κανόνων, ἡ μὲν ἀναλογία τῷ Τεχνικῷ ἔστι κανόνων ἀπόδοσις· ἡ δὲ διάλεκτος, γλώσσης ἰδίωμα, ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ μείλιχος· μέλλιχος γράφεσθαι γάρ φασιν οἱ Αἰολεῖς· ἱστορία δὲ ἔστιν ἡ τῶν παλαιῶν χρήσις, ἡ καὶ παράδοσις· (ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι πολλάκις <ἡ> ἱστορία ἐναντιοῦται διαλέκτῳ· τοῦ γὰρ χίλιοι ἀπαιτοῦντος τὴν εἰ δίφθογγον, χέλλιοι¹²⁸ γάρ φασιν οἱ Αἰολεῖς, ἡ ἱστορία ἐναντιομένη διὰ μόνου τοῦ ι γράφει, οὕτω γὰρ ἡ παράδοσις ἔχει·) ἐτυμολογία δὲ ἔστιν ἐπισημασία λέξεων ἑπιτοπλείστον τὸ πάθος† (i.e. ἐπὶ τὸ πλείστον τὸ πιθανόν)¹²⁹ ἔχουσα.

χίλιοι (“a thousand”): it is necessary to know that since the canons of orthography are four, according to the Grammarian analogy is the explanation of the canons, dialect is a special form of a language, as in the case of μείλιχος (“gentle”)—in fact, the Aeolians say that it is spelt μέλλιχος—; history is the usage of the ancients, which is also the textual tradition (it is necessary to know that history is often opposed to dialect: in fact, since dialect accounts for the spelling of χίλιοι with the diphthong epsilon-iota—the Aeolians say χέλλιοι—, history opposes and spells it only with iota—in fact, the textual tradition has it spelt in this way); etymology is that meaning of words which has the greatest degree of plausibility.

According to these texts, the four orthographical canons can be properly defined as follows:¹³⁰

i) analogy¹³¹—“the pivotal notion of the views of the *grammatici* on *hellénismos*” (Schenkeveld [1994] 282)—is the main orthographical canon. Fehling rightly stresses ([1956] 238) that “*Analogie sei die Zusammenstellung des Ähnlichen, die zur Aufstellung der Regeln (worunter hier und im Folgenden speziell die ‘κανόνες’ der antiken Flexionslehre verstanden sein sollten) führe [...]; sie—oder vielmehr der Grammatiker mit ihr—stellt die ähnlichen Wörter*

‘reading’, see Fehling [1956] 251) may likewise come from Choeroboscus (see also Siebenborn [1976] 159).

128 See above p. 956f.

129 The meaningless ἐπιτοπλείστον τὸ πάθος of *Etym. Magn.* should probably be understood as ἐπὶ τὸ πλείστον τὸ πιθανόν on the basis of *sch. Lond.* Dion. T. 454.14.

130 See Siebenborn [1976] 67, 159ff. See also the anonymous excerpt in Reitzenstein [1897] 384–386 (first edited by Aldus in the *Thesaurus cornu copiae et horti Adonidis*, Venetiis 1496), falsely ascribed to Choeroboscus (see Hilgard [1894] LXXXII; Reitzenstein [1897] 384 n. 1).

131 See Fehling [1956] 219ff.; Siebenborn [1976] 56ff.; Sluiter [2011]; Pagani in this volume.

zusammen und bildet daraus die Regeln.¹³² Analogy allows one to build paradigmatic canons: the enunciation of the canon (κανόνων ἀπόδοσις)¹³³ suffices to find the correct spelling of a word. Thus analogy can be the “demonstrative canon” itself (κανὼν ἀποδεικτικὸς),¹³⁴ corresponding to the second definition of orthography;

ii) dialect is a special form of a language (ιδίωμα γλώσσης).¹³⁵ Dionysius Thrax may well have used this criterion to solve the spelling problem of the adverb ἦχι,¹³⁶ but it was probably only with Trypho that it became one of the four orthographic canons.¹³⁷ For example, the spelling of μέλιχος is accounted for by the Aeolic form μέλιχος: this concise account can be explained on the basis of Herodian’s wider canon (*GG* 3.2 302.6–12), in which some Aeolic and Attic forms of corresponding words are compared to justify the correct spelling;¹³⁸

iii) etymology¹³⁹ is “the concise and true demonstration of the matter of inquiry according to its genuine sense, that is, its true origin, or the meaning that has the maximum degree of plausibility” (σύντομος καὶ ἀληθῆς τοῦ ζητήματος ἀπόδοσις, παρὰ τὸ ἔτυμον, ὃ σημαίνει τὸ ἀληθές ἢ ἐπισημασία ἐπὶ τῶν πλείστων τὸ πιθανὸν ἔχουσα).¹⁴⁰ In orthography, etymology is used to analyse a

132 See *Comm. Melamp. seu Diom. in Dion. T.* 15.11–17, *sch. Marc. Dion. T.* 309.9f. (see Siebenborn [1976] 67 n. 1).

133 See *sch. Lond. Dion. T.* 454.17f. κανόνων ἀπόδοσις ἐκ παραθέσεως τοῦ ὁμοίου γενομένη (“explanation of the canons which comes from the juxtaposition of what is similar”). For παράθεσις τοῦ ὁμοίου (“juxtaposition of what is similar”) indicating the criterion of analogy, see *Sext. Emp. Math.* 1.199, 1.236 (Siebenborn [1976] 63 with n. 3; Schenkeveld [1994] 282f.; Sluiter [2011] 294f.).

134 See *sch. Vat. Dion. T.* 169.26f. ~ *sch. Marc. Dion. T.* 303.22f.

135 The same definition is given by Gregory of Corinth (p. 9 Schaefer): see Morpurgo Davies [1987] 7f. As Siebenborn [1976] 91f. demonstrated, Usener [1913] 622 and Barwick [1922] 258 n. 3 are wrong in trying to identify dialect with usage (συνήθεια), a canon of *Hellenismos*.

136 See above, section 3.

137 See above, section 3. See also *sch. Lond. Dion. T.* 470.22–25 οὐ μόνον δὲ αἱ διάλεκτοι τῶ σημαينوμένῳ χρήσιμοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ὀρθογραφίαν· διὰ γὰρ τῶν ἰδίων κινήματων ἐμφαίνουσι τὸ ἀληθές τῆς γραφῆς, ὡς Αἰολεῖς τὸ εἶναι ἔμμεναι λέγοντες δεικνύουσι τὴν διὰ τοῦ ε γραφὴν τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ἐπὶ πασῶν (see Siebenborn [1976] 147).

138 *Etym. Magn.* 582.34–50 (*breuius* [Zonar.] 1342.3–7) ~ Choerob. *Orth.* 242.15–27 (*unde Etym. Gud.* 413.44–52 Sturz [Hdn. *Orth. GG* 3.2 557.4–12]; see also Heracl. Mil. fr. 19 Cohn; Eust. *Il.* 1340.18). See also Siebenborn [1976] 147.

139 See Usener [1913] 297; Barwick [1922] 208f.; Fehling [1956] 252; Schröter [1960] 25–37; Siebenborn [1976] 141ff.

140 On this twofold definition, see Siebenborn [1976] 160, who rightly cites Quint. *Inst.* 1.6.28ff. (see Ax [2011] 272ff. with further bibl.). On the other hand Charax has only the first (with the probably inferior variant readings ζητούμενον and ἀπόδειξις).

word in order to discover its true origin, not for a theoretical but for a practical goal: correct spelling. As Schröter stresses ([1960] 35), “*die Erkenntnis des Ursprungs verhilft zur Erkenntnis der richtigen sprachlichen Form, der Lesung und Schreibung. ἐπισημασία im zweiten Teil bedeutet etwa ‘Kennzeichnung’, gleichsam den Umriss oder Abdruck geben wie bei einem Siegel oder einer Münze. Es kann wohl Bedeutung und Formales enthalten. Wichtig ist die Einschränkung ihrer Gültigkeit am Schluß: sie muß überzeugend sein*”. This is the case, for instance, of εἴλωτες and εἰλικρινής,¹⁴¹ as well as of the challenged spelling of θίς and ρίς,¹⁴² which involved Aristarchus and Herodian in different perspectives (textual criticism for Aristarchus, grammatical-orthographical for Herodian),¹⁴³

iv) history¹⁴⁴ is “the usage of the ancients, which is also the textual tradition” (ἡ τῶν παλαιῶν χρῆσις,¹⁴⁵ ἡ καὶ παράδοσις). The distinction between usage (χρῆσις) and the textual tradition or paradosis (παράδοσις) is not an idle question,¹⁴⁶ as can be confirmed by an entry of the *Etymologicum Magnum* (791.49–792.10),¹⁴⁷ which offers a good example of an ancient orthographical inquiry and comes from Herodian (who discusses a spelling of Aristarchus)¹⁴⁸ through Choeroboscus:¹⁴⁹

141 For example, as regards εἴλωτες, see Steph. Byz. ε 69 B.-Z., Choerob. *Orth.* 208.25–27 (Hdn. *Orth. GG* 3.2 500.24–26) ~ Choerob. in *Theod.* 250.3–7 and *Etym. Gud.* 419.19f. de Stefani (cf. [Hdn.] *Epim.* 48.9); on εἰλικρινής, see e.g. Choerob. *Orth.* 204.5–10 (Hdn. *Orth. GG* 3.2 499.34–500.4).

142 See above, section 2.

143 On the use of etymology in the field of syntax, see the case of ληστής, “thief” (Quint. *Inst.* 1.7.17 with Ax [2011] 323f., Hdn. *Mon. Lex. GG* 3.2 946.4f., *Etym. Gen.* λ 95 Alpers [Hdn. *Orth. GG* 3.2 545.4f.], *Comm. Melamp. seu Diom. in Dion.* T. 40.4). For the use of etymology in a Roman context (in the field of syntax), see e.g. Scaur. 2.5 (p. 7.10ff. Biddau) and 9.1 (p. 51.12ff. Biddau), Quint. *Inst.* 1.7.9 (see Siebenborn [1976] 144; Ax [2011] 315).

144 See Siebenborn [1976] 85ff. Before becoming one of the criteria of *Hellenismos*, it was originally used for textual criticism by Alexandrian scholars (see van Groningen [1963] 1; Siebenborn [1976] 86).

145 See Hdn. *Mon. Lex. GG* 3.2 910.7f., 911.11 and 24, 919.6, 920.1, 935.6 and 8. See also *sch. Lond. Dion.* T. 470.4f. and 22f.

146 On this opposition originally belonging to textual criticism, see *Etym. Magn.* 815.16–21; Rutherford [1905] 374; Siebenborn [1976] 86ff.

147 See Schironi [2004] 205f.

148 See Schironi [2004] 205–211 with bibl.

149 See also *Epim. Hom.* φ 47 Dyck with testt., Choerob. in *Theod.* 27.2–5 διὰ τοῦτο σημειούμεθα τὸ φῆς ἔχον τὸ προσγεγραμμένον, ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ φημί γέγονε τροπή τῆς μι εἰς ς ὡφειλε οὖν χωρὶς τοῦ εἶναι, ἀλλ’ ἡ παράδοσις βούλεται ἔχειν αὐτὸ τὸ προσγεγραμμένον ~ 328.6–9 καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ φημί δὲ τὸ δεύτερον πρόσωπον φῆς ὡφειλεν εἶναι χωρὶς τοῦ εἶ, τροπή τῆς μι εἰς ς, ἀλλ’ ἡ παράδοσις σὺν τῷ εἶ οἶδεν αὐτὸ γεγραμμένον, οἷον φῆς, ὡς ἐν τῇ Ὀρθογραφίᾳ, εἰ θεῶ φίλον, μαθησόμεθα and

φής (...) δεῖ γινώσκειν, ὅτι τὸ “ἢ φῆς τοῦτο κάκιστον” (*Od.* 1.391) ἐνεστῶς ἐστὶ δευτέρου προσώπου, καὶ σὺν τῷ ι γράφεται· καὶ ὅσον κατὰ ἀναλογίαν οὐκ ὤφειλεν ἔχειν τὸ ι (...)· εἰ οὖν τὸ φημί οὐκ ἔχει τὸ ι (...), δῆλον ὅτι οὐδὲ τὸ φῆς ὤφειλεν ἔχειν τὸ ι· ἀλλὰ κατὰ ἱστορίαν, ἦγουν κατὰ παράδοσιν, ἔχει τὸ ι προσγεγραμμένον. πότε γὰρ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ χρώμεθα; ἡνίκα τι κατὰ παράδοσιν γράφεται, ὡσπερ τὸ σκεῖρω† (*l.* Σκεῖρω<ν>).¹⁵⁰ ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι ἡ ἱστορία διττὴ ἐστίν· ἔστι γὰρ ἡ χρῆσις, ἣτις καὶ ὡς ὕλη ὑπόκειται τῇ ὀρθογραφίᾳ· λέγεται δὲ ἱστορία καὶ ἡ μαρτυρία τῶν ἀρχαίων καὶ ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν· ἣτις καὶ ὄργανόν ἐστὶ τῆς ὀρθογραφίας. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἔσχατον τέτακται ἡ ἱστορία, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ αἰεὶ κεχρήμεθα αὐτῇ, ἀλλ’ ὅτε οὐ δυνατόν ἐστὶ τὴν λέξιν διὰ τῶν ἄλλων κανόνων ὀρθῶσαι, ἀναλογίας, διαλέκτου, ἢ ἐτυμολογίας· τούτου χάριν τελευταία ἐτάγη κτλ.

φής (“you say”): [...] it is necessary to know that in the line “ἢ φῆς τοῦτο κάκιστον” (“or you say that is the worst”, *Od.* 1.391) φῆς (“you say”) is a second person of the present tense and it is spelt with iota; though according to the analogy it should not have iota [...]. So, if φημί (“I say”) has no iota [...], it is clear that not even φῆς (“you say”) should have iota, whereas it has the iota adscriptum according to the history, which is in accordance with the paradosis. When do we make use of history? When something is spelt according to the paradosis, like Σκεῖρων (“Skeiron”); in this context, it should be kept in mind that there are two kinds of history: the one is usage, which can be regarded as the constitutive matter of orthography; but history is also called the evidence of ancient and famous men, and thus it can be an instrument of orthography. History is placed last, because we do not always make use of it: we invoke it only when it is not possible to correct the word with the other canons (that is to say, analogy, dialect, or etymology). This explains why it is awarded the last place.

History is not only the evidence of the paradosis, which is the starting point of any orthographical inquiry, as the Leipzig palimpsest confirms (ll. 15–17 πειρώμεν[ο]ς [τοὺς κανόνας εὐρεῖν] | τῆς παραδεδομένης γραφῆς, “trying to find

332.28–31 τὸ φῆς οὐκ οἶδεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος (*Apol. Dysc. fr. GG* 2.3 117.3–5) σὺν τῷ ι γεγραμμένον, ἢ μέντοι παράδοσις καὶ ὁ Ἡρωδιανὸς σὺν τῷ ι οἶδεν αὐτὸ γεγραμμένον, ὡς ἐν τῇ Ὄρθογραφίᾳ (*GG* 3.2 419.11–13), εἰ θεῶ φίλον, μαθησόμεθα. See Schneider [1999] 253 with n. 141, 394.

150 Siebenborn [1976] 85 n. 3, 160 n. 2 writes Σκεῖρων on the basis of *sch. Vat. Dion. T.* 165.22 and *sch. Lond. Dion. T.* 448.24 (see *Etym. Gen.* AB s.v. Σκεῖρων, and below, n. 158), instead of σκεῖρω of the *Etymologicum Magnum*.

the canons of the transmitted writing”). History is also the (literary) usage,¹⁵¹ namely the literary tradition (μαρτυρία τῶν ἀρχαίων καὶ ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν, “evidence given by ancient and famous men”, or ἡ τῶν παλαιῶν χρῆσις, “the usage of the ancients”¹⁵²). Thus history is the constitutive matter of orthography (ὡς ὕλη ὑπόκειται τῇ ὀρθογραφίᾳ). At the same time, it is also an orthographic tool (ὄργανον . . . τῆς ὀρθογραφίας) to be used as *extrema ratio* in the correction (κατόρθωσις), if a spelling could not be corrected with the other three canons.¹⁵³ This specification provides greater insight not only into the explanations given for the spellings of φῆς, θίς and ρίς,¹⁵⁴ but for that of χίλιοι as well:¹⁵⁵ its spelling with iota could not be explained on the basis of dialect, because, since the Aeolic form is χέλλιοι,¹⁵⁶ the expected spelling should have been χεῖλιοι.¹⁵⁷ Therefore, it is now evident why history and dialect are often contrasted with each other (ἡ ἱστορία—οἷ ἡ δὲ παράδοσις τῶν παλαιῶν—πολλάκις ἐναντιοῦται διαλέκτῳ).

Moreover, the entry of the *Etymologicum Magnum* is useful to clarify the equivalence of history and paradosis, briefly hinted at with the spelling problem of Σκείρων. It was a Hellenistic *vexata quaestio* involving Callimachus and Aristophanes of Byzantium with regard to the challenged spelling Σκίρων/Σκείρων (*Etym. Gen. AB s.v. Σκείρων*):¹⁵⁸ while Callimachus in the *Hecale* (fr. 296 Pfeiffer = 59 Hollis) used the (correct) spelling with iota for the name

151 Siebenborn [1976] 90: “der literarische Sprachgebrauch”.

152 See Siebenborn [1976] 88; Ax [2011] 300f. (on Quint. *Inst.* 1.6.42).

153 Yet Varro (in Char. *GL* 1.50.25–51.20 = 62.13–63.20 Barwick ~ Diomed. *GL* 1.439.15–30) considered the *auctoritas* the last of the four canons of *Latinitas*, after *natura*, *ratio* and *consuetudo* (see Usener [1913] 296; Barwick [1922] 213f.; Fehling [1956] 235, 252f.; Siebenborn [1976] 93 n. 4).

154 See above, pp. 965f., 970.

155 See above, pp. 965f., 976. See Schwyzer [1959³] 193; Siebenborn [1976] 148; Threatte [1980] 194; Chantraine [1999²] 1260f. The account of this peculiar spelling is given by Choerob. *Orth.* 275.19 ~ *Etym. Gud.* 566.26–36 Sturz (Hdn. *GG* 3.2 604.30).

156 See above, p. 965 with n. 103.

157 It is attested in Ionic inscriptions (see Chantraine [1999²] 1260); see also *e.g.* Archil. fr. 101.2 W.² (where χεῖλιοι is Fick’ right correction for χίλιοι of the mss.).

158 I print the text of Theodoridis [2009] 396f.: Σκείρων· ἔστιν ὄνομα ληστοῦ πολλῆς φθορᾶς ὦν αἴτιος· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς παρερχομένους ἔρριπτεν ἐπάνω τῆς χελώνης· ἡ δὲ δεχομένη ἤσθιεν αὐτοῦς· γράφεται δὲ διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου ἀπὸ ἱστορίας· καὶ γὰρ Καλλιμάχου γεγραφότος αὐτὸ διὰ τὸ ἰ, Ἀριστοφάνης ὁ γραμματικὸς (fr. novum) προσέθηκεν τὸ ε Κείρων (Σκείρων ci. Plew). ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸ †Κουσεῖρωνα†. καὶ ὁ Φιλίμων ὁ τὴν Ἀττικὴν γράψας (fr. novum) διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου γράφει· καὶ κατὰ ἀναλογίαν δὲ διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου γράφεται, ἐπειδὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ κείρω γέγονε Κείρων καὶ Σκείρων. This entry of the *Etymologicum Genuinum* is the source of *Etym. Sym. cod.* V in Gaisford 2020a–c and *Etym. Magn.* 716.47 (see Theodoridis [2009] 397 n. 12).

of the famous robber,¹⁵⁹ Aristophanes¹⁶⁰ recommended Σκείρων. Later, such problems entered the field of orthography: Aristophanes' authoritative choice was probably made on the basis of the paradosis. However, within an orthographical context (no longer philological), this criterion was identified with the historical explanation (ἀπὸ ἱστορίας, "on the basis of history").¹⁶¹ Such discussions can be dated back to the 1st centuries BC and AD.¹⁶² Later, the spelling recommended by Aristophanes was explained on the basis of analogy (κατὰ ἀναλογίαν), possibly by Herodian himself, as shown perhaps by Choeroboscus' *Orthography* (261.27–32 s.v. σκείρω),¹⁶³ the source of the entry in the *Etymologicum Genuinum*.¹⁶⁴

In conclusion, Herodian is responsible for the final systematization of ancient orthography, its fields of investigation and the four canons of correction. According to the later tripartite orthographical works, which are divided into syntax, quality and quantity (like those of Charax and of the so-called 'Anonymus Crameri'), Herodian's *Orthography* was very likely organised in a systematic way, "d.h. auf jeweils übergeordnete allgemeine Regeln (κανόνες) folgen entsprechende Beispiele und gelegentlich Ausnahmen von der jeweiligen Regel" (Alpers [2004] 16).¹⁶⁵ To conclude this survey of ancient orthography, it seems worthwhile to cite an entry of Orus' *Commentary to Herodian's Orthography*. Although we cannot identify what belongs to Herodian and what

159 On the correct spelling with iota, see Pfeiffer [1949] 273; Threatte [1980] 193; Nelis [1994] 93f., especially no. 106 (Berlin, Staatl. Mus. F 2288); Hollis [2009²] 210.

160 *Deest* in Nauck [1848a] and Slater [1986], see Callanan [1987] 24 n. 20; Theodoridis [2009] 397.

161 See Callanan [1987] 24.

162 *Sch. Vat. Dion. T.* 165.16–24 γραμματική ἐστὶν ἐμπειρία ἐνταῦθα γενόμενος Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Περιπατητικὸς (see Slater [1972] 317 n. 2 with bibl.) καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς ἐγκαλοῦσι Διονυσίῳ ἐμπειρία<ν> εἰρηκότι τὴν λογικωτάτην γραμματικὴν (...) καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἐπιλύονται τὴν κατηγορίαν ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐ λόγος (Siebenborn [1976] 160 identifies λόγος with ἀναλογία) πάντοτε κατορθοῦται ἢ γραμματικὴ, ἀλλὰ πολλακίς καὶ ψιλῇ παραδόσει, ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ Σκείρων καὶ εἰμί καὶ μεγάλως καὶ ὀλίγος, καὶ πολλακίς εὐρίσκομεν τὴν γραμματικὴν ἄλογον, φασὶν οὕτως ἔχειν τὸν ὄρον κτλ. (~ *sch. Lond. Dion. T.* 448.19–26 ~ *Sext. Emp. Math.* 1.60f.). See also Theodoridis [2009] 397 n. 14.

163 See Lentz's apparatus to *Hdn. GG* 3.2. 881.22 and the *addendum* of E. Plew in *GG* 3.2 1259.

164 See Wendel [1939c] 2151; Pfeiffer [1949] 273; Schneider [1999] 253 with n. 140; Theodoridis [2009] 397 with n. 13.

165 See also Egenolff [1888] 6. Herodian's *Orthography* was not alphabetically arranged, like the works of Timotheus of Gaza, Orus and, later, Theognostus (see Alpers [2004] 8–19, 29–50 with bibl.).

to Orus' revision (except for the alphabetical arrangement) with any certainty, it provides a good example of an ancient orthographic investigation.¹⁶⁶

[φθει]σῆνωνρ· ει ἡ παράδοσις [καὶ οἱ παλαιοὶ γραμματικ]οί, ἴσως ἀπὸ τοῦ [φθείσω. τοῦτο δὲ Ἄ]λεξίων (fr. 22 Berndt) καὶ Φιλόξενος (fr. 619 Theodoridis) [διὰ τοῦ ι γράφουσιν] κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν [τοῦ φθίω, ὡς Ὀμηρος (*Il.* 18.446)] “ἦ τοι ὃ τῆς ἀχέων [φρένας ἔφθιεν]· καὶ “ἀπ]ὸ δ’ ἔφθιθεν ἐσθλοὶ [ἑταῖροι]” (*Od.* 23.331). τὴν δὲ διὰ τ]οῦ [ι] γραφὴν Δίδυμος [ἐν τῷ β’ ὑπομνήματ]ι αὐτοῦ τῷ Τρύφω[νι ἐπόμενος ἐλέγχει λ]έγων· ἐπεὶ ἡ παράδοσις [ἔχει τὸ ει “φθεισῆ]νωνρ” (*Il.* 2.833) καὶ “φθείσω” (*Il.* 6.407?) [οὐκ ἀποβλητέον. ἀλλ]’ εἰ ἔστιν τὸ φθίω, [ἐκ τοῦ φθῶ ἐστιν, το]ῦ δὲ φθῶ τ<ὸ> φ<θεί>[ω παράγωγον, ἔχον τὴν δι]φθογγον. ἔστιν δὲ [ῶσάυτως διὰ διφθόγγ]ου τὸ χλίω καὶ χλεί[ω καὶ τίω κτλ.

φθεισῆνωνρ (“destroying man”): the paradosis and the ancient grammarians spell it with epsilon-iota, maybe from φθείσω (“I will destroy”). Alexion and Philoxenus spell it with iota in analogy with φθίω (“I perish”), as in Homer “verily in grief for her was he wasting his heart” [transl. Murray] and “and his noble comrades perished” [transl. Murray]. Didymus in the second book of his *Commentary*, following Trypho, opposes the spelling with iota and says: “since the paradosis has the diphthong epsilon-iota, φθεισῆνωνρ (“destroying man”) and φθείσω (“I will destroy”) must not be rejected. But if φθίω comes from φθῶ, φθειώ with diphthong is derived from φθῶ. It is the same for χλίω and χλείω and τίω with diphthong etc.”

The challenged spelling of φθεισῆνωνρ (“destroying man”) seems to be accepted according to history, based on the paradosis and the grammatical tradition, supported by Trypho and Didymus according to some Homeric passages. Yet the spelling with iota proposed on the basis of analogy by Alexion and Philoxenus, according to two different Homeric occurrences of the verb from which the adjective derives, is rejected. The spelling problem remained closely linked to the literary texts and was investigated with the philological tools of past scholars, with extensive use of citations of the Homeric text.¹⁶⁷

166 I print the text of Theodoridis [1976] 362 (see his apparatus for a complete survey of orthographical *loci paralleli*); see Reitzenstein [1897] 307, [1901] 84f.; Alpers [2004] 47.

167 In the 3rd century, the same scholarly activity applied to a contemporary text can be found in Porphyry's correction of autographs of Plotinus (*Plot.* 7 διορθοῦν αὐτοῦ τὰ συγγράμματα and 24 τὴν διόρθωσιν τῶν βιβλίων), who “wrote [...] paying no attention to the orthography” (*Plot.* 8 ἔγραφε [*scil.* Plotinus] δὲ . . . οὔτε τῆς ὀρθογραφίας φροντίζων κτλ.).

The structure and rules of ancient orthography finally codified by Herodian have been preserved by the Byzantine orthographers. However, they had to face new spelling problems due to the phonetic changes in Byzantine Greek, which compelled them to produce new orthographical rules. Unable to find these rules in their own sources, they created new canons in order to take new spelling problems into account.¹⁶⁸ Byzantine orthographical literature is very extensive and, for the most part, rarely studied and poorly edited: most of the orthographical treatises are anonymous or falsely ascribed in antiquity to one of the grammarians of the past; there are few critical editions, some careless transcriptions of individual manuscripts, and few studies of the textual traditions.¹⁶⁹ Nevertheless, only a complete study of this heterogeneous *corpus* will shed new light on the history of ancient grammar and, perhaps, literature.¹⁷⁰

168 See Wendel [1942a] 1441–1454; Siebenborn [1976] 40; Hunger [1978] 18–22; Alpers [2004].

169 See Alpers [2004] 3.

170 See *e.g.* Valente [2010b] on Stesichorus' presence in a Byzantine orthographical canon, possibly due to his mention in the canon of the lyric poets and in the *Epistles* of Phalaris.

SECTION 3.3

Philological and Linguistic Observations and Theories in Interdisciplinary Context

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Grammatical Theory and Rhetorical Teaching

Casper C. de Jonge

- 1 *Introduction*
- 2 *Three Rhetoricians: Demetrius, Dionysius, and Longinus*
- 3 *Linguistic Units in Rhetorical Treatises*
- 4 *Letters, Elements of Speech, and Euphony*
- 5 *The Parts of Speech and Stylistic Composition*
 - 5.1 *Dionysius: The Parts of Speech and the Types of Composition*
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 - 7.2 *The Grammatical Figures and the Sublime*
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 - 7.5 *Change of Person*
 - 7.6 *Sublime Linguistics between Grammar and Rhetoric*

1 Introduction

There are many ways in which the ancient disciplines of grammar and rhetoric interact, intertwine and overlap.¹ It is neither possible nor desirable to draw clear boundaries between the two disciplines, as Quintilian already implies when he describes the activities of the grammarians and rhetoricians

1 This contribution builds on work that I have published earlier, especially in de Jonge [2007], [2008], and [2011]. De Jonge [2014] deals with the relationship between grammar and rhetoric in a more condensed form. While summarizing some of the most important results of those publications, the present article presents also new material in a comparative discussion of three Greek rhetoricians and their views on grammar and style, viz. Demetrius, Dionysius, and Longinus.

in Rome.² Grammar and rhetoric were the pillars of the traditional system of Hellenistic and Roman education.³ The rhetorician would formally start his teaching where the grammarian had finished, but Quintilian records that grammatical teaching in many cases anticipated the lessons of the rhetorician (*Inst.* 2.1.4–13). On the other hand, the teacher of rhetoric devoted much attention to grammatical doctrine, thereby introducing his pupils to deeper levels of linguistic understanding. Since both grammar and rhetoric deal with language and linguistic communication, there are inevitably many topics where the two disciplines meet. The most important domain where grammar and rhetoric come together is the study of style (λέξις, φράσις, ἐρμηνεία, *elocutio*), understood as the expression of thoughts in words. The correct use of language (ἐλληγισμός, *Latinitas*)⁴ was regarded as the first of the so-called “virtues of style” (ἀρεταὶ λέξεως). It is therefore only natural that rhetoricians make extensive use of linguistic categories, employing, adapting and elaborating the theories that were developed not only by grammarians, but also by philosophers and theorists of music: all these disciplines contributed their share to the body of linguistic knowledge that we find in ancient rhetorical treatises.

A central activity in the rhetorical teaching of the Hellenistic and Imperial periods was the close reading of poets, orators and historians of archaic and classical Greece: the works of Homer, Lysias, Demosthenes, Thucydides, Plato and the tragedians were the models that Greek students continuously had to read, analyze and imitate. In the education of Roman students, Greek texts were combined with Vergil, Cicero and other Latin classics. How could a powerful sentence in a speech by Demosthenes, a narrative passage from Herodotus, or a few Homeric hexameters inspire new writing? And in what way could a student imitate such classical examples without presenting himself as a mere epigone of the ancient writers? It was the task of the teachers of rhetoric to demonstrate the quality of the classical texts, and to guide their students in the eclectic and creative imitation (μίμησις) of these models.⁵ Although the rhetoricians admired the stylistic models of the past, they needed to be pragmatic as well. In many cases, teachers had to warn their students that a text was actually not the best model to be imitated, for instance if the choice of words was archaic or the syntax too complex. Dionysius of Halicarnassus identifies such characteristics in passages from Plato and Thucydides, which he considers less

2 See esp. Quint. *Inst.* 2.1.4–13. On Quintilian’s ‘grammar’ (*Inst.* 1.4–8), see Ax [2011].

3 See Marrou [1965⁶], Bonner [1977], Morgan [1998].

4 See Pagani in this volume.

5 On the concept of μίμησις in ancient rhetoric, see Russell [1995²] 99–113. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *On Imitation* survives in fragments and an epitome: see Aujac vol. 5 [1992].

appropriate to be adopted in an actual debate, where clear communication is the most important requirement.⁶

A rhetorician could decide that the style of a given classical text was to be imitated or emulated, to be corrected and improved, or altogether to be avoided. In all cases, the text under discussion had to be examined carefully: the sounds, diction, composition and syntax had to be analyzed and explained. The philological interpretation of given texts was therefore an important part of rhetorical teaching: ancient philological observations were not confined to commentaries, which have been partly preserved in scholia, but they were also part and parcel of ancient rhetorical teaching. The stylistic treatises of the Hellenistic and Imperial periods contain numerous analytical discussions of classical Greek prose and poetry, and similar material can be found in the Latin tradition.

This chapter offers an introductory survey of important ways in which grammatical theory is employed in Greek rhetorical treatises. The present discussion will be selective in two respects. Firstly, it will deal with those stylistic categories that are most obviously influenced by grammatical (and philosophical) theory: letters (and phonetic sounds), parts of speech, word order and grammatical figures of speech. Less attention will be devoted to the rhetorical theory of clauses and periods. The second limitation of scope concerns the corpus of rhetorical works. There were of course stylistic treatises of many sorts and kinds, produced in different periods between the fourth century BC and late antiquity, focusing on diverse topics, *e.g.* composition, figures, types of style, sublimity, etc., adopting various aims and methods, and written either for beginning or for more advanced students or scholars.⁷ In order to bring some focus to this diverse material, this chapter will concentrate on three representatives of Greek rhetoric who are especially noteworthy for their integration of grammatical theory and rhetorical teaching: Demetrius, the author of a handbook *On Style* (second or first cent. BC), Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who wrote several treatises and literary letters on the classical Greek orators and historians (end of first cent. BC), and the author of the treatise *On the Sublime* (date unknown), who is conventionally named Longinus or Pseudo-Longinus (see below).⁸ The works of these three authors belong to the tradition of Greek

6 For Dionysius' criticism, see esp. Dion. Hal. *Ep. Amm.* 2, with de Jonge [2011].

7 *Rhetores Graeci*: ed. Walz [1832–1836] and Spengel [1853–1856]. For the system of classical rhetoric, Lausberg [2008⁴] is indispensable. Kennedy [1994] and Pernot [2000] are useful surveys of the history of rhetoric in antiquity.

8 In this chapter Demetrius, Dionysius, and Longinus are cited according to the editions of Innes [1995], Aujac [1978–1992], and Russell [1964]. Translations are adapted from Innes [1995], Usher [1974–1985], and Fyfe-Russell [1995].

rhetorical theory, but they are also properly characterized as treatises of literary criticism, for they combine prescriptive instruction with the analysis and evaluation of passages from classical Greek literature. Their thorough interest in stylistic expression stimulates these critics to reflect on grammatical categories and to formulate their views on the sounds of human speech, the use of connectives, articles, and other parts of speech, word order and grammatical figures of speech. Before we examine their rhetorical applications of these linguistic categories, the three main characters of this contribution will be briefly introduced.

2 Three Rhetoricians: Demetrius, Dionysius, and Longinus

Demetrius is the conventional name of the author who wrote the treatise *On Style* (Περὶ ἐρμηνείας).⁹ Although various dates between the third century BC and the second century AD have been suggested, it seems most plausible that the work was written in the second or early first century BC.¹⁰ The doctrine of different styles or types of style was a very productive branch of ancient stylistic theory. A basic dichotomy was recognized as early as Aristophanes' *Frogs* (405 BC), which portrays Aeschylus and Euripides as representing the grand style and the plain style respectively. From the first century BC, rhetoricians generally employed a system of three styles (plain, middle, and grand or elevated).¹¹ Demetrius however presents a system of four styles, which most probably belongs to an earlier period in the tradition of stylistic theory. His four types of style (χαρακτήρες λέξεως) are the grand (μεγαλοπρεπής), the elegant (γλαφυρός), the plain (ισχνός) and the forceful (δεινός), each of which is treated under three headings: content, diction, and composition (πράγματα, λέξις, σύνθεσις). It is in the discussion of composition (σύνθεσις) that Demetrius includes grammatical observations on syntax, word order, and the use of the parts of speech. As we will see below, this rhetorician has a special interest in the category of connectives (σύνδεσμοί), which can be used with various effects in different styles. Since the date of Demetrius is unknown, it is difficult to

9 Edition and translation: Innes [1995]. Marini [2007] provides a useful commentary. It is plausible that the author of the treatise *On Style* was called Demetrius: the tenth-century manuscript P ascribes the work first mistakenly to "Demetrius of Phaleron" (superscription), and later just to "Demetrius" (subscriptio): see Schenkeveld [1964] 135–148, Rhys Roberts [1902] 49–64, Innes [1999] 312–321, and Marini [2007] 4–16.

10 See the overview in de Jonge [2009].

11 *Rhet. Her.* 4.11–16 and *Cic. Orat.* 20–21.

establish his place in the history of grammar and rhetoric. But he clearly stands in the Peripatetic tradition: he was influenced not only by Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and Theophrastus' *On Style*, but also by the linguistic ideas of Praxiphanes of Mytilene, who was a student of Theophrastus.¹²

Dionysius of Halicarnassus was active in Rome under Augustus (end of the first cent. BC).¹³ Apart from a history of early Rome, he wrote a number of critical essays and treatises on style. His works include *On the Ancient Orators* (with separate essays *On Lysias*, *On Isocrates*, *On Isaeus* and *On Demosthenes*), *On Thucydides* and several letters that he addressed to intellectual friends and colleagues. Many of these works contain grammatical observations as well as linguistic analyses of passages from Plato, Thucydides and Demosthenes. An important work for our purposes is *On Composition* (Περὶ συνθέσεως ὀνομάτων), the only extant treatise on the arrangement of words to survive from antiquity.¹⁴ The ancient theory of style generally distinguished between two separate procedures, viz. the selection of words (ἐκλογὴ ὀνομάτων) and the combination of words (σύνθεσις ὀνομάτων). *On Composition* deals with the latter topic, following the organization of a systematic handbook. Starting from a definition of composition (σύνθεσις), the treatise discusses the activities (ἔργα) of composition, its two aims (attractiveness and beauty), the four means of attaining these aims (melody, rhythm, variety and appropriateness) and the three composition types or "harmonies" (ἁρμονίαι). These are the austere composition (σύνθεσις αὐστηρά), smooth composition (σύνθεσις γλαφυρά) and well-blended composition (σύνθεσις εὐκρατος). The concluding discussion of the work (*Comp.* 25–26) deals with the relationship between prose and poetry. Since composition is defined as "a certain process of arranging the parts of speech" (*Comp.* 2.1), grammar forms the starting point for Dionysius' views on word arrangement, although he has also much to say on the musical aspects of σύνθεσις. Dionysius makes use of linguistic doctrines from several traditions.¹⁵ The influence of Stoic philosophy on his work is significant, and he himself refers to Chrysippus' work *On the Syntax of the Parts of Speech* (Περὶ τῆς συντάξεως τῶν τοῦ λόγου μερῶν, *Comp.* 4.20).¹⁶ He also mentions the work of Alexandrian scholars like Aristophanes of Byzantium (*Comp.* 26.14),

12 The influence of Theophrastus and Praxiphanes on the linguistic chapters in Demetrius' *On Style* will be discussed below (section 5.2).

13 Edition: Aujac [1978–1992]. Translation: Usher [1974–1985]. On grammar and rhetoric in Dionysius, see de Jonge [2008].

14 See Pohl [1968].

15 See de Jonge [2008] 34–41.

16 Chrysip. fr. 199 Dufour. Cf. Van Ophuijsen [2003] 81 and de Jonge [2008] 274–280.

Callimachus and the scholars of Pergamon (*Din.* 1.2). Dionysius' discussion of letters and euphony clearly shows the influence of Aristoxenus and musical theory (see below). Further, his knowledge of technical grammar suggests that he was familiar with the treatises of such scholars as Asclepiades of Myrlea (*On Grammar*), Tyrannio (*On the Classification of the Parts of Speech*) or Trypho (*On Articles, On Prepositions, On Conjunctions, On Adverbs*), who all came to Rome in the first century BC.¹⁷

On the Sublime (Περὶ ὑψους) is a unique treatise in the tradition of ancient rhetoric and criticism.¹⁸ We do not know the name of the author, nor do we know when he wrote his work. In the past the treatise was attributed to Cassius Longinus (third cent. AD), but it is for various reasons more plausible that the unknown author was active somewhere in the first century AD.¹⁹ The author is called Pseudo-Longinus or (as in this contribution) simply Longinus. One of the arguments for an earlier dating is the fact that the author presents his works as a polemical response to a treatise *On the Sublime* by Caecilius of Caleacte, who was a contemporary of Dionysius of Halicarnassus.²⁰ Although it is in the nature of the sublime to be elusive and difficult to define, one could describe ὑψος as an inspiring effect that overwhelms, carries away and elevates the reader or listener of a poem, discourse or speech. Longinus deals with five sources of the sublime, two of which are innate (great thoughts and emotion), whereas three are technical (figures of speech, diction and composition). It is in his discussion of figures (σχήματα) and composition (σύνθεσις) that Longinus makes effective use of grammatical categories. The impact of the sublime is in many cases achieved by the unexpected use of linguistic elements, such as the transposition of words from their regular order or the surprising use of case, tense or number.

17 On the possible influence of the grammarians Asclepiades, Tyrannio and Trypho on Dionysius, see de Jonge [2008] 111–113. Both Dionysius and Trypho arrived in Rome in 30 BC.

18 Edition: Russell [1964]. Translation: Fyfe-Russell [1995]. The commentary of Mazzucchi [2010a] is indispensable.

19 On date and authorship, see Russell [1964] xxii–xxx; Mazzucchi [2010a] xxix–xxxvii. Heath [1999] argues for the authorship of Cassius Longinus.

20 See *Subl.* 1.1. Ofenloch [1907] and Augello [2006] have edited the fragments of Caecilius. Caecilius of Caleacte also makes use of grammatical categories in his work *On Figures*: see below on the grammatical figures (section 7).

3 Linguistic Units in Rhetorical Treatises

Although the organization of ancient treatises on style can adopt different forms, the general focus of ancient stylistic teaching is on the selection of words (ἐκλογὴ ὀνομάτων), the combination of words (σύνθεσις ὀνομάτων) and the artistic arrangement of words in figures of speech (σχήματα λέξεως). Individual treatises can concentrate on one or more of these topics. Dionysius' *On Composition* deals with σύνθεσις only; Demetrius deals with both diction and composition (which in his case includes figures: see *Eloc.* 59), but also content; Longinus regards diction, composition and figures as three sources of the sublime. It is a common idea in ancient language disciplines (philosophy, grammar as well as rhetoric) to view language as a systematic structure that consists of several levels. The different levels most often distinguished in rhetorical teaching are those of letters (γράμματα), syllables (συλλαβαί), words (ὀνόματα or λέξεις) or parts of speech (μέρη λόγου), clauses (κῶλα), periods (περίοδοι) and text or discourse (λόγος).²¹ The linguistic units of one level are treated as the building blocks of the units at the next level. As the letters are the “elements of speech” (στοιχεῖα φωνῆς), the parts of speech can be called “elements of expression” (στοιχεῖα λέξεως).²²

4 Letters, Elements of Speech, and Euphony

Euphony is an essential component of rhetorical theory. In the selection and combining of words, certain sounds or collocations of sounds must be avoided because of their roughness, whereas other sounds are attractive to the ear. Hence, rhetoricians offer detailed discussions of the acoustic qualities of letters, and they comment on the contexts in which these sounds may or may not be used. Such discussions of letters (γράμματα) or “elements” (στοιχεῖα) of speech in the context of stylistic teaching reveal that music and musical

21 Demetrius (*Eloc.* 1–35) offers a systematic discussion of clauses and periods.

22 Parts of speech as “elements”: Dion. Hal. *Comp.* 2.1. Letters as “elements”: *Comp.* 14.1. Dionysius explains that the primary units of speech are called “letters” (γράμματα) because they are signified by certain “lines” (γραμμαί): a similar explanation is found in the *Tekhné grammatiké*, [Dion. T.] par. 6, G.G. 1.1, 9.2–3. According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Comp.* 14.1), the letters are called “elements” (στοιχεῖα) because “all sound has its origin from these units in the first place, and is ultimately resolved in them” (πάσα φωνὴ τὴν γένεσιν ἐκ τούτων λαμβάνει πρώτων καὶ τὴν διάλυσιν εἰς ταῦτα ποιεῖται τελευταία). The *Tekhné grammatiké*, [Dion. T.] par. 6, G.G. 1.1, 9.5–6, gives a different explanation of the term στοιχεῖα. See also de Jonge [2008] 50–53 on “the hierarchical structure of language”.

teaching had a substantial impact on ancient rhetorical theory.²³ In their treatments of euphony, both Demetrius and Dionysius refer to the ideas of “musicians” (μουσικοί). Dionysius in particular acknowledges the influence of the Peripatetic philosopher and musical theorist Aristoxenus of Tarentum (fourth cent. BC).²⁴ More generally, the rhetorical discussions of euphony often have a Peripatetic flavor, as they seem to build on the theory of expression in Theophrastus’ *On Style*.²⁵

Dionysius of Halicarnassus examines the acoustic properties of the letters in his discussion of μέλος (melodious sound), one of the four means of composition (*Comp.* 14).²⁶ The twenty-four letters (γράμματα) or elements (στοιχεῖα) are defined as “the primary and indivisible units of human and articulate speech” (*Comp.* 14.1: ἀρχαί . . . τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης καὶ ἐνάρθρου φωνῆς αἱ μηκέτι δεχόμεναι διαίρεσιν). These units are first divided into vocal sounds (φωναί) or vowels (φωνήεντα) on the one hand, and noises (ψόφοι) on the other. The non-vowels are then divided into semivowels (ἡμίφωνα) and voiceless sounds (ἄφωνα). According to Dionysius it is not easy to say how many letters there are, but he claims that this problem belongs not to his own discipline, but rather to grammar (γραμματική) and metrical studies (μετρική) or even philosophy (φιλοσοφία) (*Comp.* 14.6). He then presents the familiar system of twenty-four letters, which we also find in the *Tekhnê Grammatikê* attributed to Dionysius Thrax. Of the seven vowels, two are short (ε, ο), two long (η, ω) and three of two quantities (α, ι, υ). Of the eight semivowels, five are simple (λ, μ, ν, ρ, σ) and three double (ζ, ξ, ψ). Of the nine voiceless letters three are smooth or ‘bare’ (κ, π, τ), three rough (χ, φ, θ) and three intermediate (γ, β, δ).

As rhetorician Dionysius of Halicarnassus is especially interested in the aesthetic qualities of the sounds of speech, which are related to their production in the human mouth. In general, he considers long vowels most pleasant, and short vowels inferior. The more open the mouth, the more attractive the sound. Of the long vowels, the long α is best, “for it is pronounced with the mouth open to the fullest extent and the breath forced upwards to the palate”. The η comes in the second place, “because it presses the sound down around the base of the tongue and not upwards, and the mouth is only moderately open”. The ω comes third, followed by υ and ι. None of the short vowels is beautiful, but

23 Cf. Nünlist in this volume.

24 Demetrius (*Eloc.* 176) refers to “the musicians”; Dionysius (*Comp.* 14.2) mentions “Aristoxenus the musician”. Longinus’ discussion of composition (*Subl.* 39) draws an elaborate comparison between language and instrumental music.

25 See e.g. Theophr. fr. 686, 687, 688, 692 Fortenbaugh.

26 On phonetics and euphony in Dionysius, see Vaahtera [1997].

“ο is less ugly (ἥττον δυσηχέες) than ε”: again, the shape of the mouth in producing these vowels explains the difference. A classification of the semivowels follows. The double semivowels are superior to the simple ones. In the latter category λ is “sweetest” (γλυκύτεατον), ρ is “most noble” (γενναιότατον), μ and ν are intermediate, and σ is “neither charming nor pleasant” (ἄχαρι δὲ καὶ ἀηδέες), as it sounds like the hissing of an irrational animal. Among the double semivowels, ζ is most pleasant, whereas ξ and ψ produce a hiss (συριγμός). Of the nine semivowels, the rough sounds (χ, φ, θ) are the best, whereas the ‘bare’ sounds (κ, π, τ) are least attractive.

In the formation of syllables and words (*Comp.* 15–16) the writer or orator must make use of these different qualities of the letters, so as to imitate the characters, things or events that he describes. Dionysius demonstrates that Homer uses fine and soft sounds when portraying beauty, unpleasant and ill-sounding letters when introducing a frightening scene, and harsh, clashing syllables when depicting a warrior.

Demetrius includes similar observations on sounds and euphony in his discussions of the four styles. In his account of the elegant style, he refers to the so-called “beautiful words” (*Eloc.* 173: καλὰ ὀνόματα), and he cites the definition of Theophrastus (fr. 687 Fortenbaugh): “Beauty in a word is that which gives pleasure to the ear or the eye, or has an inherent nobility of thought” (κάλλος ὀνοματός ἐστι τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἀκοὴν ἢ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν ἡδύ, ἢ τὸ τῆς διανοίας ἔντιμον).²⁷ In his explanation of Theophrastus’ doctrine, Demetrius points out that words like Καλλίστρατος (Callistratus) and Ἄνοῶν (Annoôn, but the text may be corrupt here) are “pleasant to the ear” because the double “l” and double “n” have a certain resonance. For the sake of euphony an extra ν (“n”) can sometimes be added, as “the Attic authors” do when writing Δημοσθένην (Demosthenes) and Σωκράτην (Socrates) (*Eloc.* 175). Demetrius (*Eloc.* 176–177) also reports that musicians made a classification of words on the basis of the acoustic qualities of vowels: a word can be smooth (λεῖον), rough (τραχύ), well-proportioned (εὐπαγές) or weighty (ὄγκηρον). A smooth word is mainly or exclusively built from vowels (e.g. Αἴας, “Ajax”); an example of a rough word is βέβρωσκεν (“devoured”); a well-proportioned word is a mix of smooth and rough. “Weightiness consists in three aspects, breadth, length and emphatic pronunciation” (*Eloc.* 177: τὸ δὲ ὄγκηρον ἐν τρισί, πλάτει, μήκει, πλάσματι). Demetrius’ acoustic classification of different kinds of words shows some resemblance to Dionysius’ distinction of

27 See Fortenbaugh [2005] 281–286. According to Dionysius (*Comp.* 16.15), Theophrastus (fr. 688 Fortenbaugh) distinguished “words that are naturally beautiful” (ὀνόματα φύσει καλά) from “words that are paltry and mean” (μικρὰ καὶ ταπεινά).

three types of composition or “harmonies” (*Comp.* 21–24: see below), which he calls smooth (γλαφυρά), austere (αύστηρά) and well-tempered (εὐκρατος).

5 The Parts of Speech and Stylistic Composition

Ancient philosophers and grammarians developed an elaborate system of the so-called parts of speech (τὰ μέρη τοῦ λόγου, *partes orationis*),²⁸ and these units were also indispensable in rhetorical teaching. Although similar terminology was used in various language disciplines, the parts of speech had in fact different functions for philosophers, grammarians and rhetoricians.²⁹ While philosophers like Aristotle and the Stoics were mainly interested in the analysis of the assertion (λόγος ἀποφαντικός) or meaningful sentence into its “parts” (μέρη), Alexandrian philologists and grammarians focused on the distinction of different ‘word classes’ with their *accidentia*. The grammatical system that we know from the *Tekhnê Grammatikê* attributed to Dionysius Thrax lists eight word classes: ὄνομα (noun), ῥήμα (verb), μετοχή (participle), ἄρθρον (article), ἀντωνυμία (pronoun), πρόθεσις (preposition), ἐπίρρημα (adverb), and σύνδεσμος (conjunction). This system of eight parts, which did not become canonical before the first century AD, was the result of a long development, to which both philosophers and grammarians contributed their ideas.

The rhetorician Dionysius of Halicarnassus is the first ‘historian of linguistics’ to present the history of the parts of speech doctrine, distinguishing various stages from Aristotle and Theodectes (who are said to have known only ὀνόματα, ῥήματα and συνδεσμοί) until the grammarians who knew nine parts of speech (including the προσηγορία or appellative as a separate part).³⁰ As Dionysius remarks, there were scholars who introduced even further divisions, “making the primary parts of speech many in number”.³¹ Characteristic of Dionysius’ approach to the history of the parts of speech theory is the idea of gradual progress: successive philosophers and grammarians “carried” the system “forward” (προήγαγον, *Comp.* 2.1), each generation adding more parts of speech and making more subtle distinctions.

Dionysius presents his history of the parts of speech at the beginning of his work *On Composition* (2.1), where he defines composition (σύνθεσις) as “a certain

28 For an overview on the topic see Swiggers-Wouters (section III.2) in this volume.

29 See Matthaios [2002f]; de Jonge [2008] 91–104.

30 On Dionysius as ‘historian of linguistics’, see de Jonge [2008] 168–183.

31 Dion. Hal. *Comp.* 2.1–3; Quintilian (*Inst.* 1.4.17–21) presents a similar history of the theory of the parts of speech, but there are some interesting differences between the two accounts: de Jonge [2008] 168–183.

process of arranging the parts of speech (λόγου μόρια) or elements of diction” (στοιχεῖα λέξεως).³² It is important to notice that this is the context in which he introduces his little ‘history of linguistics’. While discussing the linguistic doctrine of the parts of speech, which was, as he acknowledges, developed by philosophers and grammarians, Dionysius is explicitly adopting the perspective of his own discipline. The philosophical “parts of the assertion” and the grammatical “word classes” now become the stylistic “building blocks” (στοιχεῖα) from which an orator or writer constructs his text. Where the builder of a house or a shipwright combines stones, timber and tiling, the writer who composes a text must use his nouns, verbs, and the other parts of speech.³³ Any composition will thus start from combining the parts of speech, using their *accidentia* not only correctly but also elegantly. For Dionysius of Halicarnassus, σύνθεσις consists of various activities (ἔργα). One of them is σχηματισμός, the process of selecting the form of a word: it decides “the form in which the noun or verb, or whatever else it may be, will occupy its position more elegantly (χαριέστερον) and will fit more appropriately (πρεπωδέστερον) into its context”. It is thus not only syntactic correctness, but also stylistic attractiveness and appropriateness that will determine the number (singular or plural), case (nominative or one of the oblique cases) and gender (masculine, feminine or neuter) of nouns, as well as the gender, mood and tense of verbs in a text.³⁴

If the parts of speech are the building blocks of stylistic composition, it is obvious that the resulting composition can also be described and analyzed in terms of its parts of speech. One of the most influential doctrines in ancient rhetoric is that of the different styles or composition types. These types of style are characterized not only by linguistic sounds, choice of words (plain or elevated), prose rhythm and figures of speech, but also by the presence, absence or particular use of the parts of speech, as we can observe in Dionysius of Halicarnassus’ *On Composition* and Demetrius’ *On Style*.

5.1 *Dionysius: The Parts of Speech and the Types of Composition*

In his treatise on σύνθεσις, Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Comp.* 21–24) asserts that there are three different composition types or “harmonies” (ἁρμονίαι).³⁵ The three types are the austere (αὐστηρά), the polished (γλαφυρά) and the well-blended (εὐκρατος) harmony. In fact, Dionysius admits that there are

32 Rhetoricians use the terminology of μόρια λόγου in order to distinguish them from the parts of a speech or text (μέρη λόγου).

33 Dion. Hal. *Comp.* 6.3–4.

34 Dion. Hal. *Comp.* 6.5–7.

35 See also Dion. Hal. *Dem.* 37–41. Pohl [1968] discusses Dionysius’ theory of composition types. On the parts of speech in the three harmonies, see also de Jonge [2008] 204–213.

many distinct forms of composition, but he finds it useful to distinguish two extremes, and a middle style that results from the relaxation and intensification of these extremes (*Comp.* 21.5). Whereas the austere harmony is primarily characterized by a certain rough discontinuity, the polished harmony gives the impression of a smoothly flowing stream of sound (*Comp.* 22–23).

Grammatical categories are especially mentioned in the discussion of the ἀρμονία αὐστηρά. In the austere composition, the parts of speech are placed “at considerable distances from one another, separated by perceptive intervals” (*Comp.* 22.1). The writer or poet who composes in this style, like Pindar or Thucydides, is said to have a preference for long words, hiatus, harsh collocations of sounds at word boundaries, and impressive rhythms. The austere composition type is “flexible in its use of cases” (ἀγχίστροφος περὶ τὰς πτώσεις), “containing few connectives” (ὀλιγοσύνδεσμος), “omitting articles” (ἄναρθρος) and in many cases “neglecting grammatical sequence” (ὑπεροπτική τῆς ἀκολουθίας: *Comp.* 22.6). Dionysius does not elaborate on these grammatical characteristics, but it is plausible that he finds that they contribute to the unstudied character of a discontinuous style. The omission of connectives and articles, the unexpected use of cases and the neglect of grammatical order (ἀκολουθία) are all devices that make the style less precise and more difficult to follow for the reader or listener.³⁶

It is possible to connect Dionysius’ views on the austere style with the observations in some other important texts of the rhetorical tradition. Dionysius’ view that the austere harmony uses few connectives could be related to Aristotle’s observation that asyndeton creates amplification (αὐξησης): “the connective makes many things seem one, so that, if it be removed, it is clear that the contrary will be the case, and that one will become many” (ὁ γὰρ σύνδεσμος ἐν ποιεῖ τὰ πολλά, ὥστ’ ἐὰν ἐξαίρεθῆ, δῆλον ὅτι τούναντίον ἔσται τὸ ἐν πολλά).³⁷ Demetrius asserts that the absence of connectives (διάλυσις: *Eloc.* 61, 64; see below) may contribute to grandeur, although he acknowledges that the opposite can also be true (*Eloc.* 59; see below). Like Dionysius’ austere harmony, Demetrius’ grand style is characterized by “variety in the use of cases” (*Eloc.* 65; see below). In his *Second Letter to Ammaeus*, Dionysius himself illustrates how Thucydides uses for example a genitive instead of an accusative, or a dative instead of an accusative (*Ep. Amm.* 2.12), so that the historian “could be said to be committing solecism” (σολοικίζειν).³⁸ Thucydides is an admired representative of the

36 On ἀκολουθία, see Sluiter [1990] 61–62 and de Jonge [2008] 253–273.

37 Arist. *Rh.* 3. 1413b32–34. Transl. Freese [1975].

38 See de Jonge [2011] 468–469. For the concept of solecism see Pagani and Lallot in this volume.

austere composition type (*Comp.* 22.34–45), but the terminology of “solecism” reveals that grammatical grandeur often borders closely on linguistic failure.

5.2 *Demetrius: The Parts of Speech and the Types of Style*

Demetrius describes his four styles from various points of view, dealing with themes, diction and composition. His treatment of the composition (σύνθεσις) of each style includes observations on rhythm (like the use of the paeon in the grand style), euphony (hiatus, rough versus smooth sounds, etc.), and the length of clauses (long clauses produce grandeur, etc.). He also pays due attention to the use of the parts of speech: the connectives (σύνδεσμοι) in particular play a decisive role in distinguishing the four styles. It should be noted at the outset that the ancient category of σύνδεσμοι covers the modern categories of both “conjunctions” and “particles”.³⁹ The following discussion will examine Demetrius’ grammatical observations in each of the four styles (grand, plain, elegant, and forceful).

The grand style (χαρακτήρ μεγαλοπρεπής) is appropriate for descriptions of battles, earth and heaven and similar elevated themes (*Eloc.* 75–76), and in its diction it employs unusual words and metaphors (*Eloc.* 77–102).⁴⁰ But a writer can also elevate his style by the use of σύνδεσμοι, for “connectives make the composition grand” (*Eloc.* 59: οἱ μὲν δὴ σύνδεσμοι τὴν σύνθεσιν μεγαλοπρεπῆ ποιοῦσιν). Demetrius argues that particles like μὲν and δέ (“on the one hand”, “on the other hand”) should not correspond too precisely, because the grand style (which has some resemblance to Dionysius’ austere composition) has an unstudied character (*Eloc.* 53). This recommendation is illustrated with a passage from Antiphon (fr. 50 Blass) in which the word μὲν (“on the one hand”) is repeated twice before it is answered by δέ (“on the other hand”). Polysyndeton can also have an effect of grandeur (*Eloc.* 54), as when Homer combines the names of Boeotian towns with the connective τε: Σχοῖνόν τε Σκῶλόν τε, πολύκνημόν τ’ Ἐτεωνόν (*Il.* 2.497: “and Schoenus and Scolus and mountainous Eteonus”).⁴¹

39 See Schenkeveld [1988].

40 For word order in the grand style (*Eloc.* 50–52), see below.

41 The same example is cited in *Eloc.* 257 (see below). Dionysius (*Comp.* 16.17–19) cites the same line in context (*Hom. Il.* 2.494–501). He points out that Homer has mixed the unpleasant names of Boeotian towns with more elegant “supplementary words” (παραπληρώματα), so that the clever combination of inferior names results in a beautiful composition. Just before citing the Homeric passage, Dionysius refers to Theophrastus’ theory of beautiful words (see above: fr. 688 Fortenbaugh). This might suggest that *Il.* 2.494–501 was a favorite example in the Peripatetic tradition of poetics and rhetoric, to which Demetrius is surely indebted.

Both grammarians and rhetoricians acknowledged the existence of a specific category of connectives with a stylistic function: the σύνδεσμοι παραπληρωματικοί (“expletive connectives”).⁴² Grammarians like Trypho (first cent. BC) supposed that the contribution of these conjunctions to a text was not a semantic but an aesthetic one: having no meaning of themselves, these conjunctions could be used as “padding” (στοιβή), making an expression more elegant by reducing its roughness.⁴³ Demetrius mentions two examples of such expletive σύνδεσμοι (the particles νυ and δῆ), which should in his opinion be used not as “empty additions” (προσθήκαις κεναίς), but only in order to achieve grandeur (μέγεθος).⁴⁴ Having cited passages from Plato’s *Phaedrus* and Homer’s *Iliad*, Demetrius argues that without the word δῆ these texts would lose their dignity (*Eloc.* 56). In a similar way the removal of the word δῆ from Calypso’s words to Odysseus, οὕτω δῆ οἰκόνδε φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν | αὐτίκα νῦν ἐθέλεις ἰέναι; (Hom. *Od.* 5.204–205: “must you, just like that, go home to your own native land forthwith?”) would take away the emotion (πάθος) from her question.⁴⁵ In warning against the superfluous use of expletive connectives, Demetrius (*Eloc.* 57–58) is explicitly following the Peripatetic scholar Praxiphanes (fr. 13 Wehrli), who compared the aimless use of particles with the meaningless addition of exclamations like φεῦ (“alas”) or αἶ αἶ (“ah! ah!”).⁴⁶

In his discussion of figures in the grand style (*Eloc.* 59–67), Demetrius has further recommendations on the use of connectives, drawing attention to the grandeur of both asyndeton and polysyndeton (*Eloc.* 61–64). On the one hand, the repetition of the same connective “suggests infinite numbers”, as in the anonymous fragment ἐστρατεύοντο Ἕλληγές τε καὶ Κάρρες καὶ Λύκιοι καὶ Πάμφυλοι καὶ Φρύγες (“to the war marched Greeks and Carians and Lycians and Pamphylia and Phrygians”). On the other hand, the omission of καὶ (“and”) can be equally impressive, as in κυρτά, φαληριώντα (Hom. *Il.* 13.799: “high-arched, foam-crested”).

42 See Sluiter [1997a] and de Jonge [2008] 206–208.

43 Trypho fr. 41 von Velsen = Apol. *Dysc. Conj.*, G.G. 2.1, 247.26–29. According to Aristotle (*Po.* 20. 1456b38) a conjunction is a non-significant sound (φωνὴ ἄσημος), but later grammarians asserted that only the subtype of “expletive” connectives was meaningless.

44 Demetrius’ third example of expletive connectives (*Eloc.* 55) is πρότερον (“earlier”), but the transmitted text may be corrupt here.

45 Transl. Murray, ed. Dimock [1995]. Demetrius cites *Od.* 5.203–204, not 205.

46 Praxiph. fr. 13 Wehrli (= fr. 24 Matelli) = Demetr. *Eloc.* 57. On Praxiphanes, see Wehrli [1969²c] and Martano-Matelli-Mirhady [2012]. Wehrli [1969²c] 110–111 suggests that Praxiphanes discussed the use of σύνδεσμοι in a work *On Poems*. Matelli [2012b] 197 points out that the fragment could be from a treatise on the parts of expression.

Two figures in the grand style are concerned with the use of case (πτῶσις). The first one is anhypallage (*Eloc.* 60: ἀνθυπαλλαγή), which is the substitution of one case for another. In οἱ δὲ δύο σκόπελοι ὁ μὲν οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἰκάνει (Hom. *Od.* 12.73: “the two rocks, one of them reaches up to the wide heaven”), the genitive (τῶν δὲ δύο σκοπέλων) would have been “usual” (σύνηθες), but “anything usual is trivial”, Demetrius asserts. The parallel discussion of “substitutions of cases” (ἀνθυπαλλαγαὶ τῶν πτώσεων) in Apollonius Dyscolus’ *Syntax* casts light on the connections between rhetorical and grammatical theory.⁴⁷ The grammarian explains that these constructions, although they are strictly incongruent, can be accepted as figures if they have the authority of ancient usage.⁴⁸

A second figure related to πτώσις is described as “not staying in the same case” (*Eloc.* 65: τὸ μηδὲ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς μένειν πτώσεως). Demetrius cites an example from Thucydides (4.12.1), where the grammatical subject of the first verb, accompanied by a participle in the nominative, becomes the subject of a genitive absolute: καὶ πρῶτος ἀποβαίνων ἐπὶ τὴν ἀποβάθραν ἔλειποψύχησέ τε, καὶ πεσόντος αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν παρεξευρεσίαν... (“The first to step on the gangway, he fainted, and in his falling on the oars...”). Similar observations on Thucydides’ syntax of cases can be found in Dionysius’ *Second Letter to Ammaeus* as well as the Thucydides scholia.⁴⁹ We have already seen above that Dionysius characterizes the austere harmony as “flexible (quick-changing) in its use of cases” (*Comp.* 22.6: ἀγχίστροφος περὶ τὰς πτώσεις); Thucydides is an important representative of that type of composition type.

The elegant style (χαρακτήρ γλαφυρός: *Eloc.* 128–189), which covers the charm (χάρις) typically associated with Sappho, the urban wit (ἀστεϊσμός) of Lysias, and various other forms of elegant expression, is again treated in terms of diction, composition and subject matter. Here Demetrius has much to say on the use of rhythm, euphony, composition and word order (on which see below), but technical grammar recedes into the background, only to return in the discussion of the plain style.

The plain style (χαρακτήρ ἰσχνός: *Eloc.* 190–239) takes its topics from everyday life; it makes use of common words and a clear syntax. Clarity (τὸ σαφές, *Eloc.* 192–203) involves a number of linguistic characteristics. The use of connectives is essential, as “sentences that are unconnected and disjointed throughout are always unclear” (*Eloc.* 192). Asyndeton, on the other hand,

47 Apol. *Dysc. Synt.* 3.34, *G.G.* 2.2, 300.8–302.2. Apollonius Dyscolus cites some examples from Homer and Sophocles, in which a nominative is used instead of a vocative.

48 See Lallot [1997] II 173–174.

49 Dion. Hal. *Ep. Amm.* 2.11. Cf. de Jonge [2011] 468–471. Dion. Hal. *Ep. Amm.* 2.4 comments on the same passage from Thucydides (4.12.1).

for which the term λύσις (dissolution) is used here, is said to fit the disjointed style (ἡ διακελυμένη λέξις), also known as the performative or acting style (ὑποκριτική). In Menander's ἐδεξάμην, ἔτικτον, ἐκτρέφω, φίλε (fr. 456 Kassel-Austin: "I conceived, I gave birth, I nurse, my dear") the emotion (πάθος) is due to the lack of connectives, as Demetrius points out.⁵⁰

One might wonder how these observations on σύνδεσμοι in the plain style precisely relate to the discussion of connectives and polysyndeton in the grand style (see above, esp. *Eloc.* 59: "connectives give grandeur to the composition"). Apparently, connectives are important both in the grand and the plain style. In the first instance this might seem to be a little confusing, but we should realize that the focus in the discussion of the plain style (unlike that of the grand style) is consistently on the contribution that σύνδεσμοι can make to clarity. For example, "epanalepsis" (*Eloc.* 196) is "the resumptive repetition of the same connective in the course of a long sentence". Demetrius cites an example (author unknown) in which the particle μέν ("on the one hand") is repeated for the sake of clarity. The passage cited in *Eloc.* 53 (Antiphon fr. 50 Blass, mentioned above under the grand style) had a similar repetition of μέν, but that passage illustrated a different point: there the point was not so much the repetition of the particle μέν, but the lack of correspondence between the particles μέν and δέ, which fits the imprecise character of the grand style.

The plain style avoids πλαγιότης (*Eloc.* 198), which scholars interpret either as "the use of dependent constructions" or as "the use of oblique cases".⁵¹ The example cited from Xenophon (*An.* 1.2.21) does not decide the matter. It starts with καὶ ὅτι τριήρεις ἤκουεν περιπλεύσας... ("and that he had heard that triremes were sailing" etc.), whereas Demetrius' own rewriting of the same passage not only begins with the nominative, but also omits ὅτι, the conjunction that introduces a dependent statement: τριήρεις προσεδωκῶντο... ("triremes were expected" etc.). The discussion of word order that immediately follows this passage, however, suggests that the correct interpretation of πλαγιότης is "the use of oblique cases": Demetrius points out that in narrative passages one should start with the nominative (*Eloc.* 201: ἀπὸ τῆς ὀρθῆς ἀρκτέον) or accusative (ἀπὸ τῆς αἰτιατικῆς), whereas other cases cause obscurity (ἀσάφεια).

The forceful style (χαρακτήρ δεινός: *Eloc.* 240–304) is especially associated with the strong emotion aroused by speeches of Demosthenes. Brevity in composition and harsh collocations of sounds are some of the characteristics of this style. Whereas the elegant style strives for euphony, the forceful style

50 Cf. Dion. Hal. *Comp.* 22.6 (see above): the austere harmony is "sparing of connectives" (ὀλιγοσύνδεσμος).

51 See Innes [1995] 467 and LSJ s.v. See also Marini [2007] 214–215 on *Eloc.* 104 (τὸ πλάγιον).

employs “cacophony” (κακοφωνία), which can sometimes be achieved by placing connectives (σύνδεσμοι) like δέ or τε at the end of the clause or sentence (*Eloc.* 257–258), for example: οὐκ εὐφήμησε μὲν, ἄξιον ὄντα, ἠτίμασε δέ (“he did not praise him on the one hand, although he deserved it; he insulted him, on the other hand”; author unknown). Confusion between the different styles might potentially arise when Demetrius cites a Homeric example (*Il.* 2.497: Σχοῖνόν τε Σκῶλόν τε) that he has already discussed under the grand style (*Eloc.* 257, cf. *Eloc.* 54). In the earlier chapter, as we have seen, Demetrius pointed to the polysyndeton in this line, whereas the focus in the later chapter is on the final position of the connective τε. “In Homer’s lines it is grandeur which is the result of ending with a connective”, Demetrius quickly adds (*Eloc.* 258), before he gives a new example where ending with τε does create forcefulness rather than grandeur.

In the discussion of figures, it turns out that asyndeton (διάλυσις, “separating”) produces forcefulness more than any other figure (*Eloc.* 269–271), because it fits dramatic delivery (ὑπόκρισις; see also *Eloc.* 194) and active involvement (ἀγών).⁵² Again, Demetrius’ student might be confused in the first instance, as asyndeton apparently can have a place both in the forceful and in the grand style (which are indeed neighboring categories; cf. *Eloc.* 61–62). But on a more general level it is clear that connectives play a different role in the various styles. In the grand style, Demetrius emphasizes the role of polysyndeton and the imprecise correspondence between particles like μὲν and δέ; in the plain style, the proper use of connectives for the sake of clarity is crucial; in the forceful style, asyndeton is the figure *par excellence*.

6 Word Order

The order of words is of central concern to ancient rhetoricians. Observations on word order are related to many different stylistic matters, such as euphony (different juxtapositions of words result in different collocations of sounds), prose rhythm (different arrangements have different rhythmical structures) and figures of speech (including anastrophe and hyperbaton).⁵³ Whereas euphony and prose rhythm belong to the procedure of composition (σύνθεσις), figures of speech are often treated as a separate category.

Apart from explicit instructions on word order in the various styles, the ancient treatises contain many linguistic experiments that aim to bring out

⁵² On ἀγών and ἐναγώνιος, see Ooms-de Jonge [2013].

⁵³ Ernst [2003] examines the concept of order in ancient rhetoric.

the aesthetic effects of different word arrangements. Teachers of rhetoric often test the quality of a given text by changing its word order: the first version can thus be compared with a new formulation of the same thought, so that students are able to identify the stylistic strength or weakness of the original.⁵⁴ This procedure, which is also known as “metathesis”, is very prominent in the works of Dionysius, Demetrius and Longinus. The method of metathesis has an important pedagogical function, as it involves the readers (and students) in the analysis and examination of specific examples from classical Greek literature.

6.1 *Natural Word Order versus Hyperbaton*

A fundamental distinction in ancient rhetorical theory is that between “nature” and “art” (φύσις and τέχνη), which is also applied to word order. The concept of ‘natural’ word order, which is discussed in various ancient treatises, can in fact mean different things. In many cases nature (φύσις, *natura*) refers to that which is “usual” or imitates the non-professional language of everyday communication. On a second level, “natural word order” can also be understood as the arrangement that closely follows the logical or chronological relationships in the real world: according to this approach, natural language must mirror reality as closely as possible. Finally, natural word order may be the pragmatic order of clear communication, which presents the constituents in the most accessible way to the audience.

Dionysius’ experiment with natural word order (*Comp.* 5) starts from the implicit idea that the arrangement of words should follow the logical and chronological relationships that exist in reality.⁵⁵ For instance, nouns (ὀνόματα) should precede verbs (ῥήματα) because substance (οὐσία) precedes accident (συμβεβηχός). Likewise, verbs (ῥήματα) should precede adverbs (ἐπιρρήματα), because “that which acts or is acted upon” (τὸ ποιοῦν ἢ τὸ πάσχον) naturally precedes “the accompanying circumstances” (τὰ συνεδρεύοντα). The narrative should also present earlier events before later events. Further, substantives would naturally precede adjectives, appellative nouns should come before proper nouns, pronouns before appellative nouns, indicatives before other moods, and finite verb forms before infinitives. Dionysius tests the first three rules on lines from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, only to conclude that Homer does not follow the logical and chronological rules of nature: in some cases the noun comes before the verb, but in many cases the verb precedes the noun; and the same applies to the other rules of “nature”. Homer’s authority

54 De Jonge [2005] examines the use of metathesis in the works of Dionysius.

55 See the more extensive discussion in de Jonge [2008] 253–315.

proves that nature is wrong, so that Dionysius decides to reject the rules that he formulated at the beginning of his experiment. In the remaining part of his treatise he adopts a more musical approach to word arrangement, based on considerations of melodic sound, rhythm, appropriateness and variety. Although Dionysius did presumably not copy his discussion of natural word order (*Comp.* 5) from a Stoic source, as some scholars have thought in the past, it is plausible that the experiment on natural word order was inspired by Stoic philosophy, in particular by the doctrine of categories.

A more pragmatic account of natural word order (ἡ φυσικὴ τάξις) is presented in Demetrius' *On Style* (199–201).⁵⁶ This rhetorician argues that in the plain style “the topic” (τὸ περὶ οὗ) is mentioned first, and then “what it is” (ὃ τοῦτό ἐστιν), as for example in Ἐπίδαμνος ἐστὶ πόλις... (Thuc. 1.24.1: “Epidamnos is a city...”). But Demetrius, who immediately acknowledges that the reverse order is also possible, adopts a rather flexible attitude in his discussion of word order. Clear communication is a central concern in his discussion of the plain style. This is especially obvious in his advice on the use of cases. In narrative passages, he points out, one should begin either with the nominative or with the accusative: “use of the other cases will cause some obscurity (ἀσάφεια) and torture (βάσανος) for the actual speaker and the listener”. While Demetrius' terminology echoes that of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, his views on the order of “the topic” and “what it is” can be seen to anticipate the theories of modern scholars on “topic” and “focus” constituents in Greek word order.⁵⁷

Whereas Demetrius is interested in the lucid presentation of the plain style, the author of the treatise *On the Sublime* concentrates on the surprising and unexpected use of language that elevates or overwhelms the audience. One of the figures of speech that can contribute to this effect is hyperbaton (*Subl.* 22.1), which is defined as the “dislocated ordering of words or thoughts out of the logical sequence” (λέξεων ἢ νοήσεων ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ἀκολουθίαν κεκλιμένην τάξις).⁵⁸ The term ἀκολουθία (sequence) is also used in the works of Dionysius of Halicarnassus.⁵⁹ As we have seen, the austere composition type is characterized as “in many cases neglecting the logical order” (*Comp.* 22.6: ἐν πολλοῖς

56 See de Jonge [2007].

57 Arist. *Rh.* 3. 1415a12–13: the introductions of speeches and epic poems contain a sample of the subject, so that the audience knows “what the text is about” (περὶ οὗ ὁ λόγος). De Jonge [2007] compares Demetrius' views on word order with the theories of Dik [1995] and other modern scholars.

58 See de Jonge [2008] 318–321; Mazzucchi [2010a] 228–230.

59 E.g. Dion. Hal. *Dem.* 27.5 on Pl. *Menex.* 237b2–c3: see de Jonge [2008] 264–267. On ἀκολουθία, see the references in n. 36.

ὑπεροπτική τῆς ἀκολουθίας). Because Dionysius takes much interest in stylistic clarity, he is never really enthusiastic about the writing of authors like Thucydides and Plato, whom he accuses of neglecting logical order and syntax. Longinus, however, who concentrates on the overwhelming effect of sublime language, finds that deviation from regular order is, as it were, “the truest mark of engaging emotion” (*Subl.* 22.1: χαρακτήρ ἐναγωνίου πάθους ἀληθέστατος). Longinus observes that people who are angry or frightened often mix up the normal order of words. In this sense, hyperbaton also imitates nature (φύσις): “For art is only perfect when it looks like nature, and nature succeeds only when she conceals latent art.”

6.2 Demetrius on Word Order and Style

We have seen that Demetrius deals with natural word order in his discussion of the plain style (199–201): the topic (τὸ περὶ οὗ) should precede “that which it is” (ὃ τοῦτό ἐστιν), and one should start with the nominative or the accusative. Demetrius has more to say on word order in his treatments of the grand, the elegant, and the forceful styles. In each case, the idea of climax is essential: the most salient words (either vivid or charming or forceful) should be placed at the end.

The word order in the grand style (*Eloc.* 50–52) is a matter of vividness (ἐνάργεια): the words that are not particularly vivid (τὰ μὴ μάλα ἐναργῆ) should be placed first, followed by the more vivid words (ἐναργέστερα), so that the sentence gains strength towards the end. Examples from Plato (*Resp.* 411a–b) and Homer (*Od.* 9.190–192) illustrate the effect of climax.

A similar pattern applies to the elegant style (*Eloc.* 139), where, however, the word that creates charm (τὸ τὴν χάριν ποιοῦν) should be placed at the end. In order to prove his point, Demetrius rewrites a sentence from Xenophon: δίδωσι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ δῶρα, ἵππον καὶ στολὴν καὶ στρεπτόν, καὶ τὴν χώραν μηκέτι ἀρπάζεσθαι (*An.* 3.1.31: “He gives him gifts too—a horse, a robe, a torque, and the assurance that his country would no longer be plundered”). When the unexpected last item of the original sentence is placed at the beginning, the sentence is obviously less attractive, as Demetrius demonstrates by rewriting the passage.

In the forceful style (*Eloc.* 249) it is the most striking word (τὸ δεινότατον) that is to be placed at the end. Demetrius criticizes the word order of a passage from Antisthenes (fr. 12 Caizzi): σχεδὸν γὰρ ὀδυνήσει ἄνθρωπος ἐκ φρυγάνων ἀναστάς (“for almost a shock of pain will be caused by a man standing up out of the brushwood”). He then improves on the original version (he claims) by placing the most striking word (ὀδυνήσει, “will cause pain”) at the end of the sentence rather than in the middle. As we have seen above, ending with a connective (σύνδεσμος) like δέ or τέ (*Eloc.* 257) can also contribute to the forcefulness of

style. Demetrius' fascinating experiments with word order deserve to be studied carefully by modern scholars of Greek linguistics.⁶⁰

7 The Grammatical Figures of Speech

The grammatical figures of speech, which are also known as linguistic “changes” or “alterations” (ἐναλλαγáι, ἐναλλάξις, etc.), clearly form a bridge between the disciplines of grammar and rhetoric.⁶¹ This group of figures is discussed in a number of rhetorical treatises of the Imperial period, including Greek handbooks *On Figures* by Caecilius, Alexander, Tiberius, Zonaeus and Phoebammon, as well as Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*.⁶² The present discussion will focus on the discussion of the grammatical figures in the treatise *On the Sublime*, which will be compared with Caecilius of Caleacte and Quintilian. These Greek and Roman rhetoricians were able to build on the work of Hellenistic scholars, who had paid due attention to the concept of linguistic “change” in their philological commentaries on Homer and classical literature. Aristarchus frequently commented on the variations or substitutions that he found in Homer's language, like the change of voice: the use of active for passive forms and vice versa. By claiming that such variations were characteristic of Homer's linguistic usage, Aristarchus was able to explain textual difficulties in the *Iliad* or to defend his reading of the text.⁶³

Caecilius of Caleacte (first cent. BC) may have been the first rhetorician to offer a systematic discussion of the grammatical figures in stylistic theory.⁶⁴ Caecilius' *On Figures* (Περὶ σχημάτων) has not survived, but fragments of this influential work have been preserved in the works of later rhetoricians, especially in Tiberius' treatise *On Figures in Demosthenes* (probably third or

60 See *e.g. Eloc.* 256 on the difference between οὐ παρεγένετο and παρεγένετο οὐχί.

61 See the discussions in Josef Martin [1976] 295–299, Scheuer [1992], Lausberg [2008⁴] par. 509–527, Schenkeveld [2000a], and de Jonge [2014].

62 The ancient treatments of the grammatical figures include Caecilius of Caleacte fr. 75 Ofenloch = fr. 15 Augello (cited in Tib. *Fig.* 47 Ballaira = 80.18–81.22 Spengel); Long. *Subl.* 23–27; Quint. *Inst.* 9.3.2–27; Alex. *Fig.* 33.15–34.21 Spengel; [Plut.] *Vit. Hom.* 41–64; Zonae. *Fig.* 168.3–15 Spengel; Phoeb. *Fig.* 49.1–50.5 Spengel. The Greek texts can be found in Spengel vol. 3 [1856]. On the connections between Caecilius, Tiberius and Alexander Numenius, see Schwab [1916].

63 See Matthaios [1999] 309–318 (change of voice) and 331–340 (change of tense).

64 In his *Second Letter to Ammaeus*, Dionysius (Caecilius' contemporary) also points to the grammatical “alterations” in Thucydides, like the change of number, gender, case and tense. See de Jonge [2011] 460–465.

fourth cent. AD).⁶⁵ According to Tiberius, “Caecilius also introduces the figure of change, and says that it occurs in nouns, cases, numbers, persons and tenses”.⁶⁶ Apart from a work *On Figures* (Περὶ σχημάτων) and several pamphlets on Atticism, Caecilius of Caleacte wrote a treatise *On the Sublime* (Περὶ ὕψους). The extant work with the same title presents itself as a polemical reaction to that earlier treatise (*Subl.* 1.1). It is thus plausible that Longinus knew Caecilius’ theory of figures, either from his work *On Figures* or from the treatment of figures in his *On the Sublime*.⁶⁷

Tiberius’ summary suggests that Caecilius discussed only five subtypes of ἀλλοίωσις, but in later theory the list of grammatical figures was quickly extended. Quintilian (*Inst.* 9.3.2–27) presents a total of sixteen different alterations. Apart from the change of nouns (or gender: see below), case, number, person and tense, which we find in Caecilius, Quintilian mentions several other categories, such as the change of voice, the alteration of mood, and the confusion of the word classes themselves, like the use of verbs for nouns and participles for verbs. The terminology of these grammatical “changes” was rather flexible: in the rhetorical handbooks many terms are used, including ἀλλαγὴ, ὑπαλλαγὴ, ἐναλλαγὴ, ἐξαλλαγὴ, ἑτεροίωσις, ἀλλοίωσις, and the Latin *mutatio*.⁶⁸ Longinus (see below) prefers the term ἐναλλάξις. In early theory, the grammatical figures are not explicitly distinguished from the other σχήματα: Demetrius (*Eloc.* 60), as we have seen above, mentions ἀνθυπαλλαγὴ or change of case as one of the figures used in the grand style. But as the tendency towards systematization increases, the grammatical figures acquire a fixed position and separate status within the rhetorical system.⁶⁹

Since grammatical figures were considered to be “changes” or deviations from regular or natural usage, they could easily be mistaken as linguistic errors. Quintilian (9.3.11) points out that “there is a figure corresponding to every kind

65 Edition: Ballaira [1968].

66 Tiberius, *Fig.* 47 (Caecilius fr. 75 Ofenloch = fr. 15 Augello): καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀλλοιώσεως σχῆμα εἰσάγει ὁ Καικίλιος, καὶ φησιν αὐτὴν γίνεσθαι κατ’ ὀνόματα καὶ πτώσεις καὶ ἀριθμούς καὶ πρόσωπα καὶ χρόνους.

67 On Caecilius and Longinus, see Innes [2002].

68 Cf. Lausberg [2008⁴] par. 509.

69 Quintilian, *Inst.* 9.1–3 (cf. Lausberg [2008⁴] par. 506–527) distinguishes between tropes and figures. The figures are divided into figures of thought and figures of speech. The latter category is then split into two kinds (*Inst.* 9.3.2): one is more grammatical and “produces innovations in speech” (*loquendi rationem novat*), the other is more rhetorical and “is sought mainly in word arrangement” (*maxime conlocatione exquisitum est*). The figures that produce grammatical innovations of speech largely correspond to the “alterations” in Greek rhetorical treatises.

of solecism”.⁷⁰ Normally, the use of present instead of past tense would be considered a fault, but if there was a literary precedent, for example a passage in Vergil’s *Aeneid*, the same confusion of tenses could be regarded as a figure. Apart from literary authority, the criteria for the distinction between figures and mistakes are antiquity, usage and logical principle.⁷¹

7.1 *Longinus on the Grammatical Figures*

The treatise *On the Sublime* contains one of the most fascinating treatments of the grammatical figures, as it relates the concept of grammatical change to the dislocating and emotional impact of the sublime (ὑψος). Longinus (*Subl.* 1.4) describes the effects of the sublime in terms of ἔκπληξις (“mental disturbance”) and ἔκστασις (“displacement”, “ecstasy”). In his discussion of σχήματα (*Subl.* 16–29) he concentrates on those figures of thought and speech that in his view especially contribute to the sublime: oaths, rhetorical questions, asyndeton, anaphora, hyperbaton, and periphrasis. The grammatical figures (*Subl.* 23–27) are presented as a separate category (*Subl.* 23.1):

τί δὲ αἱ τῶν πτώσεων χρόνων προσώπων ἀριθμῶν γενῶν ἐναλλάξεις, πῶς ποτε καταποικίλλουσι καὶ ἐπεγείρουσι τὰ ἐρμηνευτικά;

But what of changes of case, tense, person, number and gender? How do they vary and excite the expression?

Longinus here mentions five *accidentia* of nouns and verbs, and he then illustrates the variations (ἐναλλάξεις) that occur in the use of three of those *accidentia*. The change of number (*Subl.* 23–24) concerns the substitution of plural for singular and of singular for plural. The discussion of change of tense (*Subl.* 25) focuses on the use of present for past tense. The change of person (*Subl.* 26–27), finally, can be the use of second person for third person, the use of first person for third person, or the turning away from one addressee to another.

A comparison of the lists of grammatical figures in Caecilius (fr. 75 Ofenloch = fr. 15 Augello) and Longinus shows that their treatments of this category are closely related, despite some terminological differences. Longinus refers to these variations as ἐναλλάξεις, whereas Caecilius calls the same figure ἀλλοίωσις

⁷⁰ Translations of Quintilian are adapted from Russell [2001b].

⁷¹ See Quint. *Inst.* 9.3.3. On the ancient criteria of linguistic correctness, see Siebenborn [1976] and Pagani in this volume.

(change, alteration).⁷² Both Caecilius and Longinus mention five subtypes of this figure, four of which are the changes of case (πτῶσις), number (ἀριθμός), person (πρόσωπον) and tense (χρόνος). The fifth one might seem to be different in the first instance: Caecilius mentions the variation κατ' ὀνόματα (concerning nouns), whereas Longinus includes the alteration of gender (γενῶν). Caecilius' explanation of his first subtype (κατ' ὀνόματα) however, shows that it concerns the change of gender as well.⁷³ In one of the examples that Caecilius cites, Thucydides (2.44.4) uses τὸ φιλοτιμον ("ambition", neuter) instead of ἡ φιλοτιμία (feminine). In other words, Caecilius' variation "concerning nouns" is in fact a variation of gender, and we can therefore conclude that Longinus mentions the same five subtypes of grammatical variation that Caecilius before him already distinguished in his work *On Figures*. It is plausible that these five variations (of case, tense, person, number and gender) formed the original group of grammatical figures in rhetorical theory.

7.2 *The Grammatical Figures and the Sublime*

According to Quintilian (*Inst.* 9.3.3–5), the grammatical figures aim at variety (*varietas*): they "stimulate the ear by their novelty" (*novitate aurem excitant*). In general, "these and similar figures (...) both attract the attention of the hearer, not allowing him to relax but repeatedly rousing him by some figure, and also acquire some charm from their resemblance to faults, just as bitterness in food is sometimes agreeable in itself".⁷⁴ Later rhetoricians agree with Quintilian that the grammatical figures aim at variety. Although Longinus shares this general view, he is more explicit about the effects of specific figures. We have seen that his ἐναλλάξεις "bring variation and excite the expression" (*Subl.* 23.1): ποικιλία is a common term for stylistic variety, and ἐπεγείρουσι ("raise", "excite") closely corresponds to Quintilian's *excitant*. In his discussion of the alterations of number, tense and person, Longinus is more detailed: the change of number causes unexpected emotion and surprise, while the change of tense and the

72 It is possible, however, that this is the (later) terminology of Tiberius, who is our source of this fragment.

73 Caecilius fr. 75 Ofenloch (= fr. 15 Augello): καὶ ὀνόματα μὲν ἀλλοιοῦσιν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἄρρενος τὸ θῆλυ ἢ τὸ οὐδέτερον παραλαμβάνοντες, ἢ τῷ ἄρρενι ἀντ' ἀμφοῖν χρώμενοι. "They change nouns by adopting the feminine or neuter instead of the masculine, or by using the masculine instead of both." The first example (Thuc. 1.6.1) concerns the expression πᾶσα ἡ Ἑλλάς ("all Greece") for οἱ Ἕλληνες ("the Greeks"), where a change of gender is combined with a change of number (as Caecilius observes).

74 Quint. *Inst.* 9.3.27: *Haec schemata aut his similia... et convertunt in se auditorem nec languere patiuntur subinde aliqua notabili figura excitatum, et habent quandam ex illa vitii similitudine gratiam, ut in cibis interim acor ipse iucundus est.*

change of person actively involve the audience in the narrative. Such effects of surprise, emotion and active engagement are closely related to Longinus' concept of sublimity (ὑψος).

Longinus' presentation of the grammatical figures is different from that of other rhetoricians, due to his focus on the sublime. While Caecilius (as far as we know), Quintilian and later rhetoricians present a list of grammatical figures adding one or more literary examples for each of them, Longinus selects only three grammatical figures for discussion (the changes of number, tense and person), because they are especially relevant to the topic of his treatise. It is instructive to compare Longinus' views on these three categories with the discussions of the same figures in Caecilius and Quintilian.

7.3 Change of Number

Caecilius gives two examples of the change of number (κατὰ δὲ τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς ἀλλοίωσις): ἅπαντα γὰρ ποθοῦμεν ἢ κλεινὴ πόλις (Eupolis fr. 104: "we, the entire famous city, desire") and ὑμεῖς ᾧ βουλή (Demosthenes 21.116: "you, council"). In both examples, a collective noun in the singular is combined with a plural. Quintilian (*Inst.* 9.3.8) offers a similar example of *figura in numero* ("figure in number"): *gladio pugnacissima gens Romani* ("a race most warlike with the sword, the Romans"). His second example comes from Vergil (*Ecl.* 4.62–63): *qui non risere parentes, | nec deus hunc mensa dea nec dignata cubili est* ("those who have not smiled upon their parents—no god thinks *him* deserving of a feast, nor goddess of her bed"). In this example the plural relative pronoun *qui* in the relative clause corresponds to the singular *hunc* in the main clause: this would have been a solecism, if it had not been Vergil who deliberately combined the plural with the singular. As a separate class, Quintilian (9.3.20) mentions cases in which "we speak of a single thing in the plural" (*ut de uno pluraliter dicamus*), as when Vergil uses "we" instead of "I": *sed nos immensum spatiis confecimus aequor* (*Georg.* 2.541: "but we have travelled over boundless spaces"). The opposite figure, speaking of a number of things in the singular (*de pluribus singulariter*) also occurs, as when Vergil speaks about "the fierce Roman" (*Georg.* 3.346: *acer Romanus*).

Longinus' discussion of the grammatical changes concerning number (*Subl.* 23–24: κατὰ τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς) is related to the examples that we find in Caecilius and Quintilian, but his focus is on the grandeur that the unexpected use of either singular or plural can achieve. He starts with an example that corresponds to those of Caecilius: λαὸς ἀπείρων . . . κελάδησαν ("a numberless people shouted"; the author is unknown) is a combination of a collective noun with a plural verb; the plural is thus understood to be used instead of the singular. But Longinus immediately makes it clear that he is not primarily interested

in such *constrictiones ad sensum*. Apparently distancing himself from more traditional theory, he points out that “it is more worthy of notice that plurals sometimes make a grander impression, courting favor by the sense of multitude given by the grammatical number”.⁷⁵ Thus, when Oedipus (Soph. *OT* 1403–1408: ὦ γάμοι, γάμοι . . . πατέρας ἀδελφούς παῖδας . . . νύμφας γυναῖκας μητέρας . . .) realizes that he has married his own mother, he speaks about “marriages, marriages, fathers, sons, brothers, brides, wives and mothers”: these words refer to Oedipus and Jocasta only, but “the expansion into the plural make the misfortunes plural as well” (*Subl.* 23.3: χυθείς εἰς τὰ πληθυντικά ὁ ἀριθμὸς συνεπλήθυσσε καὶ τὰς ἀτυχίας).⁷⁶ Longinus adds two more examples of the multiplication of names (“Hectors and Sarpedons”; and Pl. *Menex.* 245d: “Pelopses, Cadmuses, Aegyptuses and Danauses”), and he observes that the accumulation of these names in the plural presents the events as “more imposing” (κομπωδέστερα).⁷⁷ Longinus’ strategy in this chapter thus becomes clear: although he starts with a traditional example of *constructio ad sensum*, which we also find in Caecilius and Quintilian, he quickly moves on to a phenomenon that is more appropriate to his treatment of the sublime: the multiplication of plural names, which creates grandeur.

The converse figure is the use of a singular for the plural (*Subl.* 24.1): “the contraction of plurals into singulars also gives a great effect of sublimity” (τὰ ἐκ τῶν πληθυντικῶν εἰς τὰ ἐνικά ἐπισυναγόμενα ἐνίοτε ὑψηλοφανέστατα). Two examples are cited: ἔπειθ’ ἡ Πελοπόννησος ἅπασα διειστήκει (Dem. 18.18: “the whole Peloponnese was split”); and εἰς δάκρυα ἔπεσε τὸ θέητρον (Hdt. 6.21: “the theatre burst into tears”). In both cases, the effect is to be found not so much in syntax, but rather in the choice of a singular collective noun that stands for a group of individuals, who are treated as one solid body. It is the unexpectedness of such a formulation that Longinus admires: “Where the words are singular, to make them unexpectedly plural suggests emotion: where they are plural and you combine a number of things into a well-sounding singular, then this opposite change of the facts gives an effect of surprise.”⁷⁸

75 *Subl.* 23.2: ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνα μᾶλλον παρατηρήσεως ἄξια, ὅτι ἔσθ’ ὅπου προσπίπτει τὰ πληθυντικά μεγαλορρημονέστερα καὶ αὐτῶ δοξοκοπούντα τῷ ὄγκῳ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ.

76 Tib. *Fig.* 26 reports that Caecilius of Caleacte cited the same example (Soph. *OT* 1403) in his discussion of *παλλογία* (repetition), which Tiberius himself prefers to call *ἐπανάληψις*.

77 Here we might compare Demetrius’ advice (*Eloc.* 63) that the repetition of the same connective in the grand style “suggests infinite numbers”, as in *ἐστρατεύοντο Ἑλληνῆς τε καὶ Κἄρες καὶ Λύκιοι καὶ Πάμφυλοι καὶ Φρύγες* (see above).

78 *Subl.* 24.2: ὅπου τε γὰρ ἐνικά ὑπάρχει τὰ ὀνόματα, τὸ πολλὰ ποιεῖν αὐτὰ παρὰ δόξαν ἐμαθοῦς, ὅπου τε πληθυντικά, τὸ εἰς ἓν τι εὔηχον συγκορυφοῦν τὰ πλεῖονα διὰ τὴν εἰς τούναντίον μεταμόρφωσιν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐν τῷ παραλόγῳ.

7.4 *Change of Tense*

In his treatment of the change of tense, Longinus (*Subl.* 25) concentrates on the use of the present for the past tense, a phenomenon known as the ‘historical present’ in modern scholarship. It occurs frequently in classical Greek texts, especially in historiography and narrative parts of tragedy.⁷⁹ Both Caecilius and Quintilian mention the variation of tenses, and both cite examples in which the present substitutes the past tense. Caecilius cites Euripides: ὀρώ δὲ πρὸς τὰ παρθένου θοινάματα (fr. 145 Kannicht: “I see the monster hurrying to its maiden-feast”).⁸⁰ Quintilian (9.3.11) illustrates the use of “present for past” (*praesens pro praeterito*) with a passage from Cicero: *Timarchides negat esse ei periculum a securi* (*Verr.* 5.116: “Timarchides denies that he is in danger of the axe”). Whereas Caecilius and Quintilian do not comment on the precise rhetorical or literary effect of such alterations of tense, Longinus has more to say. It is not surprising that the historical present turns out to be closely related to his ideas on the sublime (*Subl.* 25):

“Ὅταν γε μὴν τὰ παρεληλυθότα τοῖς χρόνοις εἰσάγῃς ὡς γινόμενα καὶ παρόντα, οὐ διήγησιν ἔτι τὸν λόγον ἀλλ’ ἐναγώνιον πρᾶγμα ποιήσεις. “πεπτωκῶς δὲ τις,” φησὶν ὁ Ξενοφῶν, “ὑπὸ τῷ Κύρου ἵππῳ καὶ πατούμενος παίει τῇ μαχαίρᾳ εἰς τὴν γαστέρα τὸν ἵππον· ὁ δὲ σφαδᾶζων ἀποσείεται τὸν Κύρον, ὁ δὲ πίπτει.” τοιοῦτος ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις ὁ Θουκυδίδης.⁸¹

Again, if you introduce events in past time as happening at the present moment, the passage will be transformed from a narrative into a vivid actuality. “Someone has fallen,” says Xenophon [*Cyr.* 7.1.37], “under Cyrus’ horse and, as he is trodden under foot, is striking the horse’s belly with his dagger. The horse, rearing, throws Cyrus, and he falls.” Thucydides uses such effects very often.⁸²

79 Modern scholars disagree on the precise interpretation of the historical present. While it is a common assumption that the present tense verbs in a narrative mark the events described as ‘vivid’, ‘lively’ or ‘dramatic’, recent scholars describe this phenomenon in terms of ‘actuality’, ‘immediacy’ and the ‘involvement’ of the reader. Different approaches to the historical present in Thucydides are presented in Lallot-Rijksbaron-Jacquino-D-Buijs [2011].

80 Caecilius has a second example of the change of tense, which modern scholars would rather consider a change of verbal aspect (*Dem.* 59.34): the rhetorician interestingly claims that Demosthenes uses ὀρώντας (present participle) instead of ἑωρακότας (perfect participle).

81 Boter [2009] proposes to read ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις instead of ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις.

82 The transmitted text of Xenophon (*Cyr.* 7.1.37) slightly differs from Longinus’ citation: πεπτωκῶς δὲ τις ὑπὸ τῷ Κύρου ἵππῳ καὶ πατούμενος παίει εἰς τὴν γαστέρα τῇ μαχαίρᾳ τὸν

By using a present tense for a past tense, Xenophon presents past events “as happening at the present moment” (γινόμενα καὶ παρόντα). In other words, the distance in time between the narrative and the moment of narration is annihilated, and it is as if the reader becomes an eyewitness of the events in the narrative. The story is no longer a διήγησις (narrative) but an ἐναγώνιον πράγμα, Longinus states. Fyfe and Russell translate these words as “a vivid actuality”, but the term ἐναγώνιος seems to have a more specific meaning in ancient literary criticism.⁸³ It refers to a text (style, figure) that actively involves the audience in the narrative.⁸⁴ Where a διήγησις (narrative) keeps the audience at a certain distance from the events that took place in the past, the historical present draws the reader into the text. This idea of active involvement, which Longinus associates with sublime moments in literature, anticipates the modern concept of ‘immersion’, introduced by scholars of literary theory.⁸⁵ The important word ἐναγώνιος (“actively involving”) in fact connects the change of tense with the third grammatical figure that Longinus examines.

7.5 *Change of Person*

“Change of person” (ἡ τῶν προσώπων ἀντιμετάθεσις) is equally involving (ἐναγώνιος), Longinus (*Subl.* 26.1) points out. The first example is from the *Iliad* (15.697–698), where Homer directly addresses the narratee by using the second person (φαίης, “you would say”):

φαίης κ' ἀκμήτας καὶ ἀτειρέας . . .
ἀντεσθ' ἐν πολέμῳ ὥς ἐσσυμένως ἐμάχοντο.

You would say that unworn and with temper undaunted
Each met the other in war, so headlong the rush of their battle.

When the narrator suddenly uses a second person instead of the third, the audience is directly drawn into the scene. In other words, both the change of tense (the use of the historical present) and the change of person (the unexpected address of the second person) can dislocate the audience and involve them in the narrative, as if they are “in the middle of danger” (*Subl.* 26.1: ἐν μέσοις τοῖς κινδύνοις).

ἵππον αὐτοῦ· ὁ δὲ ἵππος πληγείς σφραδάζων ἀποσείεται τὸν Κῦρον. By adding the words ὁ δὲ πίπτει (“and he falls”), Longinus includes a third historical present in his example.

83 “Vivid actuality”: Fyfe-Russell [1995] 247.

84 On the semantics of ἐναγώνιος, see Ooms-de Jonge [2013], with a discussion of *Subl.* 25 at p. 104.

85 See Ryan [2000].

Longinus adds some more examples of the same type.⁸⁶ Having cited a passage from Herodotus (2.29), he asks: “Do you see, friend (ὄρας, ὦ ἑταίρε) how Herodotus takes you along with him through the country and turns hearing into sight?” This passage is interesting for two reasons. Firstly, we notice that Longinus himself applies the figure that he is discussing, by suddenly addressing his own reader. In this way the rhetorician involves his audience in his own text just as Herodotus invites his reader to follow him on his travels: “the reader is drawn into the treatise”, as Too rightly observes.⁸⁷ Secondly, Longinus points out that the use of the second person has the effect of turning hearing into sight: the reader or listener becomes an eyewitness of the events in the text. This grammatical figure is thus closely related to the concept of visualization (φαντασία), an important source of the sublime that Longinus discusses elsewhere in his treatise (*Subl.* 15).⁸⁸

There are two further types of the change of persons that Longinus presents (*Subl.* 27). On the one hand, there is the use of the first person for the third person. The narrator, who is talking *about* a character in the third person (περὶ προσώπου) suddenly “changes into the person himself” (εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ πρόσωπον ἀντιμεθίσταται). Longinus’ first example is from the *Iliad* (15.346–349):

Ἐκτωρ δὲ Τρώεσσιν ἐκέκλετο μακρὸν αὔσας
νηυσὶν ἐπισσεύεσθαι, ἔάν δ’ ἔναρα βροτόεντα-
δὲν δ’ ἂν ἐγὼν ἀπάνευθε νεῶν ἐθέλοντα νοήσω,
αὐτοῦ οἱ θάνατον μητίσσομαι.

Hector lifted his voice and cried afar to the Trojans
To rush back now to the galleys and leave the blood-spattered booty.
Whomsoever I see of his own will afar from the galleys,
Death for him there will I plan.

When Homer unexpectedly uses the first person (νοήσω, “I see”), it is as if he himself *becomes* Hector.⁸⁹ This effect is related to what modern scholars have

86 Arat. *Phaen.* 287; Hom. *Il.* 5.58.

87 Too [1998] 200.

88 Cf. Too [1998] 199–200.

89 [Plut.] *Vit. Hom* 57 observes that Homer changes from the narrative to the mimetic mode in this passage (ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ διηγηματικοῦ μετέβαλεν εἰς τὸ μιμητικόν). See Hillgruber [1994] 172. Like Longinus, Plutarch does not punctuate at the end of *Il.* 15.346. Some modern scholars however interpret differently and believe that Hector’s direct speech, announced in *Il.* 15.346, ἐκέκλετο μακρὸν αὔσας, begins in *Il.* 15.347, with infinitives (ἐπισσεύεσθαι, ἔάν) for imperatives. See Russell [1964] 145; Janko [1994] 265; Mazzucchi [2010a] 236–238.

labeled the “intersubjectivity of the sublime”.⁹⁰ As soon as the narrator or poet becomes part of the scene that he is describing, the listener is also dislocated, because he now seems to be addressed by Hector himself rather than by the poet.

The final type of “change of persons” concerns those instances where a speaker, while speaking to someone, suddenly addresses another person. Two examples from Demosthenes and Homer are cited to demonstrate the strong emotional impact of this figure.⁹¹ This is the alteration concerning persons (*κατὰ δὲ τὰ πρόσωπα ἀλλοίωσις*) that Caecilius of Caleacte seems to have examined in his *On Figures*. In the fragment preserved in Tiberius, he cites a passage from Demosthenes (25.28) in which the speaker, while speaking to the judges, suddenly addresses his opponent directly; and in another passage from the same author, the speaker turns from his opponent to the judge (Dem. 18.314).⁹² The examples in Quintilian (9.3.21) are different. He cites two passages from Vergil’s *Georgics*, in which the poet uses the second person pronoun (2.298: *neve tibi ad solem vergant vineta cadentem*, “let not your vineyards slope towards the West”) and the first person pronoun (3.435: *ne mihi tum mollis sub divo carpere somnos*, | *neu dorso nemoris libeat iacuisse per herbas*; “may I not choose that moment to snatch sleep in the open, or lie on the wood’s ridge in the grass!”). Quintilian states that in both passages the poet is giving advice to all people (*omnibus*), not just to some particular person or to himself.⁹³

Although the examples in Caecilius and Quintilian can be related to some of the examples in the treatise *On the Sublime*, Longinus is clearly more explicit about the specific effects that the confusion of persons can produce. In a moment of sublimity, the reader can suddenly feel that he becomes part of the story, when he is suddenly addressed in the second person; and the author himself impersonates one of his characters when unexpectedly using the first person. Through the manipulation of grammatical person, the author (narrator), reader (narratee) and characters thus join in a sublime moment of narrative.

90 See Too [1998] 194–202, esp. 199: “[I]t becomes impossible to distinguish between the author and the audience”. In this case, the author merges not with his reader but with a character in his narrative.

91 Dem. 25.27–28; Hom. *Od.* 4.681–689: Penelope, speaking to the herald Medon, suddenly addresses the suitors.

92 Caecilius adds an example from Euripides, *Or.* 720–722.

93 Quintilian (9.3.21–22) adds a couple of examples from Cicero, where the orator talks about himself in the third person: *de nobis loquimur tamquam de aliis* (“we speak of ourselves as of other people”).

7.6 *Sublime Linguistics between Grammar and Rhetoric*

We have observed that Longinus' theory of grammatical figures is both traditional and innovative. On the one hand, his discussion of "alterations" corresponds to the treatment of these figures in the rhetorical works of his Greek and Roman colleagues. In particular, Longinus' five grammatical alterations (case, tense, person, number and gender) are the same types that Caecilius discussed in his *On Figures*. On the other hand, Longinus adopts a different approach than Caecilius, Quintilian and later rhetoricians, adapting grammatical theory so that it fits his ideas on the sublime.⁹⁴ He does not limit himself to an enumeration of figures with examples, but selects three grammatical figures that are particularly relevant to his own subject. In some cases, he can be seen to redefine existing categories.

When dealing with the change of number, he makes it clear that he is not primarily interested in *constructio ad sensum* (the combination of a collective noun in the singular with a verb in the plural), the type that one finds in the handbooks of many rhetoricians. Instead, Longinus draws attention to the effect of multiplication: an accumulation of names in the plural is impressive and causes unexpected emotion. Similarly the contraction of plurals to singulars takes the audience by surprise. The change of tense contributes to the dislocating effect of the sublime. For Longinus, the historical present is a figure that writers and poets can consciously employ in order to involve their audience in the narrative. In doing so, they present past events as happening at the present moment, so that the distance between the characters of the narrative on the one hand and the narrator and audience on the other is removed. The change of persons can have the same effect: the use of the second person within a narrative involves the listener in the story. Emotion is the main purpose of the other changes of person: the unexpected use of the first person suggests that the narrator transforms himself into one of his characters, a dramatic shift that takes the audience by surprise.

The grammatical figures form a fascinating category between the disciplines of grammar and rhetoric. By relating the categories of number, tense and person to the ecstatic and emotional effects of ὑψος, Longinus demonstrates that one simple linguistic change can have an enormous impact on the audience of the orator or writer. This happy marriage between grammar and rhetoric may indeed be characterized as sublime linguistics.

94 It is difficult to determine whether Longinus was entirely original in this respect. It is possible that Caecilius offered a similar discussion of the grammatical figures in his treatise *On the Sublime*.

Philological Observations and Approaches to Language in the Philosophical Context*

Walter Lapini

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1 Language

1.1 *Sophistic Methods prior to the Sophistic Movement*

According to Xenophanes, no man ever has seen nor ever will see τὸ σαφές, “that which is clear” (B 34 D.-K.);¹ Heraclitus believes that it is impossible to reach the boundaries of the soul (B 45 D.-K.);² according to Democritus, “truth is in the depths” (B 117 D.-K. ἐν βυθῶ), *i.e.* far beyond our reach. Yet despite such statements, the world of archaic *physikoi* is predominantly the world of

* I would like to thank F. Ademollo and R. Chiaradonna, whose valuable suggestions contributed greatly to this paper; naturally, final responsibility for any errors in the content lies exclusively with me.

1 See F. Declava Caizzi [1974], who composed a classic study on fr. 34 of Xenophanes. I am inclined towards the ‘pessimistic’ interpretation.

2 The text of the fragment is controversial (cf. Dorandi [2010a]; Mansfeld [2010]), but the overall meaning is clear.

certainty. So fully convinced are they of their assertions that they hardly ever find it necessary to support their opinions with arguments and to assess the grounds in favor and against their views.³

In the iconography of the ancient scholar, intellectual—but also physical— isolation is a recurrent element. Take the case of Heraclitus: in principle, he does not seem to be averse to engaging with the overall community, but his aspiration is that the community should conform to his ideals. Since such an outcome is not accomplished, he withdraws disdainfully and turns to playing dice with some small boys (D. L. 9.3). However, isolation cannot give rise to debate,⁴ and if debate does not come into being, then neither does science; moreover, if science does not come into being, neither does a scientific language, nor the interest in creating one. But what is a scientific language? First and foremost, it consists of speakers' willingness to agree on the meaning of certain terms.

In a passage from *Politics* (1261a15–21), Aristotle writes:

I refer to the ideal of the fullest possible unity of the entire state (τὸ μίαν εἶναι τὴν πόλιν . . . ὅτι μάλιστα πᾶσαν), which Socrates takes as his fundamental principle. Yet it is clear that if the process of unification advances beyond a certain point (γίνομένη . . . μίᾳ μᾶλλον), the city will not be a city at all; for a state essentially consists of a multitude of persons, and if its unification is carried beyond a certain point, city will be reduced to family and family to individual, for we should pronounce the family to be a more complete unity than the city, and the single person than the family; so that even if any lawgiver were able to unify the state, he must not do so, for he will destroy it in the process.⁵

But Socrates (*i.e.* Plato) never uttered the statement attributed to him here. What he asserts is that the good city must be “one”, but in the sense of “unitary”.⁶ Aristotle, on the other hand, insists on the meaning of “one” as “homogeneous”,

3 A quest for consensus and support was present among the archaic thinkers as well (see Obbink [1992] 196), but it was not systematic.

4 This is Cornford's well known argument [1952]. According to a widespread tradition, Heraclitus is said to have written his *biblion* in a deliberately obscure style, “in order that none but adepts should approach it, and lest familiarity should breed contempt” (D. L. 9.6; transl. Hicks [1925] II, 413).

5 Transl. Rackham [1932] 7.

6 *Resp.* 5.422e–423a, and above all 462a–b: “Do we know of any greater evil for a state than the thing that distracts it and makes it many instead of one, or a greater good than that which binds it together and makes it one?” (transl. Shorey [1930] 469).

“undifferentiated”. Since the idea of Aristotle failing to understand Plato’s words can be ruled out, it is clear that he deliberately misunderstood.

This method of discussion based on intentional distortion of another man’s thought is generally considered to be the poison fruit of Sophistics. In actual fact, it was in use even earlier. The Greeks—Heraclitus relates—believed that Hesiod was a great master and a great wise man; but a man cannot be wise if he “does not recognize day and night. For they are one” (ἡμέρην καὶ εὐφρόνην οὐκ ἐγίνωσκεν· ἔστι γὰρ ἓν: B 57 D.-K.).⁷ According to H. Diels (*ad loc.*: vs⁶ 1, 163; see Gemelli Marciano [2007] 346, *ad loc.*), Heraclitus is referring to *Theogony* 123–124 and 748–749:

From Chasm, Erebus and black Night (μέλαινά τε Νύξ) came to be; and then Aether and Day (Ἡμέρη) came forth from Night (. . .). Where Night and Day (Νύξ τε καὶ Ἡμέρη) passing near greet one another as they cross etc.⁸

If these are the Hesiodic lines referred to by Heraclitus,⁹ the polemic cannot but be based on the twofold meaning of “day”, which indicates both the 24-hour span and also the (roughly) 12 hours of daylight. Heraclitus feigns that Hesiod is talking about astronomy and that he makes a mistake involving astronomy. It is quite clear, however, that Hesiod is speaking as a poet, and that Heraclitus is striking a blow at a target he himself has built.

In both examples, one from the period following the age of Σοφιστική, and one from an earlier period, the method is the same: singling out a word from its context and interpreting it in a manner different from that intended by the author. The Sophists ‘legalized’ this method and turned it into an element of the *paideia* of a successful man. But they by no means invented the method. It is attested in every era of ancient thought, and bears direct responsibility for the fact that in Greece a specifically philosophical language was late in arising, and perhaps never came to exist. In any case, the Greek philosophers, including the *physikoi*, drew considerable advantage from being able to shift tacitly from the commonly accepted meaning of a term to its technical significance.¹⁰ We will return to this question later.

7 A similar critical statement, but more comprehensible, is attested in B 106 D.-K.

8 Transl. Most [2006] 12 and 63.

9 And this is by no means certain: see *e.g.* Kirk [1962] 156–157.

10 The first explicit ‘protest’ against obscure and ambiguous philosophical writing was, according to Mansfeld [1995] 226 and Trépanier [2004] 79, fr. 1 D.-K. of Diogenes of Apollonia, who recommended that the *lexis* should be “simple and dignified” (but see

1.2 *An Unreformed Language*

Gorgias heaped praise on the potential of language, describing it as a weapon which, in its own right, is neutral, and can be used either for good or for evil purposes. In ch. 14 of the *Encomium of Helen* one finds the celebrated comparison between *logos* and *pharmakon*, the latter meaning either “medicine” or “poison”.¹¹ Gorgias looks back to an illustrious tradition: the motif of the ambiguity of the *logos* is already present in epic poetry: the Muses can tell either the truth or a falsehood (Hes. *Theog.* 27–28).

This notwithstanding, the Gorgian experience did not follow the morally neutral idea through to its potential completion. It does not ensue automatically from the ambiguity of the *logos* that the art of Gorgias is concerned with means rather than ends.¹² In Gorgias there persists the archaic unity between a fine speech and the speaker’s moral qualities. There is nothing in the *Encomium* allowing the suggestion that even a wicked man can deliver a fine speech (καλῶς). Not only ‘weak’ Helen, but even Paris, a thief and kidnaper, is an elevated spirit, since he is capable of appreciating beauty. In some sense the beauty of the *logos* has an influence over the quality of the action, rehabilitating it morally. One struggles to imagine that Helen would have been lured by the seductive powers of the *logos* if this *logos* had been pronounced by, for instance, Thersites, “who knew so many words, but devoid of *kosmos*” (*Il.* 2.13–14). In Gorgian terms, such a *logos*, even had it displayed a well crafted turn of phrase, would not have been a genuinely fine statement.

More interesting than Gorgias, in our perspective, are Protagoras and Prodicus,¹³ the first to have attempted to study language from within, independently of its psychagogic elements. Prodicus pointed out that in everyday language a given thing can be indicated in several different ways: on the level of basic communication, a certain dose of ambiguity does not prevent two speakers from understanding each other. It is, however, an imperfect understanding. In actual fact, for each thing there exists *only one* name that defines it precisely, ὀρθῶς. This vision outlined by Prodicus marked the starting point of the formula “correctness of names”, ὀρθότης τῶν ὀνομάτων, which was to enjoy considerable fortune,¹⁴ and whose effects were destined to make themselves

Lapini [2013] 161ff.). Be that as it may, it can also be noted that the philosopher who criticized other authors’ failure to eliminate ambivalence did not himself feel equally under the obligation to express himself without ambiguity.

11 On this passage, see now Ioli [2013] 239ff.

12 Thus e.g. Guthrie [1971] 271, wrongly in my opinion.

13 For linguistic reflections of the Sophists cf. Novokhatko in this volume.

14 See Pagani in this volume.

felt in the *rheseis* of Euripides, in the *logoi* of Thucydides,¹⁵ in the *Tetralogies* of Antiphon, in the so called Anonymus Iamblichi, in Thrasymachus of Calchedon, in Critias of Athens, and in the many others who “went in search of lexical propriety” (τοὺς ἀκριβεῖς λόγους).¹⁶

It should be noted, however, that Prodichean *orthotes* and Gorgian *Kunstprosa* never became one thing only. The followers of *orthotes*, such as Thucydides, Antiphon, and the Anonymus Iamblichi, adopted a difficult and harsh style, while polished and harmonious writers like Lysias and Isocrates fashioned a far more discreet genre of *orthotes*. The correctness of names is an intellectualistic fact, of which the spoken language can tolerate no more than a moderate quantity. Here is an example drawn from Anonymus Iamblichi 4.2 διὰ τοιούτων δέ τι ταῦτα πάσχοουσιν· φιλοψυχοῦσι μὲν, ὅτι τοῦτο ἡ ζωὴ ἐστίν, ἡ ψυχὴ· ταύτης οὖν φεῖδονται κτλ. (“therefore something of the kind happens to them: they are strongly attached to their soul because precisely the latter, the soul, is life; this is why they try to safeguard it” etc.). The author enunciates a theory, and in so doing he takes care to explain the reason why “holding life dear” (φιλοψυχεῖν) is expressed through a reference to the word “soul” (ψυχὴ). In ch. 43, after mentioning αἱ νόσοι, τὸ γῆρας, αἱ ἐξαπιναιῖοι ζημίαι (“sickness, old age, sudden *zemiai*”), the author stops for a moment, in order to specify the meaning he wishes to bestow on ζημίαι: οὐ τὰς ἐκ τῶν νόμων λέγων ζημίας (...) ἀλλὰ τὰς τοιαύτας, πυρκαϊάς, θανάτους οἰκετῶν κτλ. (“by *zemiai* I do not mean the punishments provided by the law, but rather misfortunes, e.g. fires, the death of loved ones”, etc.). The addition was not necessary, because, given the context, the reader was already capable of grasping the value of the term. But the author aimed to be absolutely precise, to the point of pedantry. On the other hand, it is clear that if detailed reports and carefully framed distinctions have to be provided at every step, then the communications will soon falter and come to a halt. This explains why, although Prodicheanism and Gorgianism effectively happen to meet occasionally, they do not proceed far together.

A similar line of reasoning is found in Protagoras’ ὀρθοπέπεια, “correctness of speech”,¹⁷ the foundation of which is summarized in the following statement Plato attributes to Protagoras in the *Theaetetus* (168c):

15 Thucydides took from Prodicus τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἀκριβολογίαν (Marcellin., *Vit. Thuc.* 36).

16 Dion. Hal., *Isae.* 20.

17 Which is not the same thing as “correctness of names”. This distinction is already noted in Pfeiffer [1968] 40 and 280. On Protagorean ‘correctness’ in general see Brancacci [2002b] 169ff.; [2010] 53ff., and Corradi [2012] 166ff. On Protagoras’ ὀρθοπέπεια, see also Novokhatko and Pagani in this volume.

And upon this basis you will enquire whether knowledge and perception are the same thing or different things. But you will not proceed as you did just now. You will not base your argument upon the use and wont of language; you will not follow the practice of most men, who drag words this way and that at their pleasure (ὄπη ἄν τύχῳσιν ἔλκοντες), so making every imaginable difficulty for one another.¹⁸

Since Protagoras wrote works on the origins of the mankind, it was probably in precisely this context that he discussed the nature of language, and it is quite possible that he took up a position with regard to the nature/convention alternative (φύσει/νόμῳ).¹⁹

Several doctrines formulated by Protagoras are known. We know from Diogenes Laertius (9.53) that he divided the parts of discourse into four,²⁰ *i.e.* entreaty (εὐχῳλή), question (ἐρώτησις), answer (ἀπόκρισις), and command (ἐντολή).²¹ This subdivision evidently underlies the passage from Aristotle, *Poetics* 19.1456b15–19:

Protagoras criticizes Homer for purporting to pray (εὐχεσθαι) but giving a command (ἐπιτάττει) by saying “Sing, goddess, of the wrath . . . ?” (To bid someone do or not do something, says Protagoras, is a command [ἐπιτάξις]).²²

It would thus appear that Protagoras’ reproof of Homer was due to the poet’s use of ἐντολή (*Il.* 1.1 ἄειδε) instead of εὐχή or εὐχῳλή. Additionally, Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 3.5.1407b6, attests that Protagoras distinguished nouns according to the genders: masculine, feminine, and neuter.²³ A further item of information on Protagoras’ gender-based subdivision is again preserved by Aristotle in *Sophistical Refutations* 14.173bff., from which it emerges that Protagoras

18 Transl. Levett [1990] 294.

19 And this independently of whether or not the words νόμος and φύσις were used. The Aristotelian testimony of *Soph. el.* 14.173b on μῆνις and on πῆληξ (see below) would be sufficient, Momigliano [1969] 159 argued, to attest that Protagoras belonged to conventionalism.

20 See Novokhatko (§ 3.5) in this volume.

21 Diogenes specifies that he himself was the first to conceive of this subdivision (although the merit for its creation was then attributed to the Stoics: see Shalev [2006] 309).

22 Transl. Halliwell [1995] 97.

23 But the Greek text says “masculine names (ἄρρενα), feminine names (θῆλεα) and inanimate things (σχεύη)”. See also Novokhatko in this volume.

contested the gender of μῆνις (wrath) and πῆληξ (helmet), which in his view ought to have been masculine (whereas these words are actually feminine).²⁴

Aristophanes drew inspiration for numerous touches of comedy from discussions on language like those of Protagoras and Prodicus. In particular, he identified the essence of Sophistics as residing in linguistic artifice rather than in fee-paying tuition and the kind of rhetorical devices so frequent in worldly-wise verbal sparring matches. The Aristophanean sophist *par excellence* is not Cleon/Paphlagon (*Knights*), but one who engages in sophisticated reasoning like Socrates and his pupil Pheidippides (*Clouds*). A Sophist is not so much a man who uses the power of language to sway the crowds as, rather, one who deceives and dupes the individual. The education of Strepsiades (*Nub.* 658ff.) consists in knowledge of the meaning and gender of nouns:²⁵ a man devoid of knowledge (and thus of control) of the functioning of language appears as one who does not know what he wants, and thus, in a sense, as one who has no rights.

1.3 *Nomen et nominatum*

It was in the Sophistic age that the question arose as to whether names reflect the reality of things or whether they reflect nothing other than an agreement among speakers, tacitly renewed generation after generation.²⁶ The two positions were later represented in an exemplary manner through the characters of the Platonic *Cratylus*: namely Hermogenes, according to whom names exist by convention (θέσει), and Cratylus, according to whom names exist by their own nature (φύσει).²⁷

Science also took an interest in the problem. The anonymous author of the Hippocratic treatise *On the Art of Medicine* (Περὶ τέχνης), which some date to the late 5th century BC, others to the 4th, writes as follows (ch. 2):

οἶμαι δ' ἔγωγε καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτὰς (i.e. τὰς τέχνας) διὰ τὰ εἶδεα λαβεῖν· ἄλογον γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἡγεῖσθαι τὰ εἶδεα βλαστάνειν, καὶ ἀδύνατον·

24 See the observation by Dorion [1995] 312–313, and by Fait [2007] 168–169.

25 Not by chance, Diels included ll. 658ff. of the *Clouds* among the Protagorean imitations (C 3 D.-K.). It is worth recalling the examination on the Homeric γλώσσαι that the bad boy has to face in Aristophanes' *Banqueters*: Pfeiffer [1968] 14–15. In the competition depicted in the *Frogs* it is, once again, names that constitute the topic of discussion (Dover [1994] 24–37). On the general question, see Classen [1959b].

26 See Novokhatko in this volume.

27 On *Cratylus*, see now the monumental commentary by F. Ademollo [2011].

τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὀνόματα φύσιος νομοθετήματά ἐστι, τὰ δὲ εἶδεα οὐ νομοθετήματα, ἀλλὰ βλαστήματα.

I for my part think that the names also of the arts have been given them because of their real essences; for it is absurd—nay impossible—to hold that real essences spring from names. For names are conventions, but real essences are not conventions but the offspring of nature.²⁸

The overall tone, strongly based on Sophistic categories,²⁹ leaves no doubt as to the fact that the author sides with conventionalism: in the *first* place there arise the arts, and only *after that* are names found to indicate them. But why, then, should names be defined as “conventions of *nature*”, *i.e.* as established things, imposed by nature? The genitive φύσιος would be more understandable if it were placed close to the subsequent βλαστήματα; and indeed, this is precisely where Gomperz placed it. However, this is a brutal and perhaps pointless transposition. The received text can be salvaged with the help of Democritus. Democritus was probably the first *physikos* who attempted to undertake semantic analyses outside of the gnoseological and ontological confines of archaic thought. Undoubtedly, the Democritean opinions on language rest on the *physis*, but the nature/convention alternative is not a black-and-white alternative: for although language does develop νόμῳ, or τύχῃ,³⁰ or θέσει, the *primum movens* is the need to communicate, which is a biological necessity, inherent in the *nature* of all living beings. The argument proposed by the author of the Περὶ τέχνης could be built up according to the same line, and the puzzling expression νομοθετήματα φύσιος could perhaps be translated as “impositions of nature”. The implicit train of thought could be that the arts, which are present in the animal world as well (the spider’s web, mole burrows, etc.) are βλαστήματα φύσιος in that they are created *directly* by nature, whereas names are created by nature through the presence of men. In short, *physis* reaches the half-way point, then it hands the baton over to *thesis*, which covers the remaining half of the stretch. Once men have received the impulse

28 Transl. Jones [1923] 193, who, however, following Gomperz, prints φύσιος after βλαστήματα.

29 On the close relationship of *On the Art* with Sophistic debates, see now Mann [2012] 1–7, and *passim*, in the commentary.

30 As underlined by Momigliano [1969] 156, τύχῃ is a much stronger expression than θέσις; but it cannot be categorically ruled out that it may have been used by Democritus. See Bertagna [2007] 395, with the important footnote 9.

to communicate, they will create names and languages in various ways that differ from group to group and from population to population.³¹

It is also worth mentioning (though an in-depth analysis would be beyond the scope of this paper) a passage from the commentary by Olympiodorus on Plato's *Philebus* (12c); this is a passage where Democritus is credited with the surprising definition of the names of the gods as ἀγάλματα φωνήεντα (B 142 D.-K.), which one could translate as “statues endowed with words” or “talking images” or “vocal effigies of the gods”.³² Strictly interpreted, the fragment implies a natural correspondence between *nomen* and *nominatum*; this, on the other hand, would be in contradiction with the idea that language is νόμος, or τύχη (B 26), having no necessary relationship with πράγματα. On the basis of A 127 D.-K. ὁ δὲ Ἐπίκουρος καὶ ὁ Δημόκριτος καὶ οἱ Στωϊκοὶ σῶμά φασι τὴν φωνήν, Haag believed that in Democritus' vision even the *nomen* was constituted by atoms.³³ This would imply a physical and material correspondence—an extremely firm bond—between name and object. Furthermore, Haag also maintained that the Democritean *doxa* could even be seen as having influenced the section of the *Cratylus* that investigates the relation holding between names and reality. But ingenious though Haag's position may be, it is evidently an over-interpretation: ἀγάλματα φωνήεντα is more likely to have the simpler meaning that names reflect in an immediate manner what men say, *i.e.* what men think, about the gods: accordingly, names should be seen as cultural products that have undergone a particular process of elaboration, and not at all as a product of *physis*. In short, it does not seem appropriate to distance Democritus from Hermogenes' positions in order to bring him as close as possible to those of Cratylus.

1.4 Language as Added Value

Plato's early dialogues are often built around the conceptual analysis of a word. In *Euthyphron* he analyzes piety (*hosiotetes*), in *Laches* courage (*andreia*), in *Charmides* self-restraint (*sophrosyne*), and so on. The question that sets in motion the analysis is at the same time its instrument: namely the τί ἐστὶ, the “what is it?”. Thus it is no coincidence that Plato wrote a dialogue such as

31 According to Pohlenz [1955²] I, 36, the first thinkers to recognize this phenomenon were precisely the Stoics. In actual fact, however, Democritus had already suggested the existence of a relationship between the variety of languages and the variety of νόμοι. The same phenomenon would subsequently be recognized by the author of [Aristotle] *Pr.* 10.38.895a6 τοῦ ἀνθρώπου μία φωνή, ἀλλὰ διάλεκτοι πολλαί (cf. *Hist. an.* 4.9.356b).

32 Graham [2010] I, 613.

33 Haag [1933] 22.

the *Cratylus*. This work is by no means out of place in Platonic production: on the contrary, it is absolutely central. Through the etymologies (whether serious, semiserious or ironic matters little), Plato displays some *practical* models of language manipulation, models he himself does not hesitate to put to use.³⁴ The most important Platonic theories are not formulated only through strictly philosophical means: there is always an ‘external’ contribution, which can be a citation, a mythic tale, a linguistic artifice, or, at times, all three together.³⁵ Take the case of *Theaetetus* 173e:

ἀλλὰ τῷ ὄντι τὸ σῶμα μόνον ἐν τῇ πόλει κείται αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιδημεῖ, ἡ δὲ διάνοια, ταῦτα πάντα ἡγησαμένη σμικρὰ καὶ οὐδέν, ἀτιμάσασα πανταχῆ πέτεται κατὰ Πίνδαρον ‘τὰς τε γὰς ὑπένερθε’ καὶ τὰ ἐπίπεδα γεωμετροῦσα, ‘οὐρανοῦ θ’ ὕπερ’ ἀστρονομοῦσα, καὶ πᾶσαν πάντη ἐρευνημένη τῶν ὄντων ἐκάστου ὄλου, εἰς τῶν ἐγγὺς οὐδέν αὐτὴν συγκαθιέισα.

It is in reality only his³⁶ body that lives and sleeps in the city. His mind, having come to the conclusion that all these things are of little or no account, spurns them and pursues its winged way, as Pindar says, throughout the universe, “in the deeps below the earth” (τὰς τε γὰς ὑπένερθε) and “in the heights above the heaven”; geometrizing upon earth, measuring its surface, astronomizing in the heavens (οὐρανοῦ θ’ ὕπερ); tracking down by every path the entire nature of each whole among the things that are, and never condescending to what lies near at hand.³⁷

The two short quotations from Pindar (which constitute the fr. 292 Maehler) are not intended to stand in for words that are beyond the scope of ‘normal’ prose (quite the opposite: the concept is extremely simple), but rather to warn the reader that the continuation of the sentence is not to be taken in the literal sense. The things “in the deeps below the earth” and “in the heights above the

34 Ademollo [2000] 72 has very aptly defined the etymological section of *Cratylus* as “a sort of encyclopaedia of Greek culture”. And also—I would add—as a vast anthology of argumentative models; cf. Amsler [1989] 39: “*Etymologia* as a strategy for reading becomes a strategy for writing other texts which encode the technical, historical, and exegetical understandings produced by etymological explanations and interpretations”. Amsler is speaking of later authors, but the same line of reasoning is already valid for Plato. Cf. Sluiter in this volume.

35 See e.g. Trabattoni [2002] 91.

36 I.e. of the *sophos*.

37 Transl. Levett [1990] 301.

heaven” do not refer to genuine geological, meteorological or astronomic studies; they serve instead to summarize intellectual activity in itself, for in the case of the true *sophos*, such activity, far from being exercised through the study of physical phenomena, is, on the contrary, carried out through study of abstract concepts like justice or happiness.

In a similar manner, the link between love and philosophy is also founded on a verbal expedient. Eros is not actual possession of the loved one, but the desire to possess the person. Thus the normal condition of the lover is that of desiring something, of reaching out towards something. The same happens with *philosophia*, which is not *sophia*, but, as the word itself says, desire for *sophia*. Therefore eros and philosophy work in the same manner: “So that Love is necessarily a philosopher, and as a philosopher, necessarily between wisdom and ignorance” (*Symposium* 204b: Transl. Rowe [1998] 83). But the intriguing association rests on the equivalence *philein/eran*, which in everyday language holds *only in certain cases*.

Another example. The ideal state set up in the *Republic* will—like the existing *poleis*—need to have soldiers. However, these will not be called “soldiers” (στρατιῶται) but rather “defenders”, “guardians” (φύλακες).³⁸ What is the reason for this innovation? A first answer is that the army of the Ideal State will be called upon to fight only defensive wars, and also to fulfil tasks of political policing (415d9–e2). Such tasks are better described by the term *phylax* than by *stratiotes*. But there is also a more general and more structural explanation. The *kallipolis* is not, as is often said in a simplifying manner, divided into three, but into two:³⁹ on the one hand there stand men characterized by the *epithymetikon*, on the other those characterized by the *thymoeides*. The best among the latter will be selected for tasks involving the issuing of commands and will become *archontes*, giving rise to the third class, the most important one. Since the third class originates from the second, the word that defines the members of both cannot be either *stratiotai* or *archontes*. But the two classes are united by a common duty: that of always preserving the same *dianoia*, i.e. the same convictions and attitudes, the same way of thinking and feeling. In book II of the *Republic*, Plato announces this general principle (380d, 381a):

Is it not true that to be altered and moved by something else happens least to things that are in the best conditions? (...) And is it not the soul

38 The first time the term *phylakes* appears in the plural and with a technical meaning is in *Resp.* 374d τὸ τῶν φυλάκων ἔργον.

39 The division into three is developed in depth only in books VI and VII.

that is bravest and most intelligent, that would be least disturbed and altered by any external affection?⁴⁰

The *dianoia* of the rulers cannot change because if they are true rulers, they will ensure that their government conforms to eternal and immutable principles. But neither can the *dianoia* of the soldiers change. Were it to change, this would be as if dogs protecting a flock were to turn into wolves. Thus there exists a virtue held in common by the highest classes, namely the virtue of *preservation* (σώζειν, φυλάττειν).

From the point of view of expression, Plato's line is the same as that of the *physikoi*: innovating as little as possible, accepting conventional language.⁴¹ But anthropology is often more delicate, more complex than the *physike*, and it requires a richer *Wortschatz*. Accordingly, after ἀρχή, λόγος, νοῦς etc., even ὄρος, μέθοδος, οὐσία, στοιχείον, εἶδος, ἀρετή etc. take on, when necessary, a technical value. As always, the great store of names is found in the world of the arts and sciences: horse-riding, divination, medicine and so forth.

The osmosis between philosophical language and everyday language produces two effects: on the one hand it guarantees that philosophy will not become isolated from common people, while on the other it provides thinkers with the formidable resource of having at their disposal a set of double-faced words, which can be used in the technical or non-technical sense according to the requirements of the given case. This averts the risk that research may be blocked by the impossibility of reaching absolute precision on certain points. It thus becomes clear why, in *Charmides* 163d and in *Politicus* 261e Plato states that distinctions like those of Prodicus are of no help in doing philosophy.⁴² Rigid pursuit of the "correctness of names" would soon lead to paralysis.

In 4th century BC linguistic speculation, an important role must be awarded to Antisthenes, who was first a rhetor, and then a philosopher. Titles such as *On Expression, or Styles of Speaking* and *On Talk* show that he devoted great attention to theoretical questions of language. One of his works on this subject

40 Transl. Shorey [1930] 189, 191.

41 See Ademollo [2000], esp. p. 62; Ademollo [2011] 424–425.

42 *Chrm.* 163d, Socrates to Charmides: "I have heard Prodicus drawing innumerable distinctions between names. Well, I will allow you any application of a name that you please; only make clear to what thing it is that you attach such-and-such a name" (transl. Lamb [1927] 45); *Plt.* 261e, the Stranger to Socrates: "If you preserve this attitude of indifference to mere names, you will turn out richer in wisdom when you are old" (transl. Fowler [1925] 21–23).

has come down to us in sch. *Od.* α 1 l1 (pp. 7–9 Pontani),⁴³ through the mediation of Porphyry. The scholium bears witness to a debate, probably between Socrates and Hippias, on the term πολύτροπος used by Homer in the proem of the *Odyssey*. Can πολύτροπος be considered a term of appreciation? At first glance, the answer would appear to be negative, given that it is the contrary of ἀπλοῦς, “simple”. Having an extensive array of ways (*tropoi*) of entering into relations with others points to duplicity, a tendency towards deceitfulness. Besides, no other great hero—Achilles, Ajax, Agamemnon etc.—is ever described in this manner.

But it is conceivable—this is the argument put forward by Antisthenes—that Odysseus was called πολύτροπος not because πονηρός, but rather because σοφός. And here there follows a detailed *episkepsis* of the word *tropos* and its numerous meanings. The concept of *tropos*, Antisthenes points out, can be applied both to character and to ways of speaking. Thereafter, however, the line of reasoning becomes uncertain. The assertion that “the responsibility for the *tropos* of the *logoi* lies with the πλάσεις” would be a good conclusion if we knew exactly what is meant by πλάσεις and if the correctness of the text were not somewhat doubtful.⁴⁴ But in any case the conclusion would seem to be the following: that the *polytropos* is not necessarily a cheat or a traitor: he may also be one who knows how to adapt the *logoi* to his addressees. Men are of many different kinds, and therefore a λόγος μονότροπος, a “unilateral statement”, does not always achieve its aim. And so one has to be like doctors, who adapt the treatment to the patient. There is a significant sentence: λόγου δὲ πολυτροπία καὶ χρήσις ποικίλη λόγου εἰς ποικίλας ἀκοὰς μονοτροπία γίνεται (sch. *Od.* α 1 l1, p. 9 Pontani), “the multiformity of the *logos* and its constantly changing use proves to be the only form suited to constantly different ears”. From the ethical point of view, it is true that the authentic *agathos* is *monotropos*; but, paradoxically, its unity of character is manifested precisely in its ability to adapt to each individual. In short: to achieve ethical *monotropy* one must necessarily act through *polytropy* of behavior.

1.5 *Focus on Aristotle*

Aristotle is the first to have studied language on a large scale,⁴⁵ laying the foundations for further systematizations and classifications. Reflections on language can be found in many parts of his vast *oeuvre*, e.g. in chapters 20–22 of

43 On this very extensively debated passage see Brancacci [1990] 58–60; Luzzatto [1996], Brancacci [2002a], as well as the sensible overview by Pontani [2005b] 30 n. 29.

44 Pontani [2007] 8 wisely prints the *crucis*: τρόποι δὲ λόγων † αἴτιοι αἱ † πλάσεις.

45 Cf. Novokhatko in this volume.

Poetics and in book III of *Rhetoric*, but the most extensive and in-depth investigations are found in the works of the *Organon*, in particular in the treatise *On Interpretation* (Περὶ ἑρμηνείας). It is in the *Organon* that a tight-meshed bond was established between language and logic, and between grammar and philosophy, a bond that was destined to be long-lasting⁴⁶—with its positive and negative aspects. The positive aspect is that logic is of aid in understanding the imperfections of language, especially since language is not fully overlapping with things; logic thus helps to identify more clearly the pitfalls of the *Σοφιστικὴ*. Furthermore, if *logoi* and *pragmata* are not fully overlapping, it follows that casting doubt on language does not necessarily imply casting doubt on things, e.g. science, the institutions, ethics, etc.

The negative aspect, at least from the modern point of view, is that the language/logic association is not always temporary: it can become a cohesive and enduring unity. In this perspective, Swiggers and Wouters went as far as to introduce the concept of “‘endogenesis’ of grammar from within a philosophical *theoria*—always fed by the close familiarity with the great literary texts”.⁴⁷ And a third aspect should also be considered: once language becomes an object of study, it becomes secularized, losing forever its archaic sacral component. Aristotle states very clearly, in a celebrated passage, that utterances (τὰ ἐν τῇ φωνῇ) are the corresponding elements of thoughts (παθήματα ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ, or νοήματα) (Arist. *Int.* 16a3–4);⁴⁸ this explains why he had little sympathy for the manner in which the *physikoi* formulated their theories. At times, his criticism is highly trenchant: e.g. in *Meteorology* 2.3.356a24, “ridiculous” is the term he uses in reference to the Empedoclean definition of the sea as the “sweat of earth” (B 55 D-K. γῆς ἰδρῶτα): “On the poetic level—Aristotle says—Empedocles’ wording may have been adequate (for metaphor is indeed appropriate for poetry), but, as far as knowledge of nature is concerned, he did not express himself adequately”. Or consider *Generation of Animals* 4.8.777a7, where Aristotle disparages Empedocles’ definition of milk as “white pus” (B 68 D-K. πύον λευκόν), and suggests, speculatively: “As for Empedocles, either he

46 See e.g. Blank [1994] 149–150; de Jonge [2008] 147ff. One of the reasons for the failure to separate philosophy and grammar was the use of a substantially shared range of vocabulary: στοιχεῖον, διάθεσις, συμβεβηκός, etc.

47 Swiggers-Wouters [2002c] 14. See also, on the grammar-logic-philosophy interaction, Swiggers-Wouters [1996b] 124, [1997] 38ff., and [2005] 3ff., chapter *Les rapports entre grammaire et philosophie*.

48 See E. Montanari [1988] 31ff.

was mistaken (οὐκ ὀρθῶς ὑπελάμβανεν), or else his metaphor was a bad one (οὐκ εὖ μετήνεγκεν), when he wrote how the milk is formed”.⁴⁹

Aristotle also offered important reflections on the various forms of ambiguity. He notes that not every ὄν is matched by a corresponding ὄνομα, and *vice versa*. Reality and language are not overlapping. There are defects and excesses: some object may be indicated by many names, another one by no name. Aristotle knows that *polyonymia*, *anonymia*, *amphibolia* etc. are a hindrance to *theoresis* (*Metaph.* Γ 4.1006b7 τὸ γὰρ μὴ ἔν σημαίνειν οὐθὲν σημαίνειν ἐστίν: “For not to have one meaning is to have no meaning”),⁵⁰ but he does nothing to limit the damage—on the contrary, he avoids innovations as much as possible, even in his writings destined to a restricted and specialist public. Admittedly, he uses expressions such as ἐντελέχεια and τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι, which make sense only within the framework of the Aristotelian system, but on the whole the deficiency of language is not ‘corrected’ but, rather, neutralized with discretion, now by resorting to the principle of πολλαχῶς λέγεσθαι (especially in the *Metaphysics* and in the treatises on theoretical physics), now by making use of the formula ὁ καλούμενος (especially in the treatises on biology). Overall, Aristotle leaves scientific language more or less as he found it.⁵¹

1.6 Language and Hellenistic Philosophies

In the Hellenistic age, as Schenkeveld pointed out, language became almost a science in its own right.⁵² But it was the object of interest on the part of philosophy, rhetoric and scholarship, each of which dealt with a particular aspect. According to Quintilian 3.1.15, the study of rhetoric was practised most actively by philosophers, above all Stoics and Peripatetics: “Theophrastus, Aristotle’s pupil, also wrote scholarly works on rhetoric, and from this time forward it was the philosophers, especially the leading Stoics and Peripatetics, who showed even more interest in the subject than the rhetors”;⁵³ rhetoric, it was argued, does not study language itself, but the manner of rendering it more effective. And as far as scholarship is concerned, its aim was that of restoring the textual truth of the works of the authoritative poets (and prose writers).⁵⁴

49 Transl. Peck [1942] 473.

50 Aubenque [1967] 259: “One of the requirements Aristotle imposes for the first time on our use of language is the need for *univocalness*”.

51 On this topic, the reflections of Lanza [1972] 415–419 remain fundamental.

52 Schenkeveld [1999] 177–178.

53 Transl. Russell [2001b] 15–17.

54 Naturally, reality was more complex than this: the subdivisions between philosophers, rhetors and grammarians correspond to a school-based model: it is useful as long as

Epicurus addresses the birth of language in chapters 75–76 of the *Letter to Herodotus* and also in some passages of the work *On Nature* (Περὶ φύσεως).⁵⁵ In ch. 16 of the commentary on Plato’s *Cratylus*,⁵⁶ Proclus states that with regard to the birth of language, Pythagoras and Epicurus are closer to Cratylus, whereas Democritus and Aristotle are closer to Hermogenes (τῆς Κρατύλου δόξης γέγονεν Πυθαγόρας τε καὶ Ἐπίκουρος, Δημόκριτος δὲ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης τῆς Ἑρμογένους). This presence of Epicurus in the field that opposed Democritus may raise eyebrows, but it is not unjustified. Epicurus does not deny that the early stages of language may have benefited from a contribution on the part of *physis*, as in his view men utter the first sounds under the impulse of certain impressions.⁵⁷ The rest of his thoughts on the development of language follow along the lines of the Democritean arguments. Clearly, such a conception bore little relation to that of Cratylus, as in Epicurus’ vision a relation between a sound and a thing was something that existed only at the very beginning, after which it ceased to exist. Cratylus, on the other hand, believed that the relation persisted, so much so as to be recognizable by those with the ability to make a careful study of names.

Epicurus, likewise, set great store by univocalness: this is indeed the programmatic beginning of the *Letter to Herodotus* (ch. 37–38):

πρώτον μὲν οὖν τὰ ὑποτεταγμένα τοῖς φθόγγοις, ὧ Ἡρόδοτε, δεῖ εἰληφέναι (...). ἀνάγκη γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον ἐννόημα καθ’ ἕκαστον φθόγγον βλέπεσθαι καὶ μηθὲν ἀποδείξεως προσδεῖσθαι.

nobody believes there existed ‘pure’ grammarians. Not even the Alexandrians can be classified as ‘pure grammarians’. The Alexandrians/Stoics opposition is another school-based framework which, while of practical aid, is also weak: on these issues see the short but highly effective overview given by Blank [1982] 4–5, and Montana in this volume.

55 Cf. Sedley [1973] 17ff., with the additions by Tepedino Guerra [1990].

56 For a study of the passage (not only of the part anthologized by Diels in 68 B 26), see Ademollo [2003].

57 Plato says something similar in *Cra.* 422d–423a: “If we had no voice or tongue, and wished to make things clear to one another, should we not try, as dumb people actually do, to make signs with our hands and head and person generally? (...) If we wished to designate that which is above and is light, we should, I fancy, raise our hand towards heaven in imitation of the nature of the thing in question; but if the things to be designated were below or heavy, we should extend our hands towards the ground; and if we wished to mention a galloping horse or any other animal, we should, of course, make our bodily attitudes as much like theirs as possible” (transl. Fowler [1939] 133).

First of all, Herodotus, we must grasp the ideas attached to words (...). For this purpose it is essential that the first mental image associated with each word should be regarded, and that there should be no need of explanation.⁵⁸

Diogenes Laertius also emphasized the clarity displayed by Epicurus: “Epicurus was so lucid (σαφής) a writer that in the work *On Rhetoric* he makes clearness (σαφήνεια) the sole requisite” (D. L. 10.13–14 = fr. 54 Usener);⁵⁹ however, Diogenes additionally reports an opinion voiced by Aristophanes (fr. 404 Slater) according to whom Epicurus’ λέξις was too “personal” (ιδία), that is to say, not easily understandable to those who did not belong to his school.

But the greatest theoreticians of language in the Hellenistic age (albeit without reaching the prodigious results sometimes attributed to them, e.g. discovery of the category of aspect of the Greek verb) were the Stoics.⁶⁰ Describing, or even merely outlining, their thought on the subject of language would require an in-depth treatment and would be beyond the scope of this paper; we will therefore restrict our observations to a few brief comments. Firstly, few of the ancient philosophies are so profoundly identified with language as was Stoicism. The very production of the Stoics attests to an intense interest in the technical and formal aspects: Zenon wrote a work *On Variety of Style* (Περὶ λέξεων), a book *On the Reading of Poetry* (Περὶ ποιητικῆς ἀκρόασιως) and five books of *Homeric Problems* (Προβλημάτων Ὀμηρικῶν πέντε); Cleanthes a treatise *On the Poet* (Περὶ τοῦ ποιητοῦ) and four books of *Interpretations of Heraclitus* (Ἡρακλείτου ἐξηγήσεις); Chrysippus wrote a work *On Poems*, another on *How to Interpret Poems* and a work *Against the Kritikoi* (D. L. 7.4, 7.175, 7.200); Sphaerus of Borysthene a *Course of Five Lectures on Heraclitus* (Περὶ Ἡρακλείτου πέντε διατριβῶν) (D. L. 7.177); Antipatros of Tarsus, finally, studied the parts of speech and the definitions.

The Stoics identified five parts of speech: the proper noun, the common noun, the pronoun, the article and the verb, but they made a clear-cut distinction separating the nominal parts (proper noun, common noun and pronoun) from the verb, as the first three elements indicate corporeal entities (σώματα), whereas the verb indicates a predicate, which is incorporeal.⁶¹

The Stoics introduced into their reflection on language the general characteristics of their thought: a rigorous approach, clear-cut distinction between

58 Transl. Bailey [1926] 21.

59 An extensive commentary of the passage in Milanese [1989] 18ff.

60 Cf. Frede [1978] 33; Blank [1994] 149; Novokhatko and Montana in this volume; etc.

61 On all this, see the important essay by A. Luhtala [2005] ch. 2, pp. 12ff.

truth and error, aversion for the art of the possible. They by no means eliminated—on the contrary, they accentuated—the overlapping between logic and grammar.⁶² Their affinity with Aristotle is evident, but some differences can also be noted. One of the main divergences lies in the Stoics' belief that language is a product of *physis*: Origenes, *Against Celsus* 1.24, raised the question of “whether, as Aristotle thinks, names were bestowed by arrangement, or as the Stoics hold, by nature; the first words being imitations of things, agreeably to which the names were formed”, etc.

The general doctrine can be summarized in the following manner: words are, in origin, imitations of things, *i.e.* onomatopoeic. Over time, onomatopoeic terms undergo alterations and distortions, sometimes to the point of a radical change in appearance. But if one succeeds in removing the encrustations, the original truth reappears. Whoever looks at language in this way cannot fail to regard it as insidious and ambiguous. But also fertile: for ambiguity can create unexpected correspondences, just as the appearance of material objects changes with a change in vantage point. A famous case in point (see D. L. 7.62) was that of ΑΥΛΗΤΡΙΣΠΕΠΤΩΚΕ, which, according to how it is divided up, can mean “a dancing-girl has fallen” (αὐλητρίς πέπτωκε) or “a house has three times fallen” (αὐλή τρίς πέπτωκε).⁶³ Obviously, here we are dealing simply with word-play. But in the treatise *How to Study Poetry* 31e, Plutarch states that Cleanthes divided the Homeric invocation Ζεῦ ἄνα Δωδωναίε (“Zeus, lord of Dodona”) in such a way as to obtain Ζεῦ ἀναδωδωναίε, *i.e.* “which provokes the exhalation of the vapour from the earth”. Plutarch adds that this case belonged to the category of ‘ironic’ interpretations; but it is an irony that reflects reality,⁶⁴ and therefore it is no longer merely a joke.

Whereas Aristotle mainly uses everyday language, the Stoics introduced numerous innovations (cf. Cic. *Acad. post.* 1.41: Zenon used *plurima nova verba*), not so much in order to fill the blank spaces of the *anonymia*, as, rather, to Stoicize the concepts. Consider the example of καταλαμβάνειν. Greek is rich in words meaning “to understand, to comprehend” (*e.g.* συνιέναι, μαθάνειν, etc.). So why adopt καταλαμβάνειν and the derivatives κατάληψις, καταληπτικός and so forth? Evidently because συνιέναι and μαθάνειν belong to everyone,

62 See *e.g.* Frede [1978] 29ff., 36, and *passim*.

63 This ambiguity was very famous: see *e.g.* Atherton [1993] 220ff.

64 Atherton [1993] 233–234 draws attention to a series of examples in which Cleanthes and Chrysippus modified the conventional orthography of the texts, above all the Homeric texts, in order “to capture distinctions in morphology and meaning” (but this was an old method, already used earlier by Hippias of Thasus). On the specific example of “Zeus lord of Dodona”, see Atherton [1993] 246.

whereas *καταλαμβάνειν* immediately brings Stoicism to mind. In speaking of Chrysippus, but inevitably involving the overall context of Stoicism, Galen asserts, in *Differences of Pulses* 10, that Chrysippus, although not an Athenian, is intent on dictating the rules of correct speech (the word used is *νομοθετεῖν*, “giving laws, law-making”) to the Athenians.⁶⁵ And naturally, Chrysippus fails to achieve his objective, since these *καταλαμβάνειν*-words are foreign to the Attic style (Gal. *Opt. Doctr.* 1, 94.1ff. Barigazzi). Among the beliefs of the Stoics, one of the things Galen condemns is the myth of *orthotes*, with its characteristic flourish of intellectual finessing and artifice. He contrasts the Stoics with Plato, pointing out that Plato is relatively unconcerned with the pursuit of an abstractly rigorous approach, but is more interesting in expressing the *πράγμα*, making himself understood.⁶⁶

Dogmatism led the Stoics to criticize certain aspects of everyday language. Some Stoics, Cicero observes (*Off.* 1.128), deplore a hypocritical use of words: men do not hesitate to make explicit mention of ignoble actions like stealing, whereas generating offspring, which is *honestum*, tends to be expressed with euphemisms:

We are to ignore the Cynics or such Stoics as were virtually Cynics who scold and mock us because we consider it scandalous to use the terms for acts which are not shameful, and yet we call by their proper names those which are. Robbery with violence, swindling, adultery are all disgraceful when performed (*re turpe est*), but we speak of them without indecency (*sed dicitur non obscene*), whereas the effort of begetting children is honourable but a filthy expression (*liberis dare operam re honestum est, nomine obscenum*).⁶⁷

But further insight into the Stoics' attitude can be gleaned from the following anecdote reported by Cleanthes, taken from D. L. 7.172: in response to a young man who was determined to put him on the spot with a play on words, Cleanthes answered: “Similar words do not necessarily indicate similar situations” (*αἱ δ' ἀνάλογοι φωναὶ τὰ ἀνάλογα οὐ πάντως σημαίνουσι πράγματα*), thereby showing he was fully aware that language is not univocal and that this non-univocality can give rise to misunderstandings and deceit. Another passage worthy of attention is in D. L. 7.20:

65 For Galen's attitude towards Atticism see Manetti [2009] 158ff.

66 And therefore Galen regards it as his duty to combat ambiguity, the greatest defect of language: Schiaparelli [1999] 164–165.

67 Transl. Walsh [2000] 43.

τοῖς εὖ λεγομένοις οὐκ ἔφη δεῖν καταλείπεσθαι τόπον, ὥσπερ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τεχνίταις, εἰς τὸ θεάσασθαι· τοῦναντίον δὲ τὸν ἀκούοντα οὕτω πρὸς τοῖς λεγομένοις γίνεσθαι, ὥστε μὴ λαμβάνειν χρόνον εἰς τὴν ἐπισημείωσιν.

“Telling periods”, he said, “unlike the works of good craftsmen, should need no pause for the contemplation of their excellences; on the contrary, the hearer should be so absorbed in the discourse itself as to have no leisure even to take notes”.⁶⁸

The interpretation is controversial,⁶⁹ but the meaning would appear to be that words can be deceptive when they are fast-moving and thus leave us no time to ponder their implications. Zenon maintained it was important to know the στοιχεῖα τοῦ λόγου, “the constitutive parts of speech”, and the manner in which they are linked to one another (ἀρμόττεσθαι). Thus, as asserted by Plutarch, *Stoic Self-Contradictions* 8.1.1034e, when passing judgments there should be no need to listen to the opposite party in order to form one’s own opinion:

The second speaker must not be heard whether the former speaker proved his case (for then the inquiry is at an end) or did not prove it (for that is tantamount to his not having appeared when summoned or to having responded to the summons with mere gibberish); but either he proved his case or he did not prove it; therefore, the second speaker must not be heard.⁷⁰

The Stoics strongly proclaimed the primacy of philosophy over grammar, and this aspect of their doctrine gained great popularity: Philo, *On Mating with the Preliminary Studies* 146 (111, 102.15 Wendland) declares that philosophy laid the bases for the traditional sciences. Equilateral and scalene triangles were discovered thanks to geometry. But this was not a genuine act of “discovering” (εὐρίσκειν): it was merely “perfecting the discovery” (προσεξευρίσκειν), because the fundamental concepts on which geometric figures are based, for instance the point where there are no parts (οὐ μέρος οὐδέν), the infinite line, the surface without the third dimension, are all things forming part of the objects of study of philosophy. And the same is true of grammar. There exists a basic grammar, which teaches reading and writing, and a specialist

68 Transl. Hicks [1925] II, 131.

69 And the text is likewise uncertain: Von Arnim proposed ἐλεγχόμενοις instead of εὖ λεγομένοις, and Kassel τεχνητοῖς instead of τεχνίταις. See Dorandi [2013a] 487.

70 Transl. Cherniss [1976] 429.

grammar, which is concerned with explaining the works of poets and prose writers (ποιηταί and συγγραφείς). But when it is a question of identifying functions and relations, one has to turn to philosophy. It is philosophy that clarifies what is meant by conjunction, noun, verb, the question form or exclamations.

This primacy that the Stoics assigned to philosophy emerges from an interesting passage of the commentary by Ammonius on Aristotle's *On Interpretation* 42.30ff. Busse (= Praxiphanes *34 Matelli, pp. 234–237). The question concerns whether the nominative is to be called simply *onoma*, as Aristotle prescribes, or *ptosis*, as asserted by the Stoics and grammarians (note the association Stoics-grammarians). The Peripatetics argue that one cannot speak of πτώσις because the nominative is not a grammatical case, *i.e.* it does not descend from something else. The Stoics' answer was that the nominative does indeed 'fall' from the νόημα we have in our soul. The nominative Σωκράτης 'falls' from the Σωκράτης that resides within us. The supporters of this theory expressed an underlying aspiration: to find something superordered, something truly basic and primitive, for the elements of conversation. In a sense, even modern grammar seeks the aid of νόημα. For us the nominative is a *ptosis*, the most primitive among the *ptoseis*,⁷¹ but not the most primitive in absolute terms. The line of argument embodied by οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς, as reported by Ammonius, could be simplified as follows: the nominative is *ptosis* of the so-called stem; Σωκράτης is the *ptosis* of Σωκρατεσ-, which does not exist other than as ἐννόημα. This confirms once more that, for the Stoics, linguistics was not an autonomous discipline, with methods of its own; instead, it formed part of the conceptual structure of the school. The system of declensions is a hindrance to abstraction, to the καθ' αὐτό of the word. We speakers of a modern language, devoid of declensions or with weakened declensions, have the word in itself, for example "Zeus". The ancients had Ζεὺς, Ζῆνα and Δία, all forms of one and the same word, yet at the same time independent words. And this circumstance opens up great scope for etymology. As Chrysippus would later say,⁷² Ζεὺς is Ζεὺς because he gives life (ζῆν), but he is also Δία because δι' αὐτὸν πάντα ἐστίν.⁷³ Etymologies of this kind are not 'errors' but theories, the extreme and

71 Not only for us: in 1.139, Herodotus says that all Persian names ended with the letter the Dorians call *san* and the Ionians *sigma*. But this is not true. Herodotus did not check his sources; however, he was so sure of his statement that he transformed the god Mit(h)ras from masculine to feminine: 1.131 καλέουσι δὲ Ἀσσύριοι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην Μύλιττα, Ἀράβιοι δὲ Ἀλιλάτ, Πέρσαι δὲ Μίτραν. Quite apart from the mistake, it is evident that for Herodotus "name" means "name in the nominative".

72 And before him Aesch. *Ag.* 1485ff.

73 See Stob. *Ecl.* 1, p. 31.11 W.

condensed versions of complex doctrines. Their function is not fundamentally different from that of myth.⁷⁴

The Stoics' writings are not devoid of the kind of contradictions already seen so many times: an *orthotes* for which great claims are made—in words—but then not applied (in actual fact inapplicable) in concrete reality. The Stoics proclaimed their aim of eliminating ambiguity, yet not only did they not eliminate it, but they made use of its dialectical resources, just as all their predecessors had done. One example will suffice: a rigorous application of *orthotes* would have required, at the very least, a distinction between the *logos* in its psychological-anthropological aspect, the *logos* as a divine attribute and the *logos* as the instrument of speech. Effectively, however, the word *logos* continued to be used rather indiscriminately, just as had been the case for the 'pre-Stoic' Heraclitus. And the same could be said with regard to thematic words such as *πνεῦμα*, *ψυχή*, etc.

2 Philology

2.1 *Alexandrian Scholarship as a Cultural Paradigm*

Literary philology has an identifiable date of birth: the official edition of the tragic playwrights, drawn up by Lycurgus around 330 BC ([Plut.] *X orat.* 841f). As far as philosophical philology is concerned, however, finding a starting point is more problematic. In an article significantly entitled *Die Anfänge der Philologie bei den Griechen*, H. Diels singled out Democritus as the progenitor of the line of descent from which "wir Philologen" can all trace our ancestry.⁷⁵ In Democritus one finds the study of correctness of expression (*ὀρθοέπεια*), attention to style, observations "bis ins Kleine und Kleinste" on music, poetry, and Homeric language.⁷⁶

But what Diels meant above all by 'Philologie' was interpretation ("die Seele der Philologie ist die Interpretation"),⁷⁷ whereas here, in addition to interpretation, we will also focus on *Textkritik*, endeavoring to maintain the two concepts distinct as far as possible.

The first form of interpretation is that which poets apply to themselves.⁷⁸ Take fr. 84 D.-K. of Empedocles (= Arist. *Sens.* 437b–438a). Lines 1–3 describe

74 Cf. Sluiter in this volume.

75 Diels [1910] 12.

76 Diels [1910] 9–10, see also Novokhatko in this volume.

77 Diels [1910] 12.

78 Pfeiffer [1968] 3ff.

a sensible man who, before stepping outside on a stormy night, provides himself with a lantern and equips it with “lantern-sides as shields against the various winds”.⁷⁹ Line 4 continues in the following manner: “(shields) that protect against the gusts of gale-force winds”. The syntax of line 3 is difficult, and the line has numerous obscure words. Line 4 clarifies its meaning, repeating the same concept in a more easily understandable manner.

In addition to using their own poetry to interpret themselves, the poets also use it to interpret other poets (almost inevitably Homer and Hesiod). Consider another example, Empedocles B 35.6 D.-K. οὐκ ἄφαρ ἀλλὰ θέλημα συνιστάμεν' ἄλλοθεν ἄλλα, “Not immediately, but coming together from different directions at will”.⁸⁰ In the context, θέλημα (which Wright translates as “at will”) is the opposite of ἄφαρ and therefore it has been taken in the sense of “at a leisurely pace, slowly, little by little”, κατὰ βραχύ, probably bearing in mind Hesiod, *Works* 118 οἱ δ' ἐθέλημοι | ἤσυχοι ἔργ' ἐνέμοντο, “And they themselves, willing, mild-mannered, shared out the fruits of their labors”,⁸¹ where ἤσυχοι seems like a selfgloss.⁸²

Looking beyond the sphere of the poets, the first name encountered is Theagenes of Rhegium (VI century BC). He would subsequently be followed by Hippias of Thasus, Metrodorus of Lampsacus and Stesimbrotus of Thasus; and later Democritus, Alcidamas, Antisthenes and many others.⁸³ But exegesis conducted in a religious background should not be overlooked: consider for example the interpretation of oracles, extensively represented in Herodotus, its extension and influence being testified by Aristophanes in his parodies (*Eq.* 125ff.).

Furthermore, in the context of Aristophanes, it is worth noting that precisely his comedies offer the first example of extended exegesis.⁸⁴ The reference here is to *Frogs* and the famous contest between Aeschylus and Euripides (ll. 830ff.). The accusations Aeschylus and Euripides launch against each other—archaic features, fixity or, alternatively, freedom, luxuriance—have aspects that verge on caricature, almost as if the one were trying to describe the other through the eyes of the man on the street. But the two characters also address precise criticisms to each other, of a conceptual nature, which the average spectator probably would not have grasped. Stinging criticisms are voiced against

79 Sedley [1992] 21; see also Lapini [2013] 103ff.

80 Transl. Wright [1981] 206.

81 Transl. Most [2006] 97.

82 See Gemelli Marciano [1990] 64–65.

83 See Lamberton [2002] 188ff., and Novokhatko in this volume.

84 Cf. Novokhatko in this volume.

individual words, discussions focus on their semantics. And improper uses are called “errors” (*psogoi, hamartiai*: ll. 1129ff.).

Another example to be considered is the passage from Plato’s *Protagoras* in which Socrates analyzes a poem by Simonides (fr. 19 Page = F 260 Poltera).⁸⁵ Socrates states that it’s one thing to be good, but quite another to become good. He maintains that *χαλεπόν* means “bad”. Even an insignificant *μέν* is brought into the discussion. Socrates applies *hyponoia*, i.e. the quest for hidden meanings, which is an archaizing element. Overall, it is a rather contrived, specious analysis, designed not with the idea of facilitating comprehension of the actual text, but for a didactic and moral purpose. However, a complex array of instruments is present, together with the remarkable method of comparison, to the point that H. Baltussen went as far as to wonder whether this might not be “a quite early version of the *Homerum ex Homero* principle, which holds that an author can be best explained internally, or from (*ex*) his or her own words”, and thus whether the passage, despite its confused structural arrangement and the continuous intermingling of the words of the poet with philosophical considerations,⁸⁶ might not perhaps constitute a sort of ‘prehistory’ of the commentary.⁸⁷

Once we reach the Derveni Papyrus, dated to earlier than 300 BC, we are no longer in pre-history. Its text is a line by line commentary which, very clearly, is a forerunner of the Alexandrian *hypomnema*.⁸⁸ The unknown author awards great importance to the linguistic element, making use of tools that were already in use such as metaphors, similes, allegories, etymologies etc.⁸⁹ But some novelties can also be observed: for instance, the interpretation of *ἑἶς* as “good” and not as “his own”,⁹⁰ an interpretation the author put forward on the basis of Homeric usage: “This is—as Madeleine Henry rightly stated—philological criticism of the oldest and best sort”.⁹¹

At this point, a strictly chronological overview of the subject-matter discussed here would now require focus on the Alexandrian school.⁹² But this would take us beyond the bounds of our specific perspective, as the interests of

85 See Poltera [2008] 203, and (especially) 454ff.

86 On this aspect see Carson [1992] 111–112.

87 Baltussen [2004] 30, 2.

88 West [1983] 80, and above all Turner [1968] 205.

89 See Funghi [1995] 580–581. The Derveni author seems to apply to names the predominance principle that Anaxagoras invokes in the composition of matter (Hussey [1999] 310–311).

90 Kouremenos (*et al.*) [2006] 271–272, on col. 26 l. 1ff.

91 Henry [1986] 162.

92 See Montana in this volume.

the various scholars such as Zenodotus, Aristophanes and Aristarchus did not basically center on philosophy. Perhaps, however, the *roots* of this school may have been less foreign to sphere of philosophy.

It is well known that Pfeiffer regarded the Alexandrian school as a sort of absolute incipit of philology.⁹³ Subsequent studies, intensified by discoveries and connections, have underscored the momentous force of this experience. In a series of seminal studies, F. Montanari argued that the importance of the Alexandrian philologists did not consist merely in the results they obtained, but also—and above all—in the fact of creating a new cultural paradigm, describable as a strong unity between exegesis, collation and text criticism aimed at restoring the exact wording.⁹⁴ This was a radically new paradigm, a mental horizon previously unexplored. But a question naturally arises: did this great innovation spring from nowhere, or was it a fire that blazed up from sparks that had long been glowing? Certainly, if we consider scholarship in the narrow sense, that is to say, exclusively as the production of editions, then Alexandrian philology has no precedents at all; but if scholarship is construed as reflection on the text, then one has to go much further back in time, at least to Aristotle and his school.⁹⁵

Aristotle, *Parts of Animals* 1.5.644b22ff., asserts that while knowledge of eternal things, such as the stars, is “more pleasant” (ἡδίων), perceptible situations, by the very fact of being closer to us, provide us with greater opportunities for acquiring knowledge. And even from this type of research, pleasure can be derived (645a8–11):

For though there are animals which have no attractiveness for the senses, yet for the eye of science, for the student who is naturally of a philosophic spirit and can discern the causes of things, Nature which fashioned them provides joys which cannot be measured.⁹⁶

This celebrated passage is not only an expression of praise for empirical research, but also (although Aristotle could not have been aware of this) an early theoretical foundation of philological research, which is not oriented

93 More than any other consideration, what seems significant to me is the sentence: “So (...) it was only *after* Philitas, the poet and scholar, that the true scholar came into being” (Pfeiffer [1968] 92–93). Rather fascinating, but also somewhat beyond its ‘best before date’, is this almost teleological commitment to identifying the true scholar.

94 Montanari [1999] 29–30; Montanari [2000b].

95 Montanari [2012d].

96 Transl. Peck [1937] 99.

towards the great, the beautiful and the important, but is non-evaluative, in the sense that attention is denied to no-one and nothing. An overall assessment of the influence of the Peripatos on Alexandrian scholarship⁹⁷ was delineated by N. J. Richardson in a study published in 1994. Strabo 13.1.54 (608–609) relates, as a conclusion to the story on the Aristotelian writings, that Aristotle “taught the kings of Egypt the arrangement of a library” (διδάξας τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ βασιλέας βιβλιοθήκης σύνταξιν).⁹⁸ Clearly, the teaching was not imparted directly, given that Aristotle died long before the Ptolemies came to power in Egypt. However, one may discern in the testament of Aristotle a hint of similarity between the organization of the Lyceum and that of the Mouseion. The collection of books and the corresponding system of cataloguing may have acted as a model for the library in Alexandria; materially, the connecting link may have been the Peripatetic Demetrius of Phalerum, who moved from Athens to Egypt.

Even clearer links between the Peripatetic school and Alexandrian philology can be perceived in the field of antiquarian and documentary studies. Aristotle produced erudite works on *Non-Greek Customs* (Νόμιμα βαρβαρικά), on the constitutions (πολιτεῖαι) of 158 Greek cities, on the chronographies of winners of the Pythian and Olympic games, as well as on the victors of drama competitions. These writings were certainly used by the Alexandrians as source material: by Eratosthenes in his *Chronographiai* and in his *Olympionikai*, by Callimachus in his *Table and List of Dramatic Poets* and in the *Aitia*, by Aristophanes of Byzantium in his *hypotheses*. To this should be added that Aristotle was the author of a work which would later become known by the name *Homeric Problems* (Ἀπορήματα Ὀμηρικά).⁹⁹

What this suggests is that if there was a dependency between Alexandrian scholarship and Aristotle, there is also likely to have been a relation between Alexandrian aesthetics and Aristotelian aesthetics. Besides, the persistence of Aristotelian elements in the tradition of Homeric studies (and this tradition has an uncontrovertible Alexandrian base) is an acknowledged fact. See *e.g.* sch. *Od.* δ 69a, which indicates the recognition of Odysseus as being a recognition with *περιπέτεια*, making use of categories that were found in the Aristotelian *Poetics*, in particular chapters 10, 11 and 24.¹⁰⁰ Note, though, that it is precisely in this regard that Pfeiffer raised objections,¹⁰¹ arguing that

97 Cf. Montana and Nünlist in this volume.

98 On Strabo's story and on the alternative version of Athenaeus see Schubert [2002], esp. p. 228.

99 Cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 69, and Novokhatko in this volume.

100 Montanari [1998a].

101 Pfeiffer [1968] 137 and 95.

Aristotle loves that which is complete and unitary whereas the Alexandrians cultivate that which is small, episodic, refined. But Aristotelian admiration for Homer does not imply that he believed it was possible for the Homeric manner to be replicated in the present. As pointed out by Montanari, Aristotle and the Peripatetics were the premise, the ‘ferment’ of Alexandrian scholarship.¹⁰² Moreover, the method of posing questions and showing solutions, as documented in *Poetics* (see the beginning of ch. 25 *περὶ δὲ προβλημάτων καὶ λύσεων*), has been construed by some as a ‘prototype’ of the Alexandrian commentary.¹⁰³

2.2 *Apologetic Philology: Philology and Philosophical Schools*

One interesting issue that needs to be addressed here, prior to dwelling in greater depth on the concept of the commentary, concerns the question of when *Textkritik* first began to be practised, and why. That there has never been much love lost among philosophers is common knowledge, but, as far as we know, the fault-finding attitudes among the archaic *physikoi* did not involve particularly censorious strictures. Plato and Aristotle, although not without enemies, launched attacks that mainly pursued the goal of doctrinal confutation. Aristotle was not shy of expressing scornful judgements, but he did not stoop to ridiculing his opponents, he did not indulge in caricaturing them (save perhaps in the case of Hippodamus of Miletus: *Politics* 1267b22–30, a passage which, however, may be spurious).¹⁰⁴

The situation degenerated when individual philosophers began to be replaced by schools, which immediately entered into bitter competition with one another, in a contest that was not devoid of contempt and taunting insinuations. One of the most typical accusations was that of plagiarism (*λογολοπία*), as for example in the charges famously launched against Plato, who, so Theopompus asserts (Ath. 11.508c), supposedly copied the majority of his dialogues from Aristippus, Antisthenes and Bryson of Heracleia. Aristoxenus alleged that Plato had lifted the *Republic* (his masterpiece!) from the *Antilogies* of Protagoras (80 B 5 D.-K.). It was also rumored that even *Timaeus* had been copied from a Pythagorean book. This was an ingenious and insidious way of launching an attack, because it offered the opportunity to stike a blow against the theorizers while leaving the theory unscathed: saying that Plato wrote the *Timaeus* by copying Pythagoric doctrines debased Plato on the personal level without in any way affecting the value of those doctrines.

102 Montanari [1993b] 262.

103 Grintser [2002] 75.

104 See Lapini [2013] 146 and n. 66.

Establishing whether a given person was or was not the first to have said a certain thing gave rise, starting from the 4th century BC, to a vast ‘protoheurological’ production. Theophrastus composed a work *On Discoveries*, in two books (D. L. 5.47); Heraclides Ponticus also was named as the author of a book with the same title (D. L. 5.88). Although both these texts are now lost, in antiquity they constituted a valuable source of information for erudites of the imperial age such as Favorinus of Arles—whose *Miscellaneous History* (Παντοδαπή ἱστορία) certainly contained a heurematic section¹⁰⁵—and even for Diogenes Laertius, whose interest in πρώτα εὐρήματα can be vividly perceived throughout his production.¹⁰⁶

Another remarkable aspect is that those who hunted for πρώτα εὐρήματα dealt not only with *doxai*, laws, customs and institutions, but also with quite down-to-earth questions. Consider for instance the following passage from Diogenes Laertius (which, however, is unfortunately far from clear) on the vicissitudes of Heraclitus’ book (9.11–12): no less than a veritable example of *Überlieferungsgeschichte*:

The story told by Ariston of Socrates, and his remarks when he came upon the book of Heraclitus, which Euripides brought him, I have mentioned in my Life of Socrates (2.22). However, Seleucus the grammarian says that a certain Croton related in his book called *The Diver* that the said work of Heraclitus was first brought into Greece by one Crates, who further said it required a Delian diver not to be drowned in it.¹⁰⁷

Naturally the accusations of λογοκλοπία stirred up strong reactions. Making a statement on the authenticity or falsehood of a work was nothing new: since the very outset, epic poetry had always posed problems of this type. But debate on philosophical writings took off on a grand scale above all when polemics between different schools rose to fever pitch. Fr. 25 Angeli-Colaizzo of Zenon of Sidon expresses doubts on many of the Epicurean works, among which the *Letter to Pythocles*. Another famous case is the polemic surrounding the *Politeia* of Diogenes the Cynic, the contents of which were extreme and full of scandal-mongering; the polemic is recounted in PHerc. 339, which contains the Περὶ Στωϊκῶν of Philodemus.¹⁰⁸ The Stoics, the closest heirs of Cynicism, sought to deny the authenticity of Diogenes’ *Politeia*, but Philodemus’ repartee

105 See Lapini [2011] 18ff.

106 Shalev [2006].

107 Transl. Hicks [1925] II, 419.

108 Ferrario [2000] 59–60.

was that Cleanthes and Chrysippus had already drawn some citations from the work, thereby recognizing it as authentic.

It has to be admitted, however, that misgivings as to the authorship of works, including some of the important works, were not always unfounded. The very structure and manner of working within the philosophical schools lay at the root of these uncertainties. In examining the various *corpora*—Platonic, Aristotelian, Hippocratic, etc.—one finds both authentic and spurious works, but also cases where it is hard to tell whether a work is authentic or spurious. Furthermore, if a work is indeed spurious, this may not necessarily be the result of deliberate falsification. K. Gaiser has claimed that when Plato's pupils moved to settle in the Troas and took up residence under the protection of the tyrant Hermias, a *Philosophenkreis* was gradually built up where research was carried out in common, and then 'signed' jointly by Aristotle and Theophrastus, and presumably also by other pupils who enjoyed a certain prestige.¹⁰⁹ And the habit may have continued later as well, after the foundation of the Peripatos. Aristotle and Theophrastus may have consciously sat down to divide up the study of biology between themselves, with one devoting himself to zoology and the other to botany.¹¹⁰

A few examples may offer insight into this manner of working. The last six chapters of the *Categories* (10–15) are classed as Aristotelian, but perhaps they are not, as already suggested by Andronicus. It is conceivable that someone composed them to create a link between *Categories* and *Topics*,¹¹¹ a step Aristotle himself perhaps did not take but would have done, if he had had the means and the time.

Aristotle wrote a treatise on physiognomy, and in the *corpus Aristotelicum* there does indeed exist a monograph that goes precisely by the name of *On Physiognomy* (D. L. 5.25 Φυσιογνωμονικόν). But the work preserved in the *corpus* is not the same as that mentioned in D. L. 5.25. What we actually have is a composite product, not attributable to Aristotle. It consists of two distinct parts: the second part is a rough and ready composition, simplistic, clearly of a late date. The first part, on the other hand, is written by someone who knew how to put forward arguments and conduct a line of reasoning in Aristotelian

109 Gaiser [1985]. See in particular the chapter entitled *Die Zusammenarbeit zwischen Aristoteles und Theophrast* (87–89). The first fruits of this collaboration (which may already have begun, Gaiser conjectures, within Plato's Academy) are said to have been the treatises *On Fire* and *Meteorology IV*.

110 Gaiser [1985] 89.

111 Moraux [1974] 271–272.

terms, and this section may genuinely reflect the true thought of Aristotle.¹¹² It cannot be ruled out that the author was a pupil, quite unaware that his text could be taken as a forgery.¹¹³

Whenever a scholar found himself faced with the accusation that an important work of his school was false, or when a member of his school was lambasted for producing an indecent work or making an offensive statement, there were two possible lines of defense: blame either a disreputable saboteur (διασκευαστής) or the scribe (γραφεύς). The genetic core of the *Textkritik* known as Lachmannian resides precisely in this dilemma: trying to ascertain what is authentic and to free it from the layers of false encrustations.

The school that made the greatest contribution to formal philology is that of the Epicureans. This is somewhat ironic, given the scorn this school displayed towards erudition.¹¹⁴ But two aspects inevitably induced the Epicureans to turn to philology: firstly, it was a school *unius viri*, and secondly, its message concentrated, more so than in other cases, on basic principles. For Epicureanism, *ataraxia* was of paramount importance and, according to its teachings, it consisted of a limited number of intangible certainties, which could often be expressed in the form of maxims. Such certainties represented the *raison d'être* of the school itself and were to be defended at all costs: casting doubt on them would be a ruinous perspective.¹¹⁵ Unfortunately, Epicurus was hardly a very readable writer.¹¹⁶ He himself was aware of this, and sought to remedy the defect by composing epitomes in the form of letters which had—or aimed to have—a more widely understandable character.¹¹⁷ Dissemination of his thought in more readable forms continued after his death (Philonides, Artemon, etc.).

But a commentary needs to be founded on certainty of the text, a certainty that was often in abeyance. The schools had specialist libraries, which held more than one copy of a given text, necessarily different from one another, and it was often not a question of purely minor differences. For instance, the Herculaneum library undoubtedly held several exemplars of *Periphyseos*.¹¹⁸

112 See Lapini [1992] 66ff.

113 Or conceivably he may have been convinced he was paying a great tribute to the Master by feigning to take on the latter's identity: Moraux [1974] 266–267.

114 Blank [1998] 281–282, 295–296; de Jonge [2008] 37ff.

115 See Erler [1993] 286–287.

116 Cic. *Fin. bon. mal.* 2.5.15; Plut. *Adv. Col.* 112F, etc.

117 These *Letters* are preserved integrally, as is well known, by Diogenes Laertius in book x of the *Lives of Philosophers*, together with the *Principal Doctrines*.

118 See e.g. Puglia [1988] 49–50.

Its most ancient nucleus of works may have been brought to Herculaneum by Philodemus, and may have consisted of exemplars from the 3rd–2nd century BC, *i.e.* exemplars very close to the library Epicurus bequeathed to Hermarchus (D. L. 10.21). But there are known to have been other copies in circulation as well.

Eudemus, who was the head of a school in Rhodes, sent a letter to Theophrastus, in Athens, to enquire whether a passage from Theophrastus' own version of *Physics* was identical to the copy he himself possessed.¹¹⁹ Events of this kind are likely to have been quite common, although they probably involved rather more important questions than establishing a δέ or a γε or an ἄρα. The special aspects of ancient publication should also be borne in mind.¹²⁰ Once a stage A of a certain text had been reached, the author would 'publish' it, in other words, he would allow copies of it to be made.¹²¹ But he would then continue to work on the text up to phase B, then C, etc.; the exemplars copied during the phases A, B, C, etc. certainly diverged from one another, and undoubtedly became hybridized. It is this process of hybridization that was ultimately responsible for the survival of an author's variants, which were difficult to identify yet without a doubt did exist, and they continue to exist—camouflaged in one way or another—at the present time.¹²²

2.3 *The Formal Philology of the Epicureans*

It is appropriate, at this point, to take a look at the interesting personality of the Epicurean Demetrius Laco, who lived in the 2nd century BC. A philosopher and philologist, he devoted attention to uncovering the inaccuracies or falsehoods that had crept into the *corpus Epicureum*, and he also addressed important questions of *Sprachphilologie*.¹²³ For Demetrius Laco, we are lucky enough to have not only testimonies, but also a first-hand document,

119 See Moraux [1970] 70.

120 "For an author—Gurd states [2011] 170—ἐκδοσις was little more than a gesture, and as a gesture it was liable to interpretation". One need only reflect on the difference between the modern concept of edition and the meaning this concept assumed in authors such as Galen, with his differentiation between works written πρὸς ἔκδοσιν and οὐ πρὸς ἔκδοσιν: see von Staden [2009].

121 Or, simply, he did not—or could not—prevent its publication: on the meanings of ἐκδιδόναι see *e.g.* van Groningen [1963]; Mansfeld [1994] 6off.

122 An attempt to identify some of them is made by R. Kassel, in Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (Kassel [1976]). An authorial variant is accepted in Plato's *Cratylus* 437d1off. by Nicoll-Duke [1995] 269–271, and by Sedley [2003b] 6ff.

123 Puglia [1982] 21.

PHerc. 1012. The title of the work contained in PHerc. 1012 is unknown,¹²⁴ but we do know that it was a defense of the writings of Epicurus against incongruities and contradictions that some unnamed adversaries purported to have spotted. Demetrius availed himself of two possible procedures: one was to adduce a comparison with other Epicurean passages (the method of *Epicurum ex Epicuro σαφηνίζειν*, “explaining Epicurus by Epicurus himself”), thereby demonstrating that his opponents were wrong, due to ignorance or malice, while the other was to maintain that the master’s sentences had been distorted by careless scribes. In the latter case, Demetrius made extensive use of specific philological terminology, e.g. col. 25 ll. 1–2¹²⁵ διορθώσαντες εἰς ἀμαρτη[θέντ’] ἀντίγραφα; col. 25 ll. 3–4 γραφικῶν ἀμαρτημάτων; col. 25 l. 7 διέστρεψαν οἱ γραμματικοί; col. 21 ll. 4–5 διόρθωσις δὲ κακῆ γραφικᾶς ἀμαρτίας ποιεῖ; col. 44 ll. 7–9 τοῦτο εἰσάγειν τὸ ἀμάρτημα τοῦ γραφέως; col. 50 ll. 3–4 χωρὶς τοῦ γραφέως ἀμάρτημ’ εἰσάγεσθαι etc.

Some of Demetrius’ discussions can be almost entirely reconstructed. Some parts of coll. 31–32 are given here below:

—ἐκ τοῦ]των τῶν ἐπῶν το[ι]οῦτό [τι] | γε<γο>νός τῆς ἀμφι[βο]λίας ἐν|τροχάξε[ι]. “Νάστης Ἀμφίμα|⁵χός τε Νομείονος ἀγ[λα]ῖά τέ|[κ]να [δς] και χρυσὸν ἔχων πό|[λ]εμ[όνδ’] ἴε|ν”. και τα[ῦτα τὰ] | ἀμ[φι]βολ]α κτλ.

(...)

—ἀλλάξαντες | τὸ μὲν ἔλπισμα’ και ποήσαν|τες ἔνκατέλπισμα’, τὸ δὲ ‘πε|ρι ταύτης’ ἀλλάξαντες και | ποήσαντες τὸ ‘περι τοῦ|του’ κτλ.

...from these lines a type of ambiguity of this kind: “Nastes and Amphimachus, glorious sons of Nomion; who went to war covered in gold” (...).

(...)

Having changed *elpisma* and having transformed it into *enkatelpisma*, and having changed *peri tautes* and having transformed it into *peri toutou* (...).

In col. 31 there is a mention of a type of *amphibolia* and the Homeric lines of *Iliad* 2.871–872 are cited: the lines are taken from the final part of the Catalogue of Ships, and must have borne some relation to the question at issue:

124 De Falco [1923] 23 proposed *exempli gratia* ‘something like Περί τινων Ἐπικούρου δοξῶν, “On some opinions of Epicurus”; Croenert [1906] 115 a more polemical Δημητρίου Περί τινων ἀλόγως προστετριμμένων, “Demetrius: on some senseless accusations”.

125 Columns and lines are quoted according to the edition of E. Puglia [1988].

τῶν μὲν (*i.e.* τῶν Καρῶν) ἄρ' Ἀμφίμαχος καὶ Νάστης ἠγησάσθη,
 Νάστης Ἀμφίμαχος τε Νομίονος ἀγλαὰ τέκνα,
 ὃς καὶ χρυσὸν ἔχων πόλεμόνδ' Ἴεν ἠϋτε κούρη
 νήπιος κτλ.

These (*i.e.* the Carians) were led by captains twain, Amphimachus and Nastes—Nastes and Amphimachus, the glorious children of Nomion. And he came to the war all decked with gold, like a girl, fool that he was etc.¹²⁶

In antiquity, scholars wondered whether the one who went to war covered in gold was Amphimachus, as the syntax would appear to suggest, or Nastes, as Simonides believed (fr. 60 Page): see sch. A *Il.* 872a ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀμφιμάχου ἐστὶ τὸ “ὃς καὶ χρυσὸν ἔχων”, ὁ δὲ Σιμωνίδης ἐπὶ τοῦ Νάστου λέγει, “the sentence ὃς καὶ χρυσὸν ἔχων refers to Amphimachus, but according to Simonides it should be construed as referring to Nastes”.

In col. 32 there was certainly a discussion of what is now fr. 68 Usener, taken from Epicurus' *On the End* (Περὶ τέλους) and transmitted by Plutarch in the treatise *That Epicurus Actually Makes a Pleasant Life Impossible* 1089d in the form:

τὸ γὰρ εὐσταθὲς σαρκὸς κατάστημα καὶ τὸ περὶ ταύτης πιστὸν ἔλπισμα τὴν ἀκροτάτην χαρὰν καὶ βεβαιωτάτην ἔχειν τοῖς ἐπιλογίζεσθαι δυναμένοις.

The stable and settled condition of the flesh and the trustworthy expectation of this condition contain (...) the highest and the most assured delight for men who are able to reflect.¹²⁷

Demetrius shows awareness of two variants: ἐγκατέλπισμα instead of ἔλπισμα and περὶ τούτου instead of περὶ ταύτης; apparently he rejected them both.

Do the two columns deal with different problems, or the same problem? And does the *amphibolia* of col. 31 concern a problem already addressed (or one in which the discussion ends with the Homeric citation) or does it also continue in col. 32, thus involving fr. 68 Usener? The latter position is adopted by E. Puglia, who holds that the meaning of the sentence varies according to whether *κατάστημα* and *ἔλπισμα* are the subjects or objects of *ἔχειν*. Thus we would be dealing with an *amphibolia* of the most frequent type, *e.g.* Aristotle,

126 Transl. Murray [1924] I, 115.

127 Transl. Einarson-De Lacy [1967] 37.

Sophistical Refutations 166a τὸ βούλεσθαι λαβεῖν με τοὺς πολεμίους; [Aristotle], *Rhetoric to Alexander* 1435a δεινόν ἐστι τοῦτον τύπτειν τοῦτον.

A different opinion is put forward by A. Roselli, who rightly objects that the formulation with the verb in the infinitive and the subject in the accusative could well be an effect of Plutarch's paraphrase. Furthermore, it is hard to see a conceptual relationship between *Iliad* 2.871–872 and Epicurus' fr. 68. The ambiguity present in the Homeric lines (in which the problem resides in determining whether the subject of ἔν is Amphimachus or Nastes) seems to be of a completely different type. According to this interpretation, columns 31 and 32 are independent.¹²⁸

Be that as it may, in col. 32 the discussion focuses on two errors that could be merely mechanical, *i.e.* not due to a writer's intention to cast Epicurus in a bad light. Ἐγκατέλιπμα instead of ἔλιπμα is likely to be an *Echoschreibung* of κατάστημα, and περὶ τούτου instead of περὶ ταύτης is likely to have arisen through the influence of the neuters κατάστημα and ἔλιπμα.

Let us now take a look at col. 34:

ἀποστροφῆς τοῦ λόγου δυναμένης γενέσθ[αι]. καὶ κ[α]|θ' ὑπόβασιν δὲ τῶν
παρ[α]|⁵γεγραμμένων εἰς τὰ ἐδ[ά|φ]η τῶν ἀντιγράφων ἔσ|τιν εὔρε[ῖν] {εὐρεῖν}
γραφι|[κ]ᾶς ἀμαρ[τί]ας κειμένας |¹⁰ [π]αρὰ τοῖς περὶ τ[ὸ]ν Ἐπίκου|[ρον κτλ.

The terms ἀντίγραφα and γραφικαὶ ἀμαρτίαι are often used by Demetrius. The term ἐδάφη found in ll. 5–6 is, however, more obscure. In a study published in 2006, devoted above all to Galen, but also dealing with this passage from Demetrius, D. Manetti proposed that ἔδαφος should be taken as meaning “writing area”, in contrast with the μέτωπα, which would thus refer to the blank margins where the author jotted down second thoughts and variants which the *grapheus*, unaware of their function, often introduced into the text, with the consequences one can well imagine.

In short, there is only one genuinely obscure term: τὰ παραγεγραμμένα. Puglia takes it to mean “punctuation signs”, but I believe that A. Roselli is more likely to be correct in suggesting that the most probable supplement is τῶν παρεγγεγραμμένων, to be understood as *marginalia*, author's variants, ‘footnotes’.¹²⁹ This would also explain ὑπόβασις, penetrating, becoming inserted, which in Puglia's interpretation would create somewhat greater difficulty.

128 Roselli [1990] 122–123.

129 Roselli [1990] 124–125.

The overall thought expressed in col. 34 could be that certain ἀποστροφαι τοῦ λόγου are to be attributed to the introduction of material deriving from the margins into the text. It is not Epicurus who says meaningless things: rather, it is the *graphais* who render his words meaningless.

Another textual problem can be observed in col. 38:

—ή παν]|τὸς τοῦ ἀλγοῦντος ὑπεξαί|ρεσις. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ‘παντὸς’ διέλ|κεται κατὰ τὰ ἀντίγραφα, προσ|⁵τιθεμένου τοῦ ‘παντὸς’ ἐν | τισιν, ἐν δὲ τισιν μὴ προσ|τιθεμένου. κατὰ πάντα | δὲ τὰ κα[κ]ῶς ἔχοντα ἀντ[ι]|γραφα [γέ]γραπται ‘ἡ τοῦ ἀλ|¹⁰γοῦντος ἐξαίρεσις’ οὐχ ‘[ύ]|πεξαίρεσις’, [ὡς δηλο]ῖ τ[ὸ κα]|κένφατον τ[ὸ] τῆ[ς] ἐξ[αίρε]σ[ε]ως κτλ.

This column features a discussion on Epicurus’ third Principal Doctrine: ὄρος τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν ἡδονῶν ἢ παντὸς τοῦ ἀλγοῦντος ὑπεξαίρεσις. ὅπου δ’ ἂν τὸ ἡδόμενον ἐνῆ, καθ’ ὃν ἂν χρόνον ἦ, οὐκ ἔστι τὸ ἀλγοῦν ἢ λυπούμενον ἢ τὸ συναμφοτέρων:¹³⁰ “The limit of quantity in pleasures is the removal of all that is painful. Wherever pleasure is present, as long as it is there, there is neither pain of body nor of mind, nor of both at once” (D. L. 10.139).¹³¹

The line of reasoning involves a *lectio longior* and a *lectio brevior*. Both are meaningful, but Demetrius makes it clear that he prefers the *longior*.¹³² The most important variant from the conceptual point of view is undoubtedly the presence or absence of παντός,¹³³ but according to the reconstruction offered by Puglia, Demetrius seems to be more concerned with the other variant, stigmatized as “cachemphatic” (ll. 11–13).

Col. 41 discusses Epicurus’ fr. 578:

—καὶ Ἐπικούρου διαπορίαν νομίσει]|εν ἂν τις· “εἰ σοφὸς ἀνὴρ [τρ]οφῆς φροντιεῖ”, καίτοι [δ’] ο[ὐ] τως ἔχουσιν· “εἰ σοφὸς ἀνὴρ |⁵ ταφῆς φροντιεῖ”, τάχα πε|ριπεσῶν ἀν[τιγ]ράφοις ἐν οἷς, | ἐκτετραγμέν[ο]υ τοῦ ἀλ|φα, τε[λ]έσ[αι] τὸ ῥ[ῆμα] θέλων, τὸ | [ῥ]ῶ [καὶ τὸ δ γ]ραφεὺς ἐνέω|¹⁰[σ]ε[ν]. δῆ|λον οὕτως καὶ

130 Likewise, in the tenth Principal Doctrine one also reads (D. L. 10.142): οὐδαμῶθεν οὔτε τὸ ἀλγοῦν οὔτε τὸ λυπούμενον ἔχουσιν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ κακόν, “For they would be filling themselves full with pleasures from every source and never have pain of body or mind, which is the evil of life” (transl. Bailey [1926] 97).

131 Transl. Bailey [1926] 95.

132 Provided that πάντα τὰ κα[.]ῶς ἔχοντα is to be integrated κακῶς (as is indeed the preferred reading now) rather than καλῶς.

133 On the value of διέλκειν (ll. 3–4), see Roselli [1990] 128, according to whom the term does not mean “to vary” in the sense of the variant, as Puglia maintains on the basis of LSJ, but rather “to be the object of discussion”.

τὸ κε|[λεύειν Ἐ]πίκο[υρον μὴ φιλονικῆ]σαι, ποῖον ἂν ἐκδ]οχεῖον | [μετὰ τὸν
θάνατον τὸ] σῶμα | [δέχοιτο—

The object of contention concerns the variants ταφῆς and τροφῆς. According to Demetrius the only reading possible is ταφῆς, which, he maintains, was corrupted as a result of ἔκτρωσις, “gnawing”, “erosion”, of the letter *alpha*, which a scribe probably replaced with a *rho* and an *omikron*. The passage in question is also discussed by A. Roselli, who is not fully convinced that copies containing the reading τροφῆς genuinely existed, and prefers to think there may have been a malevolent distortion, trivializing the thought of Epicurus.¹³⁴ This is a plausible hypothesis. However, as to what Epicurus—who believed that after death we no longer exist—thought about ταφή, the answer is a foregone conclusion. Determining what he thought of τροφή is less self-evident. Making a decision as to whether a *sophos* should or should not address questions pertaining to everyday life is not a subject that is unworthy of a philosopher. Accordingly, it cannot be automatically assumed that Demetrius was launching a polemic against someone: he may simply have been illustrating how easily an *antigraphon* can become corrupted. But what seems remarkable to me, in this discussion, is the importance Demetrius awards to the material item of information. A modern philologist facing the task of assessing two variants of this type would not think of mice or mold, but would take it to be a visual or psychological error, given that ταφή and τροφή are graphically similar and conceptually complementary.

Further on, roughly from col. 63 onwards, Demetrius seems to focus less intensely on textual questions and more on exegesis. More than once he defends the Master against the most typical and predictable kind of attack: namely, that of attributing to him terminological uses incompatible with his thought. A case in point is found in coll. 64–65, concerning the word ἀναπνοή, which can have a specific sense—breathing in as opposed to breathing out—and a general sense, which includes both inspiration and expiration. Another case can be seen in coll. 66–68, where Demetrius comments on Epicurus’ statement that love for one’s offspring is *not* in accordance with nature. But Epicurus never made such an absurd assertion: he knew very well that nature *drives* men to love their offspring; on the other hand, he also knew that nature cannot prevent the existence of heartless parents.¹³⁵

Demetrius evidently holds the following position: attacks against Epicurus cannot be allowed to go unnoticed, even if they are fallacious and used merely

134 See Roselli [1990] 128–129.

135 Discussion of the passage in Blank [2001] 242–243.

as a pretext, because naive and untrained readers could be deceived. All readers should be alerted to the fact that despite possible differences in the manner of setting out doctrines, the doctrines themselves remain unchanged, and therefore there is no need to become agitated (ταράσσεισθαι). If the reader bases his interpretation on the meaning, rather than simply on the words, he will not be led astray. Thus in col. 69 Demetrius writes:

—τὸ μὲν] | βλεπόμενον ὡς εἰσὶν τι|νες ὑπομενετικαὶ διδασ|καλαὶ πολλῆς
εὐοδίας ἢ⁵ μᾶς κατὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν | πληρώσει, βλέποντας | ὡς οὐχ ὁμολογεῖται
τὰ ἄ|τοπα, δι' ὑπομονῆς δὲ τῆς | τούτων ἐλέγχει τοὺς κα|¹⁰[τ]ὰ τρυτὸν τὸν
τρόπον | διακαμό[ν]τας κτλ.

Based on ἐλέγχει (the first meaning of which is “to chide”) E. Puglia identifies τοὺς διακαμόντας of l. 11 with the opponents of the doctrine, who obstinately insist on (διακάμνειν = “to be obstinate” (?)) misinterpreting Epicurus’ words.¹³⁶ Blank¹³⁷ proposes a comparison with the closing phrases of book XIV of *Peri phuseos* by Epicurus, col. 43 ll. 6ff. Leone:¹³⁸

αὐτοὺς γὰρ δίκαιον φάσ|κε[ι]ν σολ[ο]ικίζειν ἢ συμ|πεφορηῆσθαι λελυμα[σ]
μέ|νους καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τύχης |¹⁰ τ[ῆ]ς φύσ[ε]ως αὐτῶν ὀρθὸν | ἐ[π]ιφορᾶς εἶδος.
οἱ δὲ μὴ | δι[ά] τινος ὀνόματος ἢ ὀνο[μασί]ας ἀδι[α]φ[ό]ρου κοι|νό[τ]ητα, τῶι
τε λελογισ|¹⁵μ[έν]ωι κ[α]ὶ τῶι τυχόν|τι [γι]νομένην, τῆς δι|αφ[ο]ρᾶς οὐκέτι
ἐπαισθα|νόμενοι, παντελῶς ἢ|συχίαν [ἐ]χέτωσαν.

The translators have seen the final words as referring to the opponents of the Epicurean school. But in actual fact this could also be a reassurance addressed to the followers, to ‘our people’. And the same holds true for col. 69 of PHerc. 1012, where ἐλέγχει τοὺς διακαμόντας could mean “shows that those who διακάμνουσι in this manner do so pointlessly, mistakenly”.

2.4 *Two Philologists Greater than Their Time: Panaetius and Galen*

Among the Stoic texts that have come down to us, there is nothing comparable to PHerc. 1012, but Stoicism did have among its exponents a highly competent *Textkritiker*: namely Panaetius of Rhodes. We have information on his linguistic-grammatical observations (fr. 155)¹³⁹ and on antiquarian questions

136 Puglia [1988] 242–243.

137 Blank [2001] 243.

138 See Leone [1984] 64, and Leone [1987] 54–55.

139 The fragments are numbered according to the edition of F. Alesse [1997].

(fr. 142–143) as well as on issues concerning literary authenticity (fr. 150–151). Of particular interest are fr. 145–148, which relate that Panaetius was uncertain as to the authenticity of Plato's *Phaedo*. This uncertainty is surprising: if Panaetius genuinely cast doubt on the Platonic authorship of *Phaedo*, our high esteem of him would be severely undermined. However, it could be merely the result of a misunderstanding by the author of the citations, or, more simply, Panaetius may have intended to say (as is true) that the doctrines on the immortality of the soul put forward in the *Phaedo* do not correspond to other Platonic doctrines on the same topic.

It is worth recalling that according to D. L. 3.37, Euphorion and Panaetius had drawn attention to the magmatic state of the *incipit* of Plato's *Republic*: “Euphorion and Panaetius relate that the beginning of the *Republic* was found several times revised and rewritten”, where “revised and rewritten” is the translation chosen by Hicks¹⁴⁰ for the participle ἐστραμμένην. But unfortunately it is hard to tell how far the στρέφειν may have been due to the intervention of the γραφείς and how far it can be attributed to second thoughts by Plato himself.¹⁴¹

Another extremely important passage is fr. 153 = Plutarch, *Life of Aristides* 1.6, where Panaetius unravels a question of homonymy by starting out from the type of characters written on a stele. Since the stele is engraved in writing using a post-Euclidean alphabet (*i.e.* the alphabet adopted officially in Athens in 403–402), it cannot refer to Aristides called “the Just”, who died shortly after 470 BC. The Homeric scholia often explain errors and confusions by appealing to the μεταγραμματισμός, *i.e.* the transition from more ancient to newer writing conventions. Panaetius may have drawn this argument from the Alexandrian scholars, but with the difference that his was not an abstract line of reasoning, but an argument based on a genuinely existing document.

From the point of view of awareness and theoretical maturity, in antiquity perhaps Galen¹⁴² was the only philologist greater than Panaetius. It is impossible to do justice to his prodigious activity in just a few lines. We are lucky enough to have the work of eminent scholars who have already performed this task, the foremost among them being D. Manetti and A. Roselli, but also Von Staden, Hanson, and many others whom we cannot name within the limited space available here. Thus we will restrict our observations to a brief overview.

Galen discusses the authenticity of works and passages, as do the other authors. But what distinguishes him from the latter is the fact of having

140 Hicks [1925] I, 311.

141 Dion. Hal. *Comp.* 6.25.33 (II, 133, 7ff. Us.-Rad.) subscribes to this second hypothesis. See Dorandi [2007] 21, and now the updated report by Regali [2012] 73 n. 278.

142 See Manetti in this volume.

profound—and direct—knowledge of the circulation of books, of autograph composition and its phenomenology.¹⁴³ Like all ancient scholars, he was inclined to identify that which was old with that which is authentic (a principle which in general is correct). He was aware of error typologies, even the least obvious among them, such as the penetration of marginal notes into the text.¹⁴⁴ He had knowledge of the errors of numerals written with letter symbols (indeed, he knew these errors were particularly frequent); he also knew the kind of errors due to μεταγραμματισμός from one alphabet to another, and he came close to identifying the concept of *lectio difficilior*.

The aspect that reveals the greatest distance of Galen and of all the ancients from Lachmannian philology is, once again, lack of familiarity with the psychological element of error. A case in point is the prooemium to the commentary *On Epidemics VI* (794.10–795.4 Kühn), which features a discussion on a correction introduced by Heraclides of Tarentum into Hippocrates' text. Galen attests to the fact that according to Heraclides the original reading was θύραι, but since the horizontal stroke of the letter (the μέση γραμμή) of the letter *theta* had apparently disintegrated, he concludes that the βιβλιογράφος probably read οὐραί.

2.5 *The Aristotelian Commentaries*

Earlier, we touched on the pre-history of the commentary, with a brief reference to 'Simonides' passage' and the Derveni Papyrus. But the first commentaries on a recognizably philosophical text belong to Crantor (3rd century BC), a philosopher of the Old Academy, mentioned several times with the designation of ἐξηγητής, and to the Stoic Posidonius (1st century BC). Both commentaries concern Plato's *Timaeus*. There may also have been a commentary Περὶ τῶν Τιμωνος Σίλλων by Sotion (Ath. 8.336d),¹⁴⁵ and also another represented by the anonymous *Theaetetus* Commentary (PBerol. inv. 9782), which Sedley

143 Manetti [1994], esp. p. 49.

144 Particularly clear (but not the only one on this subject) is the passage *On Epidemics I* (80.2–8 Wenkebach): "Sometimes, when I write two versions of the same concept, putting one in the text (κατὰ τὸ ὕφος), the other in one of the margins (ἐπὶ θάτερα τῶν μετώπων), so that I can take my time, later, in choosing one of the two, then what tends to happen is that the first person who copies the book actually transcribes both versions (ὁ πρῶτος μεταγράφων τὸ βιβλίον ἀμφότερα ἔγραψεν). And, if I don't notice what has happened, and I fail to correct the mistake, the mistake gets left there and the book starts to circulate in this very form".

145 Some have held that this work was an *attack* against Timon of Phlius, but in actual fact it must have been a genuine commentary, with a literary part and a philosophical part; Apollonides of Nicaea drew on the commentary by Sotion in order to compose a ὑπόμνημα

dates to the 1st century BC.¹⁴⁶ How these commentaries were organized is not known, but they focused on the same interests as the other cases seen so far: language and identification of the correct form of the text.¹⁴⁷

But from the point of view that concerns us here, the commentaries that were truly important, in that they founded a precise literary genre, are those on Aristotle. They begin from the moment when the exoteric works were brought to light, and therefore considerably later than the *floruit* of the Alexandrian school, of which they inherited the methods and goals.

The story of the reappearance of Aristotle's exoteric books,¹⁴⁸ recounted by Strabo,¹⁴⁹ partly has the air of a fairytale, but is partly realistic. They are said to have disappeared from the age of Theophrastus to the age of Sulla. A particularly controversial figure in this question is that of Apellicon of Teos,¹⁵⁰ who, having come into possession of the library of Aristotle and Theophrastus, worked on some of the books that had deteriorated, "supplementing them wrongly and editing them with a great quantity of blunders" (ἀναπληρῶν οὐκ εὖ, καὶ ἐξέδωκεν ἀμαρτάδων πλήρη τὰ βιβλία, Strab. 13.1.54).

Andronicus, the eleventh successor of Aristotle and first commentator of Aristotle's recovered works, is a key figure, if for no other reason than that he was the one who materially gave the *corpus Aristotelicum* roughly the structure it still has now.¹⁵¹ His activity was not merely redactional and ecdotic but also philological *stricto sensu*. Among the works he declared to be inauthentic, mention should be made of *On Interpretation* (see Alexander of Aphrodisias, *On Aristotle's Prior Analytics* 160.32–161.1 Wallies) and the final part of *Categories* (see Simplicius, *On Aristotle's Categories* 159.31–32 Kalbfleisch).¹⁵² His reason for issuing this judgment—which was also a typical manner of

on the *Silloi*. It is probably from this work that Diogenes Laertius took the citations from Timon: see Mejer [1978] 30 n. 61.

146 Sedley [1997] 112. But it is possible that the range of time was more extensive: 1st century BC–1st century AD (Bastianini-Sedley [1995] 515).

147 Sedley [1997] 116, 124.

148 Cf. Montana in this volume.

149 Cf. also Plut. *Sull.* 26. For a recent overview on this issue, see Primavesi [2007].

150 Cf. *e.g.* Moraux [1973] 30–31.

151 Moraux [1986] 131.

152 What Andronicus declared to be spurious has nevertheless come down to us. This does not demonstrate that there were rival editions, nor that Andronicus' judgment was ignored, but rather that the (exceptionally important) principle adopted by the Alexandrians had already gained widespread acceptance, namely, the principle that a judgment of inauthenticity did not imply the consequent physical suppression of what was held to be inauthentic.

reasoning displayed by these commentators¹⁵³—is illustrated by Ammonius, *On Aristotle's On Interpretation* 5.28–6.4:

When Andronicus heard Aristotle in the proemium of this book (16a3) calling thoughts (νοήματα) “passions of the soul” (παθήματα τῆς ψυχῆς) and adding (16a8) “these have been discussed in <my> *On the Soul*”, he failed to understand where in the course *On the Soul* the Philosopher called thoughts “passions of the soul” and, thinking it necessary for one of the two courses, this one and *On the Soul*, to be shown to be a counterfeit <work> of Aristotle, he considered he had to reject this one as spurious, rather than *On the Soul*.¹⁵⁴

Erudite activity did not involve only one genre. A distinction should be made between the epitome, the thematic essay on specific points, paraphrase, and the running commentary, though genre distinctions are naturally valid only up to a certain point¹⁵⁵ (in effect it would be helpful to make use of the definition proposed by F. Montanari, “text on a text” or “text about a text”).¹⁵⁶ But let us examine the running commentary, which was the predominant form. Its characteristic feature is the chapter-by-chapter analysis, or sentence by sentence, sometimes word by word. Strictly speaking, it does not presuppose a parallel text on the ‘facing page’, because the commentary practically rewrites the whole text from the beginning to the end. Effectively, by uniting the lemmata, one obtains an exemplar insertable into a stemma.

Scribal errors often impair the exact correspondence between the lemma and the commentary. For instance, the scribe may make a mistake while transcribing the lemma, in which case the explanation will refer to a reading that no longer exists. Some reader may then try to restore coherence, but there is no guarantee that this will be done correctly: if the procedure is not carried out properly, the reader is likely to adapt the (right) explanation to the (corrupted) lemma, with the result of corrupting the explanation as well. Or, *vice versa*, an error may occur in the explanation, resulting in an inappropriate correction of the lemma. At other times the error may lie in the source, as documented by the following small fragment from Sextus, *Against the Mathematicians* 7.111, the single witness for the greater part of the proem of Parmenides’ *Peri physeos*.

153 Some of the causes at the root of the judgments on falsity are indicated by Müller [1969]; often these were causes we would not imagine: see Barnes [1992] 267–268.

154 Transl. Blank [1996] 15.

155 For a typology of philological writings, see Dubischar in this volume.

156 Montanari [2011a] 15.

The beginning of l. 10 is cited in the form εἰς φάος. In the subsequent analysis of the passage, the expression reappears, but this time in the form ἐς φάος, which, as Sider points out, “probably came from another glance at his (*i.e.* Sextus’) exemplar”.¹⁵⁷ The opposition εἰς φάος vs ἐς φάος seems to be due to Sextus himself, and this is somewhat surprising: the ‘prose’ form εἰς is in the poetry citation, whereas the more poetic ἐς is found in the prose paraphrase. The text interventions further complicate the situation. When one is told that a certain reading “was found” (the verbs used are εὐρίσκειν, φέρειν etc.) in a given author, it is difficult to establish whether this is the fruit of a conjecture or a more ancient reading. To give only one example, when Alexander of Aphrodisias, in the commentary *On Metaphysics* 59.6–8, reports that Aspasius attested that in Aristotle’s *Metaphysics* 998a10–11 Eudorus and Euharmostus had emended an ἀρχαιοτέρα γραφή, one cannot tell whether the form Aspasius presented as a conjectural reading might not, more simply, have actually been the reading Eudorus and Euharmostus had found in their *Vorlage*.¹⁵⁸ Problems of this kind are not an isolated phenomenon in classical studies: they are well-known to Homeric scholars.

It was mentioned above that the reappearance of Aristotle’s exoteric works called a halt to research, redirecting scholarly activity towards systematization and clarification. But as R. Chiaradonna has pointed out, the return of these treatises into circulation was not a sudden event: it continued over several centuries, and could not be regarded as concluded until Alexander of Aphrodisias.¹⁵⁹ Indeed, the very importance of Andronicus in the ‘revival’ of Aristotelianism in the 1st century BC is today sometimes downplayed,¹⁶⁰ while on the other hand a certain familiarity with Aristotle’s fundamental views can be perceived even in authors such as Antiochus of Ascalon, although the latter, partly also for chronological reasons, had no experience of first-hand use of the Aristotelian school treatises.¹⁶¹

But the cultural background and the context in which the exoteric works became available again had already become receptive to the new frame

157 Sider [1985] 362.

158 See Barnes [1999] 11 and n. 40, although μεταγραφείσης ὕστερον cannot mean “later accepted”. Undoubtedly Aspasius and Alexander sincerely believed that Eudorus and Euharmostus had emended. The most common sense of μεταγράψαι is “altering a text”: see *e.g.* Cassio [2002] 107. On the passage forming the object of textual discussion, see Bonazzi [2005] 146ff.

159 Sharples [2007]; Chiaradonna [2011].

160 Note that Chiaradonna [2013] 30 writes “Andronicus’ ‘edition’” between inverted commas.

161 On this, see Chiaradonna [2013].

of mind.¹⁶² Between the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 1st century BC, Pythagoreanism and Skepticism had lost much of their impetus, or were only just beginning to experience a reawakening of interest. Stoicism, which had come under the influence of the Roman world, had lost its sheen and liveliness in the realm of theory. As far as Epicureanism is concerned, it persisted in its vocation of faithfulness to the Master's thought. If Sedley's basic theory is right, as I believe it is, then it is not incorrect to say that Lucretius set down Epicurean doctrine in verse without introducing any noteworthy innovation at all.¹⁶³ During the 2nd–1st centuries BC and 1st AD the tendency of philosophers to look back to the past had already become established. This is the tendency Seneca was challenging when he wrote *philosophia philologia facta est* (*Ep. Lucil.* 108.23), remarking that it was by now an entrenched habit for thinkers to draw up erudite commentaries on the authors of the past rather than putting these authors' precepts into practice.

Up to the 3rd century AD, Aristotelian commentaries were characterized by an absolute veneration for the Master.¹⁶⁴ The basic idea was that the truth had already been discovered—by Aristotle—and that a good follower of the Master should bring it back into the limelight, confute misguided interpretations of his words and clarify his vision for the benefit of those who are (or pretend to be) incapable of understanding it. And in effect, even in this first period the commentaries were well constructed, probing into the topics in considerable depth. So why did the production of commentaries on Aristotle continue for centuries? One reason is that the commentaries concerned the exoteric works, which were difficult, technical, and in need of exegesis. But above all, the commentaries continued because from a certain moment onwards they became a form of philosophical expression: being a philosopher began to coincide with the art of being a commentator.¹⁶⁵ In this period the Peripatetics focused almost entirely on Aristotle; Adrastus of Aphrodisias is the only Aristotelian who wrote commentaries on a figure other than Aristotle (Plato). After Epicureanism—which had a distinct history of its own—the

162 See e.g. Donini [1994] 5038ff.

163 Sedley [1998a]; as Gottschalk [1996] has clarified, Lucretius' innovations were due mainly to his *Romanitas* and his personal character.

164 None of them aspires to achieve that 'neutrality' which Galen would subsequently endeavor to respect—or so he claimed—in his commentaries on Hippocrates (Manuli [1983] 471–472). One has the impression that the Epicureans felt it was more important to reassert the infallibility of the Master than to pursue a disinterested search for truth (Gigante [1999] 50).

165 See Donini [1994] 5037–5038, 5042, 5053ff., and Fazzo [2004] 4ff.

Peripatos was the most ‘autistic’ school. In addition to investigating and studying the truth, scholars of the Peripatos busied themselves with cataloguing, putting in the proper order, perfecting and justifying the work of Andronicus.¹⁶⁶

The commentaries were founded on the idea that the whole of a text must be examined, in all its aspects. There was a precise order of events to be followed in the investigation: the enquiry started out from the author (the principle of *σ αφηγιζειν*) and then extended the range of vision to include a glance at other authors. As far as Aristotle was concerned, as time went on it would be above all Simplicius who would feel that it was important to quote actual passages from the Presocratic philosophers mentioned or alluded to by Aristotle.¹⁶⁷

Of course, the commentators of Aristotle often came across variants. The older a reading was, the more it was likely to be reliable—so they reasoned, on the assumption that the older commentators had respect for the text whereas the newer generations had no scruples about altering it. In contrast to Galen, the Aristotelian commentators did not specifically concern themselves with issues of *theoretical* text criticism,¹⁶⁸ but they were well aware of such aspects; particular attention to these problems was shown by Alexander of Aphrodisias, who cites commentaries and variants, and hypothesizes lacunae and translocations.

During the imperial age the running commentary gradually became sclerotized into a single fixed form, with a precise subdivision into parts. One of the elements always present was the *prolegomena*, which addressed a series of preliminary questions such as authenticity, relations with the rest of the *corpus*, etc. This repetitiveness can be explained in the light of scholastic teaching. The teacher, who has already composed a commentary on Aristotle, utilizes his own commentary when holding lessons at school. His pupils take notes. Over time, a pupil then himself becomes a teacher, and in order to comment on Aristotle, he will—quite naturally—draw on his old teacher’s notes, integrating them with his own observations, but without taking care to distinguish the other man’s work from his own additions, since such a distinction was regarded as being of no significance from the point of view of the user. The composite commentaries gradually acquired a typical shape,

166 On this aspect of Aristotelian exegesis belonging to the first period, see *e.g.* Montanari [2006a] 11–12.

167 See Baltussen [2002], esp. pp. 175 and 182.

168 With regard to Galen and his manner of dealing with *Textkritik* on the theoretical level, the work of Manetti-Roselli [1994], *passim*, remains fundamental.

characterized by the peaceful coexistence of similar—or at times identical, or possibly incompatible—sections.¹⁶⁹

It goes without saying that the texts that most frequently became the object of a commentary were those which were felt to be of the greatest interest, namely the works of the *Organon*, especially *Categories*, considered as the most outstanding among the exoteric works.¹⁷⁰

Interest also focused on *Metaphysics* and on the treatises dealing with theoretical physics (*Physics*, *On the Heavens*, *On Coming-to-be and Passing-away*, *Meteorologics*), whereas works concerning specific physical problems aroused considerably less interest. A certain amount of attention was devoted to biology, and also to the *Nicomachean* and *Eudemian Ethics*. On the other hand, there was total indifference towards *Politics*, which discussed issues no longer felt to be of current relevance. Nor did *Politics* easily lend itself to use as a source from which to draw *excerpta*, given its unadorned style. Plato's work met with a similar fate, with interest focusing on *Timaeus*, but not the *Republic*.¹⁷¹

A similar sclerotization can be noted in various other forms of handbooks, such as grammatical treatises. They were composed according to a rigidly constructed format, which over time was applied even more intransigently instead of allowing a degree of flexibility, despite the major cultural changes—some of momentous impact—taking place in the course of the centuries (to mention just one: the transition from paganism to christianity). But what is worth pointing out is that these works increasingly staked out a central role for themselves: logic, rhetoric and grammar, exploiting *pro domo sua* the examples of the past, claimed a position as ἀρχή of all the other sciences. Suffice it to call to mind Isidorus of Seville and his conception of grammar as the basis of philosophy and *therefore* as philosophy in its own right, the buttress that holds up the entire edifice of knowledge.¹⁷²

This was a sign, unequivocally, that the Medieval era had now begun.

169 On this aspect, which is in any case well known, see *e.g.* Fazzo [2004] 5–6.

170 See Rashed [2007] 42. A new commentary on *Categories* (by Porphyry?) has been identified in the Archimedes Palimpsest: cf. Chiaradonna-Rashed-Sedley [2013].

171 See *e.g.* Donini [1994] 5040.

172 Fontaine [1983²] 54.

Mythography

Claudio Meliadò

- 1 *The Origins of Mythography*
- 2 *The Birth of Scientific Mythography*

What was mythography in ancient times? The answer to this question cannot be easily deduced from the occurrences of terms such as “mythographers” and “mythography” (understood as a literary genre). *Μυθογράφοι* is used for the first time by Polybius, who in *The Histories* 4.40.2 classifies the mythographers together with poets, as witnesses on whom to base knowledge of the world; in this context the mythographers are probably to be identified with the first logographers, who were authors of *Genealogies*.¹ This association also occurs in later writers and in some cases it is the poets themselves who are called *μυθογράφοι*. In this sense an *excerptum* of Diodorus Siculus handed down by Eusebius of Caesarea is characteristic (*Praep. evang.* 2.2.54 = Diod. Sic. 6., fr. 1): among the historians (ιστορικοί) Euhemerus of Messene is mentioned, while poets such as Homer, Hesiod and Orpheus are considered as mythographers. As regards the latter, Philon (*De spec. leg.* 1.28) states in the same way that in order to charm the readers of their works they had adapted the falsehood to the melodies, rhythms and metres (πρὸς δὲ τὸ εὐπαράγωγον μέλεσι καὶ ῥυθμοῖς καὶ μέτροις ἐνηρμόσαντο τὸ ψεῦδος, νομίζοντες ῥαδίως καταγοητεύσειν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας).

In a more general perspective, the mythographer (*μυθογράφος*) was he who narrated a myth (*μυθογραφεῖν*), either in prose or in poetry. In this sense the term is used by Strabo (4.1.7) with reference to Aeschylus who had been attacked by the philosopher-scientist Posidonius because, in his *Prometheus Unbound*, he had tried to explain the origins of the “Stony Plain”, situated between Massilia and the mouth of the Rhodanus river, narrating that Heracles had found himself without arrows and Zeus, in order to help him in the fight against the Ligurians, had made stones rain down from a cloud, which the hero of Tiryns had then used to beat his enemies.

1 Cf. Diod. Sic. 4.14.4 Ζεὺς γὰρ πρώτη μὲν ἐμίγη γυναικὶ θνητῇ Νιόβῃ τῇ Φορωνέως, ἐσχάτη δ’ Ἀλκμήνῃ· ταύτην δ’ ἀπὸ Νιόβης ἑκαταδεκάτην οἱ μυθογράφοι γενεαλογοῦσιν.

1 The Origins of Mythography

The first narrator of myths in prose was Hecataeus of Miletus (550–480 BC),² an author of *Genealogies*, which the sources also called *Histories* or Ἡρωολογία³ (*Heroic Tale*), as well as of a work of a geographical nature, the *Periegesis*, written at the end of the sixth century accompanied by a sort of map, the Περίοδος γῆς, in which a description of the lands known until then appeared.

His activity is usually seen from two points of view. One approach sees him as the inventor of genealogical chronography and the rationalistic exegesis of mythical traditions;⁴ the other denies him the merit of being the father of historical research and considers him merely as a continuer of the Hesiodic tradition: thus in this interpretation the only novelty he introduced would be the transformation into prose of material dealt with by poets.⁵ The main features of his *Genealogies* can however be drawn from the opening phrase of the work preserved for us by Ps.-Demetrius (*Eloc.* 12 = Hec. fr. 1 Fowler):

Ἐκαταῖος Μιλήσιος ὧδε μυθεῖται· τάδε γράφω, ὡς μοι δοκεῖ ἀληθέα εἶναι· οἱ γὰρ Ἑλλήνων λόγοι πολλοί τε καὶ γελοῖοι, ὡς ἐμοὶ φαίνονται, εἰσίν.

Thus says Hecataeus of Miletus: I write these words as they seem to me to be true; for the stories of the Greeks, as they seem to me, are many and ludicrous. (Transl. by Fowler [2001] 101)

What emerges clearly from this proem is the embarrassment of the historian in the face of the contradictory nature of innumerable and ridiculous stories. If previously it was the authority of the poet inspired by the Muses which guaranteed the veracity of the song, for Hecataeus instead the only 'yardstick' is the author's opinion. In fact he does not limit himself to recording the traditions he encounters but makes a *krisis* of his sources so as to be able to create interpretations that respond to a precise criterion of likelihood. Proof of this is, for

2 Bertelli [2001].

3 From a *Heroologia* of Anaximander of Miletus (to be identified with the historian of the first part of the fourth century BC mentioned by D. L. 2.2 and by *Suidas* s.v. Ἀναξίμανδρος) only one certain fragment remains: Ath. (*Deipn.* 11.99 p. 498a = Anax. fr. 1 Fowler) informs us that Anaximander had used, as did Hesiod before him in the *Melampodia* (fr. 271–272 M.-W.), the form σκύπφος instead of σκύφος; the fragment is also important as it states that in the view of Anaximander, Pterelaus was the son of Teleboas, in his turn the son of Poseidon, while Pterelaus is usually given as the father of Teleboas. Cf. Schubart [1832], pp. 62–63.

4 So for example Jacoby [1912a] 2667ff.

5 Pearson [1939] 105ff.

instance, his explanation about the real nature of Cerberus the “dog of Hades” of Cape Taenarum (Paus. 3.25.4 = Hec. fr. 27 Fowler):

ἄκρα Ταίναρον [...] ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ἄκρῃ ναὸς εἰκασμένος σπηλαίῳ καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἀγαλμα. ἐποίησαν δὲ Ἑλλήνων τινὲς ὡς Ἡρακλῆς ἀναγάγοι ταύτηι τοῦ Ἄιδου τὸν κύνα [...]. ἀλλὰ Ἑκαταῖος μὲν ὁ Μιλήσιος λόγον εὖρεν εἰκότα, ὄφιν φήσας ἐπὶ Ταινάρῳ τραφήναι δεινόν, κληθῆναι δὲ Ἄιδου κύνα, ὅτι ἔδει τὸν δηχθέντα τεθάναι παραυτίκα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰοῦ· καὶ τοῦτον ἔφη τὸν ὄφιν ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους ἀχθῆναι παρ’ Εὐρυσθέα.

On the promontory (*sc.* Taenarum) is a temple like a cave, with a statue of Poseidon in front of it. Some of the Greek poets state that Heracles brought up the hound of Hades here [...]. But Hecataeus of Miletus gave a plausible explanation, stating that a terrible serpent lived on Taenarum, and was called the hound of Hades, because anyone bitten was bound to die of the poison at once, and it was this snake, he said, that was brought by Heracles to Eurystheus. (Transl. by Jones [1926] 159–161)

Among the criteria to establish the veracity of a story, Hecataeus therefore paid attention to the possible linguistic misunderstandings caused for example by homonymy. This certainly does not make him a rationalist *tout court*; one has the impression that in his *Genealogies* he has attempted to demythicize some elements in the narration that provoked particular surprise and incredulity, with the aim of strengthening the reliability of the tale. On the whole, he does not seem to have had doubts about the traditional mythological system.

Acusilaus of Argos,⁶ who lived in the sixth century BC or more probably in the first half of the fifth, also wrote *Genealogies*. *Suidas s.v.* Ἀκουσίλαος (test. 1 Fowler) defines him as “the oldest of the investigators” (ἱστορικὸς πρεσβύτατος) and reports a legend according to which he wrote his work on the basis of the text of some bronze tablets, found by Cabas, his father, digging somewhere in his house. From Welcker⁷ onwards this tradition has been considered a late invention, but, even though it was Acusilaus himself who stated this, it could represent an interesting parallel for the use that Herodotus would make of Theban inscriptions of the archaic period, which he had interpreted with reference to the breed of the Labdacids.

6 Mazzarino [1966] 60–70; Dowden [1992] 30; Toye [1995]; Calame [2004]; Pàmias [2008] 166–169; Fontana [2012].

7 Welcker [1844] 444.

During the writing of his *Genealogies*, in at least three books, he had probably used material found in the epic poems written before his time: he followed the *Phoronis* making Phoroneus, the “first man”, the father of Niobe (mother of Argos and Pelasgus) and of Sparton (father of Mykeneus), thereby foreshadowing the conflict between Mykene and Argos that led to the destruction of the former in 468 BC (fr. 24 Fowler). Because of his dependence on poetic sources, in particular on Hesiod, he had been accused of plagiarism for having limited himself to transforming into prose what his predecessors had expressed in poetry (Clem. Al. *Strom.* 6.26.8 = test. 5 Fowler); however, this opinion is not completely trustworthy if we consider what can be deduced from the fragments of Acusilaus. In the *Bibliotheca* attributed to Apollodorus (2.1.1), it is stated that according to Acusilaus (fr. 25 Fowler), Pelasgus was the son of Zeus and Niobe, while Hesiod (fr. 160 M.-W.) had defined him as ἀυτόχθονος (“born from the earth”). Similarly, while according to the poet of Ascra (fr. 131 M.-W.), the daughters of Proetus had gone mad for not having accepted the Dionysiac rites, Acusilaus had attributed the reason of their folly to the fact that they had not honored a statue of Hera (fr. 28 Fowler).⁸ All this confirms what was stated by Flavius Joseph (*Apion.* 16 = Acus. test. 6 Fowler):

περίεργος δ' ἂν εἶην ἐγὼ τοὺς ἐμοῦ μᾶλλον ἐπισταμένους διδάσκων ὅσα μὲν Ἑλλάνικος Ἀκουσιλάω περι τῶν γενεαλογιῶν διαπεφώνηκεν, ὅσα δὲ διορθοῦται τὸν Ἡσίοδον Ἀκουσίλαος.

It would be superfluous for me to instruct those who know more than I how much Hellenicus disagreed with Acusilaus on the genealogies, how often Acusilaus corrects Hesiod. (Transl. by Barclay [2007] 18)

In the *Genealogies* there were also alternative versions about the fleece captured by the Argonauts, which in reality was not golden but turned purple by the sea (fr. 37 Fowler), and as regards the Trojan war, provoked by Aphrodite to bring about the defeat of the breed of Priam and to favour the descendants of Anchises (fr. 39 Fowler).

Probably of the same period as Acusilaus was Pherecydes of Athens.⁹ Despite the condition of information about him in *Suidas Lexicon*, in which a certain confusion with two other homonymous writers of Syros and of Leros occurs, it is possible, with a high degree of certainty, to attribute to him a genealogical work, on the basis of the evidence of Diogenes Laertius (1.119) and of Dionysius

8 Kowalzig [2007] 276.

9 Dolcetti [2004].

of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* 1.13.1): the former informs us that according to Andron of Ephesus two “Pherecydes” who were natives of Syros had existed, the astrologist and the theologian, Pythagoras’ master; instead, Eratosthenes believed that only one Pherecydes came from Syros, while a γενεαλόγος (“genealogist”) with the same name was Athenian; to this can be added the eloquent statement by Dionysius who defines the Pherecydes in question as γενεαλόγων οὐδενὸς δεύτερος (“not inferior to any of the genealogists”). His *Ἱστορίαι* in ten books, a possible but not certain title of the Pherecydean text, judging from the extant fragments with the indication of which book they belonged to, may have had a division κατὰ γένος; the author should have systematically treated the stories about the characters belonging to each single race. Uhl¹⁰ therefore supposes that the work had a three-part structure: Inachides (Books 1–5),¹¹ Deucalionides (Books 5–8)¹² and Atlantides (Books 8–10).¹³ The reconstruction proposed by P. Dolcetti is more complex: the first book may have been taken up by the first part of the race of Asopus (descendants of Aegina and Salamina) and by the race of Inachus; this theme was continued in the second book (Heracles), in the third (Heraclides), in the fourth (race of Agenor) and in the fifth (Cadmus, Dionysus and Theban races), which included the first part of the treatment of the race of Deucalion, that goes as far as part of the eighth book, where it gives place to the second part of the race of Asopus (descendants of Arpin: Oenomaus, Ippodamia, Pelops and Pelopides). This fills the ninth book (Trojan war and Νόστοι and other descendants of Pelops) and the tenth (descendants of Antiope). We can have a fairly clear idea of how detailed and wide the treatment of the myth by Pherecydes was from some fragments preserving quotations of his *ipsissima verba*. For example, fr. 105 Fowler about the events that were at the basis of the Argonaut venture:

Ἔθνε τῷ Ποσειδῶνι ὁ Πελῆης, καὶ προεῖπε πᾶσι παρῆναι· οἱ δὲ ἦῖσαν οἳ τε ἄλλοι πολῖται καὶ ὁ Ἰήσων. ἔτυχε δὲ ἀροτρεύων ἐγγυὸς τοῦ Ἀναύρου ποταμοῦ, ἀσάμβαλος δὲ διέβαινε τὸν ποταμόν, διαβάς δὲ τὸν μὲν δεξιὸν ὑποδεῖται πόδα· τὸν δὲ ἀριστερὸν ἐπιλήθεται, καὶ ἔρχεται οὕτως ἐπὶ δειπνον. ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Πελῆης

10 Uhl [1963] 83ff.

11 1. Pelasgians-Arcades, Asopides, Athenians; 2. A catalogue of the Danaides, breed of Lynceus, Heracles (first part of the twelve labours); 3. The continuation of the labours and other feats, descendants of Heracles; 4. Races of Agenor and Phoenix, descendants of Europa, Cadmus; 5. Cadmus and Theban families.

12 5. Hellenus, Aeolus; 6. Atamas, Creteus, Argonauts; 7. Argonauts, race of Creteus, Deion; 8. Alcestis, Eleoetolic races.

13 8. Tantalus, Sterope; 9. Electra-Dardanus, Taygete; 10. Alcyone.

συμβάλλει τὸ μαντήϊον, καὶ τότε μὲν ἠσύχασε, τῇ δ' ὕστεραίη μεταπεμψάμενος αὐτὸν ἤρετο ὅ τι <ἄν> ποιοίη εἰ αὐτῷ χρησθεῖη ὑπὸ τοῦ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀποθανεῖν· ὁ δὲ Ἰήσων, πέμψαι ἂν εἰς Αἴαν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ κῶας τὸ χρυσόμαλλον, ἄξοντα ἂν ἀπὸ Αἰήτεω. ταῦτα δὲ τῷ Ἰήσωνι Ἡρῆ ἐς νόον βάλλει, ὡς ἔλθοι ἡ Μήδεια τῷ Πελίῳ κακόν.

Pelias was sacrificing to Poseidon, and summoned all to attend. Among the citizens who came was Jason. He happened to be ploughing near the river Anauros, which he crossed without his sandals on; once across he tied on the right one, but forgot the left, and thus he came to the feast. Pelias saw him and understood the oracle. For the time being he kept quiet, but the next day he sent for him and asked what he would do if he had an oracle saying that one of the citizens would kill him; Jason replied that he would send him to fetch the golden fleece from Aietes. Hera put this in Jason's mind so that Medea's arrival would spell doom for Pelias. (Transl. by Fowler [2006] 39)

Among the constant elements of the Pherecydean tales there emerges, according to Dolcetti,¹⁴ the attempt to blend different traditions, harmonizing them in order to present a consistent and exhaustive treatment, sometimes almost rationalistic. Fowler, on the other hand, argues that "Pherecydes seems to have given his genealogies straight, without qualification, variants, or anxiety about truthfulness".¹⁵

An author of *Genealogies* in three books and of a *Περὶ εὐρημάτων* (*On discoveries*) was Simonides of Ceus, writing in the second half of the fifth century BC, perhaps the grandson of the more famous lyrical poet. Only two fragments remain of the first work: they deal with the two daughters of Itonus, Athena and Iodama, who was killed by her sister (Sim. fr. 1 Fowler),¹⁶ and with the genealogy of Ancaeus, the son of Poseidon and of Astypalaea.¹⁷

Of the same period as Thucydides, but older, was Hellanicus,¹⁸ probably a native of Mitylene. Tradition attributes at least 23 works to him, in prose and in verse according to *Suidas* s.v. Ἑλλάνικος, classifiable in three main groups:

14 Dolcetti [2004] 34.

15 Fowler [2001] 104.

16 On the fragment, Kowalzig [2007] 363 n. 75.

17 For Jacoby [1957] 480, the work of Andron of Halicarnassus, author of *Συγγένεια* or *Συγγενικά* (*Relationships*) in at least eight books, can be attributed to a phase of transition between the genealogies and the works of a strictly historiographical nature.

18 Pearson [1939] 152–235; Toye [1995]; Fowler [1996]; Möller [2001]; Ambaglio [2005].

to the first phase of his activity belong his works of a mythographical-genealogical nature (*Phoronis, Deukalioneia, Atlantis, Asopis, Troika*)¹⁹ and the ethnographic works (*Argolika, Boiotika, Thessalika, Aigyptika, Expedition to the Shrine of Ammon, On Lydia, On Arcadia, Origins of Cities and Tribes, On the Foundation of Chios, Barbarian Customs*); later he devoted himself to the writing of chronicles (*Victors at the Carneia, Priestesses of Hera at Argos, Atthis*).²⁰

In the *Phoronis*, perhaps in two books, he reconstructed the history of the Pelasgians, and also described their stationing in Thessaly and in Italy, where they took the name of Tyrrenians (Etruscans). Among the surviving fragments no reference appears to the mythical founder of the race, Phoroneus, the first man, but it is probable that Hellanicus dealt with the genealogies of his three sons (Iasus, Pelasgus and Agenor) systematically, describing them separately. The second book was partly dedicated to Heracles, to the expedition against Troy and to his labours: for example, fr. 102 names Bembina, a place near Nemea; fr. 103 refers to the battle against the Hydra of Lerna, fr. 104a to the birds Stymphalides, fr. 111 to the oxen of Geryones.

The structure of the *Deukalioneia* is difficult to reconstruct. It may possibly begin, as Pearson²¹ hesitantly proposes, with the flood, then dealing with the story of Ionians, Dorians and Aeolians, the Hellenic tribes descending from Dorus, Xuthus and Aeolus, three grandsons of Deucalion, the sons of Hellenus. The story of the Argonautic venture could have been placed in the section regarding Aeolus, who had received the kingdom of Thessaly from Hellenus, and his descendents.²² Kullmer²³ proposes a different reconstruction, according to which the work in Book 1 dealt with Deucalion, the flood and the foundation of the first cities, the descendants of Deucalion and their spreading throughout Thessaly and into the bordering lands, with particular attention to

19 According to Möller [2001] 250 “in the *Deukalioneia, Phoronis, Asopis, and Atlantis* he reduced the mass of mythological tales and genealogies to just four ancestors. He managed to tell the stories of those four ‘lineages’ in a parallel and synchronistic manner, leading to the generation of the Trojan war, which he described in the *Troika*”.

20 Such a large number of titles might be due to the fact that ancient authors may have referred to the same work when citing a subtitle or title of a section. For example, Pearson [1939] 170 suggests dividing the *Phoronis* into three parts (or books), and identifying the first, concerning the descendants of Agenor and the Theban saga, with the *Boiotika*, the second, connected to the race of Iasus and Heracles, with the *Argolika*, the third, centering on the descendants of Pelasgus, with the *Thessalika*.

21 Pearson [1939] 176.

22 As Ambaglio [2005] 137 conjectures.

23 Kullmer [1902].

the race of Aeolus. The second book might have contained the narration of the propagation of the Hellenic tribes in Asia.

The other mythographic works (the *Atlantis*, the *Asopis* and the *Troika*) are connected to the Trojan war. In Book 1 of the *Atlantis* a Homeric *scholion* (Il. 18.486) places the catalogue of the divine lovers of six of the seven daughters of Atlas and of the children of each couple: Taygete and Zeus gave birth to Lacedaemon, Maya and Zeus to Hermes, Electra and Zeus to Dardanus,²⁴ Alcyone and Poseidon to Hyrieus, Sterope and Ares to Oenomaus, Celaeno and Poseidon to Lycus.²⁵ Fr. 21 lists the names of the children of Niobe, who had married Amphion, a descendent of Alcyone and Poseidon, and was the daughter of Tantalus and therefore sister of Pelops. The latter is the protagonist of fr. 157, dealing with his relationship with Hippodamia, daughter of Oenomaus (perhaps the grandson of that Oenomaus who was born from the union of Sterope and Ares), and the curses he sent down on his children, Atreus and Thyestes. Almost nothing can be said about *Asopis*. The only explicit reference to this work is in a passage of *The life of Thucydides* by Marcellinus (2–4 = fr. 22), from which we learn that, like Pherecydes, Hellanicus likewise considered Miltiades as a descendent of Aeacus. The *Troika* were in at least two books: the first had an exclusively genealogical character, while the second was devoted to the story of the events of the Trojan war. The work, in which the author tried, among other things, to clarify obscure elements in the Homeric poems, sometimes giving an interpretation of a rationalising nature, might have contained references to the wanderings of Aeneas and Odysseus.

A genealogical treatment of the Trojan Saga is suggested by the title of the *Περὶ γονέων καὶ προγόνων τῶν εἰς Ἴλιον στρατευσαμένων* (*On the sons and grandsons of those who fought against Troy*) of Damastes of Sigeus, pupil or master of Hellanicus.²⁶ Nothing remains of this work in two books, mentioned by *Suidas* s.v. *Δαμάστης* (Dam. test. 1 Fowler) and it can possibly be identified with the *Γενεαλογία τῶν ἐπὶ Ἴλιον στρατευσάντων Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων* (*Genealogy of the Greeks and of the Barbarians who fought at Troy*) of Polus of Acragas, about which *Suidas* s.v. *Πῶλος* (test. 1 Fowler) notes that somebody attributed the work to Damastes (τινὲς δὲ αὐτὸ Δαμάστου ἐπιγράφουσι).

24 Fr. 23 attributes information about Dardanus and Electra to the first book of the *Troika*, therefore Sturz [1826] 103 proposed considering this work as a section of the *Atlantis*. Instead Pearson [1939] 181 believes that *Atlantis* and *Asopis* were parts of the *Troika*.

25 A similar treatment is also present in *P.Oxy.* 8.1084, attributed by Hunt to the *Atlantis*. *Contra* Pearson [1939] 177–178.

26 On the chronological relation between the two authors, see Gallo [2005].

After Hellanicus, we find evidence of other works dedicated to the Trojan Saga with the title *Troika*;²⁷ only two fragments survive of the text of Metrodorus of Chius (second half of the fourth century BC); from the first (fr. 1 Fowler = Ath. *Deipn.* 4.82 p. 184) we learn that it was Marsyas who had invented the *syrix* and the *aulos*, the second (fr. 2 = *Sch. Il.* 21.444c) is about the service carried out by Poseidon and Apollon to Laomedon. We know nothing certain about the grammarian Palaephatus (*FGrHist* 44),²⁸ born in Egypt or Athens, author among other things of *Trojan Stories* (Τρωικά) in seven books, of which we possess three brief quotations containing historical-geographical information about Asia Minor. Between the third and the second century BC Hegesianax of Alexandria in Troas published his *Troika* under the pseudonym of Kephalon or Kephalion of Gergitha (*FGrHist* 45 T 7).²⁹ Of the ten surviving fragments of this work, only two mention the title: *FGrHist* 45 F 1 attributes to Hegesianax (with the specification “author of the *Troika* of Kephalon”, ὁ δὲ τὰ Κεφάλωνος ἐπιγραφόμενα Τρωικά συνθείς) the idea that Cycnus who had duelled with Achilles had been brought up at Leucophrys by the bird whose name he bore; the second fragment (*FGrHist* 45 F 2) derives from the *manchette* of one of the *Narrationes* of Parthenius of Nicaea, who states that the story of Oenone had been narrated by Nicander in his work *On poets* (fr. 13 Schneider) and by Kephalon of Gergitha ἐν Τρωικοῖς.³⁰

Around 400 BC, Herodorus³¹ dealt with some mythical traditions that bore a connection with his native land, Heracleia on Pontos. We know almost nothing about his life: Aristoteles in his *Historia Animalium* (6.5 p. 563a 7 = test. 1a Fowler) defines him as “father of the sophist Bryson” (Βρύσωνος τοῦ σοφιστοῦ πατήρ), the latter known as a pupil of Platon and object of the comic ‘arrows’ of Ehippus (fr. 14 K.-A.), who in order to censure his greed had coined the *hapax* Βρυσωνοθρασυμαχειοληψικέρματος (“who takes a little coin like Bryson and Thrasymachus”).

The works which can be attributed with certainty to Herodorus are two, written probably in Ionic dialect: in the first he discussed, in at least seventeen books, the facts relating to Heracles (ὁ καὶ Ἡρακλῆα λόγος); in the second, whose title might have been *Argonautika* or *Argonautai* (sources vary between the two forms), dealt with the Argonautic Saga. He may also have written a

27 See below for the *Troika* of Dionysius Skytobrachion.

28 Wipprecht [1892] 49–53; Schrader [1893] 43–48; Ippolito [2007].

29 Lightfoot [1999] 391–393; Cameron [2004] 124–125; Pagani [2005b].

30 Tradition preserves the memory of the *Troika* of Abas (*FGrHist* 46), of Servius (*FGrHist* 47) and of Theodorus of Ilion (*FGrHist* 48).

31 Fraser [1972, 1] 627–632; Desideri [1991]; Borin [1995].

Pelopeia. Judging from the content of the fragments, transmitted mostly by the scholiographic documentation, his aim was not to offer, like the previous mythographers, an arrangement of the myths, but rather to draw up, at least for the stories regarding the eponymous hero of his city, a sort of encyclopaedic, almost romanced, account, rich in astronomical, geographical and zoological information.

Furthermore, it cannot be excluded that he had rationalistic and allegorical tendencies:³² basing himself in fact on the double meaning of the term *ἄετός*, interpretable both as *eagle* and as the name of a river, he stated that Prometheus had been a Scythian king whom his subjects had chained up because, after a flooding of the Aetos, he had not been able to ensure them the necessities of life. Heracles intervened, deviated the course of the river into the sea and freed the king from his imprisonment (fr. 30 Fowler). An allegorical interpretation is recognisable in fr. 13 Fowler (Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.15):³³

Ἡρόδωρος δὲ τὸν Ἡρακλέα μάντιν καὶ φυσικὸν γενόμενον ἱστορεῖ παρὰ Ἄτλαντος τοῦ βαρβάρου τοῦ Φρυγῶς διαδέχεσθαι τοὺς τοῦ κόσμου κίονας, αἰνιττομένου τοῦ μύθου τὴν τῶν οὐρανίων ἐπιστήμην μαθήσει διαδέχεσθαι.

Herodorus recounts that Heracles, who was a soothsayer and a naturalist, received from Atlas, a barbarian from Phrygia, the “Columns of the world”: but the myth really means that he received, through learning, the knowledge of celestial things.

Similarly, his vision of the conquest of the apples of the garden of the Hesperides is very eloquent (fr. 14 Fowler = Io. Antioch. *Archaeol.* 1 fr. 6.2 Roberto). In fact according to Herodorus, Heracles had to kill the snake of evil passions (τὸν πολυποίκιλον τῆς πικρᾶς ἐπιθυμίας λογισμὸν) with the club of philosophy (διὰ τοῦ ῥοπάλου τῆς φιλοσοφίας), wearing a lion skin to indicate the nobility of the spirit (ἔχοντα περιβόλαιον φρόνημα ὡς δορὰν λέοντος). Moreover the apples symbolized three virtues, abstention from anger, greed and hedonism (τὸ μὴ ὀργίζεσθαι, τὸ μὴ φιλαργυρεῖν, τὸ μὴ φιληδονεῖν).

32 Jacoby [1957] 502; Ramelli-Lucchetta [2004] 207.

33 It is possible that Herodorus interpreted rationalistically the figure of the snake guarding the golden fleece: cf. Fowler [1996] 70.

2 The Birth of Scientific Mythography

The birth of the μυθογραφία, understood as “attività di registrazione e trasmissione scritta dei materiali narrativi e descrittivi che per convenzione secolare ed empiricamente condivisa, siamo soliti chiamare *mitici*”,³⁴ is mainly dated to the period when there arose, in the critical conscience of the scholars of the first Hellenistic age, the necessity of an approach to mythical traditions (conveyed by epic, lyric and tragic poetry) that was of a philological nature and scientifically based. It is usual, therefore, to identify the first real mythographer with Asclepiades of Tragilos (second half of the fourth century BC).³⁵ According to what can be read in the Plutarchean *Corpus* (*X orat.* 837c, 8–11), he was a pupil of Isocrates together with Theodectes of Phaselis and the historians Theopompus of Chios and Ephorus of Kyme. In his *Τραγωδούμενα* (*Subjects of Tragedies*) in six books³⁶ he examined myths treated by the tragedians, comparing them with the well-known versions of the epic and lyric poets and the mythographers of the first generation such as Pherecydes of Athens.³⁷ To understand the richness of the information which must have been contained in this work, it may be useful to examine briefly a recently restored fragment. A *scholion* to the *Rhesus* (v. 916 = Ascl. fr. 14 Bagordo),³⁸ citing the *Commentary on the Catalogue of the ships* by Apollodorus of Athens, reveals the existence of two brothers named Thamyras, the elder of whom was the maternal grandfather of Orpheus, while the younger had generated Antiphemus, from whose union with Pandias, Selene’s daughter, Musaeus (father of Eumolpus) had been born. After this information, the scholiast adds the detailed account, which preserves particulars otherwise unknown, of the contest between Thamyras and the Muses, which Asclepiades had perhaps dealt with in reference to Sophocles’ *Thamyras*:

34 Pellizer [1993] 284.

35 Werfer [1815]; Wagner [1891] 137, 145–147, 149, 266–267, 278, 294; Bagordo [1998] 33 and 102–108; Pagani [2004]; Villagra Hidalgo [2008]. Pressler [1997] tentatively has made the proposal to identify Asclepiades with the homonymous winner at the Lenaea in 351, indicated in the tragic *didascaliae* (*DID* A 3b, 54, in Snell [1986] 30).

36 Cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. Τράγιλος, p. 630, 11–13 Meineke.

37 Von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff [1875] 183 n. 3. Heyne [1803] 353 had hypothesized that the text was in verse, but Photius (*Bibl. cod.* 260) writes ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ Ἀσκληπιιάδης, ὅς τὰ Τραγωδοῦμενα συνεγράψατο (“and this subject is also dealt with by Asclepiades, the author of the *Tragodumena*”), employing the verb συγγράφεισθαι generally used with regard to prose works. Also Werfer [1815] 495–496.

38 See now the new edition supplied by Merro [2006].

ὁ γοῦν Ἀσκληπιάδης ἐν τῷ β' περὶ αὐτῶν φησι τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· «τὸν μὲν Θάμυριν περὶ τὸ εἶδός φησι θαυμα[στ]όν· τῶν δὲ ὀφθαλμῶν τὸν μὲν δεξιὸν γλαυκὸν [λευκὸν cod.] εἶναι, τὸν δὲ ἀριστερὸν μέλανα, περὶ δὲ τὴν ᾠδὴν οἶεσθαι διαφέρειν τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων. ἀφικομένων δὲ τῶν Μουσῶν εἰς Θράκην, τὸν μὲν Θάμυριν μνεῖαν ποιήσασθαι πρὸς αὐτὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ συνοικεῖν ἀπάσαις, φάσκοντα τοῖς Θραξὶ νόμιμον εἶναι πολλαῖς τὸν ἕνα συνεῖναι. τὰς δὲ προκαλεσάμενῳ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ποιείσθαι τὴν δι' ᾠδῆς ἄμιλλαν, ἐφ' ᾧ, ἔάν μὲν αὐταὶ νικήσωσιν, ὅτι ἂν θέλωσιν αὐτὸν ποιεῖν, εἰ δὲ ἐκείνος, ὅσας ἂν αὐτὸς βούληται, τοσαύτας λήψεσθαι γυναικάς. συγχωρηθέντων δὲ τούτων, νικήσαι τὰς Μούσας καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐξελεῖν αὐτοῦ».

Asclepiades in the second book [of the *Tragodumena*] speaks thus about these characters: “it is said that Thamyris was of an extraordinary beauty: his right eye was blue, while the left one was black and his singing was different from all the others. When the Muses reached Thrace, Thamyris had asked to join them, saying that for the Thracians it was usual for one man to couple with many women. The Muses, on hearing this, proposed him a song contest: if they won they would do what they wanted with him, but if Thamyris won, he could take as many women as he wanted. After arranging this, the Muses won and blinded him”.

The first work about myths on the stage is however recognizable in the Περὶ Αἰσχύλου μύθων (*On the Myths of Aeschylus*) by Glaucus of Rhegium (second half of the fifth century BC)³⁹ of which only two fragments survive. In the first (Glauc. fr. 1 Bagordo), handed down by the *hypothesis* of the *Persae*, Glaucus is cited as a witness of the fact that the subject of the tragedy had been taken from the *Phoenissae* of Phrynicus; very probably what is reported by a Euripidean *scholion* (*Hec.* 41 = Glauc. fr. 2 Bagordo) can also be attributed to the same work; according to the *scholion*, while Ibycus and Euripides had stated that Polyxena had been killed by Neoptolemus, Glaucus writes that for the author of the *Cypria*, Diomedes and Odysseus had killed her. The Περὶ τῶν παρ' Εὐριπίδῃ καὶ Σοφοκλεῖ (*On the <Myths> of Euripides and Sophocles*) by Heraclides Ponticus (fourth century BC) must have been complementary to the text of Glaucus; this work probably narrated the plots of the tragedies by the other two tragedians.⁴⁰

39 Lanata [1963] 278–279; Huxley [1968]; Bagordo [1998] 14–15 and 137–138; Caroli [2006] 9; Ucciardello [2007a].

40 Cf. Hiller [1886] 428, Wehrli [1953] 123, Bagordo [1998] 30–31 and Ippolito [2009]. For the collection of Ὑποθέσεις τῶν Εὐριπίδου καὶ Σοφοκλέους μύθων (*Plots of the Myths narrated by Euripides and Sophocles*), apparently attributed by Sextus Empiricus to a pupil of Aristotle, Dicaearchus of Messene, and for all the problems concerning the identification

Philochorus of Athens⁴¹ devotes a *Περὶ Σοφοκλέους μύθων* in five books to the myths in the tragedies of Sophocles between the fourth and third century BC, as we can learn from a hint in *Suidas* (s.v. Φιλόχορος = Philoch. fr. 2 Bagordo). Little more than mere names are also Demaratus (or Demagetus),⁴² who wrote *Tragodumena* in at least three books and probably a text about the Argonautic saga used by Dionysius Skytobrachion, and Thersagoras,⁴³ an epitomator of tragic myths (λόγω ἐπιτομᾶς Θερσαγόρου τῶν τραγικῶν μύθων), cited in a private letter of 170 AD (*P.Oxy.* 18.2192) published in 1941 by E. Turner.

The activity of Dionysius,⁴⁴ working probably between 270 and 220, can be dated to the mid third century BC; in several sources he is called Σκυτοβραχίων (“Leather-arm”), a nickname of unknown origin. Diodorus Siculus (3.66.6) provides us with a list of the subjects to which Dionysius had given his attention: the Amazones, Dionysus, the Argonauts and the Trojan War. Another list can be found in *Suidas* s.v.

Διονύσιος, Μιτυληναῖος, ἐποποιός. οὗτος ἐκλήθη Σκυτοβραχίων καὶ Σκυτεύς. τὴν Διονύσου καὶ Ἀθηναῖς στρατεῖαν, Ἀργοναῦται ἐν βιβλίοις ς´. ταῦτα δὲ ἐστὶ περὶ· Μυθικὰ πρὸς Παρμένοντα.

Dionysius, Mitylenean, epic poet.⁴⁵ He was nicknamed “Skytobrachion” (Leather-arm) and Skyteus. He wrote the *Military campaign of Dionysus and Athena*, the *Argonauts* in six books (these are prose works), *Mythical Narrations* against (or “dedicated to”) Parmenon.⁴⁶

of this work with the *hypotheses* handed down by some papyri, see Cannatà Fera [2002], cf. also Montana and Dickey in this volume.

41 Bagordo [1998] 33 and 155–156; Caroli [2006] 10.

42 Schwartz [1901]; van Looy [1970]; Bagordo [1998] 35 and 118; Caroli [2006] 11. The correct name is Demaretēs for Wendel [1931].

43 Bagordo [1998] 70–71 and 168; Cameron [2004] 59; Caroli [2006] 10.

44 Welcker [1865] 70ff.; Bethē [1887]; Rusten [1982b]; Stephens [2003] 39–43; Ippolito [2006a]. Lehnus [1993] had proposed to identify Dionysius Skytobrachion with one of the *Dionysioi* listed among the *Telchines* in the *Scholia Florentina to Callimachus* fr. 1,1 (ll. 3–8) Pf. The correctness of this hypothesis has been recently demonstrated by Bastianini [2006], who after revising the papyrus that transmits the *scholia* was able to rectify the transcription of the previous editors, reaching the conclusion that at lines 3–4 it is possible to read] Διονυσίους δυ[σ]ί, τῷ Σκ[υ]τοβραχίοντι.

45 ἐποποιός is certainly an error: the works of Dionysius, as can be seen from *P.Hibeh* 2.186 and *P.Oxy.* 37.2812 which transmit some fragments of them, were in prose.

46 Lehnus [1993] 27–28 insightfully proposes the hypothesis that this may be Parmenon, a native of Byzantium, but working in Alexandria, a contemporary of Callimachus. We have an iambic fragment (fr. 2 Diehl) by this Parmenon, in which a clear relationship with the

The title of the first work can be explained in the light of a comparison with Diodorus 3.71.3–4 (Dion. fr. 10 Rusten), where it can be read that Athena and the Libyan Amazones joined Dionysus in the struggle against the Titans. The setting of the fight must have been Libya and, although the actual title of the work is unknown, we can imagine that it was something like *Libyan Stories*. The *Argonauts* are known through the citations in the *scholia* to Apollonius Rhodius also as Ἀργοναυτικά (*Argonautic Stories*).

Another entry of *Suidas* may be of help in reconstructing the production of Dionysius:

Διονύσιος, Μιλήσιος, ἱστορικός. Τὰ μετὰ Δαρεῖον ἐν βιβλίοις ε΄, Περιήγησιν οἰκουμένης, Περσικά Ἰάδι διαλέκτῳ, Τρωικῶν βιβλία γ΄, Μυθικά, Κύκλον ἱστορικὸν ἐν βιβλίοις ζ΄.

Dionysius, Milesian, historian. He wrote *Facts after Darius* in 5 books, *Periegesis of the inhabited earth*, *Persian Stories* in Ionic dialect, three books about the Trojan events, *Mythical narrations*, *Historical cycle* in 7 books.

Excepting the *Facts after Darius* in five books, the *Periegesis of the inhabited earth* and the *Persian Stories*, works of a late Archaic historian, native of Miletus, the Κύκλος ἱστορικός is without doubt to be attributed to Dionysius “the Cyclographer”, son of Musonius, while the Τρωικῶν βιβλία γ΄ and the Μυθικά to Skytobrachion. For the first work a correspondence can be found in Diodorus who attributes to the Dionysius in question a text about the Trojan War (3.66.6 τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἰλιακὸν πόλεμον πραχθέντα), and the Μυθικά are to be identified with the Μυθικά πρὸς Παρμένοντα of the *Suidas*’ entry on Dionysius of Mitylene.

The *scholia* to Apollonius Rhodius sometimes define him as *Mitylanean* and sometimes as *Milesian*, but a comparison with Diodorus Siculus, who is one of the primary sources of our knowledge of this grammarian, allows both ethnics to be referred to the same character. Müller made a suggestion that had a certain popularity: Dionysius of Mitylene, who in his *Libyan Stories* seems to have introduced false sources speaking of the Ἀτλάντιοι and of Dionysus, and who was accused by Artemon of Cassandreia of falsifying the *Lydian Stories* (Λυδιακά), a work transmitted under the name of Xanthus of Lydia (test. 4 R.),⁴⁷

beginning of the first *Iamb* of Callimachus can be recognized. Cf. Gerhard [1909] 211 and Maas [1949].

47 See Rusten [1982b] 82–84.

may have invented Dionysius of Miletos as his source, to give authority to his narratives.⁴⁸ According to Rusten, Welcker's thesis is more probable; in his opinion, one of the epithets Μιτυληναῖος and Μιλήσιος was the result of an error, caused perhaps by its belated insertion by a scribe.⁴⁹ As the historian Dionysius of Miletus, author of *Persian Stories*, who lived between the sixth and fifth century BC, could not have had any link with the *Argonauts*, very probably the correct ethnic must be "Mitylenean",⁵⁰

The approach adopted in the treatment of the mythological sagas, subjects of the two works we know best, the *Libyan Stories* and the *Argonauts*, is of a rationalistic nature, based on the ideal of the λόγος εἰκός, so that mythographers attempted to explain certain extraordinary features of the myth, justifying them as mere misunderstandings of far more normal facts. In this sense, Dionysius' re-elaboration of the Argonaut myth is exemplary. Tradition had it that Aeetes, king of Colchis, had received an oracle who informed him that he would die when some foreigners had succeeded in stealing the golden fleece of a ram (κρίος) kept in a sanctuary. According to the legend, the place was guarded by fire-breathing bulls (ταῦροι), and the fleece by a never-sleeping serpent (δράκων). Dionysius notes that Δράκων (Dracon) was really the name of the man who guarded the sacred enclosure, while the Ταῦροι were nothing but the guards from the Chersonesus Taurica. Moreover, the skin preserved inside the temple had an origin different from the fantasy reconstructions of the myth: while Phrixus was a prisoner in Colchis together with his *paedagogus*, the king of the Scythians, brother of Aeetes, the fell in love with the young man and received him as a gift from Aeetes. The *paedagogus*, whose name was Krios (Κρίος), was sacrificed to the gods and his skin was hung in the sanctuary. Characteristic is also the role played by Heracles within Dionysius' narrative: if it is up to Iason to organize the expedition and build the ship, his role as captain seems to be reduced in favour of the predominant presence of the hero of Tiryns, whose responsibility for the civilization of distant and savage peoples the mythographer strongly underlines. This probably underlies the characterization of the inhabitants of Colchis as cruel barbarians (fr. 14 R. = Diod. 4.40.4):

τὸν δὲ Πόντον κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους περιοικούμενον ὑπὸ ἐθνῶν βαρβάρων
καὶ παντελῶς ἀγρίων ἄξενον προσαγορεύεσθαι ξενοκτονούντων τῶν ἐγχωρίων
τοὺς καταπλέοντας.

48 Müller [1848] 6. And also Schwartz [1905] 932 and Jacoby [1957] 510.

49 Welcker [1865] 80.

50 So Rusten [1982b] 72–76.

The Pontos, inhabited at that time along its coasts by barbarian and extremely savage peoples, was called *Axenos* (“Unhospitable”), because the people of the region killed the foreigners who landed there.

Behind the glorification of Heracles there probably lay the celebration of Alexander the Great’s conquests,⁵¹ as is possible to deduce from Diodorus 4.53.7 (Dion. fr. 37 R.):

ταχὺ δ’ ἐπ’ ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ στρατηγίᾳ θαυμασθέντα στρατόπεδόν τε κράτιστον συστήσασθαι καὶ πᾶσαν ἐπελθεῖν τὴν οἰκουμένην εὐεργετοῦντα τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

As he was the object of admiration for his courage and commanding skill, he rapidly put together a very strong army and visited all inhabited lands, benefitting mankind.

Skytobrachion had been wrongly identified by Heyne as another grammarian who probably lived between the third and second century BC, Dionysius called the “Cyclographer” (*FGrHist* 15),⁵² about whom we obtain some confused information from *Suidas* s.v. Διονύσιος Μουσωνίου (*FGrHist* 15 T 1). Dionysius was in fact the son of Musonius, originally from Rhodes or Samos, a priest of the temple of Helios and author of *Local Tales* in 6 books, *Periegesis of the earth, Instructive Story* in 10 books. As has been seen previously, *Suidas’* entry on Διονύσιος Μιλήσιος (*FGrHist* 15 T 2) cites the *Kyklos Historikos* in 7 books, a work to be attributed to the Cyclographer.⁵³

Bethe,⁵⁴ struck by the strong similarity between Proclus’ summaries of the myths of the *Cycle* and the corresponding narratives in the *Bibliotheca* of Ps.-Apollodorus, suggested that they both drew their information from a manual of mythology, the *Kyklos* of Dionysius, about which Proclus (in Phot. *Bibl. cod.* 239) may have said that it was read not so much for its artistic value as for the sequence of events narrated in it (σπουδάζεται τοῖς πολλοῖς οὐχ οὔτω

51 This naturally meant celebrating at the same time all the Ptolemaic race who boasted origins from Heracles, precisely through Alexander. See Meliadò [2004a].

52 Heyne [1783] 980–982; Meliadò [2005a] with further bibliography.

53 It cannot be excluded that *Ἱστορία παιδευτική* in 10 books is to be identified with the *Κύκλος ἱστορικός* in 7 books, even though the fragments do not allow for a certain conclusion.

54 Bethe [1891].

διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν ὡς διὰ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ πραγμάτων).⁵⁵ Bethe's thesis is undoubtedly without grounds: when Proclus names the *Kyklos* he clearly intends to indicate the poems of the *Epic Cycle* (τοῦ ἐπικοῦ κύκλου τὰ ποιήματα) and not, as supposed by the scholar, the set of mythical sagas. The Dionysian work probably dealt with the same myths narrated in the *Cycle* and the complementary ones in the poems not included in the *Cycle* (if we consider the *Danaïdes* and the *Alcmaeonis* as not belonging to the collection), but when we find a comparison with the surviving fragments and with Proclus' *excerpta*, the difference between these and the narrative of Dionysius is evident. We can deduce from this that Dionysius the Cyclographer was not Proclus' source, but he collected in his *Kyklos* learned versions of the myth which were different from the tales, universally known, of the *Epic Cycle*. Book 1 is likely to have mentioned the guardian of Io, Argos; according to Dionysius (*FGrHist* 15 F 1) he wore a skin (probably that of the bull which infested Arcadia, as we learn from [Apollod.] 2.1.2) and his whole body was covered with eyes. The myth was dealt with in the *Aegimius* ([Hes.] fr. 294 M.-W.) and probably in the *Nostoi* (fr. 9 Bernabé). In addition, a piece of information about the number of children that Heracles had had from Megara also belonged to the same book; not three, four or eight as stated elsewhere but two, Therimachus and Deicoon (*FGrHist* 15 F 2).⁵⁶ *FGrHist* 15 F 7 refers to a mythical detail present in the *Alcmaeonis*, which, according to Dionysius, Euripides followed when speaking about the lamb with the golden fleece. Referring to the events narrated in the *Ilias parva*, *FGrHist* 15 F 3 (Clem. Al. *Protr.* 4.47.6) relates that the *palladium*, taken away from Ilium by Diomedes and Odysseus and entrusted to Demophon, was built with the bones of Pelops, just like the Zeus of Olympia with the bones of an elephant (ἐκ τῶν Πέλοπος ὀστέων κατεσκευάσθαι, καθάπερ τὸν Ὀλύμπιον ἐξ ἄλλων ὀστέων Ἰνδικοῦ θηρίου). *FGrHist* 15 F 5 can be linked to what was recounted in the same poem; it informs us of Dionysius's statement that Demophon, the son of Theseus, had asked for the return of Aethra so as to take her back home. Menelaus had therefore sent Talthybius to Helena ordering that Aethra should

55 Brown [2002] 15 and n. 63 has recently agreed with this hypothesis.

56 As Cingano [2002–2003] 65 underlines, Creon, the father of Megara and king of Thebes, in the most ancient phase of the tradition, seems linked exclusively to the cycle of Heracles, and not to that of Oedipus. So it is probable that the information about the children of Heracles and Megara was contained in a section about the hero of Tiryns, from which fr. 1 may also come; we know in fact that the *Aegimius* narrated the aid brought by Heracles to the king of the Dorians, Aegimius, against Coronus and the Lapithes, and that Aegimius had in the end adopted Hyllus out of gratitude.

be accompanied; Aethra, embellished with every kind of ornament, was then sent to Demophon and Acamas. The story told in the cyclic poem, however, was different: according to the testimony of Pausanias (10, 25, 8 = *Ilias Parva* fr. 20 Bernabé), Aethra, after the fall of Troy, reached the Greek camp, where she was recognized by the sons of Theseus. *FGrHist* 15 F 4 links up with the *Odyssey*; from this fragment we learn that according to Dionysius' interpretation, Odysseus had given the Cyclops some wine to drink in a *κυμβίον*, not in a *κισσύβιον*. Perhaps the corrupt *FGrHist* 15 F 6 can be compared with the content of the extra-cyclic poem *Danaides*. From this fragment it is at least possible to deduce that Dionysius concurred with the view that Aegyptus had not gone to Argos together with his fifty sons. In *FGrHist* 15 F 8 we read that, according to Dionysius, Homer lived during the Theban expedition and the Trojan war.

For the second century BC, Apollodorus of Athens (ca. 180–110) should be mentioned.⁵⁷ At first a pupil of Diogenes of Babylon in Greece, after moving to Egypt he completed his education under the guidance of Aristarchus of Samothrace. After the expulsion of the philologists from Alexandria in 145 BC, by Ptolemaeus VIII Euergetes II, he went to the court of Attalus II at Pergamum, returning to Athens between 138 and 133, where he died between 120 and 110 BC. He wrote about comedy and about the Athenian prostitutes, collected the comedies of Epicharmus in 10 *volumina*, composed a chorography (Γῆς περιόδος) in comic metre (cf. Strab. 14.5.22) and a commentary in twelve books on Book 2 of the *Iliad*, the so-called *Catalogue of the ships* (Περὶ τοῦ τῶν νεῶν καταλόγου), not displaying any doubt as to the Homeric authorship of this section of the poem; he also wrote a work entitled *Chronicles* (Χρονικά) in three books, again in iambics in order to help memorization (*FGrHist* 244 T 2.35), from the Trojan war (which, in agreement with Eratosthenes, he dated to 1184 BC) until 145/144 BC. He then added a fourth book to cover the time period up to 120/119. He also dealt with Greek myths in his *On the Gods* (Περὶ θεῶν) in 24 books. With regard to the nature of this work Photius (*Bibl. cod.* 161 = *FGrHist* 244 T 11) informs us:

ἀνεγνώσθησαν ἐκλογαὶ διάφοροι ἐν βιβλίοις ιβ' Τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον περὶ τῶν παρ' Ἑλληνισι μυθολογουμένων θεῶν διαλαμβάνει· ὁ συνείλεται ἐκ τῶν Ἀπολλοδώρου περὶ θεῶν γ' λόγου. Ἀθηναῖος δὲ ὁ Ἀπολλόδωρος, καὶ γραμματικὸς τὴν τέχνην. Οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ τρίτου δὲ μόνον ἡ διαλογὴ αὐτῷ πεποιήται, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ ἐκ δ' καὶ ε' καὶ θ', τοῦ τε α' πάλιν καὶ ιβ' καὶ ιε' τε καὶ ις' καὶ μέχρι τοῦ κδ'. ἐν ἣ συλλογῇ τὰ τε μυθικῶς περὶ θεῶν διαπεπλασμένα, καὶ εἴ τι καθ' ἱστορίαν

57 Pfeiffer [1968] 253–266; Fraser [1972, 1] 471 and 538–539; Habicht [1997] 119–121; Pontani [2005b] 54.

εἴρηται, περιείληφε, περί τε τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἡρώων καὶ Διοσκούρων καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἄιδου καὶ ὄσα παραπλήσια.

Several extracts have been read in the twelve books by the sophist Sopater... the first, then, deals with Greek theology expressed in the myths, and it is a collection from the third book of *On the Gods* of Apollodorus. Apollodorus came from Athens, and from the point of view of his skills, he was a philologist and man of letters. (Sopater), however, did not only summarize the third book, but also the fourth, the fifth and the ninth books and again, the first, the twelfth, the fifteenth and sixteenth, as far as the twenty-fourth. And this sylloge embraced both the invented myths about the gods, and what has been said in historical-legendary narratives, both regarding the heroes of their tradition and the Dioscuri, and also about what is in the Hades and other similar matters.

In his work Apollodorus seems to start from the interpretation and etymology of the names of the gods, in order to show, by resorting to the most varied literary testimonies, the link between their functions and the epithets.⁵⁸ It is not clear whether, in this respect, *Περὶ θεῶν* was influenced by Stoic doctrine; even though the recourse to etymology for analyzing the names of the gods may have been inspired by the writings of the philosophers of the Stoa, this is not sufficient to prove that Apollodorus subscribed to those theories. In any case it is certain that he derived the names of the divinities not from toponyms connected with cults (οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν τόπων), but ἀπὸ τῶν ψυχικῶν ἐνεργειῶν ἢ... συμβεβηκότων περὶ τὸ σῶμα, “from the active faculties of the soul, or from qualities of the body” (*FGrHist* 244 F 353.11). For instance, he maintained that the epithet *Δήλιος* of Apollon had no connection with the island of Delos, but was due to the fact that the god made everything visible (*FGrHist* 244 F 354 ὡς δῆλα καὶ εὐόρατα πάντα ποιῶν).⁵⁹ The explanation of why the sun was also called *Ἴήιος* is likewise significant: according to Apollodorus (*FGrHist* 244 F 95 = Macrob. *Sat.* 1.17.19), this was attributable to the fact that it races round the universe (ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν κόσμον ἰέσθαι καὶ ἰέναι, *quod sol per orbem impetu fertur*).

58 Parsons [1993] 167. Etymological explanations of the names of the Greek gods are contained in *Ἐπιδρομή τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν θεολογίαν παραδεδομένων* (*Introduction to the Traditions of Greek Theology*) by L. Annaeus Cornutus, who lived in the second half of the first century A.D. and was the teacher of Persius and Lucanus.

59 A summary of the section of *Περὶ θεῶν* centred on Apollo is transmitted by the second column (ll. 1–36) of *P.Oxy.* 37.2812, identified by the editor princeps E. Lobel with a commentary on a tragedy. See Rusten [1982b] 30ff.

The same interpretative mechanism is also applied to the bream (τριγλή) that is sacrificed to Artemis because of the similarity of the names, inasmuch as the goddess has three forms (τρίμορφος).⁶⁰

Our knowledge of the work is based not only on numerous fragments of indirect tradition, but also on lucky findings of papyrus fragments which help to understand the research method adopted by Apollodorus. The first text, linked to him by R. Merkelbach,⁶¹ was published in 1952 by Lobel (*P.Oxy.* 20.2260).⁶² In it the use of the adjective δολιχάρορος in relation to Athena made by the post-Homeric poets (among whom Philitas and the author of the *Phoronis*) is criticized, as ἄρορ, the second term of the compound, in these circumstances must necessarily be a synonym of δόρυ (“spear”), whereas in Homer it is always understood as ξίφος (“sword”). Criticism is also voiced with regard to the improper use of the adjective Pallas, which together with Τριτογένεια is the subject of another papyrus fragment probably by Apollodorus, the *P.Köln* 3.126.⁶³ The preserved text opens with the citation of a fragment of Epicharmus (fr. 135 K.-A.) from which we learn that the adjective Pallas derived perhaps from the name of one of the Titans,⁶⁴ who, during a battle against Cronus (ἐν μάχαι | τῆι γενομέναι κατὰ Κρόνον), had been killed by Athena, at which point she then put on his skin. After quoting the comic verses, Apollodorus states that he had come across a poem entitled *Meropis*,⁶⁵ of which he had not managed to identify the author (περιεπέσομεν δὲ ποιήμασιν, ἐφ’ ὧν ἦν ἐπιγραφή Μεροπῆς οὐ δηλοῦσα τὸν ποιησο[...]). The subject treated in the work (summarized by Apollodorus and exemplified with a series of textual quotations) was the battle at Cos between Heracles and Asteros, the latter being defeated thanks to the intervention of Athena who, having skinned him, had put on his skin in this case as well (τέλος δὲ ἀπολομένου τούτου ὑπ’ αὐτῆς συνθεωρηῆσαι χρῆσιμον αὐτοῦ τὸ δέρος ἐσόμενον πρὸς τοὺς [ἄλ]λους κινδύνους). Moreover, the mythographer explains the motives that had made him cite this obscure poem:

ἔδόκει δέ μοι τὰ ποιήμα[τα] νεωτέρου τινὸς εἶναι· διὰ [δὲ] τὸ ἰδίωμα τῆς ἱστορίας [ἔξε]λάβομεν αὐτό.

60 *FGrHist* 244 F 109 = Athen. *Deipn.* 7.126, p. 325b.

61 Merkelbach [1956].

62 On the papyrus, see now De Luca [1999].

63 Koenen-Merkelbach [1976]; *SH* 903 A; Lloyd-Jones [1984]; Bernabé [1996] 131–135. Recently Obbink [2011] 29 has proposed assigning *P.Oxy.* 76.5094 to Apollodorus.

64 So Olson [2007] 54.

65 On which, see the careful analysis of Henrichs [1993] 187–195.

The poem looked post-Homeric to me. I excerpted (?) it because of the peculiarity of the story. (Transl. by Henrichs [1993] 188)

Apollodorus' idea that the *Meropis* was a post-Homeric work is certainly correct, but even today it is debated whether it should be dated to the sixth century BC (as seems more probable) or even to the Hellenistic period.

The fame of this work *On the Gods* and of its author were such that Apollodorus was even credited with the authorship of an anonymous mythological handbook entitled *Bibliotheca* (Βιβλιοθήκη). While the name of the author is destined to remain unknown, some attempts were made in the past to understand to what period the composition dated back.⁶⁶ A *terminus post quem* for the dating is clearly identifiable in the citation of Castor of Rhodes (first century BC) author of *Chronica*, in *Bibliotheca* 2.1.3; thus C. Robert in 1873 proposed to date the work to the first half of second century AD (M. van der Valk thought the first century AD was more likely)⁶⁷ and to consider it an instrument for use in schools.⁶⁸ The mainly linguistic criterion used by Carrière and Massonie,⁶⁹ who believed that the handbook was addressed to a cultivated public in the period of the second sophistic, led them to identify a language with an imperial tone, datable between the first and the third century AD, with numerous lexical and semantic contacts with Plutarch, Lucian and the scholiographic tradition; accordingly, they dated the work to the age of the Severi, between the end of the second and beginning of the third century AD, probably around 200 AD, also keeping in mind that Philostratus in his *Imagines* of 175 AD seems to know the *Bibliotheca*.

In his summary of the Greek myths, the author of the handbook resorts to numerous literary sources. As well as Homer and Hesiod's *Theogony*, he certainly knew the *Catalogue of the women*, which he seems to have used as a basis for the genealogical structure of his work.⁷⁰ He knew the contents of the

66 The attribution of the work to Apollodorus seems implicitly testified in the *subscriptions* of some *historiae* present in Homeric *scholia* (*ad Il.* 1.195, 2.103, 1.42, 2.494), in which at the foot of the treatment of the myths present also in the *Bibliotheca* we can read Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν α', β', γ'. On the other hand, this may instead be a reference to the monumental Περὶ θεῶν by Apollodorus of Athens. Cf. Diller [1935] 297–301.

67 Van der Valk [1958].

68 Some scholars were convinced that it was correct to credit Apollodorus of Athens with the *Bibliotheca*, which might be an epitome of his Περὶ θεῶν: Haeniche [1875] (according to whom it could be Sopater's epitome) and Lehrs [1878] (who moreover hypothesizes that the reference to Castor of Rhodes is the result of an interpolation).

69 Carrière-Massonie [1991] 9–12.

70 See among others Dräger [1997] 11, 36–107.

Epic Cycle, even though we cannot tell whether it was from a direct reading of the various poems or thanks to mythological summaries. As regards archaic poetry he also cites Orphic texts, the *Geryoneis* and the *Palinodia* by Stesichorus, Telesilla. Furthermore, the mythographers of the fifth century BC are present in the *Bibliotheca* (Acusilaus, Pherecydes, Herodorus and Hellanicus; knowledge of Philochorus cannot be excluded) and authors less well-known to us (Amelesagoras, Demaratus, Philocrates). Ps.-Apollodorus mentions the three tragedians (in particular Euripides) and also Callimachus, Apollonius Rhodius, Asclepiades and Dionysius of Mitylene.

Photius (858 A.D.) attributes the handbook to the grammarian of Athens and summarizes its purposes perfectly (*Bibl. cod.* 186):

Ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ δὲ τεύχει καὶ Ἀπολλοδώρου γραμματικοῦ βιβλιδᾶριον ἀνεγνώσθη μοι· Βιβλιοθήκη αὐτῷ ἢ ἐπιγραφῇ· περιεῖχε δὲ τὰ παλαιτάτα τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὅσα τε περὶ θεῶν καὶ ἡρώων ὁ χρόνος αὐτοῖς δοξάζειν ἔδωκεν, ὀνομασίας τε ποταμῶν καὶ χωρῶν καὶ ἔθνων καὶ πόλεων ὅθεν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἀνατρέχει, καὶ κάτεισι μέχρι τῶν Τρωϊκῶν, καὶ ἀνδρῶν τινῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους μάχας καὶ ἔργα ἐπιτρέχων καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Τροίας πλάνας τινάς, μάλιστα δ' Ὀδυσσέως εἰς ὃν αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ ἀρχαιολογία καταλήγει.

In the same codex I also read a little book by a grammarian Apollodorus entitled *Bibliotheca*. It contained the antiquities of the Greeks, which they had come to believe in the course of time concerning gods and heroes, and the names of rivers and countries and tribes and cities with their origins, and other matters that go back to early times; and he comes down to the Trojan War, touching upon the fights of some of the champions with each other and their deeds, as well as some of the wanderings back from Troy, especially that of Odysseus, with whom he ends his account of antiquity. (Transl. by Diller [1935] 300)

In the text of Photius an epigram follows which may have opened the *Bibliotheca* originally, but its authenticity is debatable:⁷¹

αἰῶνος σπείρημα ἀφυσσάμενος ἀπ' ἐμείο
 παιδείης, μύθους γνῶθι παλαιγενέας,
 μηδ' ἐς Ὀμηρεῖην σελίδ' ἔμβλεπε μηδ' ἔλεγείην,
 μὴ τραγικὴν Μοῦσαν, μηδὲ μελογραφίην,
 μὴ κυκλίων ζῆται πολύθρου στίχον· εἰς ἐμέ δ' ἀθρῶν
 εὐρήσεις ἐν ἐμοὶ πάνθ' ὅσα κόσμος ἔχει.

71 The epigram is considered genuine by van der Valk [1958] 167–168.

Draw your knowledge of the past from me and read the ancient tales of learned lore. Look neither at the page of Homer, nor of elegy, nor tragic muse, nor lyric strain. Seek not the vaunted verse of the cycle; but look in me and you will find in me all that the world contains.

The *Bibliotheca*, on the grounds of presumed citations in the *Scholia minora* to Homer, was divided from the *editio princeps* of Aegius (Romae 1555) onwards into three books. In the first the author speaks of the birth of the gods (1.1–44) and of the race of Deucalion (1.45–147); in the second he deals with the race of Inachus (2.1–180); in the third (and in the epitomes preserved) he is concerned with the races of Agenor (3.1–95), Pelasgus (3.96–109), Atlas (3.110–155), Asopus (3.156–176), of the kings of Athens (3.177–218 and Ep. 1.1–24), and of the descendants of Pelops (Ep. 2.1–16); he also touches on the events in the Trojan war preceding the Iliadic narration (Ep. 3.1–35), the events recounted in the *Iliad* (Ep. 4.1–8), the events in the Trojan war following the *Iliad* (Ep. 5.1–25), the consequences of the Trojan war (Ep. 6.1–30), and the wanderings of Odysseus (Ep. 7.1–40).

While Photius must have had a complete copy of the work at his disposal, in the manuscripts known today only the first two books are integral; the third is gravely damaged and finishes when Theseus is spoken of; its content has been re-constructed thanks to the finding of two epitomes at the end of the nineteenth century. The *Epitome Vaticana*, discovered by R. Wagner⁷² in 1885 in a fourteenth century codex (*Vat. gr.* 950), is probably the work of Ioannes Tzetzes who, in the twelfth century, used the mythographical handbook for the compilation of the *scholia* to the *Alexandra* of Lycophron and for his *Chiliades*. The publication by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus⁷³ of the so-called *Fragmenta Sabaitica* dates back to 1891; in 1887 he had identified the text of Ps.-Apollodorus in a thirteenth century manuscript (*Sabbaiticus-Hierosolymitanus* 366), during the classification of the codices preserved in the Library of the Jerusalem patriarchy.

During the Hellenistic age a certain Pisander⁷⁴ must also have been working, as the *scholion* to line 1760 of Euripides' *Phoenissae* attributes to him some mythographical material about the Labdacids. After rejecting the hypothesis that he could be one of the homonymous epic poets of Kamyros and of Laranda, the former probably living in the sixth century BC and the latter in the third century AD, Welcker⁷⁵ proposed identifying Pisander with an otherwise

72 Wagner [1891].

73 Papadopoulos-Kerameus [1891].

74 Mastronarde [1994] 31–38; Lloyd-Jones [2002].

75 Welcker [1865] giff.

unknown mythographer to whom Keydell⁷⁶ later attributed another four fragments, taken from the *Bibliotheca* of Ps.-Apollodorus and from the *scholia* to Apollonius Rhodius and Euripides. According to Jacoby,⁷⁷ Pisander probably took his material from various sources, among which the cyclic *Oedipodia* and the *Phoenissae* and the *Chrysipus* of Euripides.⁷⁸

Recently A. Cameron,⁷⁹ following in the steps of N. Marinone,⁸⁰ suggested identifying him with the Pisander mentioned by Macrobius in *Sat.* 5.2.4–5, in a section regarding the Greek sources of Virgil:

Dicturumne me putatis ea, quae uulgo nota sunt, quod Theocritum sibi fecerit pastoralis operis auctorem, ruralis Hesiodum, et quod in ipsius Georgicis tempestatis serenitatisque signa de Arati Phaenomenis traxerit, uel quod eursionem Troiae cum Sinone suo et equo ligneo ceterisque omnibus, quae librum secundum faciunt, a Pisandro ad uerbum paene transcripserit, qui inter Graecos poetas eminent opere, quod a nuptiis Iouis et Iunonis incipiens uniuersas historias, quae mediis omnibus saeculis usque ad aetatem ipsius Pisandri contigerunt, in unam seriem coactas redegerit.

You are perhaps thinking that I shall speak of things that are common knowledge: for example, that in his pastoral poetry Vergil took Theocritus for his model, and in his work on husbandry, Hesiod; and that in the *Georgics* he drew on the *Phaenomena* of Aratus for the signs of bad and good weather; or that he copied his account of the overthrow of Troy, with the tales of Sinon and the wooden horse and all the rest that goes to make up the second book of his *Aeneid*, almost word for word from Peisandros, a writer eminent among the poets of Greece for a work which, beginning with the marriage of Jupiter and Juno, has brought within the compass of a single sequence of events all the history of the world through the intervening ages down to its author's own day. (Transl. by Cameron [2004] 257)

There are, as we have seen, two Greek poets called Pisander, one native of Kamyros, the author in the archaic period of an *epos* on Heracles, and one from

76 Keydell [1935] 301–302 and [1937].

77 Jacoby [1957] 493–496 and 544–547.

78 In contrast, von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff [1925] denied the existence of this mythographer and connected the *scholion* with an *epos* of Pisander of Kamyros entitled *Kyklos*.

79 Cameron [2004] 255–260.

80 Marinone [1967] 510 n. 6.

Laranda, who corresponds perfectly to the description made by Macrobius, but the latter cannot be held in consideration because he lived at the time of the Severi, at the beginning of the third century AD. This explains why Heyne suggested that Macrobius had confused the two authors. Cameron's interpretation is different: he suggests that the Pisander mentioned in the *Saturnalia* is actually the Hellenistic mythographer, who, given that he is cited in the *scholion* to Apollonius Rhodius, must have lived before the grammarian Theon (compiler of a commentary on which the *scholia* partly depend) and therefore also before Virgil. On the grounds of this re-construction, Macrobius may have taken the catalogue of Virgil's Greek sources, and with them the reference to Pisander, from the writings of the first and second centuries AD in which the Roman poet was accused of plagiarism.

The activity of Parthenius of Nicaea⁸¹ dates back to the first half of the first century BC. We know very little about his life: *Suidas* s.v. Παρθένιος states that he was the son of Heraclides and Eudora or Tetha, and came from Nicaea or Myrlea, and in this regard, Meineke⁸² had hypothesized that his family, coming from Myrlea, had moved to Nicaea and that Parthenius was born there.

After being captured during the third Mithridatic war, he was taken to Italy where he became Virgil's teacher. A refined poet, classified by ancient sources with Callimachus, his fame is due above all to his elegiac production, consisting of *Arete* in three books (for his dead wife), *Aphrodite*, *Delos*, *Leucadia*, *Crinagoras*. He also wrote *epicedia* (*Lament for Archelais*, *To Bias*, *To Timander*, *Lament for Auxithemis*), a poem whose original title might have been *Propemptikon* and perhaps a composition entitled *Moretum*. We do not know the metre of other poems mentioned by *Suidas*, (*Anthippe*, *Heracles*, *Iphiclus*, *Idolophanes*). As for the *Metamorphoses* we do not know whether it was written in prose or rather in hexameters, according to the model of Nicander's Ἑτεροιούμενα. He compiled, between 52 and 26 BC, a collection of thirty-six myths about unhappy loves (Ἐρωτικά Παθήματα), which opens with an epistolary dedication to the poet Cornelius Gallus:

Μάλιστα σοι δοκῶν ἀρμόττειν, Κορνήλιε Γάλλε, τὴν ἄθροισιν τῶν ἐρωτικῶν παθημάτων ἀναλεξάμενος ὡς ὅτι πλείστα ἐν βραχυτάτοις ἀπέσταλκα. τὰ γὰρ παρά τισι τῶν ποιητῶν κείμενα τούτων, μὴ αὐτοτελῶς λελεγμένα, κατανοήσεις ἐκ τῶνδε τὰ πλείστα· αὐτῷ τέ σοι παρέσται εἰς ἔπη καὶ ἐλεγείας ἀνάγειν τὰ μάλιστα ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀρμόδια. <μηδὲ> διὰ τὸ μὴ παρεῖναι τὸ περιττὸν αὐτοῖς, ὃ

81 Lightfoot [1999].

82 Meineke [1843] 256.

δὴ σὺ μετέρχῃ, χεῖρον περὶ αὐτῶν ἐννοηθῆς· οἴομαι γὰρ ὑπομνηματίων τρόπον αὐτὰ συνελεξάμεθα, καὶ σοὶ νυνὶ τὴν χρῆσιν ὁμοίαν, ὡς ἔοικε, παρέξεται.

Thinking, Cornelius Gallus, that the collection of sufferings in love was very appropriate to you, I have selected them and sent them to you in as brief a form as possible. For those among the present collection that occur in certain poets where they are not narrated in their own right, you will find out for the most part from what follows. You, too, will be able to render the most suitable of them into hexameters and elegiacs. Think none the worse of them because they lack that quality of refined elaboration which you pursue. For I have collected them after the fashion of a little notebook, and they will, I trust, serve you in the same way. (Transl. by Lightfoot [1999] 309)

Thus the official purpose of the collection was that of serving Cornelius Gallus as a background to poetic compositions.

Some elements present in the *Erotika pathemata* can be classified as typically Hellenistic: loves with a tragic epilogue, morbid passions, an interest in foundation myths. Moreover, the narratives seem to contain moralistic elements and in the main the author avoids divine intervention and recourse to *adynata* (only three *metamorphoseis*: Daphne, Harpalyce and Byblis can be found), but this does not imply that he was a euhemeristic mythographer. As J. Lightfoot underlines, some plots repeat well-known myths: the ventures of Lyncus (*Amat. narr.* 1), which center on an oracle received at Didyma, seem to resemble those of Ion and Aegeus associated with the Delphic oracle; the story of Leucippus (*Amat. narr.* 5) has much in common with that of Althaemenes and his sister; the very famous myth of Oenomaus and Hippodamia is repeated in the *narratio* about Sithon and Pallene (*Amat. narr.* 6) and the same happens for Leucone and Cyanippus (*Amat. narr.* 10) who are modelled on Cephalus and Procris.

Even though in the dedicatory epistle Parthenius states expressly that he took his stories from previous poems (but he probably also consulted prose works, as can probably be suggested for the ventures of Oenone, Paris and Corythus, which may depend on Hegesianax),⁸³ he rarely mentions his sources during his discussion. Speaking of Byblis (*Amat. narr.* 11) he quotes ten lines of Nicaenetus, a long passage of his *Apollon*; he adds twenty-one lines from the *Foundation of Lesbos* in the story of Peisidice (*Amat. narr.* 21) and three lines from Nicander testifying a variant of the story of Corythus (*Amat. narr.* 34).

83 See Lightfoot [1999] 246.

The possible sources of Parthenius are however explained by some brief annotations, commonly known by the name of *manchettes*, inserted in the upper or lower margin of the only manuscript that hands down the *Erotika pathemata* and the *Metamorphoses* by Antoninus Liberalis (*Palatinus Heidelbergensis gr.* 389—ninth century AD), corresponding with most of the *narrationes* in the two collections. Modern scholars mostly reject the hypothesis that these indications date back to the authors (Sellheim for example thought so)⁸⁴ and regard it as probable that these brief notes refer to works in which the various stories were presumably present. We do not know when the *manchettes* were compiled but, judging from the authors cited, a dating for the middle of the third century AD has been proposed, even though an earlier date cannot be excluded. A. Cameron⁸⁵ has recently brought back to favour their attribution to the author; he argues that they must originally have been contained in a ‘bibliography’ placed at the beginning of the roll containing the work, a sort of index in which were specified the titles of the various chapters followed by their sources. According to this reconstruction, we could have had the beginning of an imaginary roll of the *Erotika pathemata*:

(α') περι Λύρκου. Ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ Νικαινέτω ἐν τῷ Λύρκω καὶ Ἀπολλωνίῳ Ῥοδίῳ Κάνῳ.

(β') περι Πολυμήλης. Ἱστορεῖ Φιλητάς Ἑρμῆ.

(γ') περι Εὐίππης. Ἱστορεῖ Σοφοκλῆς Εὐρυάλλω.

(δ') περι Οἰνώνης. Ἱστορεῖ Νίκανδρος ἐν τῷ περι ποιητῶν καὶ Κεφάλων ὁ Γεργίθιος ἐν Τρωϊκοῖς.

(ε') περι Λευκίππου. Ἱστορεῖ Ἑρμησιάναξ Λεοντίῳ. And so on.

It may have been a copyist who transferred the information into the margins when he copied the two works from the roll to the codex.

The same solution is also proposed by Cameron for the *manchettes* which accompany the work of Antoninus Liberalis.⁸⁶ We know nothing about this author's life: on a linguistic basis he has been tentatively placed in the second century AD,⁸⁷ while the *gentilicium* Antoninus would seem to lead to a placement in the third AD.⁸⁸ We have a collection of forty-one narratives of metamorphoses handed down under his name: they are metamorphoses of

84 Sellheim [1930].

85 Cameron [2004] 106–116, 321–327.

86 Papatomopoulos [1968]; Celoria [1992].

87 Knaack [1890] 39; Blum [1892] 26–27.

88 Bücheler *ap.* Oder [1886] 56 n. 1.

people, groups of people or animals, of which some deal with a *ἀφανισμός*, some contain metamorphoses at the origin of a cult, others are centred on *κτίσεις*, *ὀνομασῖαι* and *μετονομασῖαι*. The various typologies of transformations, in which the erotic *topoi* (derived from the Hellenistic literature)⁸⁹ often have a primary role, can be thus summarized: a) metamorphoses into birds (1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 27) or winged insects (22); b) into plants (31, 32, 34); c) into animals (24, 28, 29, 35); d) metamorphoses into stone (4, 23, 33, 36, 38, 39, 41); e) *catasterismi* (25, 36); f) disappearances (*ἀφανισμοί*—8, 13, 40); g) metamorphoses into echoes (26); h) changes of sex (17); i) acquisition of immortality (27, 30, 32, 33).

The *manchettes* mainly cite Nicander and Boius (a Hellenistic poet, author of an *Ornithogonia*), beside whom another twelve authors are present: Antigonus Carystius (poet of the imperial age), Apollonius Rhodius, Areus Laconicus, Athanadas, Corinna, Didymarchus (an Alexandrian poet), Hermesianax (an elegiac poet of the third century BC), Hesiod, Menecrates Xanthius (a historian of the fourth century BC, author of *Lydiaca*), Pamphilus (an Alexandrian grammarian of the first century BC), Pherecydes, Simmias Rhodius.

Our knowledge of the mythographer Conon and of his *Διηγήσεις* ('Narratives') almost entirely derives from the *Bibliotheca* of the patriarch Photius (cod. 186 = Con. test. 1 Brown):⁹⁰

Ἄνεγνώσθη βιβλιδάριον Κόνωνος Διηγήσεις· προσφωνεῖ μὲν τὸ πονημάτιον Ἀρχελάῳ Φιλοπάτορι βασιλεῖ, περιέχεται δ' αὐτῷ ἐκ πολλῶν ἀρχαίων συνειλεγμένα ν' διηγήματα.

A little book was read, the *Narratives* of Konon. He dedicates this short work to King Archelaos Philopator, and it consists of fifty narrations gathered from many ancient sources. (Transl. by Brown [2002] 47).

On the basis of the dedication to Archelaus Philopatris (correction by Jacoby instead of Photius' Philopator), king of Cappadocia from 36 BC to 17 AD, it has been proposed to date Conon's activity in the reign of Augustus, between 36 BC and 10 AD. Some rhetorical elements in the *Διηγήσεις* might suggest that he was a simple teacher or a librarian at the court of Archelaos, or a rhetor, but it is not easy to establish this, just as it cannot be excluded that he was also the author of a *Heracleia*, of *Italica* and of a text about the Jews, attributed to a certain Conon (not otherwise identified) respectively by a *scholion* to Apollonius

89 Calderón Dorda [2002].

90 Henrichs [1987] 244–247; Brown [2002].

Rhodium (1.1165 = fr. 2), by Servius (*Ad Aen.* 7.738 = fr. 3), and by Flavius Joseph (*Apion.* 1.216 = fr. 4). The *Narrationes*, on the grounds of what can be deduced from Photius' summaries, were a collection of fifty tales on mythological subjects, which often give new versions of well-known myths. In some cases (*Narr.* 1 about Midas, 37 about Cadmus, 40 about Cepheus and Andromeda) Conon produces stories supplying a rationalistic reading, in order to eliminate the elements that violated the principle of veracity.

That the *Διηγήσεις* were little read is demonstrated by the total lack of mention in ancient sources except for Photius, even though some papyrus fragments (*P.Oxy.* 53.3648), published in 1984, which hand down stories 46 and 47 in a more extended version, testify to a certain circulation in Egypt in the second century AD. The aims of the work cannot be clarified with certainty. As regards Conon's style, Photius writes:

Ἄττικὸς δὲ τὴν φράσιν ἐστὶ, ταῖς τε συνθήκαις καὶ ταῖς λέξεσι χαρίεις τε καὶ ἐπαφρόδιτος, ἔχων τι καὶ τοῦ συνεστραμμένου καὶ ἀνακεχωρηκότος τοῖς πολλοῖς.

He is Attic in style, graceful and charming in his constructions and words, having a certain terseness and avoiding the commonplace,⁹¹

thereby letting it be understood that the *Διηγήσεις* had not been conceived as simple summaries of stories taken from other sources (like Parthenius' *Erotika Pathemata*, about which the author himself, in the dedication to Cornelius Gallus, apologises for the unrefined style): rather, they had literary claims. The subjects treated, mostly belonging to the kind of the *Lokalsagen* (epichoric myths and legends), can be grouped into various categories, closely connected to themes already widely exploited by previous poets and prose writers, above all in the Hellenistic period, when the protagonists are men and the gods have a clearly marginal role:

- 1) foundation myths (*κτίσεις*): 2, 3, 4, 8, 12, 13, 14, 19, 21, 28, 29, 36, 37, 41, 46, 47, 48;
- 2) aetiological myths: 6, 11, 15, 17, 19, 20, 24, 30, 33, 35, 44, 45, 49;
- 3) love vicissitudes: tragic and unhappy loves already recounted by Parthenius (2, 10, 23) and homosexual loves (16);
- 4) paradoxographical stories: 5, 22, 43;
- 5) paroemiographical myths: 28 and 34;

91 Transl. by Brown [2002] 351.

- 6) fables: 35, 38, 42;
 7) Trojan and Roman myths: 4, 6, 8, 12, 13, 18, 21, 23, 28, 29, 34, 41, 46.

In the surviving text the sources used by the mythographer are never specified, but this does not mean that Conon had been deliberately reticent, as suggested until now by scholars;⁹² on the contrary the fact that Photius says that the διηγήματα (“narrations”) had been taken from various ancient authors (ἐκ πολλῶν ἀρχαίων συνειλεγμένα), means instead that the indications of the sources were probably present in the original version of the work and that the Patriarch had omitted them in the process of abridgement.⁹³ This work had led him initially to transcribe the first three stories almost completely, later deciding to summarise further the contents. At the end of the third *Narratio* he notes:

Ἄλλὰ τί μοι δεῖ μικροῦ μεταγράφειν ταύτας, δέον πολλῶ κεφαλαιωδέστερον ἐπελθεῖν;

But why should I practically transcribe these? I must approach them in a much more summary manner. (Transl. by Brown [2002] 68)

The activity of the so-called *Mythographus Homericus*⁹⁴ likewise very probably dates back to the first century AD; he compiled a mythographical commentary on the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, a complete collection of *historiae* regarding the mythical characters, places, origins of rites and customs of the Homeric *epos*, ordered according to the succession of books and lines. Traces of this work have reached us through numerous papyrus fragments (distributed over a period of time which ranges from the late first century AD to the fifth)⁹⁵ and the mythological narratives incorporated during the proto-Byzantine age in the *scholia* D to the *Iliad* and in the *scholia* V to the *Odyssey*. The structure of the *historiae* remains nearly constant: the text opens with a lemma (a line

92 Henrichs [1987] 246 and Brown [2002] 31.

93 Thus in Cameron [2004] 72–73.

94 Van der Valk [1963] 303–413; Arrighetti [1968]; Arrighetti [1977a]; Arrighetti [1977b]; Arrighetti [1987] 204–210; Montanari [1995c]; Rossum-Steenbeek [1998] 85–118; Montanari [2002b]; Pontani [2005b] 71–72; Pagès Cebrián [2007]. The name *Mythographus Homericus* was coined by Panzer [1892], who had made conjectures about the existence of the collection before the finding of the papyrus fragments. See also Dickey in this volume.

95 *P.Oxy.* 418 (I–II); *P.S.I.* 1000 (I–II); *P.Hamb.* 199 (II); *P.Lond.Lit.* 142 (II); *P.Oxy.* 3003 (II); *P.Oxy.* 3830 (II); 4096 (II); *P.Berol.* 13282 (III); *P.S.I.* 1173 (III); *P.Vindob.* 29784 (III); *P.Berol.* 13930 (V).

or part of a line, sometimes in *ekthesis*) which gives a link with the Homeric poems; this is followed by the mythological narrative, centred on the name in the lemma; at the end almost always a *subscriptio* is inserted stating the source from which the story is taken, usually in the form ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ τῷ δεῖνα, (ὡς) ἱστορεῖ ὁ δεῖνα or οὕτως ὁ δεῖνα. See for example the narrative about *Il.* 3. 151:

τεττίγεσσιν ἑοικότες· Τιθωνοῦ τοῦ Λαομέδοντος, Πριάμου δὲ ἀδελφοῦ, ἠράσθη ἡ Ἥμερα, ἐξ οὐπερ ἐποίησεν υἷον Μέμνονα. μακρῶι δὲ βίωι δαπανηθέντος ἐκείνου μετέβαλεν αὐτὸν εἰς τέττιγα ἢ θεός. διὸ δὴ αὐτοῦ τοὺς συγγενεῖς δημογέροντας τέττιξιν εἰκάζει ὁ ποιητής. ἱστορεῖ Ἑλλάνικος.

similar to the crickets: Hemera fell in love with Tithonus, son of Laomedon and brother of Priam, and with him she generated a son, Memnon. As Tithonus had lived a long life, the goddess transformed him into a cricket. For this reason the poet compares the chiefs [of the Trojans], his relatives, to crickets. Hellanicus recounts this.

In a dissertation published at the end of the nineteenth century, Schwartz, from a study of the *historiae* present in the *scholia* D, deduced that in order to write the stories the *Mythographus* had used a mythological compendium similar to the *Bibliotheca* of Ps.-Apollodorus; therefore, he reasoned, the subscriptions, which in his view had been added in the Byzantine period,⁹⁶ did not intend to prove the presence of all the elements of the narrative in the authors indicated at the foot of the page, but to advise that part of the story was present in those authors.⁹⁷ In 1961 Lünstedt re-examined the question and, focusing his research on those subscriptions that mentioned preserved authors, he noted that some details in the stories, although not present in the sources indicated, could have been taken from the exegetic literature linked to those texts. He therefore reached the conclusion that a certain value should be attributed to the subscriptions as evidence, since “the reference to the author cited does actually exist in some ways”.⁹⁸ In reality it is not possible to establish with certainty the origins of the material assembled by the *Mythographus*: the compiler may have drawn the diegetic material directly from the works cited, starting from the input of the Homeric text: that is, he may have resorted to the unmediated reading of authors such as Hesiod, Acusilaus, Hellanicus, Euphorion and Lycophron, but it is more plausible that the *historiae* are based

96 The discovery of ἱστορία on papyrus naturally demonstrated the fallacy of this hypothesis.

97 Schwartz [1881].

98 Montanari [1995c] 144.

on material deriving from works dedicated to the Homeric exegesis (*hypomnēmata*, *syggrammata*) or on investigations of a mythographical-antiquarian nature.⁹⁹ The approach recently used by Cameron¹⁰⁰ is different. Cameron considers it almost impossible to assume that the great Alexandrian philologists would have devoted so much space to mythological themes in their commentaries; besides, it is improbable that the collection of the *Mythographus Homericus* continued to circulate until the Byzantine period as an independent work, if it limited itself to reflecting material coming from Homeric *hypomnēmata*. It would be better, Cameron continues, to presume that philologists like Didymus and Theon dipped into the same sources as the *Mythographus*. In works such as Apollodorus' Περὶ θεῶν the mythological narrative was undoubtedly enriched by quotations from poets and prose-writers, intended to illustrate different versions of the stories. During the transfer of the material, the *Mythographus Homericus* might have eliminated the citations, moving the names of the authors cited to the subscriptions.

There are serious doubts about the genuineness of the sources cited by Ptolemaeus Chennos ("The Quail"),¹⁰¹ an Alexandrian grammarian who lived between Nero and Hadrian. Photius (*Bibl. cod.* 190) speaks of his Καινὴ ἱστορία ("New History"), in seven books, describing its richness and usefulness, but also underlining the presence of a number of incredible stories, irrational and badly structured. In the work, of which we have knowledge thanks to *excerpta* handed down above all by Eustathius and Tzetzes, and to the synthesis given by the Patriarch, there is, therefore, a mixture of paradoxographical and mythographical information, and new and traditional versions of mythological stories. Let us consider, for example, what he writes about Odysseus in the first book (*Phot. Bibl. cod.* 190, p. 147a):

Ἵτι Ὀδυσσεύς, διότι ὦτα μεγάλα εἶχεν, Οὐτίς πρότερον ἐκαλεῖτο· ἕτεοῦ δὲ φησι γενομένου μὴ ἀντισχοῦσαν τὴν μητέρα ἐγκυον οὔσαν κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τεκεῖν, καὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσεά διὰ τοῦτο οὕτως ὀνομασθῆναι.

That Odysseus, because he had big ears (ὦτα), was first called Οὐτίς; but he says also that, one rainy day, his pregnant mother, as she could not hold out, gave birth by the side of the road (ὁδός), and that is why he was then called Odysseus.

99 Montanari [1995c].

100 Cameron [2004] 104–106.

101 Tomberg [1968]; Pagani [2005a] n. 5; Pontani [2005b] 72–73; Pagani [2006a]; Hose [2008].

In the fifth book Ptolemaeus also touches on a presumed plagiarism committed by Homer (p. 151a–b): a woman of Memphis, called Phantasia, is said to have composed (συνέταξε) the Trojan war (τὸν Ἰλιακὸν πόλεμον) before Homer's poem and the story about the adventures of Odysseus (τὴν περὶ Ὀδυσσεύος διήγησιν), and to have deposited these books at Memphis; according to this report, Homer then went to that place, obliged the scribe in the temple to give him some copies and subsequently composed his poems. Modern criticism tends to consider Ptolemaeus a supporter of the *gelehrte Lüge*, a genre much appreciated at the court of the Roman Emperors: in the *Καينὴ ἱστορία* he is said to have collected narratives he himself had invented, which he attributed to sources—partly real and partly invented—in order to increase their reliability.¹⁰² However, some have seen this work as a miscellaneous collection to be placed in the ambit of similar peripatetic texts, thus attempting to give a more positive reappraisal of the author.¹⁰³

This overview on the principal mythographers recorded in the Greek literary tradition, which certainly does not claim to be complete, may have helped to define the fundamental role covered by the study of myth in ancient times. An interest in this subject arose, as can be seen, from the most varied cases: historical and ethnological research, reconstruction of the origins of epichoric traditions, customs, rites and cults, philological investigations. Of the hundreds of works which entered into the stream of the *μυθογραφεῖν*, Fate has allowed us to read only small scraps of texts, apart from a very few fortunate exceptions: yet meagre though they are, they are not without their fascination and able, sometimes, to trace the outlines of a world still, from many points of view, shrouded in shadows.

102 The first to propose this was Hercher [1855–1856] 276 and 282.

103 Cf. Chatzis [1914].

Historiography, Ethnography, Geography

Roberto Nicolai

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1 Foreword

The definitions of historiography, ethnography, and geography, and of their respective disciplinary domains, has been found to be problematic not only because of the tendency for works in these fields frequently to cut across borders (as exemplified by the broad compass of Herodotean *ιστορίη*; by geographical accounts in the histories of, *e.g.*, Ephorus, Polybius, Sallust, Caesar; by the geographic and ethnographic works of historians such as Poseidonius and Strabo), but also due to the intersections with other disciplines, and notably with philosophy (see the historical concerns of the so-called sophists, *e.g.* Hippias; but also Democritus, Protagoras, etc.) and with the Earth sciences (works *περὶ ὠκεανοῦ*).¹ The several disciplines, however, eventually progressed towards more clear-cut definitions during the fourth century, and continued to do so in the Hellenistic period. Aristotle and his school played a significant part in determining the outcomes in the classification and organization of knowledge. Only to cite one example, in Arist. *Rh.* 1360a 33–37 we find the distinction being drawn between the domains of *πολιτικὴ τέχνη* and *ῥητορικὴ τέχνη*:

ὥστε δῆλον ὅτι πρὸς μὲν τὴν νομοθεσίαν αἱ τῆς γῆς περίοδοι χρήσιμοι (ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ λαβεῖν ἔστιν τοὺς τῶν ἔθνων νόμους), πρὸς δὲ τὰς πολιτικὰς συμβουλὰς αἱ τῶν περὶ τὰς πράξεις γραφόντων ἱστορίαι· ἅπαντα δὲ ταῦτα πολιτικῆς ἀλλ' οὐ ῥητορικῆς ἔργον ἔστιν.

¹ See Nicolai [1986].

It is clear, therefore, that for legislation books of travel are useful, since they help us to understand the laws of other nations, and for political debates historical works. All these things, however, belong to Politics and not to Rhetoric. (Transl. J. H. Freese)

What is significant to this discussion is Aristotle's assertion that knowledge of the νόμοι of the various peoples derives from the γῆς περίοδοι, and that the latter must inevitably overlap, at least partially, with the category of the πολιτεία.

Philology also resists clear-cut definition, particularly with regard to history, ethnography, and geography. Although pragmatism might suggest that philology be understood as the critical and exegetical interest in literary texts, these plain terms simply shift the difficulties in the definition of philology to what 'textual criticism' and 'exegesis' might mean, or what exactly we ought to regard as a 'literary text'.² Moreover, however obvious we find the divergences between ancient practices in ἐκδόσεις and modern standards for critical editions (since the former only amounted to a work of transcription which could also, though not necessarily, involve some degree of textual emendation), even greater difficulties arise when we compare the various instances of exegetical practice in antiquity with the notion of 'exegesis' as currently understood. Limiting ourselves to the field of literature (a concept which never came to be unambiguously defined with the Greeks), we must note that even the understanding of literary practices varied considerably over the centuries, and that what we would now regard as the 'literary' proper only came to be defined in the fourth century BC.³ Let us also recall that when, as frequently happened, historians used texts which were non-literary, *e.g.* epigraphs, their commentaries would often reveal great critical sensitivity (see, for instance, Thuc. 6. 54. 7).

Related to the uncertain definition of philology as it was understood in antiquity is the question of the origins of philological practice. The view upheld by Pfeiffer, whereby a properly philological approach to texts was strictly the accomplishment of the poet-philologists of the Hellenistic Age, needs to be rectified:⁴ poetry had been the object of comment and interpretation long before the Hellenistic Age, as the major middle section of Plato's *Protagoras* testifies (Pl. *Prt.* 339a ff.). Even the assumption that practices diverged with regard to their respective ends at least calls for qualification: no rigid demarcation

2 Cf. Montana in this volume.

3 On this issue, see my *Gorgia e Isocrate: i poteri della parola e la scoperta della letteratura* (in print).

4 Pfeiffer [1968]. Cf. Rossi [1976]; Nicolai [1992] pp. 265–275; Montanari [1993b] 262; Richardson [1994].

line will hold between an alleged 'pre-history' of philology, with ethical concerns to the fore, and an 'age of the philologists', in which the interest shifted wholly to the questions of editing and interpreting the texts. What had been displayed as the *πρέπον* criterion as early as Hdt. 2. 116. 1, also remained the foundation for the textual criticism and exegesis of the Alexandrian scholars.

2 Historians as the Object of Philological Enquiry and Rhetorical Analysis

Philological investigations of the work of the historians began in the Hellenistic Age, although it should be remembered that their work had already been mined for the purposes of historical documentation in the exegesis of other literary texts: this occurred specifically with regard to the *ιστοριῶν ἀπόδοσις*, *i.e.* the elucidation of the narrative import of the texts.⁵ The fragment of the epitome of a *ὑπόμνημα* to Herodotus by Aristarchus of Samothrace,⁶ conserved in P. Amherst 11 12, has given rise to an ultimately rather unproductive diatribe over the hypothetical existence of an Alexandrian edition of Herodotus as the stem for the manuscript tradition of the Middle Ages.⁷ As far as Thucydides is concerned, there is nothing to attest the existence of Alexandrian commentaries with any certainty, although Didymus might plausibly have drawn on the philological work of his predecessors.⁸ What the later tradition of grammarians might indicate is that Herodotus and Thucydides were used as examples of the Ionic and Attic dialects respectively.

The reasons for using the work of individual historians in the schools of rhetoric would vary: the prevailing concern of rhetoricians was to establish whether and to what extent historians could serve as a model for orators. Central to the debate was the analysis of direct speech, to which the greater part of Dionysius' work on Thucydides is devoted. Dionysius especially concentrated on the choice and distribution of Thucydides' speeches (17f.) and

5 On the use of historians as sources of information for orators, who certainly did not enjoy a robust foundation in philology, see Nicolai [2007]. The authors of commentaries on the orators greatly relied upon the historians, as the commentary to Demosthenes by Didymus shows.

6 On the problems raised by anonymous epitomes and other issues regarding fragments by the philologists or otherwise of philological interest, see Montanari [19970] (on the epitomes in particular, see p. 283).

7 See Nicolai [1992] 272f., cf. also Montana and Dickey in this volume.

8 Thus Pfeiffer [1968] 349f.; on the provenance of the scholia on Thucydides, see Luschnat [1954].

advanced a sophisticated analysis of style, based on the distinction between *πραγματικὸν μέρος* (*inventio*), in which Thucydides excelled, and *λεκτικὸν μέρος* (*dispositio, elocutio*), in which the level of his achievements tended rather to fluctuate. Dionysius devoted particular attention to the lexical and syntactic solutions of Thucydides, in an attempt to refute the authorities who regarded him as an appropriate model for historians, as well as those who assumed that the Greek in Thucydides was representative of the spoken language of his own time (34f.). As a model for oratory, Demosthenes is preferred over Thucydides, as a successful imitation not beset by the latter's stylistic imbalance (52–55). He was also equally adamant that Thucydides could not usefully serve as model for deliberative and judicial rhetoric, and further noted that there were passages in Thucydides which were hardly intelligible without grammatical commentary (51; and cf. 49 on the need for an interpreter, as though Thucydides had been writing a foreign language).

The debate on historians as a model for orators became particularly lively in the first century BC, as witnessed by the works of Dionysius (*De Thucydide, Epistula ad Pompeium, De imitatione*), and also, e.g., by Cicero's writings on rhetoric.⁹ The tenets of the latter debate were summarized by Quintilian, who related it to his discussion of the relations between historiography and poetry (*Inst.* 10. 1. 31):¹⁰

historia quoque alere oratorem quodam uberi iucundoque suco potest. verum et ipsa sic est legenda ut sciamus pleraque eius virtutes oratori esse vitandas. est enim proxima poetis, et quodam modo carmen solutum est, et scribitur ad narrandum, non ad probandum, totumque opus non ad actum rei pugnamque praesentem sed ad memoriam posteritatis et ingenii famam componitur: ideoque et verbis remotioribus et liberioribus figuris narrandi taedium evitat.

History also can nourish the orator with its rich, sweet sap. But we should read it too in the knowledge that many of its excellences are to be avoided by the orator. History is very close to the poets. In a sense it is a prose poem, and it is written to tell a story, not to prove a point. Moreover, it is wholly designed not for practical effect and present conflicts, but to preserve a memory for future generations and for the glory of its author's

9 See Nicolai [1992] esp. 74–83.

10 See Nicolai [1992]; on the theoretical framework of antiquity for the relationship between historiography and poetry see 233–247.

talents. It therefore avoids tedium in a narrative by employing more out-of-the-way words and freer figures. (Transl. D. A. Russell)

Quintilian's assessment is interesting to us because it sanctions the inclusion of historiography within the literary system through its comparison with poetry. The works of historians thereby also became potential sources for grammarians, whose chief efforts went into the exegesis of poetry.

During the second century BC, historiography had become a rightful component of the literary canons.¹¹ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Cicero, and other sources¹² all attest to the existence of two triads of historians, possibly of Alexandrian derivation: one comprising Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon; the other Philistus, Theopompus, and Ephorus. Although a wider canon of ten historians (possibly devised to parallel the ten orators) is also attested by the Byzantine lists edited by Kroehnert,¹³ the point of general validity is that the ultimate inclusion of historians in literary canons was a correlate of the use to which they were put in the schools of the grammarians and rhetoricians.

3 Genealogists and Geographers

Interest in the exegesis of poetic texts, particularly epic poetry, originated with the early prose authors, especially those whose subject matter was mythology and genealogy.¹⁴ All of them, though in varying degrees, may be regarded as exegetes of epic, which they would use for information, but would also comment on and criticize, at times comparing versions of the same narrative episode.¹⁵ The term λογογράφοι to designate these prose writers indicates they were authors of λόγοι to be recited in public (ἀκροάσεις).¹⁶ We cannot follow Dionysius of Halicarnassus in his inclination to regard them as a homogeneous group, mainly on stylistic grounds (*Thuc.* 5). There are marked differences among them regarding purposes and methods of composition, and, not least,

11 On the canon of historians, see Nicolai [1992] 250–339.

12 Dion. Hal. *De imit.*, U.-R. II, pp. 207–210; Cic. *De or.* 2. 13–14; 55–58; *Hortens.* fr. 18 Ruch; Quint. *Inst.* 10. 1. 73–75; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 18. 10.

13 Kroehnert [1897].

14 On the earliest phases of Homeric exegesis see, Montanari [1998a] *if.*, for mythology see Meliadò in this volume.

15 See Nicolai [2003a].

16 See Ferrucci [2001].

the use they made of epic poetry. I will offer a limited number of examples, mostly from Hecataeus, to illustrate different typologies of usage and exegesis of epic.

Very little is known of Pherecydes of Syros:¹⁷ although his theogony is clearly independent of both Homer and Hesiod, the surviving fragments are insufficient to establish whether he wrote allegorical interpretations of epic poetry, as some have surmised.¹⁸ The words of Celsus reported in Origen *C. Cels.* 6. 42 (= fr. 83 Schibli) could be seen to provide an indication:

ταῦτα δὲ τὰ Ὀμήρου ἔπη οὕτω νοήσαντα τὸν Φερεκίδην φησὶν εἰρηκέναι τό-
 “Κείνης δὲ τῆς μοίρας ἔνερθέν ἐστιν ἡ ταρταρὴ μοῖρα. φυλάσσουσι δ’ αὐτὴν
 θυγατέρες Βορέου Ἄρπυιαι τε καὶ Θύελλα, ἔνθα Ζεὺς ἐκβάλλει θεῶν ὅταν τις
 ἐξυβρίσῃ”.

These words of Homer, he (= Celsus) alleges, were so understood by Pherecydes, when he said that beneath that region is the region of Tartarus, which is guarded by the Harpies and Tempest, daughters of Boreas, and to which Zeus banishes any one of the gods who becomes disorderly. (Transl. F. Crombie)

Although the reference is to Hom. *Il.* 8. 13–16, we must be wary of backdating to an archaic author the allegorical mode which was only later to become established and habitual. Allegorical interpretation, the search for hidden layers of meaning (ὑπόνοια), only became genuinely established with Theagenes of Rhegium towards the end of the sixth century.¹⁹

Hecataeus of Miletus, wrongly regarded by modern (though not by ancient) scholars as the initiator of historiography,²⁰ produced works on genealogy and geography. In both fields he turned to epic, which was invaluable in establishing genealogies, and also ancient history and the toponymy of regions and cities.²¹ His celebrated proemial assessment of Greek λόγοι, which were

17 Cf. Meliadò in this volume.

18 See Schibli [1990] 99 n. 54.

19 See Richardson [1975] 65–77.

20 See Nicolai [1997].

21 See Jacoby, *FGrHist* 1, *Komm.*, [1957] 535: “Die Ἑλλήνων λόγοι gehen ganz, oder doch in erster Linie, auf die epischen Dichter”. See also Jacoby [1949] 228 n. 9: the term “Ἕλληνες, which in Hecataeus designates mainly, though not exclusively, the epic poets, accumulated a wider range of senses in Herodotus, to cover also the prose works of the genealogists, geography, and the περὶ φύσεως. On the use of epic poetry as a documentary source in Hecataeus, see Nicolai [2003a] 86–98. Cf. also Meliadò in this volume.

numerous and unreliable, and which he unfavourably contrasted with his own narrative (*FGrHist* 1 F 1, *ap. Ps.-Demetr. Eloc.* 12 Ἑκαταίος Μιλήσιος ὧδε μυθεῖται. τάδε γράφω, ὡς μοι δοκεῖ ἀληθέα εἶναι. οἱ γὰρ Ἑλλήνων λόγοι πολλοί τε καὶ γελοιοί, ὡς ἐμοὶ φαίνονται, εἰσὶν, “Hecataeus of Miletus thus relates. ‘I write these things as they seem to me to be true. For the tales told by the Greeks are, as it appears to me, many and absurd’” [Transl. W. Rhys Roberts]), makes it clear that he strove for a dependable reconstruction of the heritage of Greek traditions, emended of the most controversial and outrageous elements. Hecataeus never challenged the view that the gods interacted with human beings, as *Hdt.* 2. 143 clearly attests, but he did want to consolidate the traditions upon which the hegemonic claims of the Greek aristocracy were grounded.

The fragments of the *Genealogies* refer to the most important γένη, the ones most widely celebrated in epics: Danaïds, Deucalionides, Argonauts, Heracleidae, Labdacids. The clearest illustration of the use of epos as a documentary source is F 19, *ap. sch. Eur. Or.* 872:

ἡ πολλὴ δόξα κατέχει μὴ ἀφίχθαι τὸν Αἴγυπτον εἰς Ἄργος, καθάπερ ἄλλοι τέ φασι καὶ Ἑκαταίος γράφων οὕτως. “ὁ δὲ Αἴγυπτος αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἦλθεν εἰς Ἄργος, παῖδες δέ, <έόντες>, ὡς μὲν Ἡσίοδος [fr. 127 Merkelbach-West] ἐποίησε, πεντήκοντα, ὡς ἐγὼ δέ, οὐδὲ εἴκοσι”.

As fame widely has it, Egypt never came to Argos. Among others there is the account of Hecataeus, who writes: “Egypt did not come to Argos, but his sons did, whom Hesiod said to be fifty in number, but I say were not even twenty.”

Hecataeus set himself on a level with Hesiod, claiming for himself the authority to establish (ποιεῖν) the number of the sons of Egypt, and to amend the figure given by Hesiod. The scholiast’s reference to πολλή δόξα relates to the *corpus* of poetry (mainly epic and tragic) and mythography which was available to him. F 18, *ap. sch. Ap. Rhod.* 4. 259 refers to the journey of the Argonauts along the Phasis: as far as can be established, on this point the opinions of Hecataeus and Hesiod (fr. 241 Merkelbach-West, *ap. sch. Ap. Rhod.* 4. 259) must have differed only in part, and the problem was represented by the course of the Phasis, which Hecataeus believed to flow into the Ocean. In F 27, *ap. Paus.* 3. 25. 4 (cf. *sch. Antimach., ap. PCairo* 65741, col. II 26ff., p. 83 Wyss) Hecataeus examines the *vulgate*, of Homeric descent, regarding Cerberus, possibly following a Hesiodic version according to which the keeper of Hades was actually a dreadful serpent.²² An interesting case, in which the epic poets

22 The suggestion is put forward in Nenci [1955] 136.

are not explicitly referred to, is F 15, *ap. Ath.* 2. 35 a–b, with its account of the genealogy of Oeneus (Οἰνεύς) and of the ancient name for the vine (οἶνη), and in which the evocation of the παλαιοὶ Ἕλληνες must correspond to the epic poets (cf. Hes. *Op.* 572 and [Sc.] 292).²³

As a criterion for the study of the geographical work of Hecataeus when direct references to epic sources are absent, it is viable to cross-reference the disappearance of the site for which we are given a toponym with its survival in the epics.²⁴ Some instances are the toponyms recorded in the Catalogue of the Ships, and the Trojan Catalogue: Kynos (F 131), Olizon (F 135), Enete,²⁵ Alazia (tied to the Alazones: F 127), Φθειρῶν ὄρος (F 239). Thus, F 308, *ap. Aristid.* 36. 108, II 297 K. (ὁ τοίνυν Κάνωβος ὄνομά ἐστι Μενελάου κυβερνήτου, ὡς Ἐκαταίος τε δὴ φησιν ὁ λογοποιὸς καὶ τὸ κοινὸν τῆς φήμης, οὗ τελευτήσαντος περὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον λείπεται τοῦνομα, “‘Canobus’ was the name of Menelaus’ steersman, according to the account of Hecataeus logographer and to *communis opinio*. When he died, the place we speak of was named after him”) names Canobus, steersman of the ship of Menelaus, whose name was given to the site of his death; and when the name of Hecataeus is associated with τὸ κοινὸν τῆς φήμης, this probably ought to be taken to indicate the epic tradition (*Nostoi*) on the one hand, and the exegesis of the epics, and mythography on the other.

No less than Hecataeus and the other logographers, Hellanicus of Lesbos²⁶ found epic poetry to provide a frame of reference, as a passage in the *Contra Apionem* of Flavius Josephus (1. 16 = *FGrHist* 4 T 18) clearly attests:

περίεργος δ' ἂν εἶην ἐγὼ τοὺς ἐμοῦ μᾶλλον ἐπισταμένους διδάσκων ὅσα μὲν Ἑλλάνικος Ἀκουσίλαω (*FGrHist* 2 T 6) περὶ τῶν γενεαλογιῶν διαπεφώνηκεν, ὅσα δὲ διορθοῦται τὸν Ἡσίοδον Ἀκουσίλαος, ἢ τίνα τρόπον Ἐφορος μὲν Ἑλλάνικον ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις ψευδόμενον ἐπιδείκνυσιν.

It would be superfluous for me to point out to readers better informed than myself what discrepancies there are between Hellanicus and Acusilaus on the genealogies, how often Acusilaus corrects Hesiod, how the mendacity of Hellanicus in most of the statements is exposed by Ephorus. (Transl. H. St. J. Thackeray)

23 Cf. n. 21, above.

24 An instance is the toponym Oechalia in the *Genealogies* F 28.

25 See Nicolai [2003b] and *infra*.

26 Cf. Meliadò in this volume.

Apart from the sequence of the corrections, what stands out is that Hesiod should be placed at the start of the chain. In actual fact, F 94, *ap. sch. Eur. Rhés.* 29 (ὁ δὲ Ἡσίοδος Εὐρώπης μὲν φησιν αὐτὸν ** ὡς Ἑλλάνικος, “Hesiod says that [Sarpedon] was born of Europa. Likewise Hellenicus”) testifies to a convergence of Hellenicus with Hesiod; but then, on the other hand, F 95, *ap. sch. Ap. Rhod.* 2. 178 (Ἀγήνορος γὰρ παῖς ἐστίν, ὡς Ἑλλάνικος. ὡς δὲ Ἡσίοδος φησιν [fr. 138 Merkelbach-West], Φοίνικος τοῦ Ἀγήνορος καὶ Κασσιεπείας, “[Phineus] is the son of Agenor, as Hellenicus records. Otherwise, as Hesiod maintains, he was the son of Phoenix, in turn born of Agenor, and of Cassiopea”) shows a divergence. Equally, divergences from Homer are to be found in F 141 and F 144. In F 141, *ap. sch. Hom. Il.* 24. 495, it is said that Priam had 56 sons and daughters, and not 50, which makes it likely Hellenicus was also drawing on the epic cycle, alongside the *Iliad*;²⁷ the argument in F 144, *ap. Strab.* 10. 2. 14, instead, largely relies on the Catalogue of the Ships (spec. *Hom. Il.* 2. 631ff.), although some of its elements probably originated with Hellenicus, and filtered to Strabo through Apollodorus of Athens. Hellenicus also studied the biographies of the more archaic poets, and traced back the genealogies of Homer and Hesiod to Orpheus (F 5).²⁸

An author we frequently find in connection with Hellenicus, of whom *Suda* claims he was the pupil (*FGrHist* 5 T 1), is Damastes of Sigeum,²⁹ who produced, among other things, a work in two books *Ancestors of Those who Fought at Troy* (Περὶ γονέων καὶ προγόνων τῶν εἰς Ἴλιον στρατευσαμένων), a *Catalogue of the Peoples and Cities* (Ἐθνῶν κατάλογος καὶ πόλεων) and one *On Poets and Sophists* (Περὶ ποιητῶν καὶ σοφιστῶν). No fragment is extant of the genealogical work; of the geographical tract there is only a surviving fragment on the northernmost peoples, including the Hyperboreans (F 1, *ap. Steph. Byz. s.v. Ὑπερβόρειοι*, p. 650 M.). Of the fragments bearing no title or heading, F 3, *ap. Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom.* 1. 72. 2, deals with Aeneas and the founding of Rome; F 7, *ap. Plut. Vit. Cam.* 19, establishes a date for the capture of Troy; F 9, *ap. Strab.* 1. 3. 1, the extent of the Troad; F 11, *ap. Vit. Hom. Rom.* p. 30. 24 Wil., records the place of birth and genealogy of Homer.

There is not enough room to attend to other great genealogists, such as Acusilaus of Argos and Pherecydes of Athens;³⁰ nor to touch upon the *corpora* of the sophists who were most interested in the ἀρχαιολογία, *i.e.* the most remote history, such as Hippias of Elis, or to human progress, such as Protagoras of

27 See Jacoby, *FGrHist* 1, *Komm.* [1957] 466f.; Ambaglio [1980] 126.

28 See Jacoby, *FGrHist* 1, *Komm.* [1957] 434f.; Ambaglio [1980] 105.

29 Cf. Meliaddò in this volume.

30 See Meliaddò in this volume.

Abdera, author of the treatise *On the Original State of Things* (Περὶ τῆς ἐν ἀρχῇ καταστάσεως), of which we can form a partial idea through references in Plato's *Protagoras*.³¹ What we are able to establish with confidence is that the practice of drawing on epic was to some extent common to all: from Hesiod, mostly, in the case of the genealogists; from epic poetry in general, and especially the *Iliad*, with authors interested in archaic history. Exegesis was grounded in the cross-examination of epic sources, and the principle of verisimilitude; most certainly it also extended to a linguistic approach, as testified by the exegesis of the poem of Simonides in Plato's *Protagoras*.

4 The Great Historiography of the Classical Age

Herodotus was rightly considered an eminently Homeric author (Ps.-Long. *Subl.* 13. 3), and this ancient assessment was largely based on narrative technique.³² The distance between Herodotus and former genealogists and geographers can mostly be gauged by the extent to which he relies on epic poetry,³³ a point I shall expand through a small set of examples.

Herodotus inserts the Trojan saga in his second book, and sets it against the timeframe of the Egyptian dynasties (2. 112–120).³⁴ Herodotus cannot expunge the Trojan war from the sequence of events, but critically revises and rewrites it,³⁵ stating his preference for the Egyptian version according to which, after she had been abducted by Paris, Helen was detained in Egypt by king Proteus. According to this version, the Greeks and the Trojans fought each other in vain, and Menelaus was only able to recover his wife in Egypt after Troy had been destroyed. The point of interest is not whether Herodotus is reliable or whether the version he relates actually did originate in Egypt. The issue is that Herodotus prefers a paradigm more closely matching the sensitivity of the tragic poets over an epic paradigm (represented by the Trojan cycle).³⁶ Paris alone is responsible for the destruction of the city of Troy and the plight of its

31 See Nicolai [2005] 250–253.

32 See Rengakos [2006].

33 See Nicolai [2003a] 98–101.

34 See Nicolai [2012b], and see also the bibliography therein, to which we may add: de Jong [2012], according to whom the touch of Herodotus is apparent in all of the Herodotean narration, and Saïd [2012], who examines all references to the Trojan saga in Herodotus and endorses its standing as paradigm. On the broader issue of the presence of myth in Herodotus, see Baragwanath-de Bakker [2012].

35 Thus Montanari [2006b] 52.

36 See Saïd [2012] p. 97f., who cites Stadter [1992] 783.

innocent inhabitants; on the other hand, Menelaus commits a wrong which matches that of his brother Agamemnon in the sacrifice of Iphigenia. In the Egyptian account, that is, Menelaus was prevented from leaving the Egyptian shores by unfavourable winds and was thus induced to sacrifice two local children. Admittedly, Herodotus relates in his proemial section the same version of the rape of Helen recorded in the epics, crediting the Persian λόγοι with it (1. 3). His divergence from the epics takes the form of a string of arguments, grounded in the principle of verisimilitude (εἰκός), which could well have found its place in the *argumentatio* of a piece of judicial oratory (2. 120). In actual fact, the main preoccupation of Herodotus is not with the truth of the matter: namely whether Helen was taken to Troy or instead remained in Egypt. Herodotus, rather, replaces a paradigm he regards befitting of epic poetry (2. 116. 1) with a different paradigm that is markedly foreign to epic. The paradigm in question is attributed to an archaic source which he regards reliable: the Egyptian priesthood. In terms of its truth-content, the Egyptian version of Helen's story has nothing to do with a historical account; rather, it is akin to the myth of Atlantis in Plato's *Timaeus-Critias*, which is also recorded as deriving from the priests of Egypt, and also incorporates precise references to Herodotus.³⁷ In either instance, a paradigmatic event which may be entirely or partly fictional is attributed to the source which is taken to be most reliable, and regarded as superior to the texts upon which the Greeks based the narrative of their own past.

In his discussion of the Homeric account, Herodotus claims that Homer was aware of the Egyptian version and chose not to adopt it because it befitted epic to a lesser extent than the version he preferred to use (2. 116. 1 οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίως ἐς τὴν ἐποποιίην εὐπρεπέης ἦν τῷ ἐτέρῳ τῷ περ ἐχρήσατο, "but seeing that it was not so well suited to epic poetry as the tale of which he made use" [Transl. A. D. Godley]). The argument in Herodotus is based on passages from Homer (2. 116. 3–5 with citations from *Il.* 2. 289–292; *Od.* 4. 227–230 and 4. 351f.) which suggest Paris did not go to Troy directly. According to several commentators, the citations from the *Odyssey* result from an interpolation, because in 2. 116. 6 Herodotus' argument can only be taken to refer to the stay at Sidon which is mentioned in the passage from the *Iliad*, and also because both passages from the *Odyssey* deal with Menelaus' homeward journey from Troy. Without going into the complexities of the state of the text, I should call attention to the fact that ancient exegesis is not devoid of unwarranted citations, which are often inspired by loose associations and tenuous references. On the grounds of the verses he cites, Herodotus establishes the *Cypria* to be not the work of

37 On this point, see Nicolai [2012a].

Homer, since this poem states that Paris arrived at Troy with Helen on the third day due to favourable winds and sea condition, whereas the passage from the *Iliad* clearly has Paris sailing across the Mediterranean before he reaches Troy (2. 117). This section of Homeric exegesis, the conclusion of which is explicitly marked (2. 117 "Ὀμηρος μὲν νῦν καὶ τὰ Κύπρια ἔπεα χαίρετω, "enough, then, of Homer and the Cyprian poems"), offers the clearest illustration of Herodotus' use of the principle of *πρέπον* (2. 116. 1 *εὐπρεπής*). Herodotus wished to question the attribution to Homer of the poems of the epic cycle, bringing to light the inconsistencies with the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* accounts, and thus gave proof of his deep familiarity with the entire *corpus* of texts attributed to Homer (2. 116. 2 *καὶ οὐδαμῆ ἄλλῃ ἀνεπόδισε ἑωυτόν*, "and nowhere else does he return to the story" [Transl. A. D. Godley]). The digression on Homer indicates that Herodotus must have been writing for readers who regarded the matter worthy of interest, and who must also have been able, though not uniformly, to follow his line of argument.

In terms of authorial ascription, Herodotus (4. 32) also doubted the Homeric attribution of the *Epigons*, this being a poem from the Theban cycle which was also ascribed to one Antimachus of Teos. The passage swiftly goes over the few mentions made of the Hyperboreans, and quotes the names of Hesiod (fr. 150 Merkelbach-West) and, precisely, of the *Epigons*.

The two passages cited above should confirm the view that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were the only poems to be regarded as undoubtedly Homeric, and as such were rated as more reliable informants than the remainder of the epic cycle. What is particularly significant in this connection is the determination of a time-line for Homer and Hesiod in Hdt. 2. 53. Herodotus established that both poets had been active four hundred years before his time, and credits them with the creation of a theogony for the Greeks, specifying that they bestowed on their several gods their *ἔπωνυμῖαι*, and individuated their *τιμαί* and *τέχνη* (2. 53. 1). Some poets who were assumed to pre-date Homer and Hesiod should, according to Herodotus, be regarded as posterior. Herodotus ascribes to himself the authority with regard to all information concerning either poet (2. 53. 3 *οἱ δὲ πρότερον ποιηταὶ λεγόμενοι τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν γενέσθαι ὕστερον, ἔμοιγε δοκέειν, ἐγένοντο. τούτων τὰ μὲν πρῶτα αἱ Δωδωνίδες ἱρήϊαι λέγουσι, τὰ δὲ ὕστερα τὰ ἐς Ἡσιόδον τε καὶ Ὀμηρον ἔχοντα ἐγὼ λέγω*, "But those poets who are said to be older than Hesiod and Homer were, to my thinking, of later birth. The earlier part of all this is what the priestesses of Dodona tell; the later, that which concerns Hesiod and Homer, is what I myself say" [Transl. A. D. Godley]).

Herodotus did therefore rely on the testimony of the poets, Homer especially, but, unlike Hecataeus and the other genealogists, did not set them as the starting point for his investigation. He moved, rather, from his own empirical

enquiry and, based on the data so obtained, sought confirmation in the work of the poets, which he subjected to critical scrutiny.³⁸ An instance is 4. 29, where *Od.* 4. 85 is cited in order to corroborate, contrastively, the observation that hornless oxen live in the cold climes:

δοκέει δέ μοι καὶ τὸ γένος τῶν βοῶν τὸ κέλον διὰ ταῦτα οὐ φύειν κέρεα αὐτόθι.
μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ Ὅμηρου ἔπος ἐν Ὀδυσσηΐῃ ἔχον ὦδε (Hom.
Od. 4. 85)

καὶ Λιβύην, ὅθι τ' ἄρνες ἄφαρ κεραοὶ τελέθουσι
ὀρθῶς εἰρημένον, ἐν τοῖσι θερμοῖσι ταχὺ παραγίνεσθαι τὰ κέρεα. ἐν δὲ τοῖσι
ἰσχυροῖσι ψύχεσι ἢ οὐ φύει κέρεα τὰ κτήνεα ἀρχὴν ἢ φύοντα φύει μόγις.

And in my opinion it is for this reason that the hornless kind of cattle grow no horns in Scythia. A verse of Homer in the *Odyssey* attests to my opinion: "Libya, the land where lambs are born with horns on their foreheads", in which it is correctly observed that in hot countries the horns grow quickly, whereas in very cold countries beasts hardly grow horns, or not at all. [Transl. A. D. Godley]

Homer is invoked in support of the γνώμη of Herodotus (regarding which cf. 2. 99. 1) who, in the previous chapter, had described the long, bitter Schythian winters in great detail.

Felix Jacoby had noted that Herodotus frequently measures himself against the Ἑλλήνων λόγοι in his second book, and had highlighted some of the passages in which Homer and poets at large are discussed. In 2. 23 Herodotus criticizes the believers in the existence of the river Ocean:

ὁ δὲ περὶ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ λέξας ἐς ἀφανὲς τὸν μῦθον ἀνενεΐκας οὐκ ἔχει ἔλεγχον.
οὐ γάρ τινα ἔγωγε οἶδα ποταμὸν Ὠκεανὸν ἐόντα, Ὅμηρον δὲ ἢ τινα τῶν
πρότερον γενομένων ποιητέων δοκέω τοῦνομα εὐρόντα ἐς ποίησιν ἐσενεΐκασθαι.

The opinion about Ocean is grounded in obscurity and needs no disproof; for I know of no Ocean river; and I suppose that Homer or some older poet invented this name and brought it into his poetry. (Transl. A. D. Godley)

In 3. 115. 2, the name of Eridanus, Greek and not barbaric, is shown to betray its origins as the making of some poet (τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ἑριδανὸς αὐτὸ κατηγορεῖ

38 Thus Funke [1986] 79.

τὸ οὖνομα ὡς ἔσσι 'Ελληνικὸν καὶ οὐ βάρβαρον, ὑπὸ ποιητέω δέ τινος ποιηθέν, "The very name Eridanus betrays itself as not a foreign but a Greek name, invented by some poet" [Transl. A. D. Godley]).

In 6. 52. 1 (Λακεδαιμόνιοι γὰρ ὁμολογέοντες οὐδενὶ ποιητῇ λέγουσι κτλ., "The Lacedaemonians say—but no poet agrees etc." [Transl. A. D. Godley]), a traditional Spartan narrative is compared with its version in the poets, with which it does not tally. Herodotus compares three distinct traditions (the Spartan, the common Greek, and Persian) regarding the origins of Spartan royalty.³⁹ In recounting the common Greek tradition, Herodotus dwells upon the limitations that impinge upon genealogies, remarking how he could go no further than Perseus, son of Danae (6. 53. 1f.):

ταῦτα μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι μόνοι 'Ελλήνων, τάδε δὲ κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπ' 'Ελλήνων ἐγὼ γράφω, τούτους γὰρ δὴ τοὺς Δωριέων βασιλέας μέχρι μὲν δὴ Περσέος τοῦ Δανάης, τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπεόντος, καταλεγόμενους ὀρθῶς ὑπ' 'Ελλήνων καὶ ἀποδεικνυμένους ὡς εἰσὶ "Ἕλληνες· ἤδη γὰρ τηνικαῦτα ἐς "Ἕλληνας οὗτοι ἐτέλεον. "Ἐλεξα δὲ μέχρι Περσέος τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνάκαθεν ἔτι ἔλαβον, ὅτι οὐκ ἔπεςτι ἐπωνυμίη Περσεΐ οὐδεμίᾳ πατρὸς θνητοῦ, ὥσπερ 'Ηρακλεΐ 'Αμφιτρύων· ἤδη ᾧ ὀρθῶ λόγῳ χρεωμένῳ μέχρι Περσέος ὀρθῶς εἴρηται μοι.

The Lacedaemonians are the only Greeks who tell this story. But in what I write I follow the Greek report, and hold that the Greeks correctly recount these kings of the Dorians as far back as Perseus son of Danae—they make no mention of the god—and prove these kings to be Greek; for by that time they had come to be classified as Greeks. I said as far back as Perseus, and I took the matter no further than that, because no one is named as the mortal father of Perseus, as Amphitryon is named father of Heracles. So I used correct reasoning when I said that the Greek record is correct as far back as Perseus. [Transl. A. D. Godley]

Herodotus implicitly identified the common Greek tradition with that of the poets, but did not ratify it as far as acknowledging that the father of Perseus is Zeus, who was united to Danae in the guise of a rainfall of gold. The term of comparison appears in the renowned passage from the second book of the *Histories*, where Herodotus introduces Hecataeus, who recites his own genealogy before the priests of Thebes as far back as a god (2. 143. 1 ἐς ἑκκαίδεκατον θεόν,

39 The method is employed by Herodotus in the proemium (Hdt. 1. 1–5), for instance, where he discusses the abduction of women (Io, Medea, Helen), which supposedly gave rise to hostilities between the Greeks and Barbarians.

“in the sixteenth generation”), while the priests point him to the 345 statues of their own human forebears οὐ δεκόμενοι παρ’ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ θεοῦ γενέσθαι ἄνθρωπον, “for they would not be persuaded by him that a man could be descended from a god” (2. 143. 4) (Transl. A. D. Godley). The emendation in Herodotus is thus far more radical than Hecataeus, of whom Mazzarino remarked that he “could not cast aside, for this Egyptian encounter, his conviction that the gods had had dealings with humans, in Greece, up to a date that would approximately coincide with the year 1100 BC.”⁴⁰ The poetic tradition was thus seen as the originator for names and myths which later were to become part of the common tradition: however, albeit implicitly, the poets were also held accountable for the lapses in verisimilitude of the tradition.

Thucydides’ Archaeology (Thuc. 1. 2–19) is a piece of demonstrative discourse with the aim of establishing the greatness of the Peloponnesian War, which Thucydides is about to relate, over all former wars.⁴¹ A framework of socio-economic dynamics, rooted in the development of non-nomadic communities, in their accumulation of wealth, and their efforts to defend it is employed to relate the more remote history. Thucydides makes use of Homer as witness, at times quoting him directly. In 1. 2. 2, the general frame of what we would call pre-historic Greece is clearly moulded on the description of the social organisation of the Cyclops in book IX of the *Odyssey*:

τῆς γὰρ ἐμπορίας οὐκ οὔσης, οὐδ’ ἐπιμειγνύντες ἀδεῶς ἀλλήλοις οὔτε κατὰ γῆν οὔτε διὰ θαλάσσης, νεμόμενοί τε τὰ αὐτῶν ἕκαστοι ὅσον ἀποζῆν καὶ περιουσίαν χρημάτων οὐκ ἔχοντες οὐδὲ γῆν φυτεύοντες, ἀδηλον ὃν ὁπότε τις ἐπελθὼν καὶ ἀτειχίστων ἅμα ὄντων ἄλλος ἀφαιρήσεται, τῆς τε καθ’ ἡμέραν ἀναγκαίου τροφῆς πανταχοῦ ἂν ἡγούμενοι ἐπικρατεῖν, οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀπανίσταντο, καὶ δι’ αὐτὸ οὔτε μεγέθει πόλεων ἴσχυον οὔτε τῇ ἄλλῃ παρασκευῇ.⁴²

There was no commerce, and they could not safely hold intercourse with one another either by land or sea. The several tribes cultivated their own soil just enough to obtain a maintenance from it. But they had no accumulations of wealth, and did not plant the ground; for, being without walls, they were never sure that an invader might not come and despoil them. Living in this manner and knowing that they could anywhere obtain a

40 Mazzarino [1965] 78.

41 See Nicolai [2001b].

42 See Nicolai [2005] 237–240. The passage from the *Odyssey* is cited in Pl. *Leg.* book three, where the passage on the founding of Troy is also cited (*infra*). See also Tulli [2003].

bare subsistence, they were always ready to migrate; so that they had neither great cities nor any considerable resources. [Transl. B. Jowett]

Contrast, in particular, the passage from Thucydides above with Hom. *Od.* 9. 105–129, esp. 108, 123 (the absence of agriculture among the Cyclops), 125–129 (the absence of ships and sea-faring skills among the Cyclops). Other information from the same passage in the *Odyssey* was thoroughly revised in Thucydides' adaptation. For instance, the remark on the absence of assemblies and civic institutions (Hom. *Od.* 9. 112 τοῖσιν δ' οὔτ' ἀγοραὶ βουλευφόροι οὔτε θέμιστες) and of the cave-dwelling of the Cyclops translates with Thucydides into the notion that there were no major powerful cities in 'pre-historic' times. A hint of elaboration upon the Homeric source is probably to be seen in the passage of the Archaeology of Thucydides in which it is reported that the cultivation of the land in more ancient times was limited to a level of subsistence (Thuc. 1. 2. 2 νεμόμενοί τε τὰ αὐτῶν ἕκαστοι ὅσον ἀποζῆν), and should also be set in relation to Hom. *Od.* 9. 114f. (θεμιστεύει δὲ ἕκαστος / παῖδων ἢδ' ἀλόχων, οὐδ' ἀλλήλων ἀλέγουσι, "and each one is lawgiver to his children and his wives, and they reckon nothing one of another" [Transl. A. T. Murray]), where it is held that the Cyclops only look after their closest kin, with no regard for the others. It may thus be maintained that both the treatment reserved by the Cyclops for their guests, and their weak social bonds (Hom. *Od.* 9. 401–412), the same which, combined, ensured the outcome of Odysseus' verbal trick, might have contributed to the picture painted by Thucydides. *Ex post* confirmation may be derived from Pl. *Leg.* 680b 3ff., which, within a like context, explicitly cites Hom. *Od.* 9. 112–115.

In Thuc. 1. 3. 3, the authority of Homer is called upon to prove the name Hellenes is subsequent to the Trojan war;⁴³ in 1. 5. 2, the ancient poets serve as evidence upon the problem of piracy, and reference is clearly made to such testimonies as, *e.g.*, Hom. *Od.* 3. 71 ss., 9. 252ff.

The much-debated Thucydidean passage on the founding of cities (Thuc. 1. 7)

τῶν δὲ πόλεων ὅσαι μὲν νεώτατα ὤκισθησαν καὶ ἤδη πλωιμωτέρων ὄντων, περιουσίας μᾶλλον ἔχουσαι χρημάτων ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς αἰγιαλοῖς τείχεσιν ἐκτίζοντο καὶ τοὺς ἰσθμοὺς ἀπελάμβανον ἐμπορίας τε ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς προσοίκους ἕκαστοι ἰσχύος. αἱ δὲ παλαιαὶ διὰ τὴν ληστείαν ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀντίσχευον ἀπὸ θαλάσσης μᾶλλον ὤκισθησαν, αἱ τε ἐν ταῖς νήσοις καὶ ἐν ταῖς

43 See Vannicelli [1989] esp. 37ff. and 45ff., according to whom Thucydides has in mind *Il.* 2. 681–685 particularly.

ἡπίροις (ἔφερον γὰρ ἀλλήλους τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοι ὄντες οὐ θαλάσσιοι κάτω ὤκουσιν), καὶ μέχρι τοῦδε ἔτι ἀνωκισμένοι εἰσίν.

In later times, when navigation had become general and wealth was beginning to accumulate, cities were built upon the sea-shore and fortified; peninsulas too were occupied and walled-off with a view to commerce and defence against the neighboring tribes. But the older towns both in the islands and on the continent, in order to protect themselves against the piracy which so long prevailed, were built inland; and there they remain to this day [Transl. B. Jowett]

may perhaps be clarified in the light of its Homeric hypo-text (*Il.* 20. 215–218):⁴⁴

Δάρδανον αὖ πρῶτον τέκετο νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς,
κτίσσε δὲ Δαρδανίην, ἐπεὶ οὐ πῶ Ἴλιος ἱρή
ἐν πεδίῳ πεπόλιστο πόλις μερόπων ἀνθρώπων,
ἀλλ' ἔθ' ὑπωρείας ὤκειον πολυπίδακος Ἴδης.

at the first Zeus, the cloud-gatherer, begat Dardanus, and he founded Dardania, for not yet was sacred Ilios builded in the plain to be a city of mortal men, but they still dwelt upon the slopes of many-fountained Ida [Transl. A. T. Murray].

The position of Troy enabled the city to control a stretch of coastline (thus Strab. 13. 1. 7, who bases himself on Homer) and the straits, whereas old Dardania, perched upon the slopes of Ida, had no outlets for economic and military expansion. Over the fifth and fourth centuries, the frequency of direct or indirect references to *Il.* 20. 215ff. (aside from Thucydides: *Hellenic. FGrHist* 4 F 25a; Pl. *Leg.* 681e 1–5) suggests the Homeric source had been commented upon prior to Thucydides, not only for its documentary evidence on antiquity, but also because it may have entered the speculative debate on the development of human civilization. The topos of city-foundation as a fundamental stage towards progress appears in Protagoras (Pl. *Prt.* 322a 8f., which possibly derives from the *Περὶ τῆς ἐν ἀρχῇ καταστάσεως*) and Hippias (Pl. *Hp. mai.* 285d 6–e 2). The words Plato has Hippias pronounce point to some correlation between the genealogies of humans and of heroes, and the foundation of cities; meaning that the foundation of the oldest cities was the work of heroes, most of whom were the heroes of epic poetry.

44 See Nicolai [2005] 241–245.

The Thucydidean section on the Trojan war (Thuc. 1. 9–12. 2) may be regarded as a re-writing of the Trojan cycle, starting from its premises: Agamemnon's power, and not the oaths of Helen's suitors to Tyndareus, are to be taken as motive for his gathering of the army (1. 9. 1). The oral tradition from the Peloponnesus is preferred over Homer and the epic (1. 9. 2 οἱ τὰ σαφέστατα Πελοποννησίων μνήμη παρά τῶν πρότερον δεδεγμένοι, "Those Peloponnesians who possess the most accurate traditions" [Transl. B. Jowett]). Homer is explicitly adduced with regard to the extent of Agamemnon's fleet and the information that he offered to supply the Arcadians with ships. In particular, within the context of a detailed analysis of Hom. *Il.* 1. 2. 108, Thucydides (1. 9. 4) calls upon Homer as a witness in order to prove that the role of Agamemnon was determined by his military power, and notably that, as ruler of several islands, he possessed a mighty fleet:

φαίνεται γὰρ ναυσί τε πλείσταις αὐτὸς ἀφικόμενος καὶ Ἀρκάσι προσπαρασχών, ὡς Ὅμηρος τοῦτο δεδήλωκεν, εἴ τῳ ἰκανὸς τεκμηριώσαι. καὶ ἐν τοῦ σκήπτρου ἅμα τῇ παραδόσει εἶρηκεν αὐτὸν πολλῆσι νήσοισι καὶ Ἄργεϊ παντὶ ἀνάσσειν. οὐκ ἂν οὖν νήσων ἕξω τῶν περιοικίδων (αὐταὶ δὲ οὐκ ἂν πολλαὶ εἶεν) ἡπειρώτης ὦν ἐκράτει, εἰ μὴ τι καὶ ναυτικὸν εἶχεν. εἰκάζειν δὲ χρὴ καὶ ταύτῃ τῇ στρατείᾳ οἷα ἦν τὰ πρὸ αὐτῆς.

Of the chiefs who came to Troy, he, if the witness of Homer be accepted, brought the greatest number of ships himself, besides supplying the Arcadians with them. In the Handing down of the Sceptre he is described as "The king of many islands, and of all Argos." But, living on the mainland, he could not have ruled over any except the adjacent islands (which would not be 'many') unless he had possessed a considerable navy. From this expedition we must form our conjectures about the character of still earlier times. [Transl. B. Jowett]

Even the notorious argument upon the archaeology of the future is set in between two statements concerning the numbers of the Achaean expedition on Troy and the reliability of the testimony of the poets (1. 10. 1 and 1. 10. 3 respectively):

καὶ ὅτι μὲν Μυκῆναι μικρὸν ἦν, ἢ εἴ τι τῶν τότε πόλισμα νῦν μὴ ἀξιόχρεων δοκεῖ εἶναι, οὐκ ἀκριβεῖ ἂν τις σημείω χρώμενος ἀπιστοίῃ μὴ γενέσθαι τὸν στόλον τοσοῦτον ὅσον οἴ τε ποιηταὶ εἰρήκασιν καὶ ὁ λόγος κατέχει.

When it is said that Mycenae was but a small place, or that any other city which existed in those days is inconsiderable in our own, this

argument will hardly prove that the expedition was not as great as the poets relate and as is commonly imagined. [Transl. B. Jowett]

οὐκ οὐκ ἀπιστεῖν εἰκός, οὐδὲ τὰς ὄψεις τῶν πόλεων μᾶλλον σκοπεῖν ἢ τὰς δυνάμεις, νομίζειν δὲ τὴν στρατείαν ἐκείνην μεγίστην μὲν γενέσθαι τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς, λειπομένην δὲ τῶν νῦν, τῇ Ὀμήρου αὖ ποιήσει εἴ τι χρὴ κἀνταῦθα πιστεῦειν, ἦν εἰκός ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον μὲν ποιητὴν ὄντα κοσμήσαι, ὅμως δὲ φαίνεται καὶ οὕτως ἐνδεεστέρα.

We ought not then to be unduly sceptical. The greatness of cities should be estimated by their real power and not by appearances. And we may fairly suppose the Trojan expedition to have been greater than any which preceded it, although according to Homer, if we may once more appeal to his testimony, not equal to those of our own day. He was a poet, and may therefore be expected to exaggerate; yet, even upon his showing, the expedition was comparatively small. [Transl. B. Jowett]

The bent of the argument in Thucydides is to prove that the scale of the Trojan war was comparatively small, when set against the Spartan-Athenian war he narrates—although the former had, in fact, been the greatest of all previous conflicts. For the same quantitative ends, Thucydides examines the figures in the Catalogue of the Ships, estimating the number of participants in the Achaean expedition on the basis of the men embarked on the Boeotian ships and on the ships of Philoctetes. The exegesis of the Catalogue in Thucydides is a display of remarkable accuracy (1. 10. 4f.):

πεποίηκε γὰρ χιλίων καὶ διακοσίων νεῶν τὰς μὲν Βοιωτῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν, τὰς δὲ Φιλοκτῆτου πενήκοντα, δηλῶν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, τὰς μεγίστας καὶ ἐλαχίστας. ἄλλων γοῦν μεγέθους πέρι ἐν νεῶν καταλόγῳ οὐκ ἐμνήσθη. αὐτερέται δὲ ὅτι ἦσαν καὶ μάχιμοι πάντες, ἐν ταῖς Φιλοκτῆτου ναυσὶ δεδῆλωκεν. τοξότας γὰρ πάντας πεποίηκε τοὺς προσκώπους. περίνεως δὲ οὐκ εἰκός πολλοὺς ξυμπλεῖν ἕξω τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τῶν μάλιστα ἐν τέλει, ἄλλως τε καὶ μέλλοντας πέλαγος περαιώσεσθαι μετὰ σκευῶν πολεμικῶν, οὐδ' αὖ τὰ πλοῖα κατάφαρκα ἔχοντας, ἀλλὰ τῷ παλαιῷ τρόπῳ ληστικώτερον παρεσκευασμένα. πρὸς τὰς μεγίστας δ' οὖν καὶ ἐλαχίστας ναῦς τὸ μέσον σκοποῦντι οὐ πολλοὶ φαίνονται ἐλθόντες, ὡς ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος κοινή πεμπόμενοι.

For it numbered, as he tells us, twelve hundred ships, those of the Boeotians carrying one hundred and twenty men each, those of Philoctetes fifty; and by these numbers he may be presumed to indicate the largest and

the smallest ships; else why in the catalogue is nothing said about the size of any others? That the crews were all fighting men as well as rowers he clearly implies when speaking of the ships of Philoctetes; for he tells us that all the oarsmen were likewise archers. And it is not to be supposed that many who were not sailors would accompany the expedition, except the kings and principal officers; for the troops had to cross the sea, bringing with them the materials of war, in vessels without decks, built after the old piratical fashion. Now if we take a mean between the crews, the invading forces will appear not to have been very numerous when we remember that they were drawn from the whole of Hellas. [Transl. B. Jowett]

The information regarding the problem of supplying the Achaean army with food, and the need to cultivate the lands of Chersonesus and also practice piracy (1. 11) is derived from the combination of the *Iliad* with other sources, most likely the Trojan cycle, and provides an explanation for the ten-year duration of the war. Thucydides also mentions the Achaean wall (1. 11. 1), a greatly debated issue in the exegeses of antiquity (and one surviving into modern times).⁴⁵ Once again the drift of the argument is to confirm the small scale of that war, when measured both against the data, and against its representation in the poets (1. 11. 2 *ἀλλὰ δι' ἀχρηματίαν τά τε πρὸ τούτων ἀσθενή ἦν καὶ αὐτὰ γε δὴ ταῦτα, ὀνομαστότατα τῶν πρὶν γενόμενα, δηλοῦται τοῖς ἔργοις ὑποδέεστερα ὄντα τῆς φήμης καὶ τοῦ νῦν περὶ αὐτῶν διὰ τοὺς ποιητὰς λόγου κατεσχηκότος*, "Poverty was the real reason why the achievements of former ages were insignificant, and why the Trojan War, the most celebrated of them all, when brought to the test of facts, falls short of its fame and of the prevailing traditions to which the poets have given authority" [Transl. B. Jowett]). The epic cycle is also the source for information regarding the perilous homeward voyages of the Achaeans from Troy (1. 12. 2), whereas the calculations concerning Boeotian colonisation may be relying on the exegetical work of the logographers, who had most likely taken an interest in the toponym 'Arne' (*Il.* 2. 507; *Thuc.* 1. 12. 3).⁴⁶

Chapter 21 is a synthetic presentation of the methodology for the investigation in the Archaeology, and of its results: in this chapter, the current war is by far the greatest of all former conflicts, although the available evidence will only serve for quantitative estimates. Here too, the value of the poets as documentary sources is played down, and that of the logographers as well (1. 21. 1):

45 See Porter [2011].

46 Nicolai [2001b] 272.

ἐκ δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων τεκμηρίων ὅμως τοιαῦτα ἂν τις νομίζων μάλιστα ἂ διήλθον οὐχ ἁμαρτάνοι, καὶ οὔτε ὡς ποιηταὶ ὑμνήκασι περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον κοσμοῦντες μᾶλλον πιστεύων, οὔτε ὡς λογογράφοι ξυνέθεσαν ἐπὶ τὸ προσαγωγότερον τῇ ἀκροάσει ἢ ἀληθέστερον, ὄντα ἀνεξέλεγκτα καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ χρόνου αὐτῶν ἀπίστως ἐπὶ τὸ μυθῶδες ἐκνευικηκότα, ἠύρησθαι δὲ ἡγησάμενος ἐκ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων σημείων ὡς παλαιὰ εἶναι ἀποχρώντως.

Yet any one who upon the grounds which I have given arrives at some such conclusion as my own about those ancient times, would not be far wrong. He must not be misled by the exaggerated fancies of the poets, or by the tales of chroniclers who seek to please the ear rather than to speak the truth. Their accounts cannot be tested by him; and most of the facts in the lapse of ages have passed into the region of romance. At such a distance of time he must make up his mind to be satisfied with conclusions resting upon the clearest evidence which can be had. [Transl. B. Jowett]

The fact that this formulation comes after the section bemoaning the excessive credulity among the “sayings of those who were our predecessors” (ἀκοαὶ τῶν προγεγεννημένων), illustrated by two mistakes in Herodotus (who is not named, however) (1. 20), demonstrates that Thucydides is at once measuring himself against Homer and epic poetry, on the one hand, and also, on the other, against both Herodotus and the logographers.

Outside the Archaeology, Homer is named only twice, in 2. 41. 4 and 4. 104, where two passages from the *Hymn to Apollo* are cited. In the latter instance, Thucydides borrows from the Homeric testimony in order to demonstrate the importance and great antiquity of the celebrations at Delos, in a pattern that is modelled upon the Archaeology in the first book. Epic is also relied upon in 4. 24. 5, in a discussion of the strait of Messina,⁴⁷ and in a further Archaeology, namely the Sicilian Archaeology (6. 2. 1), where the poets provide the information on the most ancient inhabitants of the island: Cyclops and Laestrygonians. As in the first book, Thucydides draws from the poets only a modicum for his discussion, deliberately refraining from venturing into speculation that must have been current in his own time. Besides, the localisation of the Cyclops and Laestrygonians in Sicily is not to be found in the Homeric epics, and is a derivation from successive exegesis, possibly starting as early as Hesiod (fr. 150. 25–26 Merkelbach-West; cf. Strab. 1. 2. 14).

When comparing the attitudes of Herodotus and Thucydides towards the poetic tradition, particularly the Homeric tradition, it is interesting to note that

47 See Hornblower [1996] 180–182.

the Herodotean critical approach seeks to pinpoint whether poets may serve as informants; Thucydides, on the other hand, neatly discriminates between recent and ancient history, and will only allow the authority of the poets in the investigation of the latter, whilst marking the limitations of the validity of their testimony. The Archaeology of the first book may thus be read as a *virtuoso* piece of epideictic writing, proving the incomparable greatness of the Peloponnesian war; it is also, however, a discourse on method, dealing with the tools and sources that will allow past events to be reconstructed correctly.

The relation of Ephorus of Cyme with Homer, whom he considered a fellow native of Cyme, must have been particularly strong. In *FGrHist* 70 F 1, *ap.* [Plut.] *Vit. Hom.* 1. 2, Ephorus discusses the genealogies of Homer and Hesiod. In F 9, *ap.* Harp. α 244 Keaney, in the context of a statement on methodology, we are offered an appreciation of the wealth of narrative detail that is of the essence in epic and myth:

περὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς γεγενημένων [...] τοὺς ἀκριβέστατα λέγοντας πιστοτάτους ἡγούμεθα, περὶ δὲ τῶν παλαιῶν τοὺς οὕτω διεξιόντας ἀπιθανωτάτους εἶναι νομίζομεν, ὑπολαμβάνοντες οὔτε τὰς πράξεις ἀπάσας οὔτε τῶν λόγων τοὺς πλείστους εἰκὸς εἶναι μνημονεύεσθαι διὰ τοσοῦτων.

On the fact which occurred in our own time [...] we have deemed to be wholly worthy of credit those authors who related most precisely; but upon ancient events, those whose narratives were equally precise we have regarded unreliable entirely, assuming it to be most contrary to reason that they should remember at such a removal in time neither all of the facts, nor most of the words.

The ancient facts of which Ephorus speaks match chronologically with the Trojan war, and belong to that heroic age which only the words of the poets made accessible. Just like the genealogists, Ephorus refers to the entire epic *corpus*: in F 15, *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Δυμᾶνες, p. 240 M. he discusses Egymius, king of the Dorians and the subject of a poem which in antiquity had been attributed to Hesiod, though the attribution is doubtful.

Ephorus' approach to *κτίσεις*, and to *ἀρχαιολογία* more in general apparently contradicts the time constraints determined by the upper limit of the homecoming of the Heracleidae.⁴⁸ F 11, *ap.* Ath. III p. 105d, takes us to the survivors

48 On the issue of delimiting the *spatium historicum* in Ephorus, see Parmeggiani [1999], who excludes there are rigid boundaries and highlights the use in Ephorus of the investigation techniques employed by Thucydides in the Archaeology. See also Breglia Pulci Doria

in the deluge of Deucalion; F 14, *ap. sch.* Ap. Rhod. 1. 1168, takes us to Heracles; F 23, *ap. Sud.* π 1168 Adler, and F 34, *ap. Ael. Theon Progymn.* 2 p. 95. 27 Sp., take us to Pirithous and Theseus; in F 24, *ap. Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀθήναι*, p. 33 M. Diante is discussed; in F 122, the Curetes. This latter fragment combines a statement that may be compared to the Archaeology of Thucydides (1. 2. 6: whether the Athenians are autochthones) with the documentary use of inscriptions (see discussion below). F 147, *ap. Strab.* 10. 4. 8, contains a version of the myth of Mynosses which is, let us say, more acceptable—Mynosses being represented as following the example of a notably righteous man, who was also his brother's namesake, being called Rhadamanthys. The nine years spent by Mynosses in Zeus' cave would explain *Od.* 19. 178. F 31ab, *ap. Ael. Theon Progymn.* 2 p. 95. 8 Sp. + *Strab.* 9. 3. 11f., offers diverging evaluations, within a limited time-frame, of the treatment reserved by Ephorus to mythical subject matter. The rhetorician Theon interprets the Ephorean version of the myths of Tityos and Python as models of ἀνασκευή of myth (F 31a, *ap. Ael. Theon Progymn.* 2 p. 95 Sp.). Strabo, instead, is keen on distinguishing the domains of history and myth and condemns Ephorus for having betrayed his promise, and for pointlessly humanizing mythical characters (F 31b, *ap. Strab.* 9. 3. 11–12).⁴⁹ Ephorus' manner of proceeding has a precedent at least in Hecataeus (cf. *FGrHist* 1 F 27). The question that might be asked, rather, is whether, in the fourth century, Ephorus could have been in a position to disregard myths, as Strabo would have it. We must answer in the negative. Ephorus at least still depended on Apollo as founder of the Pythian oracle and had no access to an abstract, transcendent conception of the divine:

Ephor. *FGrHist* 70 F 31b, *ap. Strab.* 9. 3. 11f. "Ἐφορος δ', ᾧ τὸ πλείστον προσχρώμεθα διὰ τὴν περὶ ταῦτα ἐπιμέλειαν, καθάπερ καὶ Πολύβιος μαρτυρῶν τυγχάνει, ἀνὴρ ἀξιόλογος, δοκεῖ μοι τάναντία ποιεῖν ἔσθ' ὅτε τῇ προαιρέσει καὶ ταῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑποσχέσεσιν. ἐπιτιμῆσας γοῦν τοῖς φιλομυθοῦσιν ἐν τῇ τῆς ἱστορίας γραφῇ καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐπαινέσας προστίθησι τῷ περὶ τοῦ μαντείου τούτου λόγῳ σεμνὴν τινα ὑπόσχεσιν, ὡς πανταχοῦ μὲν ἄριστον νομίζει τάληθές, μάλιστα δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ταύτην. "ἄτοπον γάρ, εἰ περὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων τὸν τοιοῦτον αἰεὶ τρόπον διώκομεν" φησὶ "περὶ δὲ τοῦ μαντείου λέγοντες, ὃ πάντων ἐστὶν ἀψευδέστατον, τοῖς οὕτως ἀπίστοις καὶ ψευδέσι χρησόμεθα λόγοις".

[2001] 154–162, who documents the interest in Ephorus towards the pre-history of the different sites.

49 For an analysis of the fragment in its context in Strabo, see Parmeggiani [2001].

Ephorus, whom I am using more than any other authority because, as Polybius, a noteworthy writer, testifies, he exercises great care in such matters, seems to me sometimes to do the opposite of what he intended, and at the outset promised, to do. At any rate, after censuring those who love to insert myths in the text of their histories, and after praising the truth, he adds to his account of this oracle a kind of solemn promise, saying that he regards the truth as best in all cases, but particularly on this subject. “For it is absurd,—he says—if we always follow such a method in dealing with every other subject, and yet, when speaking of the oracle which is the most truthful of all, go on to use the accounts that are so untrustworthy and false”. [Transl. H. L. Jones]

I would not rule out that Strabo conflated the proemial remarks of Ephorus concerning *veritas* and the space to be assigned to traditional narratives (along the lines of Thuc. 1. 22. 4) with the preamble to the story narrated in book four of his work.⁵⁰ The key to the passage lies in the definition of the Delphic oracle: ὁ πάντων ἐστὶν ἀψευδέστατον, “which is the most truthful of all”. If Ephorus had undermined the Apollonian lineage of the oracle, he would not only have disqualified that particular myth: the framework for the founding of the cities would have caved in on itself, since most acts of foundation were, as we know, inspired by the oracle’s pronouncements. The public demanded to have the *μυθῶδες*, to use the Thucydidean term, because it needed it. Moreover, we should not disregard the renewed importance of Delphic amphictyony in the fourth century.⁵¹ Riccardo Vattuone has noted that in F 31b Ephorus studies a remote tradition and seeks to verify it by means of contemporary data, such as the Pythian procession.⁵² Comparable use of the same method is made within

50 On this point, see Vattuone [1998] 193: “La soluzione più plausibile entro l’argomentazione di Strabone è che Eforo abbia biasimato i φιλομαθοῦντες all’inizio dell’opera (ταῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑποσχέσειν) in un discorso più ampio su ἀλήθεια, e che poi sia ritornato sull’argomento all’inizio del IV libro, a proposito di un tema che si prestava in maniera particolare al rifiuto di ἄπιστοι καὶ ψευδεῖς λόγοι, vale a dire il racconto delle vicende del santuario delfico”.

51 On this point, see Spreca [2007] 196, in the context of a work which emphasizes the relationship between Athens and the civilizing impulse of the god Apollo. See also Avagianou [1998] 136, according to whom “the Ephoran Apollo functions like the Isocratean Theseus and fulfills the panhellenic point of view of the historian, standing for humanity and virtue”.

52 Vattuone [1998] 192–194. On the presumptive method of Ephorus, see Parmeggiani [2001] 190 who suggests the definition “autopsia archeologica”. On the fragment, see also Parmeggiani [1999] esp. 120f. and Breglia Pulci Doria [2001] 153f.

the like context of Isocrates' *Panegyric* (28), in the discussion on the gifts of Demeter, which is fundamentally a discussion of traditional lore, of its credibility and value.

Ephorus appears to be placed firmly within a historical-geographic tradition which had begun with the early exegetes of epic and had been continued in historical writings as well as in the *ἱστοριῶν ἀπόδοσις* of the grammarians.⁵³ The use of poetic texts as μαρτύρια (F 122, *ap.* Strab. 10. 3. 2–4) finds a parallel in the Thucydidean discussion upon Delos (Thuc. 3. 104). It is a fragment we owe to Strab. 10. 3. 2–4, which ends with a citation that Strabo reads as a climax of proud assertion, sealing the successfulness of the argument:

ὁ δ' ὡσπερ κατωρθωκῶς ἐπιλέγει, διότι ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα “διακριβοῦν εἰώθαμεν, ὅταν ᾗ τι τῶν πραγμάτων ἢ παντελῶς ἀπορούμενον ἢ ψευδῆ δόξαν ἔχον”.

But Ephorus, as though he had achieved success in his argument, adds: “It is my wont to examine such matters as these with precision, whenever any matter is either altogether doubtful or falsely interpreted”. [Transl. H. L. Jones]

With this formulation, Ephorus expresses a noteworthy statement of method: when it comes to antiquarian issues, the historian is urged to examine the matter more thoroughly, *e.g.* by making recourse to epigraphic documentation, as in this instance.⁵⁴

Anaximenes of Lampsacus,⁵⁵ according to Diod. Sic. 15. 89. 3 (*FGrHist* 72 T 14; cf. T 6), began his exposition “from the origins of the gods and of the first generation of humans” (*ἀπὸ θεογονίας καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων*) and then moved on to epic subject matter. Anaximenes not only composed works on history, but was also a rhetorician and the author of a text *On Homer* (T 13), in which he examined the issue of the birth place of the poet (F 30, *ap. Vit. Hom. Rom.* vi p. 30. 24 Wil.). Anaximenes was the pupil of Zoilus of Amphipolis, the grammarian known by the designation of Ὀμηρομάστιξ (T 1, *ap. Sud.* α 1989 Adler). That he devoted himself to other authors as well is witnessed in T 22, dealing with the Seven Sages who were said to have cultivated poetry.

53 See Nicolai [2005–2006].

54 On this issue and more generally on the use of documents in Ephorus, see Schepens [2003] 343 and 345f. On the sources used by Ephorus and his possible recourse to autopsy and local informers, see Breglia Pulci Doria [2001] 141–147.

55 See Meliaddò in this volume.

His interest in the myths transmitted by the poets surfaces in F 3, *ap. Ath.* VI p. 231c, where he accounts for the fame of the necklace of Eriphyle in terms of the rarity of gold among the Greeks at that ancient time. This account is analogous to the discussion in Thuc. 1. 5. 2 of the testimonies in Homer regarding piracy. Anaximenes' interest in grammar finds confirmation in the work of his pupil Timolaus of Larissa in Macedonia, who reportedly added in his Τρωικός one verse of his own for each verse in the *Iliad* (T 20, *ap. Sud.* τ 626 Adler). This operation required a great knowledge of epic poetry, equal or possibly greater to that of the later composers of centos.

Callisthenes of Olynthus, a nephew and pupil of Aristotle, also approached the text of Homer in terms of textual criticism. Strab. 13. 1. 27 (= *FGrHist* 124 T 10) records that Alexander the Great, with Callisthenes and Anaxarchus, would read and annotate with critical symbols (σημειωσαμένου) a copy of the *Iliad*, dubbed ἐκ τοῦ νόρθηκος. Strabo, with a display of great propriety in the use of philological terminology, acknowledges that Alexander and his companions were engaged in a practice that was not wholly dissimilar from that of the Alexandrian philologists.⁵⁶

In F 10, *ap. sch. Eur. Hec.* 910, from the second book of the *Hellenika*, Callisthenes expresses his view on the date of the capture of Troy, developing an argument of astronomy based on a line from the *Little Iliad* (9 Bernabé).⁵⁷ Callisthenes contrasts his own view with the opinion of τινες τῶν ἱστορικῶν—though the label is somewhat broad, and could refer to anyone researching any field, including investigations in the past. Recourse to the natural sciences in the study of epic poetry stems, on the one hand, from the scientific mindset of the Peripatetic school while, on the other, it leads back to epic as the starting point for the exposition and elucidation of scientific doctrines. Commentaries on epic allowed the ancient schools to include a number of subjects which would otherwise have been excluded, such as astronomy, geography, the natural sciences. The Trojan war was perhaps also treated in F 1, *ap. Ath.* XIII p. 560b–c, from the writing *On the Holy War*, which possibly conducted a comparison of the Third Holy War with both the First Holy War and the Trojan war.⁵⁸

56 See Nicolai [2005–2006] 59f., also with regard to the position of Pfeiffer, who denies the existence of an Aristotelian edition of Homer.

57 See Prandi [1985] 61f.

58 Thus Prandi [1985] 66–68; see also Nicolai [2006] 712f.

5 Hellenistic Historiography and Geography

Use of epic poetry as documentary matter continued during the Hellenistic period as historians and geographers worked to gain an understanding of the remoter ages. The gradual perfecting of philological skills in certain authors allowed some, notably those with interests in grammar, to probe issues in exegesis and textual criticism which had been approached only marginally in former times.

Interest in the biographies of the poets also continued, applying the habitual technique of drawing the information regarding an author from his own work. An example is to be found in Timaeus of Tauromenium, *ap.* Polyb. 12. 24. 1f., who observed that poets and prose writers disclosed aspects of their temperament through high frequency phrase occurrences in their work. Accordingly, Homer could thus be characterized as a glutton, because he often talks about the practice of dismembering flesh, whereas Aristotle betrays his disposition as a *gourmand* by the frequent mention of succulent dishes. Athenaeus (10. 430a), likewise, cites poems from Alcaeus to conclude he must have been devoted to wine—drinking as he does at all seasons and on all occasions.

In the Hellenistic period, geography graduated to the rank of an independent discipline with Eratosthenes and Strabo—the latter providing a compendium of all ancient geographic wisdom. Quite naturally, geography came into existence before geography: before the scope and purposes of the discipline were defined, that is. Strabo, among other things, merged the physico-mathematical approach with the geographical-ethnographic interest.⁵⁹ Alongside the documentary mining of epic, a debate arose on the subject of the status of geographical indications in Homer. This debate stemmed from issues in the education of young men, Homer being awarded central position in the pedagogical system; because it also involved the definition of the epic genre against geography, it became an extension of the debate on poetics, from Aristotle onward.

According to the account in the opening section in Strabo (1. 1. 1), Eratosthenes of Cyrene believed Homer, Anaximander, and Hecataeus to have dealt with geography first (fr. I A 1 Berger = 1 Roller). Strabo (fr. I A 4, I A 19, I A 21 Berger = 2 Roller) also teaches that, according to Eratosthenes, diversion and not instruction was the aim of the poets. Eratosthenes criticised Homer for excessive detail in his information on the toponyms of Greece and the bordering regions, when measured against his limited display of knowledge of more

59 See van Paassen [1957].

remote lands.⁶⁰ Reference is made to some of the designations in the Catalogue of the Ships. As far as we can tell, the main drift of his critique was concerned with the voyage of Odysseus. In what is possibly the most famous fragment of the *Geographikà*, we read (I A 16 Berger = 5 Roller, *ap. Strab.* 1. 2. 15):

οὐκ ἐπαινεί δὲ οὐδὲ τὴν τοιαύτην τοῦ Ἐρατοσθένους ἀπόφασιν, διότι φησὶ τότ' ἂν εὐρεῖν τινα ποῦ Ὀδυσσεὺς πεπλάνηται, ὅταν εὕρῃ τὸν σκυτέα τὸν συρράψαντα τὸν τῶν ἀνέμων ἀσκόν.

He [Polybios] does not approve of this assertion by Eratosthenes, where he says that one will find where Odysseus wandered when you find the cobbler who sewed up the hide of winds. (Transl. D. W. Roller)

Another fragment forms part of the same context (I A 12 Berger = 6 Roller, *ap. Strab.* 1. 2. 12), in which it is said:

ταύτης φησὶ τῆς ἰδέας εἶναι καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ὀδυσσεύως πλάνην λεγομένους, τοὺς δὲ μὴ πεπλάσθαι λέγοντας ἀλλ' ὑποκείσθαι ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ μὴ συμφωνεῖν ἐλέγχεσθαι ψευδομένους.

He [Eratosthenes] says that those mentioned in the wanderings of Odysseus are also a construct, and that those who say they are not invented but substantiated are convicted of falsehood because they do not agree with one other. (Transl. D. W. Roller)

The critique of Eratosthenes was founded in poetics, in a notion destroying any exegetic attempt to salvage reliance on Homer, as the above cited fr. I A 12 Berger = 6 Roller (*ap. Strab.* 1. 2. 12) makes clear:

πειράται διαβάλλειν φανερώς ψευδῆ καὶ οὐκ ἄξια λόγου διὰ μακρῶν, πρὸς δὲ τὴν προτέραν, ποιητὴν τε ἅπαντα ἀποφήνας φλύαρον καὶ μήτε τόπων ἐμπειρίαν μήτε τεχνῶν πρὸς ἀρετὴν συντείνειν νομίσας.

He believes that he [Homer] attempts to misrepresent something obviously false and unworthy of a lengthy discussion, and in the former, that all poets tell falsehoods and that their experience of places and arts does not lead to virtue (Transl. D. W. Roller).

60 See fr. I A 4 Berger = 2 Roller; I A 6 Berger = 8 Roller; I A 11 Berger = 3 Roller.

In the same train of argument, Strabo also draws an interesting comparison between Homer and Hesiod. Strabo (1. 2. 14) asks:

ἢ καὶ Ἑσιόδῳ μὲν ἔπρεπε μὴ φλυαρεῖν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς κατεχούσαις δόξαις ἀκολουθεῖν, Ὁμήρῳ δὲ πᾶν ὅ τι ἂν ἐπ' ἀκαιρίμαν γλώσσαν ἤη κελαδεῖν;

Is it fitting for Hesiod not to talk nonsense and to follow prevailing opinions, yet for Homer 'to shout forth everything that comes to this untimely tongue'? (Transl. D. W. Roller)

A widely discussed passage among ancient philologists is *Od.* 1. 23:⁶¹ Eratosthenes also joined in the debate, and accused Homer of being ignorant (I A 8 Berger = 10 Roller). The systematic critique of Homer by Eratosthenes, a polygraph with keen philological skills, was later to be taken up by Apollodorus of Athens.

Polybius frequently quotes from Homer in order to prove his familiarity with epic poetry. He devotes a section of his thirty-fourth book to the voyage of Odysseus (34. 2–4) in an attempt to refute Eratosthenes and to find elements in support of the view that Homer stands as a witness. The passage is mentioned in Strabo (see above), who agrees with Polybius. A different fragment in book thirty-four shows that Polybius was acquainted with the allegorical exegesis of Homer (34. 11. 20):

ἀφ' οὗ δὴ τὸ μυθωδέστατον δοκοῦν εἰρήσθαι τῷ ποιητῇ οὐ μάτην φαίνεσθαι λεχθέν, ἀλλ' αἰνιξαμένου τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ὅταν φῆ ταμίαν τῶν ἀνέμων τὸν Αἰόλον.

Therefore, it appears that Homer did not speak without meaning, but was stating a truth allegorically when he called Aeolus 'steward of the winds'. (Transl. E. S. Shuckburgh)

The formulation αἰνιξαμένου τὴν ἀλήθειαν should be understood as referring to the attempts to seek hidden truths to which Homer alluded even in the statements that are most doubtful or contrary to πρέπον.

A philological stance is also taken in book twelve, in the section on the errors of Timaeus. In 12. 4a. 4ff. Polybius criticises Timaeus,⁶² who in turn had blamed

61 On the discussion surrounding this passage in the *Odyssey*, cf. Cratet. fr. 37 Broggiato (with the annotations in Broggiato [2001] 200–203).

62 See Nicolai [1999] especially for the critique of the speeches of Timaeus.

Ephorus for a mistake in stating the timeline for the kingdom of Dionysius the Elder. Polybius remarks (*ibid.*):

τοῦτο γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἂν εἶπαιε δῆπου τοῦ συγγραφέως εἶναι τὸ διάπτωμα, τοῦ δὲ γραφέως ὁμολογουμένως. ἢ γὰρ δεῖ τὸν Ἐφορον ὑπερβεβηκέναι τῇ μωρίᾳ καὶ τὸν Κόροιβον καὶ τὸν Μαργίτην, εἰ μὴ δυνατὸς ἦν συλλογίζεσθαι διότι τὰ τετταράκοντα καὶ δύο προστεθέντα τοῖς εἴκοσι καὶ τρισὶν ἐξήκοντα γίνεται καὶ πέντε. ἢ τοῦτου μηδαμῶς ἂν πιστευθέντος ὑπὲρ Ἐφόρου φανερόν ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἀμάρτημα *** ἐστὶ τοῦ γραφέως, τὸ δὲ Τιμαίου φιλεπίτιμον καὶ φιλέγκλημα οὐδεὶς ἂν ἀποδέξαιτο.

For surely no one could say that the mistake here was the author's, but it is obviously the scribe's. Either Ephorus must have surpassed Coroebus and Margites in stupidity if he could not reckon that forty-two added to twenty-three make sixty-five, or as nobody would believe this of Ephorus, the mistake is evidently due to the scribe. No one, however, could approve of Timaeus' love of cavilling and fault-finding. (Transl. W. R. Paton)

In the course of the diatribe against Timaeus, Polybius stresses that Timaeus has a reputation for historical accuracy—only to then remark on his omissions and accuse him of wilful untruths (12. 10. 4):

καίτοι διότι τοῦτ' ἴδιόν ἐστὶ Τιμαίου καὶ ταύτη παρῆμιλληται τοὺς ἄλλους συγγραφέας καὶ καθόλου τῆδὲ πῆ τῆς ἀποδοχῆς ***—λέγω δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις καὶ ταῖς ἀναγραφαῖς ἐπίφασιν τῆς ἀκριβείας καὶ τὴν περὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἐπιμέλειαν—δοκῶ, πάντες γινώσκομεν.

And yet Timaeus' special boast, the thing in which he outvies other authors and which is the main cause of the reputation he enjoys, is, as I suppose we all know, his display of accuracy in the matter of dates and public records, and the care he devotes to such matters. (Transl. W. R. Paton)

And also (12. 11. 1–3):

ὁ γὰρ τὰς συγκρίσεις ποιούμενος ἀνέκαθεν τῶν ἐφόρων πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς τοὺς ἐν Λακεδαίμονι καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας τοὺς Ἀθήνησι καὶ τὰς ἱερείας τὰς ἐν Ἀργεὶ παραβάλλων πρὸς τοὺς ὀλυμπιονίκας, καὶ τὰς ἀμαρτίας τῶν πόλεων περὶ τὰς ἀναγραφὰς τὰς τούτων ἐξελέγχων, παρὰ τρίμηνον ἐχούσας τὸ διαφέρον, οὗτός ἐστι. καὶ μὴν ὁ τὰς ὀπισθοδόμους στήλας καὶ τὰς ἐν ταῖς φλιαῖς τῶν νεῶν

προξενίας ἐξευρηκῶς Τίμαιός ἐστιν. ὄν οὐθ' ὑπάρχον τι τῶν τοιούτων ἀγνοεῖν οὐθ' εὐρόντα παραλιπεῖν πιστευτέον οὔτε ψευσαμένῳ συγγνώμην δοτέον οὐδαμῶς.

For this is the author who compares the dates of the ephors with those of the kings in Lacedaemon from the earliest times, and the lists of the Athenian archons and priestesses of Hera at Argos with those of the victors at Olympia, and who convicts cities of inaccuracy in these records, there being a difference of three months. Yes, and it is Timaeus who discovered the inscriptions at the back of buildings and list of proxeni on the jambs of temples. We cannot then believe that he would have missed any such thing had it existed, or omitted to mention it had he found it, nor can we in any way excuse his mendacity. (Transl. W. R. Paton)

Beyond the interest in the different outlooks on the work of the historian that are upheld by Timaeus and Polybius, it is worth pointing out that by the time of Polybius, the practice of gathering documentation, especially epigraphic, and analysing it had become established.⁶³ The very critique of Timaeus shows with great clarity that the works of the predecessors were carefully anatomised, in a search for contradictory or fallible statements. In this regard, the historian operated much like the judicial orator, whose task it was to bring out the non-conformities of the opponent's δῆγησις with εἰκός. Familiarising with the work of the predecessors and comparing accounts is, according to Polybius (12. 25e. 1), the first stage in pragmatic history. Polybius, however, deemed scholarly knowledge to be insufficient, needing the support of first-hand military and political experience, and calling for personal acquaintance with the territories (12. 25g. 1–25i. 2). What Polybius (12. 25i. 1) does concede to Homer, instead, is profound knowledge of life—once more marking his variance from Eratosthenes on the subject of geography in Homer (see above).

Dionysius of Halicarnassus chose ancient Roman history as his object of study, ending with the first Punic war. As a matter of course, the investigation of his topic forced him to rely heavily on previous historiography, to compare the several versions of obscure and remote events, and to turn occasionally to poetic sources. Dionysius traces a brief *status quaestionis*, listing the historians who had covered ancient Roman history (1. 6. 1f.): the picture he gives the reader is one of great familiarity with the Greek tradition of historiography,

63 We must at least recall the gathering of epigraphs in Polemon of Ilion (first half of the second century BC). On the use of documents in ancient historiography, see Biraschi-Desideri-Roda-Zecchini [2003].

as well as with the Latin authors who had written in Greek. I shall give one example of the exegetical method in Dionysius from chapter fifty-three of the first book, on the arrival of Aeneas in Italy. Dionysius uses two monuments as τεκμήρια; then he justifies his digression (παρέκβασις) as necessary and as motivated by the divergence of opinion among the συγγραφείς. The notion that Aeneas should have returned to Troy after leading his people into Italy derived, in his opinion, from a misinterpretation of *Il.* 20.307–308 (1. 53. 4):

ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ εἰκάζω τοῖς Ὅμηρου ἔπεσιν οὐκ ὀρθῶς λαμβανομένοις παρακρουθέντες.

According to my conjecture these writers are deceived by mistaking the sense of Homer's verses. (Transl. E. Cary)

Strabo⁶⁴ was roughly a contemporary of Dionysius, and is especially important to our investigation since his work combines the Homeric exegesis of the philologists with the historical and geographic exegesis first practiced by the early genealogists and mythographers, and later developed by historians interested in the events of remotest antiquity. Strabo, in line with his predecessors, has no particular regard for the professional category within which the author of a given statement or interpretation might fall: Alexandrian philologists are cited side by side with Hecataeus and Plato, Anaximenes, and Eratosthenes. Despite his assertions of exclusive interest in current affairs (12. 8. 7), Strabo allows his κολοσσοργία to embrace discussions of ancient history and historical geography. Because the works of his predecessors have since been lost (notably those of Eratosthenes), Strabo also stands as a valuable source. He received a solid education in grammar under Aristodemus of Nysa and Tyrannion, and discussed several issues of Homeric geography in the context of his own geographical work. Book thirteen is especially rewarding, with a lengthy section on the Troad, introduced by an unusually ironic prologue (13. 1. 1):

ἔστι δὲ Τρωάς πρώτη τῆς παραλίας ταύτης, ἣς τὸ πολυθρύλητον καίπερ ἐν ἔρειπίοις καὶ ἐν ἔρημίᾳ λειπομένης ὅμως πολυλογίαν οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν παρέχει τῇ γραφῇ. πρὸς τοῦτο δὲ συγγνώμης δεῖ καὶ παρακλήσεως, ὅπως τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ μήκους μὴ ἡμῖν μᾶλλον ἀνάπτωσιν οἱ ἐντυγχάνοντες ἢ τοῖς σφόδρα ποθοῦσι τὴν τῶν ἐνδόξων καὶ παλαιῶν γνῶσιν. προσλαμβάνει δὲ τῷ μήκει καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐποικησάντων τὴν χώραν Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων, καὶ οἱ συγγραφεῖς οὐχὶ τὰ αὐτὰ γράφοντες περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν οὐδὲ σαφῶς πάντα. ὧν ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἐστὶν

64 See Nicolai [2005–2006].

“Ομηρος εικάζειν περι τῶν πλείστων παρέχων. δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὰ τούτου διαιτᾶν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπογράφαντας πρότερον ἐν κεφαλαίῳ τὴν τῶν τόπων φύσιν.

The first country on this seaboard is the Troad, the fame of which, although it is left in ruins and in desolation, nevertheless prompts in writers no ordinary prolixity. With this fact in view, I should ask the pardon of my readers and appeal to them not to fasten the blame for the length of my discussion upon me rather than upon those who strongly yearn for knowledge of the things that are famous and ancient. And my discussion is further prolonged by the number of the peoples who have colonized the country, both Greeks and barbarians, and by the historians, who do not write the same things on the same subjects, nor always clearly either; among the first of these is Homer, who leaves us to guess about most things. And it is necessary for me to arbitrate between his statements and those of the others, after I shall first have described in a summary way the nature of the region in question. (Transl. H. L. Jones)

Strabo most certainly had access to the works of Apollodorus of Athens on the Catalogue of the Ships and to that of Demetrius of Scepsis on the Trojan Catalogue; it is also likely he was able to consult a commentary along the lines of those transcribed in Venetus Marcianus A—possibly that of Aristonicus (see 1. 2. 31). He also had access (some direct, some indirect) to much prior historiography, and frequently quoted from it where controversial interpretations were at issue. His awareness of the problems deriving from the transcription of manuscripts is clearly voiced where he relates the circumstances of the library of Aristotle,⁶⁵ which, through Sylla, reportedly ended up in the hands of Tyrannion and of certain booksellers, who then entrusted the works to unskilled copyists and neglected to compare copies (13. 1. 54 βιβλιοπῳαί τινες γραφεῦσι φαύλοις χρώμενοι καὶ οὐκ ἀντιβάλλοντες, “certain booksellers who used bad copyists and would not collate the texts”), as occurred with the works copied out for sale in Rome and Alexandria. The only viable collation, in instances such as these, is that of the copy with its antigraph.⁶⁶ In 12. 3. 22 Strabo discusses several authors—Hecataeus, Menecrates of Elea, Palaephatus—who modify the old reading (τὴν ἀρχαίαν γραφήν, “the early text”), plausibly on the strength of the pre-Alexandrian *Homervulgata*. That a pre-Alexandrian variant of *Il.* 2. 852 was attested in Hecataeus is something we learn from Strab. 12. 3. 8:

65 See Novokhatko and Montana in this volume.

66 On the collation between different witnesses as a method of text criticism of ancient scholars, see Montanari in this volume.

it is the reading ἐξ Ἑνετῆς, also known to Zenodotus, instead of the ἐξ Ἑνετῶν, which was to prevail in the Medieval manuscript tradition.⁶⁷ Erbse attributes the scholium containing the reading ἐξ Ἑνετῆς to Aristonicus, affording us a glimpse of the tradition of scholia from which Strabo drew. I cannot here dwell on the long Homeric digression in 12. 3. 20–27, aimed at refuting the mistaken emendations of Homer's text and also its mistaken interpretations, such as that of Apollodorus. What we have, at any rate, is a σύγγραμμα of sorts, which enables us to understand something of the composition of texts of its kind—namely of those works in which Homeric issues were discussed. I shall also refrain from discussing the several questions of Homeric exegesis that stem from issues of toponymy and the elucidation of narrative contents (ἱστοριῶν ἀπόδοσις), in which Strabo uses the poets as *auctoritates*, and holds fast to the principle that Homer demands interpretation, even when he appears to be contradicting the actual facts of the matter: the principle being that Homer must in all cases be justified, even where this involves elaborate exegetical argument. Among his other interests that can be referred to the domain of grammar we have the biographies of the poets (*e.g.*, besides Homer, Anacreon in 14. 1. 30) and the discussions of linguistic issues, extending to languages other than Greek. See, for instance, the discussion of the term βαρβαρόφωνος as attributed to the Carians in *Il.* 2. 867, in the course of which Strabo also mentions the τέχνη περι ἑλληνισμοῦ (14. 2. 28).

Strabo represents a picture of geography as a far-ranging domain, and one which is in constant communication with philology—this too redefined in the broadest possible sense, to encompass textual criticism, exegesis, the commentary of the ἱστορίαι and research on antiquities, studies in language.

The *Geography* of Strabo may be compared with the *Description of Greece* by Pausanias, another work to have carved out a space of its own within the Greek literary system. The *Description* develops as a travelling itinerary, with digressions covering monuments and expositions of local history, and with a general attention to those events which had not found a place in the great historical writings. The localised outlook in Pausanias becomes predominant over the panhellenic, so that Greece becomes a museum of monuments and recollections.

To give a few examples, in book four, devoted to Messenia, Pausanias has recourse to poetry for the remotest history: see, in this regard, 4. 2. 1 where *Eoiae*, *Naupaktia*, *Asius*, and *Cinaethon* are mentioned, and whom Pausanias claims to have consulted on questions of genealogy. In 4. 1. 3f., the *Catalogue of the Ships* and the *Odyssey* are used to support the claim that no city of the

67 See Nicolai [2003b].

name of Messenia ever existed, but only a Messenian people.⁶⁸ The argument closely resembles that in Thucydides 1. 3 on the subject of the designation 'Hellenes'. In 4. 30. 1–4. 31. 1 a discussion of historical geography appears, based on references to the *Iliad* and to the *Hymn to Demeter*. Pausanias makes documentary use of epic, with a keen exegesis of geographical and genealogical issues in particular. The example of Messenia is of interest, in that the loss of political autonomy prevented a local historiography from being established in Messenia prior to 370 BC: the understanding of Messenic identity therefore had to be derived from epic poetry, for accounts of remotest history, and from oral traditions for the Messenic wars and more recent events. In this perspective, we find epic poetry being used as a matrix for new epic compositions (Rhianus of Bene) and as providing the grounds for erudite discussions, such as those in Pausanias.

6 Brief Afterword on Latin Historiography and Antiquarianism

Latin historiography was born from a rib of Hellenistic historiography, as the choice of writing in Greek by the first Latin historians manifests. Cicero had outlined a historical investigation that would remedy the absence of stylistically commendable works among the *litterae Latinae* (cf. *Brut.* 228), but never wrote it. One of his dialogues, however, the *De legibus*, has several historical and antiquarian discussions woven into its plot.⁶⁹

Antiquarianism, by its very nature straddling the domains of historiography and philology, is arguably the genre that most invites the exegetical discussion of texts. Its correct placement within the literary system is hard to define, leaving the issue still open to investigation. The chief representative of this mode of writing in Latin is Varro, who cites and comments upon archaic texts in his *Antiquitates*, and especially upon writings on law and religion. Antiquarian enquiry becomes linguistic and lexicographic, with Varro,⁷⁰ and his exegesis shifts away from poetic texts (which had served Greek historians as a source for the remotest past) to the study of official documents. Over the Hellenistic and Imperial ages in Rome, philology, antiquarianism, and historiography continued to feed into each other. At the same time, however, a synthetic formulation of the achievements in the field must remain poised between two worlds:

68 See Musti-Torelli [1991] 204f., with valuable insights on the role of Andania and the reasons for certain decisions in Pausanias.

69 See Nicolai [2001].

70 See Della Corte [1981] 149–216, in particular p. 166.

although Greek and Latin historiography did gradually incorporate the study of proper documents, it has to be acknowledged that the integration of narrative and antiquarian historiography was never fully accomplished by the ancients, and that only with the accomplishment of that step do we have, in the definition of Arnaldo Momigliano,⁷¹ the turning point for modern historiography.

71 Momigliano [1950].

Medicine and Exegesis

Daniela Manetti

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1 Literacy and Medicine: Texts and Medical Practice

It has been remarked that the adoption of writing by the ancient Greek physicians brought about a profound innovation in the history of medicine.¹ Thus although apparently ancient doctors did not *need* to use writing in their craft, written medical texts are already attested in the mid 5th century as part of a consolidated activity of the *techne*.² For instance, this was the period (the second part of the 5th century BC) that saw the creation of some important medical texts attributed to Hippocrates, under whose name roughly sixty writings

* Translation by Rachel Barritt.

1 See Lonie [1983]; Althoff [1993].

2 *Suidas* s.v. Δημοκλήδης (δ 442) attributes a medical work to the physician Democedes, who lived at the court of the Persian king Darius, around 500 BC. Also dating from this period is a work by Alcmaeon of Croton, a *physikos logos*, mainly on medical issues: see Althoff [1993] 211–212. See also the remarks by Grensemann [1975] 50, according to whom some Hippocratic medicaments imply that the recipes achieved written form no later than about 480 BC, and, for a general survey of the writing practice in medicine, Perilli [2006] and [2009].

have come down to us. They are the core of the present essay. But on reading through these materials it immediately becomes evident that even the most ancient are by no means the first experiments in writing: the authority of the so called *Knidiai gnomai* (*Cnidian Sentences*) reveals a firm tradition, which no physician could afford to disregard, as is made clear by the polemics against this work in the Hippocratic treatise *Regimen in acute diseases*. The text, produced by a collective writing community (οἱ συγγράψαντες), is assumed to be known to its readers; moreover, it has been also revised or re-edited³ to correct mistakes and make improvements. What the author of *Regimen in acute diseases* attacks is a written tradition⁴ and he seeks to counterbalance its influence by using the same kind of medium. And the opinion of *Epidemics* III “The power to study correctly what has been *written* I consider to be an important part of the art of medicine”⁵ shows that the medical profession was extensively ‘literate’.⁶ Furthermore, rewriting for a different purpose, with additions or adaptations, seems to have been a widespread feature in ancient medical texts, as was pointed out in the 1970s by J. Jouanna and H. Grensemann⁷ with regard to the so-called nosological and gynecological treatises of the *Corpus Hippocraticum*.

It should also be borne in mind that while some physicians began either to write lists of diseases for internal use or to produce pamphlets promoting their craft (for ex. *On the art*), or addressed a lay public in order to disseminate basic knowledge on healing (for ex. *On affections*), they also used private notebooks

3 *Acut.* 3 (36, 21 July = II 226, 8 L.) οἱ μέντοι ὕστερον ἐπιδιασκευάσαντες.

4 *Acut.* 3 (37, 2–3 July = II 226, 9–10 L.) ἀτὰρ οὐδὲ περὶ διαίτης οἱ ἀρχαῖοι συνέγραψαν οὐδὲν ἄξιον λόγου.

5 *Epid.* III 3.2,16 (III 100, 7–8 L. = III 16, p. 256 Jones), discussed by Pigeaud [1992²] 325. See also Pigeaud [1978], Marganne [2004a] and [2004b] 102–126.

6 Even the polemical remarks by some Hippocratic authors, such as in *On joints* (33, IV 148, 16 ff. L.), concerning the risks of excessive use of written material in educating the surgeon, reveal that the presence of writing had by that time become inescapable. Furthermore, there was already one ancient historiographical tradition embodied by Celsus, *On medicine*, which underscored that an essential condition for the development of medicine was literacy, see von Staden [1999b] 261 f.

7 Jouanna [1974 = 2009²]; Grensemann [1975], [1982]. That a common literary model underlies parts of the nosological treatises, and that internal comparison permits a distinction between the common heritage and additions inserted at a later time, is a consolidated acquisition of Hippocratic scholarship, independently of the question as to whether they are or are not of ‘Knidian’ origin: see the discussion in Langholf [1990] 12–36. The influence of a common text source can likewise still be discerned in a scrap of papyrus dating from the 2nd c. AD, PKÖln 356, which preserves a parallel version of *Int.* (see Jouanna [2004] 231–236).

(*Epidemics*) to record case histories, and wrote notes to remind themselves of relevant observations or to structure oral teaching, or as a means of tentatively exploring reality. Such notes, once recorded, probably on *pinakes* or some similar informal typology⁸ and shared by the scientific community, were preserved and later selected and manipulated in order to create a teaching text or a *vade mecum* or some other kind of text. This is the context that led to the composition of books like *Aphorisms*, which excerpted, ‘rewrote’ and collected parts of *Epidemics*, of *Airs waters and places* and other medical texts in order to construct a sort of general handbook.⁹

I will not tackle here the notable problem of the parallel texts in the *Corpus Hippocraticum*, but it is important to underline that from the very beginning, in the field of medicine the written text played a crucial role, even before the time of Hippocrates, in the structuring and transmission of knowledge (acting as a complement to practical experience and oral lessons) within the groups of physicians (I deliberately eschew the term ‘school’).¹⁰ Consider, for example, what has been defined the ‘first medical doxography’,¹¹ namely *On the nature*

8 See *Epid.* VI 8.7 τὰ ἐκ τοῦ μικροῦ πινακίδιου (166 Manetti-Roselli = 278 Smith = V 344, 17 L.). “Things from the small tablet”: it is a sort of title which declares the source of the immediately following material. That texts like *Epidemics* could be preserved in tablets or leaflets is not at all surprising; moreover, some accident in their preservation may also account for the composition of *Epidemics* V and VII, which contain many ‘parallel’ passages, see Langholf [1977] 271–273; for the function of similar notes Langholf [1990] 142–149, Alessi [2010]. Langholf [2004] identifies sets of distinct text units within the Hippocratic texts, such units being sometimes arranged in a rather random order; they originated from materials gathered together in what could be termed ‘fact files’ or ‘index records’. The works, which were constitutively anonymous, were built up progressively by successive stratifications and modifications of text blocks.

9 On *Aphorisms*, see Roselli [1989]; for a general sketch of the fluid entities of some writings of the *Corpus Hippocraticum* and the accretive model of composition, Hanson [1997] 304–311.

10 The link with medicine in the temples of deities associated with healing certainly goes back to a very ancient date; cases and therapies were recorded, and the material was destined both to confidential use by the practitioners concerned and also to public use (for ex. the stelae of Epidaurus). This material was sometimes also transcribed by persons not internal to the temple, cf. Perilli [2009] 87–96. Even more ancient is the link between the scriptorial practice of Greek medicine and Egyptian medicine, as noted by Langholf [1989] 64–65.

11 The definition is due to Deichgräber [1971] 98. For a survey of the discussion on its composition and date see Duminil [1998] 75–115 (notice in particular 102: “Beaucoup de difficultés s’éclaireraient si on admet que *Nature des os* est une doxographie issue du fichier d’une bibliothèque médicale”).

of bones: although it is never mentioned in ancient literature, it must have already been attributed to Hippocrates in the 3rd century BC, when Bacchius of Tanagra, a pupil of Herophilus, (see *infra*) glossed a term from it. Such a work, consisting in a series of excerpts on vessels, presupposes the availability of written material (in a library? in a temple? or simply within the medical group?) from which passages could be selected according to the compiler's interest. Texts of this kind had a predominantly 'internal' circulation, but they were continually reproduced, re-adapted and re-used. But other types of text, destined to a broader public, may have had a wider "reception", if it is plausible to perceive an allusion to a sentence from the Hippocratic treatise *De flatibus* in a fragment of the comic playwright Antiphanes (4th c. BC).¹²

Unlike other *technai*, writing practices in the sphere of ancient medicine are testified specifically for the function of training and teaching, and they also had a role in promoting knowledge on medicine beyond the confines of the discipline itself.¹³ This contrasted with the situation observed in other disciplines: for example, handbooks of architecture do not appear to have exerted a similar influence in the promotion of art, although they were presumably used in the context of professional communities.¹⁴

The production and circulation of medical texts was carried out on a multiplicity of supports. Galen, in his commentary on *Hippocrates' In the surgery* (XVIII B 630, 12–14 K.), mentions ancient medical books some of which were on rolls (βιβλία), others on individual sheets of papyrus (χάρται), or on linden-bark paper (φιλύραι). Some idea of the kind of circulation can be gained from the extant medical papyri, but it is only a rough generalization since many of the finds came about by chance and in a discontinuous manner. Marie-Hélène Marganne¹⁵ gives an overview of the existing documentation concerning medical texts preserved on papyrus, and this documentation testifies to virtually all the typologies of supports and scriptorial practices that were common to the various genres of Greek literature. It is worth pointing out that in addition to practical and commonly used typologies such as *ostraka*, papyrus sheets and

12 For the production, circulation and reutilization of technical texts, Perilli [2006] and [2009], Langholf [2004]; on Antiphanes, Langholf [1986] 17–21. The presumed allusion to *Oath* in Aristophanes' *Thesm.* 272–274, proposed by H. S. Jones, is not plausible: see Anastassiou-Irmer [1997] I, 289 with bibliography.

13 See Aristotle's remark that medical writings are useful only for lay people in *Eth. Nic.* x 10, 1181b 2 ff. For the secondary effect of nevertheless addressing a larger audience in producing written texts, Althoff [1993] 221–223.

14 Perilli [2006] and [2009].

15 Marganne [2004b]; the most recent printed list in Andorlini [1993] 458–562, and for a continuous up-dating see <http://promethee.philo.ulg.ac.be/cedopal>.

rolls re-utilized by writing on the reverse side, there are also numerous cases of carefully written books, showing a professional hand.¹⁶

2 The Rise of Interest in Medical Texts: Focus on Hippocrates

The 4th century tradition of medicine soon became centered around the name of Hippocrates, who will be taken as the reference point in addressing the “philology of medical texts”.¹⁷ The so-called “Hippocratic question”, which galvanized the attention of generations of scholars in the attempt to identify the real Hippocrates, has become somewhat outdated and has given way to different trends of investigation, but it needs to be addressed at least as part of the quest to delineate the history of the *Corpus Hippocraticum*, and, if possible, to highlight the stages of a “body that was growing” over time.¹⁸ Pre-Alexandrian evidence is limited to a famous—and much debated—passage from Plato, in which the name of Hippocrates is brought up, as well as a mention of Aristotle and a medical doxography produced in the Peripatos, all of which have given rise to a never-ending bibliography.¹⁹

Several preliminary remarks will be helpful here. Since we will be dealing essentially with the reception of Hippocrates, it should be noted that his ‘reception’ can be understood in several different meanings: 1) a reference to Hippocratic doctrines, 2) a reference to Hippocratic writings, 3) philological-exegetic interest (collection and cataloguing of texts, text criticism enquiring into the issue of authenticity, glossaries, editions, commentaries), 4) doxography, 5) genealogy/biography.²⁰ In this paper the focus of investigation will mainly concern the last three points, which are interrelated and include the definition of a *Corpus* of works attributed to Hippocrates and the debate on their authenticity, the first signs of interest and attention to the texts in the form of lexicons and editions, the extensive development of works devoted to interpretation of the Hippocratic texts and the historical interest in the life and works of Hippocrates within the context of the history of the discipline.

16 For ex. the most ancient exemplar of a Hippocratic work, *Epidemics* II, 1st c. BC, PSchøyen inv. MS 2634/3 + PPrinc inv. AM 15960A = *CPF* [2008] 137–143, or a late exemplar of Gal. *De comp. medic. per genera*, PAnt 186 (5th c. AD) = *CPF* [2008] 10–43.

17 On the scanty traces of philological and exegetic activity devoted to other medical authorities, see *infra* § 4.

18 Roselli [2000].

19 For an overview see Lloyd [1975], Smith [1979] 34–44; Jouanna [1992] 85–105.

20 Kudlien [1989] 355.

Allusions to a Hippocratic text or to Hippocratic doctrines appearing in some 4th century texts and authors (such as that of Antiphanes cited earlier) tell us very little about the putative authorship of a work.

For the Pre-Alexandrian period (4th–3rd c.), the reception of Hippocrates can be considered only in the first two meanings. Certainly, the fame of Hippocrates and his family had become consolidated on Cos during the 4th c., although he does not appear ever to have practised medicine in his native area,²¹ but he also enjoyed considerable renown in Athens, as shown by the presence of Hippocrates' family in the genealogical work by Pherecydes of Athens,²² and by the evidence of Plato and Aristotle.²³

No specific exegetic interest focusing on Hippocrates can be demonstrated either in the work of Ctesias of Cnidos (5th–4th c. BC), a relative of Hippocrates, who seems to take up a polemical stance towards him,²⁴ nor in that of Diocles of Carystus (4th c. BC). One can merely take note of Ctesias' unsurprising knowledge of Hippocratic surgical practice²⁵ or Diocles' familiarity with some Hippocratic work.²⁶ Nevertheless it seems extremely probable that in the early Peripatos there were at least some Hippocratic texts that were read and discussed,²⁷ and the great interest in medicine—already cultivated by the physician's son Aristoteles²⁸—resulted in the first attempt at a historical sketch of medicine. I am referring here to 'Aristotle's' doxography, preserved

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- 21 On the importance of local traditions of Cos and Cnidos, and on the confirmation that some 'biographic' texts of the *Corpus*, considered to be of a late date, have received by epigraphic testimonies, see Jouanna [1992] mainly 43–84.
- 22 Pherecydes *FGrHist* 3 F59 = Sor. *Vit. Hipp.* 1 (CMG IV, p. 175, 3–7).
- 23 Pl. *Prt.* 310c, *Phdr.* 270c; Arist. *Pol.* VII 4 (1326a 15). I do not intend to address the interpretive problems connected with these passages.
- 24 F67 Lenfant = Gal. *In Hipp. Art.* IV 40 (XVIII A 731, 6–9 K.), see Jouanna [1992] 92.
- 25 Jouanna [1992] 592 n. 14; Lenfant [2004] clix–clxi.
- 26 T162 van der Eijk [2000–2001] I, 262, and commentary, II, 302. Galen's commentary on *Airs, waters, places* quotes a passage of *Hygieina* (or of *On catarrhs*, see fr. 137 van der Eijk) by Diocles, where he discusses the meaning of the 'so called' *κέδμα* (*Är.* II 78, 3 L. etc.). *kedma* is attested only in the Hippocratic *Corpus* and in Aretaeus, see Anastassiou-Irmer [2001] II 1, 48 n. 1. Inference of Diocles' direct connection to *Aph.* is possible in frgs. 55a, 55b van der Eijk.
- 27 For the relationship between the *Problemata* and the *Corpus Hippocraticum* (especially with *Aphorisms*, *Airs waters places* and *Epidemics*) see Bertier [1989], Jouanna [1996].
- 28 This has to do with a 'Hippocratic' quotation in *Hist. an.* 512b 12 ff. where Aristotle quotes a passage of *On the nature of man* (*Nat. hom.* II, CMG, I 1, 3, pp. 192, 15–196, 5) but ascribes it to Polybus (who in the biographical tradition is Hippocrates' son-in-law and pupil). In general I do not approach the problem of the traces of Hippocratic treatises in Aristotle: for a summary see Kudlien [1989] and most recently on the issue Oser-Grote [2004].

in PBritLibr inv. 137, the so called Anonymus Londiniensis.²⁹ Upon its first appearance the Hippocrates of the Anonymus, clearly based on the treatise *On Breaths*, ill accorded with the image that had taken shape in the course of nineteenth-century scholarship. I will not go into the history of the question in detail; suffice it to note that according to the doxography, both *On breaths* and *Aphorisms* were regarded in the Peripatos as belonging to the Hippocratic context.³⁰ That the treatise *On breaths*, a work bearing the hallmark of a decidedly rhetorical approach, was very well known (although its Hippocratic authorship cannot be demonstrated) emerges from the above cited fragment of Antiphanes' comedy *The physician* and also from a Callimachean allusion identified by V. Langholf.³¹ Finally, Callimachus takes us to Alexandria, which is not only the turning point of the history of the reception of Hippocrates but also the place where a 'philological' interest in medical texts blossomed in its most concentrated form.

Two preliminary problems must at least be raised: 1) from where and how did medical texts, whether connected to the figure of Hippocrates or not, arrive in Alexandria? 2) is it possible to identify a certain number of works, attributed to him in the most ancient period, which may have constituted the starting point of a *Corpus*?

An erudite culture with literary and dialectological interests had already developed on Cos in the 4th–3rd century, with Philitas of Cos—the author of the *Ἀτακτοὶ γλῶσσαι*³²—who was Ptolemy II's tutor and also the teacher of Zenodotus, the first chief librarian of the Museum. Therefore it is hardly a coincidence that the earliest writer to take an interest in the language of Hippocrates, dedicating a glossary to him, was precisely a grammarian, Xenocritus of Cos, probably a contemporary of Philitas.³³

29 The so-called Anonymus Londiniensis, first edited by H. Diels, *Anonymi Londinensis ex Aristotelis Iatricis Menoniis et alius medicis eclogae* (Berlin 1893) now re-edited by Manetti [2011a]. Even recently some scholars, following in the footsteps of Diels, still attribute the doxography preserved by the papyrus under the name of Aristotle to Menon, Aristotle's pupil (Žhmud [2006] 126 and n. 33, 128, 144–145), on the basis of a passage of Galen (*In Hipp. Nat. hom.*, CMG V 9.1, pp. 15, 25–16, 3). My view remains skeptical, not on the Aristotelian historiographical project and on medicine being a part of it (Žhmud [2003] 109–126), but on the possibility of demonstrating Menon's historical existence: see Manetti [1986]. But the question is not relevant here. For the substantial connection of the doxography to the early Peripatos, see Manetti [1999a].

30 Manetti [1999a] in particular 103–109.

31 Langholf [1986].

32 Fraser [1972] 343–44, Montana § 2.1 in this volume.

33 Erot. prooem. p. 4, 24 Nachmanson: see Fuhrmann [1983] 1533.

Furthermore, Praxagoras of Cos was the teacher of Herophilus, who later became the most important physician in 3rd century Alexandria. The links between Cos and Alexandria, and in particular with the Ptolemies, were close from the very beginning, and testify to a genuinely high regard of the royal family for the Coan physicians, such as Kephisophon, a physician who lived at the court of Alexandria under Ptolemy III, and who was the son of the physician Philippus, the latter having himself lived in Alexandria and the dedicatee of an epigram by Callimachus.³⁴ During the 4th century BC, in concomitance with the increasing prestige of the Asclepiads, Hippocrates' family,³⁵ Cos had probably seen the rise of an interest in the biography of the most famous physician of Cos and certainly also in the writings associated with him. The apparent mention of archives containing medical texts, testified by the late Hippocratic biographies, should certainly be approached with caution, but should not be dismissed out of hand.³⁶ As early as the 3rd century BC, however, the malicious interpretation given by Andreas—a direct pupil of Herophilus—concerning the reason why Hippocrates had left Cos presupposes the existence both of a well developed biography and of libraries and archives. It is not inconceivable that Andreas was expressing a hostile reaction to 'patriotic' versions of the Hippocratic biography that had already filtered through from Cos.³⁷ Nothing can be demonstrated with any certainty, but it seems reasonable not to rule out the possibility that a group of texts on medicine had reached the Alexandrian library from none other than Cos itself³⁸ (*e.g.* brought by physicians such

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- 34 *Anth. Pal.* XII 150: see also Marasco [1996] 450–451. On the decree of Cos for Kephisophon, see Samama [2003] n. 132, 240–243. In the 3rd and 2nd century the island of Cos was an 'exporter' of physicians towards other cities, which issued honorary decrees for them: these decrees stated they had behaved in a manner that was worthy (*ἀξιῶς*) of the homeland (see Samama [2003] 225–55, 266–68, nn. 56, 126, 136): a confirmation of the prestige enjoyed by the local medical tradition.
- 35 A symptom of this prestige, which continued the biographic tradition of the relations of Hippocrates the Great with Perdiccas (see *infra*), can also be seen in the presence of a Hippocrates (IV) of Cos as the physician of Roxane (the widow of Alexander the Great); this physician was murdered upon the instigation of Cassandra: *Suidas s.v.* Ἱπποκράτης τέταρτος (η 567) and Jouanna [1992] 69–71.
- 36 Soranus, *Vit. Hipp.* 4 (CMG IV p. 175, 9 ff.).
- 37 They are similar to those represented, for ex., in the pseudohippocratic treatise *Presbeutikos* 7, in which Hippocrates' journeys are depicted in a eulogistic manner, confirming the renown and philanthropy of Hippocrates. An ancient genealogical tradition that linked the *Asclepiadae* of Cos to Podalirius is testified as early as Theopompus (*FGrHist* 115 F103, 14), in the 4th century BC.
- 38 Fraser [1972] 346 admits that there may be some elements of truth in the hypothesis that the *Corpus* was perhaps the core of a library of a physician of Cos.

as Herophilus, who had received his training on Cos, or purchased by the Ptolemies).

On the other hand, the debt the entire cultural project of the Ptolemies owed to the school of Aristoteles³⁹ is well known, and the Ptolemies are said to have bought Aristotle's library. In actual fact, there are two versions of this story: one by Athenaeus, according to whom the library passed into the hands of Neleus of Skepsis, who is then claimed to have sold it to Ptolemy II, the other being that of Strabo and Plutarch, which depicts a much more adventurous story. In the latter version, Aristotle's library, having passed into the hands of Theophrastus, is then said to have been received by Neleus and his heirs, who purportedly kept it in dreadful conditions, until it was eventually bought by Apellicon of Athens (1st c. BC), from whom it was seized by Sulla, during the era of the occupation of Athens. Sulla is said to have transported it to Rome and to have spread knowledge on its contents, thereby giving rise to a revival of studies on the works of Aristotle.⁴⁰ One of the critical points of the two versions certainly lies in the ambiguity of the concept "Aristotle's library", which fails to distinguish between books *possessed* by Aristotle and those *written* by Aristotle (including the notes forming part of his school materials or his personal notes).⁴¹ It has been suggested that the two versions could perhaps be reconciled by drawing a distinction based on these two major categories, thus separating the works pertaining to various different doctrines that Aristotle had gathered together in his school, which Neleus might perhaps have sold straightaway, from the works composed by Aristotle himself, which, according to this conjecture, Neleus and his family retained for a considerable length of time.⁴² But regardless of which of the two sources is held to be more credible, given the Ptolemies' links with the figures who were active in the early Peripatos and the indisputable knowledge of the Aristotelian texts in the Museum, the concept of the purchase of a stock of books is highly plausible, and it may have represented one of the ways in which medical texts reached Alexandria, since it is quite clear that works of a medical nature were indeed present in the school.⁴³

39 Montana § 2.2 and Lapini § 2.1 in this volume; Irigoien [1994] 50–53.

40 Ath. 1.3a–b; Strab. XIII 1.54 C609, Plut. *Vit. Sull.* 26.1–2.

41 See Blum [1991] 53; cf. also Montana § 2.2 and Lapini § 2.5 in this volume.

42 For a sketch of the different positions, see Blum [1991] 57–58; for the conciliatory interpretation, Irigoien [1994] 52–53.

43 Skepticism regarding the disappearance of the Aristotelian works has been expressed by Barnes [1997] in particular 12–16, where he underlines the attested knowledge of Aristotelian texts at Alexandria; a critic of Strabo's version in Lindsay [1997] 290–98.

There is no reason to postdate the arrival of works of a technical nature in the Museum merely on the grounds that they were not included in Callimachus' *Pinakes*.⁴⁴ Although available information on Callimachus' *Pinakes* is incomplete, nothing rules out the possible presence of physicians among the writers belonging to the individual branches of *paideia* to which the title of his work refers.⁴⁵ In any case, Galen gives us evidence on the existence of *Pinakes* that also involve Hippocrates. Thus in the comment on the passage of *On Joints*, where Hippocrates reminds the readers of a work of his, entitled *περὶ ἀδένων οὐλομελῆς*, Galen points out that the work had not survived and that the work with the same title that was currently in circulation was a modern falsification. Galen adduces two pieces of evidence to prove his case: the earlier physicians did not cite it, but "those who composed the *Pinakes*" did not know it either.⁴⁶ The lack of interest in medical texts during the very early period of the Museum can to some extent be attributed to the obvious hierarchy of literary authors, but it is also far less real than may be imagined. The insertion of medical texts into the *Pinakes* naturally also involved the beginning of an *Echtheitskritik*, although the traces of this that have come down to us are from a far later date.

Galen, the main repository of our knowledge of Alexandrian medical history, gives us some details of the cultural strategy of the Ptolemies; and in the

Blum [1991] 61–64 argues that the Ptolemies did indeed buy Neleus' library, and this position is then followed by Nagy [1998] 205–206.

- 44 Irigoin [1994] 53: "Apparemment, ces traités ne se trouvaient pas au Musée lorsque Callimaque établit ses *Pinakes*, mais il est probable que des copies en ont été acquises plus tard".
- 45 Wendel [1949a] 71–73; Blum [1991] 151. Pfeiffer [1949] 344 (fr. 429), attributes the mention of Eudoxus of Cnidos to his tutor Philistion of Locri, in the class of physicians. Wellmann [1929] 17, goes so far as to suggest that the edition of Hippocrates by Bacchius of Tanagra was based on the list provided by the *Pinakes* of Callimachus, but there is no solid evidence for this.
- 46 οἱ τοὺς πίνακας ποιήσαντες, see Gal. *In Hipp. Art.* XVIII A 379, 6–14 K.: dating these catalogues is difficult, but Galen's formulation is analogous to that used by Dionysius of Halicarnassus for the lists of rhetorical authors in a passage of *Ep. Amm.* 4 (= fr. 432 Pfeiffer), οἱ τοὺς ῥητορικοὺς πίνακας συντάξαντες, which, although anonymous, is nevertheless identified as a Callimachean citation, connected with that of fr. 447. Blum [1991] 150, takes it to be a broader citation, which includes Callimachus and the lists drawn up by the Pergamon grammarians. Certainly, it cannot be ruled out that the "Hippocratic" works may have entered the lists somewhat later, for example in the work by Aristophanes of Byzantium, devoted to correcting and completing Callimachus' *Pinakes* (fr. 368–369 Slater). On the other hand, Bacchius' Hippocratic Lexicon (see *infra*) does suggest the possibility of an early presence of Hippocratic works, already in the Callimachean work.

commentary on *Epidemics* III he tells a famous tale, deriving it from Zeuxis' (see *infra*) commentary on the work:

... and (they say) the Ptolemy who was then king of Egypt became so greedy for books that he ordered that the books of everyone who arrived by ship be brought to him. After he had them copied on new paper he gave the copies to the owners of the books that had been brought to him on the debarkation, and deposited the confiscated books in the library with the inscription "Of those from the ships" ... The king's agents inscribed the names of all the travellers on the books that were put in storage, because they did not take the books straight to the library, but stored them in houses in heaps.⁴⁷

This story, if it is plausible, and taken together with considerations on the Ptolemies' relations with Cos and Aristotle's library, underlines the breadth and variety of sources but also the rather casual way in which the library of the Museum may have happened to be enriched by a new supply of copies—or, more specifically, how some medical texts may have found their way to Alexandria.⁴⁸ It should also be borne in mind that the events related in the passage from Galen, which can be dated to the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes (246–221 BC), occurred more or less contemporaneously with the classificatory activity undertaken by Callimachus, whose knowledge of a Hippocratic work and familiarity with physicians who attended the court was already noted above.

Thus while it appears plausible to assume the early presence of a certain number of medical texts in Alexandria,⁴⁹ appearing under the name of Hippocrates, or of other authors or anonymous, the presence of a *Corpus* cannot be demonstrated, even in the immaterial sense of a set of books attributed

47 Gal. *In Hipp. Epid. III*, CMG V 10.2,1 p. 79, 8–15, 19–22. This procedure (namely, having a copy made of the procured texts and then giving the copies instead of the originals back to the owners) is linked to the immediately following story of asking Athens to lend the official copy of the three tragedians (p. 79, 23 ff.); cf. also Montana § 2.3 in this volume.

48 According to Smith [1979] 201 "the medical books were collected in haphazard fashion", though in my view this does not necessarily exclude the possibility that there may also have been a nucleus of books deriving from a library repository, whether of Cos or of some other origin: cf. Smith [1990] 9.

49 The opinion is not new, see Wellmann [1929] 16–21, Edelstein [1935] 1310–1312, Smith [1979] 199 ff., Nutton [1975] 3–15. But, far from imagining a collection that immediately gave rise to a 'canonical' Alexandrian edition, already coinciding with that of Erotianus, I believe there are likely to have been groups of works of diverse origin.

to the same author, until the moment when Bacchius of Tanagra (275–200 BC), a pupil of Herophilus, decided to compose a Hippocratic lexicon (Hippocrates' *Lexeis*). As pointed out by von Staden, the work drawn up by Bacchius⁵⁰ is the oldest example of a lexicon dedicated to a specific author.⁵¹ The extant fragments allow identification of about 18 works, considered to be clearly Hippocratic: *Prognostic*, *On the sacred disease*, *On joints*, *Instruments of reduction*, *Epidemics* I, II, III, V and VI, *Prorrhetic* I, *In the surgery*, *On wounds in the head*, *On fractures*, *Regimen in acute diseases*, *On the nature of bones*, *On places in humans*, *On diseases* I, *On the use of liquids*, *Aphorisms*.⁵² Von Staden's remark that the so-called 'Coan' treatises dominating in this group confirm the lively contact between Herophilus' school, the Ptolemaic court and Cos is plausible, although one should not presume the distinction of any particular school in the term 'Coan'.⁵³ This list should be extended by addition of *On the nature of child*, if credit can be given to the *Vita Bruxellensis* of Hippocrates, according to which Bacchius reported that Hippocrates ordered *On the nature of child* after the *Aphorisms*.⁵⁴ Bacchius possibly also suggested that *In the surgery* should be read before all of the other works by Hippocrates.⁵⁵ Thus Bacchius, writing roughly in the middle of the 3rd century BC, presupposes both an already large list of texts (formed of *at least* 19 works) attributed to Hippocrates and a discussion concerning the proper order in which they were to be read.

While the number and titles of the progressively growing collection of Hippocrates' works are known from the lists in Erotianus' *Lexicon* (1st c. AD) and other sources,⁵⁶ a material order of the collection, that is to say, a sequence of writings, current at the time and concretely attested in ancient rolls, cannot be identified. Traces that could provide evidence of an accepted order in

50 With regard to a glossographic interest shown by Xenocritus of Cos, see *infra* § 3.

51 Von Staden [1992] 549; cf. also Dickey § 3.1 in this volume.

52 Von Staden [1989] 487 ff. The glosses concerning *Aphorisms* and *Epidemics* III may also derive from Bacchius' commentary on, or edition of, these works: see *infra* § 3.1.

53 Von Staden [1989] 487 and note 15 on the schools of Cos and Cnidos.

54 See Schöne [1903] 58–59 = fr. 77 von Staden, Pinault [1992]. Notice, as pointed out by Roselli [2000], that this order is consistent with the actual order of the glosses in Erotianus' *Lexicon* of Hippocrates (see *infra*).

55 Gal. *In Hipp. Off.* xviiiB 632, 5–8 K. = fr. 8 von Staden.

56 Ps.-Soranus, *Vita Hippocratis*, *Vita Bruxellensis*, *Tzetzes*, *Chiliades*: for the history of the problem, see Edelstein [1935] 1307–1317, Roselli [2000]; for the texts, see Schöne [1903] and Pinault [1992] 6–33 and 125–134.

the papyri are rare and late.⁵⁷ Only PAnt I 28,⁵⁸ a parchment codex of the 5th century AD, presents the sequence *Prognostic—Aphorisms*, and PAnt 184,⁵⁹ a papyrus codex of the 6th century AD, *On superfetation—On women's diseases*. In both cases the sequence is not attested in the medieval manuscript tradition. But the medieval manuscripts do preserve traces of ancient sequences (dating from the phase when the Hippocratic texts were still transmitted on papyrus rolls) in the so called *reclamantes* (catch-words), short passages that were copied at the end of some works (without any separative marks) and coincided with the *incipit* of the first text in the next roll.⁶⁰ In general they seem to bear witness to different sequences—which are also in contradiction with one another—as compared to the order that has actually come down to us through the manuscripts themselves. Thus the individual Hippocratic texts seem to have been gathered together and then have undergone a process of separation, followed by redistribution in different sequences over time, from an ancient phase up to the 5th–6th century AD.⁶¹ What interests us here is the one and only case that can with certainty be dated earlier than Galen (2nd century AD): at the end of *On the nature of man*, all the medieval mss. have the text of *On diseases* II 12.⁶² Furthermore, the ancient Latin translation (5th–6th c. AD), but above all Galen himself, in his commentary on the treatise, both contain this passage. In fact, Galen considers it to be an integral part of the work—even though open to doubt⁶³—yet without realising its nature. Now, Jouanna has demonstrated that the treatise *On diseases* II, as we know it in its present form, took shape through the juxtaposition of two distinct treatises, one going from chap. 1 to chap. 11 (*Morb.* II B) and the other going from chap. 12 to the end (*Morb.* II A), which is older than the previous part. Therefore the passage preserved in the medieval mss. dates back to a very ancient phase, in which the treatise *Morb.* II A was still an independent work and was located at the beginning of a roll that followed the one ending with *On the nature of man*,

57 The fragment of an Oxyrhynchus roll testifying to the sequence *Alim. > Liqu.*, currently in press, edited by David Leith (32 4B.3/K(4–6)b), is thought to date from the 2nd century AD.

58 *CPF* [2008] 77–82, 174–176.

59 *CPF* [2008] 113–125, 130–133.

60 On the subsequent material, see Jouanna [1977].

61 For the late origin (10th century) of a large collection of Hippocratic treatises from smaller groups of works, see Irigoin [1975]. Edelstein [1935] 131i, explicitly says “muss es schon im Hellenismus verschiedene Corpora Hippocratica gegeben haben”.

62 *Nat. hom.* 23, CMG I 1, 3, p. 220, 1–7 = *Morb.* II A 1 (12).

63 *In Hipp. Nat. hom.*, CMG V 9.1, p. 113, 1–18: Galen generally ascribes the doubt to the authenticity of this passage to some writers, who, however, do not recognize the origin of the text at all.

before the chapters of *Morb.* II B were joined with the above-stated treatise. This merger took place at a time long before Galen, who had no knowledge of what had happened. It probably came about because at some point, during a copying procedure, *Morb.* II B must have come to occupy a position at the end of a roll, while the next roll began with *Morb.* II A, and the homogeneousness of their content resulted in their merger into a single work. This phenomenon also highlights two aspects of the tradition, both of which are of major importance in the history of Hippocratic exegesis, influencing the structure of “Hippocratic” works, even prior to their arrival in Alexandria: a) the possibility of the merger and/or separation of blocks of text,⁶⁴ b) the probable absence of specific titles, as well as of author, in groups of treatises or, in contrast, the great variability of the titles.⁶⁵ However, while mergers and separations may have been partly due to mere chance, as soon as reflection on the texts attributed to ‘Hippocrates’ began to play a more significant role it certainly became vital to impose some ordering and cataloguing system (in the *Pinakes*?), as a means of dealing with texts that had similar content or were already known by similar titles, or had no title at all.⁶⁶ We have only very late traces of debate on the composition of certain works or on the variables influencing the titles, but it should be kept in mind that from the very beginning of their reception in Alexandria such problems must have been a feature of the medical texts that became incorporated in the *Corpus Hippocraticum*.⁶⁷

64 For instance, one needs only mention the insertion, within the block of Hippocratic gynaecological treatises *On women's diseases* I–II, of a piece on women's diseases, partially conserved, by the so-called Author C (who coincides with the author of *On generation—On the nature of child—On diseases IV*), while *On generation* and *On the nature of child*, in turn, constitute what was originally a unitary work which became divided in the medieval tradition): cf. Grensemann [1975] and [1982], Lonie [1981] 43–53. In general cf., again, Langholf [2004].

65 Jouanna [1997] 60–73.

66 On the activity of reordering or attribution of new titles in Callimachus' *Pinakes*, see Blum [1991] 156. As an example of the variety of titles, see *Regimen in acute diseases*, as in the testimony of Galen and Athenaeus (Anastassiou – Irmer [1997] I, 13; [2001] II 1, 1) or those of *Airs waters places* (*ibidem* I, 23).

67 The *Vita Hippocratis secundum Soranum* 13 (CMG IV, p. 177) briefly mentions the problems relating to the debate on the authenticity of the Hippocratic works; in Galen one finds numerous mentions of the criteria he adopted in analysis of the problem, and it is likely that he derived them from the previous exegetic tradition: see for ex. *In Hipp. Art.* quoted *supra* n. 46, and *In Hipp. Nat. Hom.* CMG V 9.1, pp. 55, 57, where Galen attributes to the Ptolemaic voracity for books the start of faking literary works. On the authenticity criteria, see for ex. Manetti – Roselli [1994] 1567–1568.

In conclusion, during the Hellenistic phase no real *Corpus* can be identified, although some works seem to have enjoyed greater renown and thus were constantly at the forefront of attention.⁶⁸ Therefore at this stage the collection of ‘Hippocratic’ texts can be seen as a fluid assemblage in which authorship was still a ‘broad’ concept. Only Erotianus (1st century AD) offers the first list of works, based selectively on those regarded at that time as authentic, and presented according to an ideal type of structuring.⁶⁹ Further lists of Hippocratic works are found only in late sources, such as those of the *Vita Bruxellensis* of Hippocrates and of *Suidas’* Hippocrates in which *Oath* (already present in Erotianus) appears in first place, followed by *Prognostic* and *Aphorisms* and by the reference to the “*much mentioned and much admired collection of sixty works* (ἡ πολυθρύλλητος καὶ πολυθαύμαστος ἐξηκοντάβιβλος)”, which alludes to a collection of writings that aspired to be complete and which was quite close to the dimensions found in the two most important medieval manuscripts of Hippocrates. Apart from these sources, judgment has to be based on the chance remnants of debates on authenticity and titles and on citations of works in the authors of medical texts of a later date, among whom, of course, Galen plays an outstanding role.

3 The Hellenistic Period up to the 1st Century BC

The history of the Museum and its library has already been outlined in this volume (see the contribution by F. Montana). As far as medicine is concerned, it must be underlined, as I suggested earlier, that knowledge of the medical (perhaps specifically ‘Hippocratic’) tradition was present at the court of the Ptolemies, and that it enjoyed considerable prestige. On the other hand, there is no evidence indicating that the first and prominent physician in Alexandria in the 3rd century BC, Herophilus of Calchedon, was ever a member of the Museum or in general that any medical research was ever conducted at the Museum.⁷⁰ But the fervent intellectual climate of the new capital stim-

68 The citations by Demetrius of Laconia (150–75 BC) of three Hippocratic works, *Epidemics* VI, *Prognostic* and *Prorrhetic* (the last explicitly attributed to Hippocrates), merely confirm that these treatises were stably associated with Hippocrates (even outside of Alexandria: it appears that Demetrius lived partly in Miletus and partly in Athens): they were already present in the group of Bacchius of Tanagra, cf. Roselli [1988].

69 See *infra* § 4.1.1.

70 A certain Chrysermus, in an inscription of the 2nd century BC from Delos, is described as “Superintendent of physicians, Administrator of the Museum”, but he was probably not a

ulated and may well have offered at least an indirect patronage of the arts.⁷¹ Herophilus (320–250 BC), probably educated in Cos by Praxagoras, exploited the possibilities of a ‘frontier’ environment, gained exceptional progress in anatomical knowledge and founded a new school.⁷² The *milieu* in which such a vast community of poets, intellectuals and scientists were active proved favourable to a fertile exchange of ideas among disciplines: it is by no means surprising that the poet Callimachus alluded to the anatomy of the eye discovered by Herophilus, nor is there anything remarkable in the fact that Callimachus was aware of and referred to the Hippocratic treatise *On breaths*,⁷³ but it is perhaps worth emphasizing Herophilus’ knowledge of dialectics (as emerges from the anecdote of his dialogue with Diodorus Cronus),⁷⁴ or his application of geometric theorems to medicine.⁷⁵ It was no less than a genuine osmosis among disciplines, which was made possible if not by the Museum itself or by the royal patronage, certainly by the common presence of so many artists and scientists within the restricted circles of the Greek élite of Alexandria, and this aspect must be borne in mind when evaluating the first stirrings of a ‘philology’ applied to medical texts. One should not underestimate the detail provided by Erotianus (1st century AD) in his *Hippocratic Lexicon*, where he states that the first to take an interest in glosses of Hippocrates was a *grammarian*, who in other respects was quite unknown, Xenocritus of Cos. His dating is uncertain,

physician and, most of all, was not the Herophilean Chrysermus (1st century BC), see von Staden [1989] 523–528.

- 71 Apart from the information that the Ptolemies permitted Herophilus to dissect human cadavers or even live condemned prisoners (on which see von Staden [1989] 139–153), it is worth noting that Andreas, one of Herophilus’ first pupils, was present at court as the personal physician of Ptolemy IV Philopator; note also the association of Dioscurides Phacas with Ptolemy XII Auletes and Ptolemy XIII (von Staden [1989] 519–522). For the connection of Apollonius of Citium with Ptolemy XII Auletes, see Fraser [1972] I 312; von Staden [1989] 455–456.
- 72 A tradition of which we have evidence from Polybius (XII 25d 2–6 = Herophilus T56 von Staden) believed Callimachus (275–205 BC) to have been a co-founder of the ‘rationalist’ school, and speaks of Herophileans and Callimacheans as parallel groupings forming part of the same school. He was probably a contemporary of Bacchius of Tanagra and Philinus of Cos, that is, the first generation pupils.
- 73 Callimachus *Hymn. Artem.* 53, cp. Herophilus T87–T89 von Staden: Oppermann [1925]. For the Hippocratic *On breaths*, see *supra* n. 12 and Langholf [1986] in particular 5–17. For scientific echoes in Callimachus, see also Most [1981] and White [1986].
- 74 T15 von Staden.
- 75 See T236 von Staden and Manetti [2011b]: von Staden [1998a] has already underlined the Herophilean Andreas’ exploitation of the new mechanical technology in the construction of an instrument for reducing dislocations of larger joints.

but what is striking is that Xenocritus shared a common homeland and interests with Philitas and the latter's *Ataktoi Glossai*. Once again, the link between Cos and the development of medicine in Alexandria seems significant. The interest in the Hippocratic texts shown by grammarians, *i.e.* an interest arising from the general point of view of language, would subsequently continue even beyond Alexandria, and would influence the early stages of Hippocratic lexicography, which seems to have flourished in an atmosphere shared with Alexandrian philology.⁷⁶

In Alexandria two medical schools opposed each other throughout the Hellenistic period: the Herophilean school, defined as 'rational' or 'dogmatic', and the Empirical school.⁷⁷ Both derive historically from Herophilus. As demonstrated by von Staden, Herophilus' pupils never took up a staunchly dogmatic position aligned with the doctrines of their master: rather, they maintained a considerable sphere of freedom of research and criticism,⁷⁸ so much so that it was in fact a first generation pupil of Herophilus, Philinus of Cos, who made a break with the original group and founded another school, which he called Empirical. This new school, polemicising with the doctrines of the master, proclaimed that all speculation on causes and all anatomical research was pointless. The rivalry between these two schools exerted a certain effect on their history, at least with regard to the Herophileans, who soon turned their backs on anatomical research in favour of greater attention to pharmacology, a theme certainly cherished by the Empiricists. However, the Empiricists, supporters of an empiricism that rejected all rational hypotheses, developed a conception of experience that was historicized in the concept of *ἱστορία*, which made it possible to accept as valid the texts of earlier physicians, with the argument that their writings bore witness to observation of real data of the past.⁷⁹ This accounts for the Empiricists' interest in reading and working

76 See von Staden [1989] 454 and *infra* § 3.1. On the osmosis among disciplines, see also, in this volume, Montana §2.4, who cites a work on wounds in the Homeric poems, composed by Aristarchus' pupil Ptolemy Epithetes. On historians-philologists and the interpenetration of these interests within the same person, see also Montana [2009c] 175–181.

77 Here I will leave aside both Erasistratus, whose activity in Alexandria rather than Antioch is still the object of debate, and also his followers, who, however, do not seem to have played a role in relation to Hippocrates: see von Staden [1989] 46–48, 142 n. 7 with the bibliography.

78 See in particular von Staden [1989] 445–462.

79 For the three ways in which experience could be gathered (*teresis, metabasis tou homoioi, historia*), see the brief sketch in Vallance [2000] 106–107. The reference text is of course Deichgräber [1930].

on the Hippocratic texts: from the very beginning they were eager to dip into this veritable treasure chest of medical ‘experience’ of the past. For instance, Philinus is said to have written a *Glossary* of Hippocrates, but he was equally quick to respond to an earlier work composed by a former fellow student of his, who had subsequently become his rival, namely Bacchius of Tanagra, of Herophilean persuasion (and prior to Bacchius another pupil of Herophilus, Callimachus, had also entered the fray). Thus within a very short space of time three physicians who had received their training in the same environment, but had subsequently parted ways on account of divergent professional choices, began to test their mettle by undertaking the same kind of work on Hippocratic texts. The Empiricists certainly used Hippocrates to build up their image and they emphasized the Empirical character of these studies, but ideological interest was not, it seems, the prime mover underlying the birth of the study of Hippocratic texts, since by right that title belongs to the Herophilean school, which did not claim to have any descentance from Hippocrates, despite remaining in some respects within its frame of reference.⁸⁰ The Herophilean school placed great emphasis on high literacy, viewed as one of the benefits of the shared cultural climate, which brought to the fore the ancient tradition of every discipline. And medicine, in particular, had long been based on the transmission of a written tradition, as noted above.

One of the common-place remarks, in this context, is that Bacchius, in writing his *Hippocrates’ Lexeis*, derived some of the material from the *Lexeis* composed by Aristophanes of Byzantium.⁸¹ Given that the two scholars were contemporaries and belonged to environments that were certainly close to each other, the assumption is in itself quite plausible, though it is based only on the preface to Galen’s *Glossary*. Galen cites Bacchius in the polemic with Dioscorides’ *Lexicon*, which had also provided explanations for common and well known words: 1) Galen argues that, in contrast with Dioscorides, Bacchius had concerned himself only with ‘glosses’, in the specific sense of difficult words, yet the very title of Bacchius’ work, *Lexeis*, as well as the reconstructible fragments, clearly show that this is not accurate; 2) additionally, Galen asserts that the grammarian “Aristarchus” (referred to in this manner in the manuscripts), “as they say”, had collected a large quantity of examples for Bacchius. Klein’s conjecture “Aristophanes”, universally accepted, corrects the obvious anachronism in Galen’s text, but as suggested by Perilli,⁸² it may not

80 Von Staden [1989] 445 ff.

81 Frr. 337–347 Slater, who tends to attribute the material mainly to the Ἀττικαὶ Λέξεις, but it cannot be ruled out that Bacchius may also have drawn on other parts.

82 Written communication: Perilli is working on the edition of Galen’s *Glossary* for CMG.

be a defect due to an error in transmission but rather a mistake made by Galen himself, who was quoting a tradition of unspecified origin and may have mixed up the two philologists, awarding priority to the more famous Aristarchus.⁸³ Erotianus, who most certainly drew on Bacchius' *Lexeis*,⁸⁴ merely states that Bacchius used many examples taken from the poets. While this scenario is plausible—Aristophanes and Bacchius were contemporaries and an interest in medical texts had already been cultivated by the grammarian Xenocritus of Cos—I would argue that it is not necessary for an explanation of the work of Bacchius.⁸⁵ It should be added that in the 3rd century, beyond the confines of Alexandria, there was also another erudite, not a physician, who seems to have taken an interest in the language of Hippocrates, as related by Erotianus, our richest source on the history of glossaries:

No grammarian who has ever achieved notable prestige neglected this man (Hippocrates): consider for example Euphorion, who read him and undertook the task of explaining all his wordings, in six books, with regard to which Aristocles and Aristetas, both from Rhodes, have written comments. And additionally Aristarchus and after all these Antigonos and Didymus, Alexandrians.⁸⁶

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- 83 Besides, the only other time that Galen cites the philologist Aristarchus (*In Hipp. Nat. hom.* CMG V 9,1, p. 58, 7–9), is for the purpose of attributing to him the use of the *obelos* as a sign of expunction in his Homeric text (which would be imitated by Dioscorides in his edition of Hippocrates), although this sign is by no means a characteristic of Aristarchus alone.
- 84 Von Staden [1992] 553–559.
- 85 See also the accusation launched against him by Apollonius of Citium, who argued that Bacchius was more interested in the linguistic elements than in the medical content (*infra*, 1151).
- 86 Erotian. p. 5, 14–19 N: τῶν δὲ γραμματικῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις ἐλλόγιμος φανεῖς παρήλθε τὸν ἄνδρα· καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἀναλεξάμενος (codd., ἀναδεξάμενος Meineke edd.) αὐτὸν Εὐφορίων πᾶσαν ἐσπούδασε λέξιν ἐξηγήσασθαι διὰ βιβλίων ζ, περὶ ὧν γεγράφασιν Ἀριστοκλήης καὶ Ἀριστεῆας οἱ Ῥόδιοι· ἔτι δὲ καὶ Ἀριστάρχος καὶ μετὰ πάντας Ἀντίγονος καὶ Δίδυμος οἱ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς. In the text a transposition is performed: Schmidt [1854] 24 moved τῶν δὲ—ἄνδρα, which in the codices is transcribed after βιβλίων ζ, to the start of the sentence. The correction ἀναδεξάμενος introduced by Meineke, generally accepted, presupposes a previous lacuna which allows the possibility that αὐτὸν may refer to some character other than Hippocrates, conceivably a glossographer whom Euphorion may have used as a source (Klein [1865] 32,8). In actual fact the text of the mss. can be accepted, admitting that Euphorion may well have 'read' (on the meaning, cf. Callim. *Anth. Pal.* vi11 471, 4) Hippocrates: the defense of the transmitted text is already in Schmidt [1854] *ibidem* (but afterwards he changed his mind, see Klein's apparatus criticus *ad loc.*), but it is not necessary to agree with him in taking the verb ἀναλεξάμενος in the technical sense of *praelectio*.

Since Euphorion⁸⁷ had been active in Athens, before the time when he arrived in Antioch and became chief librarian of the royal library, it has to be presumed that knowledge of “Hippocratic” texts (whatever they were) had continued to flourish in Athens in parallel with the development in Alexandria.⁸⁸ Erotianus derives this piece of information from later lexicographers, such as Aristetas and Aristocles,⁸⁹ and no conclusion can be drawn concerning the literary form in which Euphorion expressed his interest. Erotianus’ list (which ends with Didymus of Alexandria) also includes Aristarchus who is not known from any other source to have been interested in Hippocrates: it has been suggested that “Aristarchus” is a mistake and that the reading should have been “Aristophanes”,⁹⁰ as in the suspected error in Galen’s *Glossary*, and indeed this is the assumption generally made. But Erotianus’ text, unlike Galen, does not link Aristarchus to Bacchius and in its concise (epitomized?) formulation it does not specify the concrete nature of the exegesis of Aristarchus. Although a cautionary approach is essential, it should be recalled that even if no ancient source ever cited the circumstance,⁹¹ a papyrus has revealed that Aristarchus wrote a commentary on Herodotus, that is to say, on an Ionian text, just as the Hippocratic texts were Ionian. However, nothing is definable as regards the form in which Aristarchus may have devoted attention to Hippocrates.⁹²

Erotianus did undoubtedly emphasize the extent to which grammarians contributed to study of the language of Hippocrates, because he was interested in highlighting Hippocrates’ nature as an ‘ancient writer’, on a par with

87 Fr. 175–176 in Gronigen [1977] 228–229: according to van Groningen Euphorion may have corrected, summarised or criticised the lexicon of Bacchius, his contemporary, and this activity could be seen as a symptom of the rivalry between Antioch and Alexandria. However, this does not seem credible, considering also that Euphorion probably became the librarian at Antioch at an advanced age. Furthermore the hypothesis seems to follow the conventional vision of the rivalry among libraries, which is not supported by other evidence. van Gronigen points out that in fr. 157 Euphorion can be seen to use technical medical language.

88 Study of the language of Hippocrates other than in Alexandria can also be traced in the *Glosses* of Nicander (2nd century BC), whom some believe to have had close ties to the Pergamon court, and additionally in Demetrius Lacon (2nd–1st century BC), cf. *infra* in this paragraph.

89 Corradi [2007]; Pagani [2011²].

90 Cohn [1895a] 873 and 1002; von Staden [1992] 566–567.

91 Pfeiffer [1968] 224–225; Montana § 2.4 and Dickey § 2 in this volume.

92 Klein [1865] 32,¹¹ assumed there was a lacuna after Aristarchus and argued that Aristarchus did not write a *Lexicon*, but a more general treatment (p. xxxvii): the conjecture “Aristophanes” offered a widely accepted reasonable solution: cf. Strecker [1891] 263. See also Ihm [2002a] 68–69 (with bibliography).

others such as Democritus, Thucydides and Herodotus.⁹³ But even so, the picture that emerges appears to me to confirm that from the very start the language of Hippocrates had a place in the studies of the Alexandrian grammarians. Indeed, it was the object of attention continuously throughout the Hellenistic period, both in medical and grammatical circles⁹⁴ and also among philosophers, if one is to believe the identification of the Demetrius cited by Erotianus, in the preface⁹⁵ and in the *Lexicon*,⁹⁶ with the Epicurean Demetrius Laco. It may be somewhat rash to attribute a *Glossary* to Demetrius, but it is by now widely known that he had a good knowledge of the Hippocratic texts.⁹⁷

Conceivably, the awareness that medical texts acted as a form of storehouse of special or dialectal expressions may have been one of the reasons for the interest displayed by philologists: Philitas, for example, had glossed dialect words and Zenodotus had likewise concerned himself with *Ethnikai Lexeis*,⁹⁸ as did Callimachus and Aristophanes subsequently.⁹⁹ Interest in dialect phenomena is a natural by-product of the conception of 'gloss' formulated by Aristotle, 'word not in common use', which allows the possibility that one and the same word may be a 'gloss' in a given author but a commonly used word in

93 See Manetti [1999b].

94 From the preface of Erotianus, in his history of the Hippocratic glossaries, one can then derive the names, in this order, of the grammarians Aristeas and Aristocles of Rhodes (5, 17–18 N.), Antigonus (5, 19; 73, 16 N.) and Didymus of Alexandria (5, 19 N.), all of whom can be dated to the period 1st century BC–1st century AD (on these see Ihm [2002a] 69, 82, with bibliography). Other grammarians are cited within the *Lexicon*, for lexicographic or erudite works not devoted to Hippocrates: Eratosthenes (3rd century BC), 94, 12 N. (= fr. 145 Strecker), perhaps cited by Callistratus (*ibidem* = *FGrHist* 348 F 2); Artemidorus (58, 11 N.); Diodorus, 51, 16 N. (Ihm [2002a] 82–83); Irenaeus (= Minucius Pacatus Irenaeus, 1st century AD) 116, 8 N.; Hipponax (perhaps = Hermonax), 103, 16 N.; Nicander (not only in the poems, but in the *Glosses*) 20, 2; 36, 16; 112, 7 N.; Polemarchus (58, 17 N.); Diagoras of Cyprus, perhaps a physician?, 71, 20 N. (Ihm [2002a] 81–82); Thoas of Ithaca, 4th c. BC (73, 13–15 N.), cited through the *Hypomnemata* of Aristotle (fr. 636 Rose, who conjectures 'Aristotle' for Ἀριστοφάνης of the mss., but cf. fr. 416 Slater, who doubts that it can be attributed to Aristophanes of Byzantium). See Gärtner [1974] 760.

95 Erotian. 5, 14 N.: Demetrius seems to be the butt of a polemical piece of writing by Lysimachus of Cos (see *infra*).

96 Gloss to *Prorrh.* 1 17 (47, 24 N.): Δ. ὁ Ἐπικούρειος.

97 Roselli [1990]; for the philological tools employed by Demetrius in defence of Epicurus' writings, see Lapini § 2.3, in this volume.

98 Nickau [1972a] 40–43. The *Ethnikai lexeis* are cited twice in Galen's *Glossary* (XIX 129, 3 and 8 K.). Wellmann [1931] attributes the citations to Bacchius' *Lexicon*.

99 A good synthesis in Pfeiffer [1968] 197 ff.; see also Montana § 2.4, in this volume.

another context.¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, the involvement of Hippocrates in the *Lexeis* can easily be comprehended if one takes into account that the ancient grammarians did not differentiate between literary and non-literary dialects.¹⁰¹ All the texts were regarded as the transcription of a language spoken at a given time and place; however, a word could be used by an author as a 'gloss' for specific stylistic purposes, drawn from a context extraneous to the author himself; hence the importance of a comparative study of the lexicon.

3.1 *Editions, Glosses and Lexicons*¹⁰²

Among Herophilus' (320–250 BC) works a discussion of Hippocratic treatises and themes is not at all surprising. The entire activity of Herophilus implies tradition and innovation, continuity and discontinuity with his Coan cultural roots. It is possible that he wrote a treatise against the Hippocratic *Prognostic*¹⁰³ even though he cannot be credited with any formal exegetical activity. His attempt at defining the boundaries between cognate concepts expressed by the Hippocratic terms *πρόγνωσις* and *πρόρρησις* is in accordance with his aim of founding a scientific language endowed with greater precision, but it ultimately remains in line with a tradition that dates back to Prodicus' studies on synonyms.¹⁰⁴ In short, Herophilus does not appear to show a genuinely lexicographic interest other than as a passing remark.¹⁰⁵

100 Montanari [2012a]. The case cited above in n. 94, of the grammarian Thoas, is held to show that Aristotle made use of the work on the Phrygian dialect of Thoas to explain *πικέριον*, a word attested, as far as we know, only in the gynaecological treatises of the *Corpus Hippocraticum* and in Aretaeus.

101 Cassio [1993b] 70–81.

102 The material is conventionally subdivided between 'editions and lexicons', 'hypomnemata and syngrammata', 'biography and doxography'. This subdivision has the aim of making it possible to give a single treatment of some clusters of problems that are linked to specific Hippocratic passages, which have over time become *loci classici* of debate, but with a warning that there will inevitably be many cross-references. For a general survey of the typology of philological writings, see Dubischar, in this volume.

103 Von Staden [1989] 74–75, while Smith [1979] 191–193, remains skeptical.

104 T262–265 von Staden.

105 T270 von Staden, with Cobet's correction *ὁ Ἡροφίλειος ἐποίησε Βακχείος*, attributes to Bacchius rather than to Herophilus (as in the mss.) the composition of a *Lexicon*. A similar correction by Cobet in T34 restores the attribution to Bacchius of a comment on *Aphorisms*. T 269 shows that Bacchius very likely endorsed an explanation of Herophilus that considered *ἀλύειν* and *πλανᾶσθαι* to be synonyms (once again a comparison among terms), but without direct relation to the Hippocratic text. As regards the word *νήπιος* of Hipp. *Epid.* VI 1.4 (fr. 267a and b von Staden), the role of Herophilus, adduced by Zeuxis

In Alexandrian philology, glossaries spring from the need to produce an *ekdosis* of the Homeric text; effectively, they represent preparatory and complementary work for the *ekdosis*. In medicine, at the current state of our sources, we have extensive information on glossaries and commentaries, but only one piece of information concerning an edition (*ekdosis*) of the Hippocratic treatise *Epidemics* III by Bacchius of Tanagra.¹⁰⁶ The subsequent editions mentioned in the sources, namely those of Artemidorus Capito and Dioscorides, date from the early decades of the 2nd century AD.¹⁰⁷ Naturally, it is highly probable that editions must have been made during the Hellenistic era—in other words, that ‘corrected’ texts were produced, but it is curious that no information in this regard has come down to us. This is probably due to the absence in the field of medicine of a particularly authoritative context comparable to the Museum. It was by virtue of the Museum that Zenodotus’ Homeric edition became a reference text for all his successors, a text that could not be disregarded. In contrast the Empiricists and Herophileans engaged in battle with each other about Hippocrates on a level playing field. The hypothesis that glossographic activity presupposes the existence of an already fixed and canonical edition, as argued by Wellman, is no longer tenable today.¹⁰⁸ However, the query as to what was concretely meant by the activity of making an edition of a medical text does quite naturally arise. With regard to the Homeric example, F. Montanari has demonstrated, along the lines of Pfeiffer,¹⁰⁹ “that making an *ekdosis* for an Alexandrian philologist, let’s say Zenodotus, did not consist in producing a new copy bearing the continuous text wanted by the grammarian, but in carrying out corrections on an already existing copy, chosen from those available and used as the basic text on which he would over time make changes and add annotations”. One may legitimately speculate that Bacchius (as perhaps was the case for others, unknown to us) followed a similar practice and that his working copy was made available to other scholars, and was still consultable in Alexandria by Apollonius Byblas (“the Bookworm”, dated 1st century BC), who cites this specific copy on the question of a passage

the Empiricist (*infra*) as a witness in his commentary *ad loc.*, by no means implies that Herophilus offered lexical reflections on Hippocrates’ text.

106 Gal. *In Hipp. Epid. III*, CMG V 10.2.1 p. 87, 2–12 = fr. 7 von Staden.

107 See *infra* § 4.1.1.

108 Namely, the *Collectio Alexandrina*, edited by Bacchius: Wellmann [1931] 2, 6, 8.

109 Montanari [2011b] 1–15, who records all his previous articles, and Montanari § 1, in this volume. See also Montana § 2.4, in this volume.

from *Epid.* III.¹¹⁰ More concrete indications can be drawn from a rapid overview of the papyrus documentation pertaining to Hippocrates. Unfortunately, this documentation dates mainly from the Roman era, but it can provide some examples of various redactional practices. Naturally, one finds first-hand and second-hand corrections, which were the accompaniment of the production of copies in any *scriptorium*,¹¹¹ whereas variants¹¹² or small marginal titles¹¹³ are more rarely encountered. In the more carefully produced exemplars there is evidence of reading signs and punctuation marks, such as *diplé*, *diplé obelismene*, *paragraphos*, *ektheseis* and blank spaces.¹¹⁴ In the most ancient exemplar to have survived, a fragment of a roll of *Epidemics* II (1st century BC), no marginal diacritic signs can be seen, on account of the lacunae, but it can be observed that the scribe constantly uses on-line spaces to divide text units, which in various cases do not correspond to the punctuation preserved in the medieval codexes.¹¹⁵ This text, despite its reduction to essentials, represents an *ekdosis*, because the segmentation (*i.e.* the syntactic interpretation) of composite and elliptical texts like *Epidemics* (in particular II and VI) or *Aphorisms* was one of the main critical problems: thus the blank space may itself constitute a critical intervention.¹¹⁶

As noted earlier, the grammarian Xenocritus of Cos was the first, according to the Empiricist Heraclides of Tarentum, to attempt an explanation of Hippocrates' words. It is perhaps no coincidence, in the perspective of our

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- 110 The fact that one finds a mention, in the passage, in a coordinated sequence, of the royal library, the books 'from the ships' and the *ekdosis* of Bacchius, allows the surmise that there may have been a copy of Bacchius' *ekdosis* in the Museum library. I regard as rather implausible the hypothesis advanced by Mansfeld [1994] 201, who argues that *ekdosis* should be taken here as meaning "interpretation, which would certainly be appropriate in the context of Galen's exposition, and support the ascription of a commentary to Bacchius".
- 111 Corrections by a second hand, for ex. in PDubl 1 (*Epidemics* VII, 1st–2nd c. AD); twofold redaction in POxy 1184 (*Hipp. Epist.*, 1st c. AD), *CPF* [2008] 150–157.
- 112 PRyl 56 (*Hipp. Acut.*, II sec. in.) in *CPF* [2008] 134–137, twofold redaction in POxy 1184 (*Epist.*, 1st century AD).
- 113 PAnt 1 28 (5th century AD), which contains the end of *Prognostic* and the beginning of *Aphorisms*: *CPF* [2008] 80.
- 114 A *diple* at the beginning of the clinical history PSI 116 (*Epid.* III, end of 3rd century AD), *CPF* [2008] 144–148; *paragraphoi* and *ekthesis* in PBerol 21137v+6934v (*Epist.*, end of 2nd century AD), *CPF* [2008] 162–167; *diple obelismene* and *paragraphos* in POxy LXXIV 4969 (*Art.*, 2nd–3rd century AD).
- 115 PSchøyen inv. MS 2634/3 + PPrinc inv. AM 15960A, *CPF* [2008] 137–143.
- 116 Hanson [1997] 310–314 and Hanson in *CPF* [2008], quoted in n. 115; Montanari [19970] 279–280, and in this volume.

observations, that the only mention of Xenocritus of Cos concerns the meaning of ἀλλοφάσσοντες in Hippocrates' *Prognosticon*,¹¹⁷ where he accounts for this meaning by invoking the Ionian usage current at the time. In contrast, Callimachus of "Herophilus' House" (last half of the 3rd c. BC)¹¹⁸ is quoted by the Empiricist Apollonius of Citium as the first to explain the difficult words in Hippocrates.¹¹⁹ Thus the reconstruction of the history of Hippocrates' glossaries points to competition between physicians and grammarians.

Bacchius of Tanagra (275–200 BC),¹²⁰ a pupil of Herophilus, composed the *Lexeis of Hippocrates*, the earliest author-specific lexicon, which was divided into three books or "collections" and appears also to have contained identification of the Hippocratic works. Each collection was not based on a grouping of Hippocratean treatises, as was done by later lexicographers like Erotianus, because one finds glosses drawn from the same text in more than one book (were there thematic criteria, perhaps?). As stated above, at least nineteen works known by Bacchius can be identified. Bacchius is the chief source of Erotianus' *Lexicon*, our main source, and is used directly. The lexicon certainly provided an aid to reading and comprehension, organizing the lemmata according to the sequence of the text. Bacchius' interest focused not only on difficult words but also on common words used in a special manner (following the Aristotelian approach of the *glossai*). The presence of quotations adduced for purposes of comparison mainly involved Homer and Euripides, but also Aeschylus and some local dialects, such as that of the population of Rhodes, and of the Eleans and the Thymbrians; thus he did not restrict his investigations to poetic sources. In the glossaries, debate naturally focused on variants or put forward evidence for variants,¹²¹ and some of Bacchius' readings can be identified in *Instruments of Reduction, Wounds in the Head* and *Prorrhetic*, but this is not sufficient to demonstrate that he also drew up an edition of the text.

117 *Prog.* 20 (11 170, 15 L.) in Erotian. 12, 6–10 N.; see Fuhrman [1983] 1533.

118 On the role of Callimachus in Herophilus' school, see *supra*, n. 72, and von Staden [1989] 480–483. He is quoted only once by Erotianus for θεῖον in *On sacred Disease*, fr. 33, 108, 17 N.

119 Apollonius wrote a Hippocratic Lexicon in polemics with Heraclides.

120 Von Staden [1989] 484–500; von Staden [1992].

121 From Erotianus we glean the following information: lemma βλιχώδες Erotian. 28, 10 N.: Lysimachus and Bacchius write πλιχώδες. Lemma ἕκταρ Erotian. 46, 19: Ischomachus and Kydias of Mylasa write ἕκταρ wrongly (47, 1–3). Lemmata καρδαμύσσειν and κορδίνημα (47, 7 and 48, 15): note, also, the alternative spelling σκαρ- σκορ-. Bacchius (57, 6–8) writes λαμπώδες instead of λαπώδες; Bacchius (57, 22) writes λαζεται instead of λάπτει. Variants are also found in the lemma φήρεα (85, 2–5); φλεδονώδεα (90, 8–20); χεδροπά (93, 15–19): βληστρισμός (102, 19–21).

Bacchius' *Lexeis* exerted considerable influence, but it was also criticized by many of the later physicians (many among the Empiricists). Perhaps the major criticism is exemplified by the words of the Empiricist Apollonius of Citium (1st century BC), who accuses Bacchius of sharing the Herophileans' lack of experience and practice (*ἀχειρία/ἀπειρία*) and of giving explanations based only on linguistic and literary considerations.¹²² Apollonius insists on Bacchius' incompetence with regard to actual practice, citing as a demonstration the rich variety of literary and linguistic parallels Bacchius used to explain the Hippocratic *ἄμβη* (raised edge).¹²³ Apollonius considers these ramblings superfluous, adding, disparagingly, that for people who rely so greatly on linguistic evidence it would have been sufficient to know the local Coan usage. He thus makes it clear that he by no means rejects lexicography but demands a technical, specific—not a general—lexicography, based on a firm knowledge of the *praxis* of the art. In the later tradition such an aim may have been achieved, but a literary interest in Hippocratic texts is nevertheless attested among later grammarians as well as among physicians. This interest became a cause for pride in Erotianus, but the twofold nature of Hippocratic glossography highlighted by Apollonius persisted over time and perhaps distinguished Herophilean glossography from that of the Empiricists. We will later encounter the same dilemma, but inverted, in the preface to Galen's *Glossary*.¹²⁴

Philinus of Cos (280–210 BC), the founder of the Empirical school, wrote a treatise in six books against Bacchius, but few fragments are preserved in Erotianus concerning *ἄμβη* fr. 322 D., *θείον* fr. 327 D., *ἀτρεκέως* fr. 328 D. However, two fragments from Athenaeus (fr. 138–139 D.) are of a lexicographic nature and both, on a botanical theme, could derive from the glossary.¹²⁵ Their character suggests a slightly different orientation as compared to Callimachus, with the appearance of *Realien*, certainly more significant for the Empiricists, who awarded priority to therapy. On the other hand, the other lemmata attributed to Philinus are of a general nature (apart from *ἄμβη*, which all authors attempted to deal with).

Glaucias the Empiricist (2nd century BC) organized his *Lexicon* as a single book, though exceedingly long, which was arranged alphabetically. This innovation certainly changed the function of the *Lexicon*, which became a tool independent of the Hippocratic text, particularly as he seems to have provided the identifying data for each lemma (fr. 311a D.). It should not be overlooked

122 CMG XI 1.1, p. 16, 3 ff.

123 CMG XI 1.1, p. 28, 1–16.

124 *Infra*, § 4.1.1.

125 Fr. 138 = Ath. xv 681b cf. Erotian. 59, 1–3 N. (*λείριον*); fr. 139 = Ath. xv 682a (*ῥίς*).

that Glaucias also wrote commentaries on the Hippocratic texts, of which only scanty traces remain (fr. 350, 354, 356 D. on *Epid.* VI): they may have been overshadowed by the enormous exegetic activity of his contemporaries and successors Zeuxis and Heraclides of Tarentum. Little information can be found that could characterize his *Lexicon*, although, it is noteworthy that in order to explain ἀμφιδέξις in *Aph.* VII 43 (Erotian. 15, 21 N.) he resorts to a traditional embryological theory.¹²⁶

Cited among subsequent physicians is Lysimachus of Cos¹²⁷ (end of 2nd–1st century BC), who wrote a glossary composed of twenty books and two works composed of three books against Kydias the Herophilean¹²⁸ and a Demetrius (of Laconia, the Epicurean),¹²⁹ which presumably were likewise devoted to discussion of the language of Hippocrates.

The polemic flared up again in the 1st century BC, with the three books by the Empiricist Heraclides of Tarentum against Bacchius, but his work was attacked in no fewer than 18 books by Apollonius of Citium, himself also an Empiricist. Thus lexicography represented an important sector in the rivalry between the Herophilean and Empirical school, but the polemic also raged within the schools themselves.

In line with his polemical intent, Heraclides of Tarentum (1st century BC) is often cited in Erotianus, in opposition to Bacchius.¹³⁰ Heraclides testifies that in his own day the work *On Art*, on which we have no further information in the Hellenistic era, had already become part of the group of works attributed to Hippocrates. Heraclides makes use of literary parallels and proposes etymologies,¹³¹ but the relatively few exegetic notes Erotianus cites could also derive from the commentaries: there is at least one case in which

126 The sentence γυνή ἀμφιδέξις οὐ γίνεται had aroused considerable discussion: while Bacchius and others invoked literary comparisons (Homer, Herodotus), Glaucias interpreted the word in the sense of “in the left side of the uterus”, basing his statement on the theory that female foetuses do not take shape on the right: Wellmann [1931] 15.

127 A physician, known as Ἱπποκράτειος in the scholia to Nicander (sch. *Alex.* 376b) and as *Hippocratis sectator* in Cael. Aur. *Tard.* I 3, 57 (CML VI 1,1, p. 462, 5, although the name is corrupted). See Nutton [1999a] 608: Erotian. 5, 11–14, 28, 13; 85, 10 N. Wellmann [1931] 29, on the other hand, dates him to the early imperial age.

128 Von Staden [1989] 564–565.

129 See above § 3.

130 See 60, 2 N. (Fr. 74 Guardasole), 44, 15 (= 76), 112, 16 (= 77), where Erotianus explicitly cites the *Lexicon*.

131 The exegesis attributed to Heraclides in Erotian. 88, 16–89, 2 N. = Fr. 73 Guardasole, which in fact specifically concerns *On Art*, cites a parallel of Sophocles and, according to Deichgräber [1930] 222 it is therefore likely to go back to Bacchius.

the commentary on *Epid.* IV¹³² is explicitly cited. The available information on Heraclides' commentaries is rather more substantial (*infra*).

The impressive work of Apollonius of Citium against Heraclides has left fewer traces in Erotianus than the preface would lead one to believe: only two glosses cited, ἄμβη and κλαγγώδη. He also devoted attention to the history of lexicography, differentiating himself from Heraclides in identifying the scholar who had been the first to compose glossaries of Hippocrates.¹³³

Epicles of Crete (1st century BC) wrote an epitome of Bacchius, as did Apollonius Ophis.¹³⁴ Epicles' *Lexicon* was arranged alphabetically, but he cut out the indications of the passages where the lemma occurred:¹³⁵ this meant yet another change in the function of the glossary, which thus became less erudite and more practical. Since it is often cited as contrasting with Bacchius, perhaps it was utilised directly by Erotianus.¹³⁶ The series closes with the Herophilean Dioscurides Phacas (end of 1st century BC).¹³⁷ An influential physician at the court of Ptolemy XII Auletes and perhaps Cleopatra, Dioscurides wrote a glossary in seven books: quoted by Erotianus in explaining φωναὶ κατείλλουσαι of *Epid.* III (p. 91, 1–6 N.), he appears to base his remarks on clinical observation.

In short, lexicographic activity flourished and underwent considerable development during the Hellenistic era, and continued to be further enriched during the Roman period, as we will see.

3.2 *Hypomnemata and Syngammata*

The need to write a commentary on a text was often linked to the school system, in other words to the need to provide effective training for physicians. Some texts, however, such as *On art* and *On ancient medicine*, never became the object of a commentary, even though they were taken into consideration in the glossaries and lexicons. They were probably never read in a school environment. The preliminary operation was that of paraphrasis, a constant practice in the schools of medicine (and not merely in such contexts);¹³⁸ it offered a

132 Erotian. 77, 9 N.

133 Fr. 311 D. = Erotian. 4, 21 ff. N., fr. 322, 330 D.

134 Not cited elsewhere: Apollonius must precede Dioscurides Phacas, see Wellmann [1895] 150–151, von Staden [1989] 519–522.

135 Erotian. 5, 5; 7, 23 ff. N.

136 Cited 23 times, see von Staden [1992] 555: for ex. at 10, 17; 13, 3; 20, 2 N. etc. See Wellmann [1907] 117.

137 Von Staden [1989] 519–522.

138 Cf. the indication in Apollonius of Citius “let no-one think that I might, due to a sort of laziness, try to avoid the exposure that should follow the mention of the *lexis*” (CMG XI 1.1, p. 20, 3–6), obviously referring to the practice within the schools. Paraphrasis is the

guide to interpretation of the individual passages, sometimes presupposing the utilization of glossaries and lexicons, and clarified the syntactic structure. But it was certainly equally possible to focus on individual problems by adopting a comparative approach to different texts. The distinction between a *hypomnema*, namely a continuous commentary on a text and subdivided into lemmata, and a *syngamma*, which discusses a text from a specific thematic perspective or addresses a problem by examining a number of texts, is less clear-cut in actual practice than in the definition. The two genres, both widely employed in Hellenistic philology, left unequal traces in medicine dating from the Hellenistic era. However, contaminations and transfers from one genre¹³⁹ to another were by no means unknown, and the work of Galen (2nd century AD) shows full awareness of the need to distinguish among the genres and their functions, as well as displaying great productivity in both directions.¹⁴⁰ With regard to the Hellenistic period, the sources speak of commentaries produced both by the Herophilean and the Empirical school, whereas *syngammata* are more rarely mentioned. Nevertheless, it is quite possible that amid the cataclysmic wreck of the works of doctors dating from this period the predominant treatment of an author of a text may lie concealed beneath some title or other. For example it is not at all certain that Herophilus (c. 325–250 BC) expressed his critical responses to Hippocrates' *Prognosticon* in the form of a commentary rather than in a treatise. On the contrary, the evidence of a commentary on *Aphorisms* by Herophilus is suspect.¹⁴¹

Moreover, a further aspect should be considered. When the sources mention interpretations of single passages of Hippocrates attributed to specific

immediate and simplest level of exegesis, and therefore it is the most constant element, although it is naturally the least documented for the authors of Hellenistic commentaries. This is also the reason why the text preserved in P^Tebt 897 = P^Bingen 1 (end 3rd century BC), which Marie-Hélène Marganne considers to be either another version of—or a commentary on—*Regimen II* 49 (most recently *CPF* [2008] 228–233) is difficult to classify. Since we have no information on any ancient commentary on the treatise, the text could be a paraphrase of the passage in another context, cf. Anastassiou-Irmer [1997] I, 460.

139 The term is used as a conscious anachronism because, as regards the secondary literature of antiquity, there certainly never existed a classification of 'genres' properly speaking, analogous to that existing for other literary forms, see Sluiter [2000a]; however, the distinction among these forms is commonly adopted in the critical literature. See also Dubischar § 1, this volume.

140 See *infra* § 4.1.2.

141 Smith [1979] 193 considers it unlikely in the extreme that Herophilus wrote a book against Hippocrates' *Prognostic* and suggests that the discussion about *prognosis* and *prorrhesis* seems appropriate to his book *Against Common Opinions*.

authors, these are not to be considered *tout court* as evidence of the existence of a written *hypomnema*. Information such as Galen's concerning Serapion of Alexandria's comment on *Epid.* VI 7.2¹⁴² could also be the trace of 'oral interpretation' in class,¹⁴³ preserved in the series of commentaries in the same Empiricist tradition. This aspect of oral exegetical practice in school must not be overlooked when considering the history of Hippocrates' reception: indeed, it constitutes the premise of interest in a thorough critical examination of the language and doctrine of Hippocrates. More than once Galen states that he had written his commentaries upon the request of ἑταῖροι or pupils, who had listened to his lectures and urged him to commit them to writing: thus the written version of commentaries would arise after prolonged practical experience of oral teaching.¹⁴⁴

The practice of writing commentaries seems to have been more pervasive in the Empiricist rather than the Herophilean school, as suggested by the fact that Galen mentions the four commentators who (in his judgment or, possibly, as far as he knew) were the most ancient. Among these, the Empiricists Zeuxis and Heraclides of Tarentum wrote commentaries on the complete range of works by Hippocrates, whereas the Herophilean Bacchius and the atomist Asclepiades wrote commentaries only on the more difficult works.¹⁴⁵ On the other hand, this piece of information may be biased as a result of the particular perspective adopted by Galen, who seems to show a certain degree of dependence on Empiricist exegetic tradition¹⁴⁶ and, above all, it does not grant us any insight into the extent of the material which, during the period of time spanning the transition from Bacchius to Asclepiades, was subsumed under the heading 'the complete range'.¹⁴⁷ But the central role of the ἱστορία in the

142 In Gal. *In Hipp. Epid.* VI, CMG V 10.2.2, p. 411, 22–29.

143 Other individual quotations concern Andreas the Herophilean, cited by Heraclides in the context of Hippocratic exegesis (in commenting *Epid.* II 2.20 = fr. 7 von Staden), and Callimachus, mentioned by Zeuxis in the commentary on *Epidemics* VI (fr. 9 von Staden). The exegesis of *Aph.* I 1 by the Empiricist Archibius (1st century AD) mentioned in P.Berol. 9764, II 7–12 = fr. 282 Deichgräber may be a similar case.

144 See for ex. Gal. *In Hipp. Epid.* III (CMG V 10.2.1, p. 60, 4–15; *In Hipp. Prog.* (CMG V 9.2, p. 328, 11–22): Manetti-Roselli [1994] 1539, 1560. Significant evidence is also provided by Galen's observations on the lessons held by his tutor Pelops and by Numisianus in *In Hipp. Aër.* (Anastassiou-Irmer [2001] II 1, pp. 44–46, especially 45, 24–26), distinguishing between the oral tradition of Pelops' commentaries and the writing of the *Eisagogai*.

145 Gal. *In Hipp. Off.* XVIIIB 631, 15 K.

146 See Manetti-Roselli [1994] *passim*, in particular 1593 ff.

147 For the possible meanings see von Staden [2006] 30 f.

Empiricists' approach¹⁴⁸ certainly explains the great significance they awarded to the Hippocratic tradition and it may suggest that their exegetic work was conducted systematically. Perhaps the very construction of Hippocrates as a character is also owed to the Empiricists, who glorified him as the first Empiricist; indeed, in our sources it is the Empiricist Apollonius of Citium who for the first time defines Hippocrates as θεϊότατος.¹⁴⁹

Almost all the information we have springs from Galen, and this has severe consequences with regard to the possibility of reconstructing the history of commentaries on Hippocrates. The selection of themes reflects the choices made by Galen, who made an abridgement of the Hippocratic Corpus as compared to the *vulgata* of his day.¹⁵⁰ Only quite by chance did some information on other commentators survive the drastic epitomation—which evidently weeded out authors with little following—of Erotianus' *Lexicon*, or on commentaries by known authors not cited by Galen. We thus come to know that Zeno the Herophilean (2nd century BC), probably drew up a commentary concerning *On places in humans*,¹⁵¹ which Galen did not include among the authentic Hippocratic works and in fact almost completely ignored,¹⁵² even though it was already present in Bacchius' *Lexeis*. For the lemma καμμάρω Zeno mentions the presence of graphic variants and interprets the *hapax legomenon* by making use of the dialect spoken by the Dorians in Italy.¹⁵³ The same lemma also notes the variant chosen by the Empiricist Lycus of Neapolis (1st century BC) in his commentary.¹⁵⁴ In another passage we learn that an otherwise unknown Pasicrates possibly wrote a commentary on *Mochlikon = Instruments of reduction*.¹⁵⁵ What becomes clear from these examples is the

148 See above § 3 n. 79.

149 CMG XI 1,1, p. 10, 4. On the mention of the 'divine Hippocrates' in the pseudohippocratic *Epistles* and their possible dating (2nd BC–1st BC), see Anastassiou-Irmer [1997] I, 195 with bibliography. On the claim that Hippocrates should be considered as an Empiricist, see for ex. fr. 310, 321, 356 Deichgräber.

150 Smith [1979] 123–176; Manetti-Roselli [1994] 1566–1569.

151 Erotian. 51, 1–52, 9 N = fr. 8 von Staden: the fact that he speaks of variants suggests that what was involved was probably a commentary.

152 Cited in the *Glossary* and then as "non authentic" in the commentary on *Airs waters places*, (Anastassiou-Irmer [2001] II 1, 322–327).

153 I do not think that the source here can be the grammarian Diodorus, the author of *Italikai Glossai*, of a later date than Zenon.

154 Cf. fr. 315–316 Deichgräber: Erotianus who speaks of an *Exegetikos*.

155 On Lycus see Deichgräber [1930] 204–205; for Pasicrates, Ihm [2002a] 180–18. It is not always possible to distinguish whether the author cited is a glossographer or a commentator: cf. also the example of Philonides of Sicily (Erotian. 36, 9; 84, 19 N.) who,

enormous amount of Hippocratic exegesis that has been lost, and that great caution should be exercised before making any generalization.

Bacchius was the first in exegetic activity as well. We know from Galen's observations that he wrote commentaries on *Aphorisms*, *Epidemics* VI, and *In the surgery*;¹⁵⁶ Galen asserts that he dealt only with the difficult Hippocratic works,¹⁵⁷ but what exactly was meant by this statement remains unclear. It is equally difficult to gain a clear idea of the approach Bacchius adopted in his commentaries; however, the mention of variants and the observations on the sequence of the Hippocratic treatises, together with his considerable linguistic and literary refinement, as can be gathered from the fragments of the *Lexeis*—a circumstance suggesting he set the Hippocratic text in a broader comparative context—all point to a base in common with Alexandrian philology of the time.¹⁵⁸

Bacchius' contemporary, Zeno the Herophilean (3rd–2nd century BC), sparked a famous controversy on *Epidemics* III which raged in the wrangles between Herophileans and Empiricists right up to the 1st century BC.¹⁵⁹ He may in fact have written a continuous commentary on the treatise, as he did with regard to other works,¹⁶⁰ but the information given by Galen indicates that he devoted an extensive *syngramma* to the so-called question of the *χρακτῆρες*.¹⁶¹ This concerned the provenance and meaning of certain marks present in some Alexandrian copies of *Epidemics* III: these symbols, mainly Greek letter symbols, or combinations of them, were written in clusters of four

although cited in both cases for a word that can be traced to *Epid.* IV, could also be the author of a glossary. It would be a further unwarranted generalisation if one were to attribute a specific action of exegesis to figures cited for the interpretation of an individual Hippocratic lemma, such as Erasistratus with regard to *ἄμβη* (23, 8–24, 10 N. = fr. 72 Garofalo) who, even though he glossed the word, may have done so in a medical work of his, like Diocles on *kedma*, cf. *supra* n. 26.

156 See fr. 8, 9, 10, 11 von Staden: the case of *Epid.* II (fr. 11) is somewhat doubtful, because the text seems to allude to his glossographic activity rather than that as a commentator. For a discussion of the supposed commentaries on *Epid.* II and III see von Staden [2006] 17 ff. For the commentary on *Aphorisms* (Gal. *In Hipp. Aph.*, XVIII A 186, 11–187, 4) see von Staden [1989] 74–76.

157 Fr. 8 von Staden (Gal. *In Hipp. Off.* XVIII B 631, 17 K).

158 For more detailed features of Bacchius' exegesis, see von Staden [2006] 17–27. I doubt that it is possible to infer from Bacchius' use of literary parallels that he did not use consistently the critical principle "Homerum ex Homero" (*ibidem*, 26).

159 For a synthesis of the question, see von Staden [1989] 501–503.

160 Zenon conceivably composed a commentary on *On places in Humans*, cf. *supra* n. 151, and *On joints* (Erotian. 23, 10 N. = fr. 7 von Staden).

161 On the form of the text, see Gal. *In Hipp. Epid.* III, CMG V 10.2.1, p. 86, 20–22.

or five at the end of individual case histories. Evidently Zeno found them in the copies at his disposal (apparently starting from the seventh case history)¹⁶² and attributed them to Hippocrates himself. Zeno's opinion was immediately attacked by the Empiricist Apollonius the Elder of Antiochia (*fl.* 175 BC), who wrote a *syngramma* on the subject. Zeno continued the dispute with another pamphlet, but the question was again treated polemically by the Empiricist Apollonius Byblas ("the Bookworm", *fl.* 150 BC), who elaborately refuted Zeno's defense of the symbols' authenticity. The great Heraclides of Tarentum (1st century BC) also entered into the fray, but it was only the Herophilean Heraclides of Erythrae (1st century BC) who succeeded in putting an end to the story, agreeing with the Empiricists on the spurious nature of the $\chi\rho\rho\alpha\kappa\tau\eta\rho\epsilon\varsigma$.

Zeno interpreted the sequence of signs as a code for summarizing the essential data of the clinical history; the subsequent controversy focused not only on the question of whether such signs were authentic or not but also on their interpretation in the individual passages (with the presence of variants and attempts at correction). His Empiricist adversaries rejected the attribution of authorship of the signs to Hippocrates himself, but recognized that they must have been arranged according to some sort of system, although the Empiricists did not agree with the readings proposed by Zeno, whom they accused of falsifying the text to confirm his own interpretation. To confute Zeno's argument, the Empiricist Zeuxis¹⁶³ possibly introduced (or he may simply, in his commentary, have made a brief mention of the reported episode) the story of a man named Mnemon from Side in Pamphilia, who borrowed a copy of *Epidemics* III from the great Alexandrian library and returned it after adding the symbols written in similar letters and ink, or, alternatively, he may have related that a personal copy belonging to Mnemon (with the symbols) was one of the books to have arrived at the Museum Library bearing the inscription "Of those from the ships by the redactor Mnemon of Side", or conceivably

162 Gal. *In Hipp. Epid. III*, CMG V 10.2.1, p. 46, 19–24, says that the ancient manuscripts (and the ancient commentators) had knowledge of the signs starting from the seventh clinical history, whereas more recent copies (and the edition of Dioscurides, see *infra* § 4.1.1) mentioned them from the first onwards; with regard to the latter, Galen does indeed begin to speak of these signs, which, however, are immediately declared to be spurious and not present in all the manuscripts (CMG V 10.2.1, p. 27, 1–28, 28). In the medieval tradition (represented only by Codex v), the signs are present in all cases. Among the modern interpretations, Fraser [1972] I 325–326, compares the signs to those used in the Homeric editions, but without any foundation.

163 Galen declares that he derived this information from Zeuxis' commentary, which at that time was still available to him, although it was extremely rare (CMG V 10.2.1, p. 78, 29–79, 3).

marked only with Mnemon's name.¹⁶⁴ What can be inferred from this story is that in the 2nd century¹⁶⁵ it was quite normal to enquire into the authenticity of parts of the Hippocratic text, and that consultation and comparison of copies held in the Royal Library and accessible to external scholars was a routine practice. Clearly, there was general awareness of the diverse provenance of the copies, and attention was paid to details and documentary evidence regarding their redaction, *e.g.* ownership notes or subscriptions, if any such marks were visible. Although no official link between the Museum and medicine is documented, everything suggests that the cultural environment was open to exchange and circulation of ideas. Moreover, Apollonius Byblas' confutation of a specific passage of Zeno's text,¹⁶⁶ adducing the argument that no manuscript of the Royal Library nor any manuscript of "From the ships", nor even Bacchius' *ekdosis*, contained the symbols as Zeno had written them, reveals the same method of collating copies, and this in turn presupposes the accessibility both of manuscripts held in the library and distinct from those of "From the ships", and also of the authoritative 'ancient' edition of Bacchius.

Although Zeuxis had composed commentaries on 'all' the Hippocratic works, the evidence derivable from the sources merely shows that he interpreted six works: *On places in humans*, *Aphorisms*, *Prorrhetic I*, *Epidemics II*, *Epidemics III* and *Epidemics VI*. It is worth highlighting the presence of *On places in humans*,¹⁶⁷ which since the very beginning had been included among Hippocratic works and attracted the attention not only of the Herophileans but also of the Empiricists, whereas it later disappeared from Galen's horizon. In addition to concerning himself with the interpretation of words or expressions,¹⁶⁸ Zeuxis also addressed textual questions.¹⁶⁹ For instance, when commenting on *Epid. VI 2.22*¹⁷⁰ he criticized Glaucias for inserting negations into the Hippocratic text and thereby trying to make it consistent with the doctrine; Zeuxis likewise appears to have been inclined to preserve the transmitted text in the case of another reading he regarded as incorrect in

164 This question is dated to the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes I (246–221 BC).

165 Deichgräber's dating of Zeuxis around the end of the 1st century BC (Deichgräber [1965] 209, 263) has been abandoned in favour of a dating in the first half of the 2nd century: see Fraser [1972] 325–27, Manetti-Roselli [1994] 1594, von Staden [2006] 30.

166 Gal. *In Hipp. Epid. III*, CMG V 10.2.1, p. 87, 1–12, cf. *supra* § 3.1.

167 Lemma *κάμμαρον*, Erotian. 51, 1–10 N.

168 He addresses problems of accentuation (*i.e.* of syntactic interpretation) in fr. 358 Deichgräber (= Gal. *In Hipp. Epid. VI*, CMG VI 2.2.2, p. 217, 13 ff.).

169 He carried out expunctions of words and sentences: Gal. *In Hipp. Epid. VI*, CMG V 10.2.2, p. 219, 19–20, and *ibidem* p. 251, 11 ff. = fr. 359 D.

170 Gal. *In Hipp. Epid. VI*, CMG V 10.2.2, p. 114, 1–9 = fr. 354 Deichgräber.

Prorrhetic I,¹⁷¹ but in Galen's commentary on *Aphorisms* he seems to belong to those who were in the habit of altering the Hippocratic text when it did not correspond to a scientific truth.¹⁷² On occasion he also criticized *en passant* Hippocrates' excessive use of metaphors¹⁷³ in connection with *Epid.* VI 1.4, but he had no ideological bias in making use of comparisons for his interpretation: thus he drew on Herophilus for the Hippocratic use of *νήπια* and defended him against the accusations launched by the Herophilean Callimachus.

While the ideological school-based divisions were not reflected in Hippocrates' exegesis, which had a common 'philological' basis, questions pertaining to medical practice and theory did come into play in the commentaries Zeuxis composed. An important example can be found in the explanation of *λόγοι* in *Epid.* VI 4.7 (88, 4–5 Manetti-Roselli), which refers to the statements a physician must make with regard to the sick person's environment. Zeuxis reports an anecdote involving a physician by the name of Callianax and deriving from the work *Memoirs of Herophilus and of the members of his 'House'* by Bacchius. The statements that Callianax, a Herophilean physician, utters when replying to the patients are presented as an example of coarseness and lack of sensitivity. But in actual fact Bacchius' work, in origin, is hardly likely to have been polemical against a member of his own school:¹⁷⁴ Zeuxis very probably manipulated Bacchius' text, inverting the value of the anecdote. Such an attitude does not so much reveal a spiteful calumnious intent towards the Herophilean tradition as, rather, a different approach to medical 'professional ethics', aiming to give a correct interpretation of the text for practical utilization by the physician: with this purpose in mind, Zeuxis used Bacchius' biographical text in a perspective that probably diverged from the author's original goal.

Zeuxis' contemporary Glaucias (2nd century BC) not only composed important works of a doctrinal character¹⁷⁵ and was active in the field of glossography (*supra*), but he may also have written commentaries on several works, though the only reliable information concerns a commentary on *Epid.* VI. It appears that in composing the commentary he devoted considerable effort to producing what in his view was a meaningful text, even at the cost of altering the transmitted text if necessary.¹⁷⁶ He also sought to interpret the text in

171 Gal. *In Hipp. Prorrh. I*, CMG V 9.2, p. 73, 8–20.

172 Gal. *In Hipp. Aph.*, XVIII A 186, 11–187, 4 K.

173 Gal. *In Hipp. Epid. VI*, CMG V 10.2.2, p. 20, 19 ff. = fr. 351 Deichgräber.

174 See *infra* § 3.3.

175 The work bearing the title "*Tripod*" on the sources of experience (fr. 10b, p. 83, 23 Deichgräber).

176 See n. 172.

the light of the ‘empirical’ interpretation of Hippocrates.¹⁷⁷ At times, Zeuxis directed critical observations against him (*supra*), although on various occasions he cited Glaucias with warm approval.¹⁷⁸ Glaucias does not seem to have been favorable to the principle of internal consistency on which Zeuxis insisted as an unfailing criterion in textual criticism,¹⁷⁹ but in Galen’s vision he is nevertheless awarded the status of ancient commentator, together with Bacchius, followed by Zeuxis, Heraclides of Tarentum and Heraclides of Erythrae,¹⁸⁰ which indirectly earned him noteworthy prestige.

Heraclides of Tarentum (1st century BC) is the *μάρτυς ἀξιopiστότατος*,¹⁸¹ (“the witness worthy of the greatest confidence”) in Galen’s definition, where he appears as the symbol of the righteous commentator who does not stoop to falsifying the text for the sake of confirming his own doctrines: rather, he constantly strives towards the useful (*χρήσιμον*),¹⁸² although in some cases he succumbs to the tendency to transform Hippocrates into an Empiricist.¹⁸³ We have reliable information concerning his commentaries on *Aphorisms*, *In the surgery*, *On joints*, *Epidemics* II, III, IV and VI.¹⁸⁴ His personal background as a Herophilean, a pupil of Mantias, who shifted his allegiance and sided with the Empirical school, is reflected in his work, which displays several features having some affinity with the dogmatic strand, despite considering experience as the centre of medical activity.¹⁸⁵ He was a prolific author who expressed his thought in various different literary genres, not merely in that of the specialist *pragmateia*.¹⁸⁶ In addition to his work in glossography, he wrote systematic commentaries on ‘all’ the Hippocratic works (*supra*). A picture of great

177 Fr. 356 Deichgräber = *In Hipp. Epid. VI*, CMG V 10.2.2, p. 174, 20 ff. von Staden [2006] 44–45, points out that ideological appropriations of the Empiricists in the texts of Hippocrates are, from an overall perspective, fairly rare.

178 Gal. *In Hipp. Epid. VI*, CMG V 10.2.2, p. 451, 40–452, 2 = fr. 361 Deichgräber, where Zeuxis seems to accept the reading and interpretation of Glaucias.

179 Von Staden [2006] 41, 45.

180 Gal. *In Hipp. Epid. VI*, CMG V 10.2.2, p. 3, 8–10.

181 T 12 Guardasole (Gal. *In Hipp. Art.* XVIII 735, 10–14 K.) = F 43 (see also T 6).

182 Gal. *In Hipp. Epid. III*, CMG V 10.2.1 p. 87, 13–14. Galen had direct knowledge of Heraclides of Tarentum’s commentary on *Epid. II* and perhaps also on other treatises (*Epid. III*): Manetti-Roselli [1994] 1594–1600.

183 Together with Zeuxis and Glaucias, see the passage cited in n. 177.

184 Doubts can be expressed with regard to the information concerning his commentaries on *De humoribus* and *De alimento*, deriving from the pseudo-Galenic Renaissance commentaries, see T 32 and F 96, F 97 Guardasole.

185 Guardasole [1997] with previous bibliography.

186 Mention should be made of the dietetic work *Symposium*, in dialogic form.

erudition and of balance between doctrinal medical exegesis and philological-literary exegesis emerges from the fragments. An exemplary case—cited twice by Galen,¹⁸⁷ who adopts it as the model of *πιθανή ἐπανόρθωσις* “the plausible correction”—is his solution to *Epid.* II 2.20¹⁸⁸ where, at the end of the story of a woman who suffered a number of pathological phenomena after childbirth such as flows and swelling, one finds the enigmatic sentence *πρὸς δὲ τὸ Ἀφροδίσιον αἰ οὐραὶ ἔβλεπον* (“the woman’s tail pointed towards the Temple of Aphrodite”). The text was stable, as confirmed by all the ancient commentators. Heraclides examines all the solutions put forward by his predecessors, who were striving to make the sentence meaningful from a medical point of view and assumed that Hippocrates was using a metaphorical expression, supporting the argument by extensive recourse to parallels of a literary origin (signally, with a reference to Aristotle’s *Historia animalium*). Finally, Heraclides attempted to provide a doctrinal explanation on the basis of the transmitted text, adducing the argument that *οὐραὶ* was used metaphorically for the uterine *portio*, just as *τὸ ἀφροδίσιον* was used for the female genital organs:¹⁸⁹ taken together, these expressions could constitute a description of prolapse of the uterus. But in the end Heraclides proposes his correction, stating that instead of *OYPAI* what should be written is *ΘYPAI*, and pointing out that due to the similarity in the written form it could not be ruled out that during the copying process (or as the copies grew older and more ragged) the internal stroke of *Θ* may have been lost. Heraclides clinched his argument by stating that the correction restored a styleme characteristic of Hippocrates, namely the indication of the patient’s abode. Thus the meaning would be “the door of her house opened in the direction of the Temple of Aphrodite”, a classic case of correction of Hippocrates on the basis of Hippocrates. Heraclides was certainly in the habit of comparing manuscripts, and he did declare that he had retrieved some readings in ancient manuscripts.¹⁹⁰ Overall he was of use to Galen for

187 In addition to the commentary *ad loc.* Galen mentions it in the proem to the commentary on *Epid.* VI (F 83 Guardasole = *In Hipp. Epid.* VI, CMG V 10.2.2, p. 4, 4–15), as a guide to his behaviour as a philologist: preserve the ancient reading as far as possible, and interpret it, but where this does not prove possible, then a plausible correction should be performed, like that of Heraclides.

188 F 82 Guardasole = *In Hipp. Epid.* II, CMG V 10.1, p. 231, 25–233, I; 233, 4–42.

189 For the probable literary parallels of the original version of Heraclides, see Manetti-Roselli [1994] 1598.

190 Heraclides exercised also his own judgment in segmenting the text, *i.e.* in determining its syntactic structure: F 80 = *In Hipp. Epid.* II, CMG V 10.1, p. 220, 34–221, 7; F 81 = *In Hipp. Epid.* II, CMG V 10.1, p. 222, 30–33.

identification of interpolated passages as a witness testifying to an ancient text tradition.¹⁹¹

The only Hellenistic text to have come down to us, the *Treatise on joints* by the Empiricist Apollonius of Citium (1st century BC), is difficult to classify as a commentary, but the same difficulty arises in viewing it as a *syngramma*.¹⁹² In effect, its main aim is not that of interpreting Hippocrates' text (explaining the obscure points), nor does Apollonius seek in this work to discuss the Hippocratic doctrines on the surgical reduction of dislocations. Rather, he aims to illustrate by means of words and above all with pictures the reduction techniques performed manually or with the aid of machines, such techniques having been described by Hippocrates (ἡ διὰ τῆς ὀργανικῆς ὕλης ἔντεχνος ἀρμονία), but neglected by contemporary physicians. Accordingly, this work can be best considered as an illustrated epitome, in which the greater part of the text consists of extensive citations from *On joints*, interspersed with paraphrases and linking passages. In short, it is a form of rewriting, which only sporadically deals with questions of interpretation.¹⁹³ It could be viewed as a sort of special 'edition' dedicated to the sovereign, its characteristic feature being the link between the text and the illustrations.

In the contest between Herophileans and Empiricists focusing on Hippocratic exegesis, one name is yet to be cited, that of the Herophilean Heraclides of Erythrae (1st century BC),¹⁹⁴ traces of whose commentaries on *Epidemics* II, III and VI can be gleaned from Galen. Perhaps the information that Heraclides of Erythrae in some sense brought to an end the controversy surrounding the symbols (mentioned above in this paragraph), with the verdict that the Empiricists were right to consider them spurious, can be derived more from the commentary on *Epid.* III, rather than from an essay on the theme. Once again, it is clear that the division between the schools did not significantly affect Hippocratic exegesis. With regard to other issues, the information obtainable from Galen is too scanty to allow a credible profile of Heraclides

191 Gal. *In Hipp. Epid. II*, CMG V 10.1, p. 284, 19 = F 85 Guardasole.

192 The work (ca. 70 BC) is dedicated to Ptolemy, possibly Auletes, who seems to have commissioned it. See CMG XI 1.1, p. 10, 4 ff., see Smith [1979] 212, Potter [1993], Roselli [1998]. The title itself, *περὶ τῶν ὀρθρῶν πραγματεία*, indicates that the work involved was not a commentary. Even Erotian. 23, 8 N. cites it simply as *On joints*.

193 It is significant that such questions are linked to the polemic with the Herophilean tradition, which was accused of being aloof from medical practice: see the critique of Bacchius' *Lexeis* (CMG XI 1.1, p. 16, 2–10, 28, 1 ff.), to which, however, Apollonius had devoted a critical work composed of many books, see *supra* § 3.1, and the polemic against Hegetor (CMG XI 1.1, p. 78, 24 ff.).

194 Von Staden [1989] 555–558.

of Erythrae to be built up, apart from the fact that he belonged to the ancient authorities.¹⁹⁵

While all the above mentioned characters had an ideologically neutral or generally favorable attitude towards Hippocrates, a special case is that of Asclepiades of Bithynia (2nd century BC),¹⁹⁶ a physician active above all in Rome, who championed a corpuscular theory of matter, in open opposition to the Hippocratic tradition of humoral physiopathology. He wrote at least a commentary in 2 books on Hippocrates' *Aphorisms* and a commentary on *In the surgery*.¹⁹⁷ We now know that he also wrote a commentary on *Epidemics I*.¹⁹⁸ Here we find for the first time a work dealing with medical exegesis that does not depend on the Alexandrian milieu and is an external exegetical endeavour, because Asclepiades rejected many of the 'Hippocratic' theories. Therefore it is unfortunate that little can be deduced from Galen's citations, which concern only the commentary on *In the surgery*: possibly due to a form of censorship, the ideological elements that were probably present in Asclepiades' commentaries were sidelined and the only elements to emerge are some philological characteristics, which concern the interpretation of individual words or the attestation of variants.¹⁹⁹

3.3 *Biography and Doxography*

Interest in the biography of Hippocrates dates back to very ancient times, because his descendance from Asclepius is already present in the 5th century in the *Genealogies* by Pherecydes of Athens.²⁰⁰ The pseudo-Hippocratic

195 Manetti-Roselli [1994] 1615.

196 On the dating, there are different positions: Rawson [1982] 358–370 argues that the *terminus ante quem* for Asclepiades' death is 91 BC (the dramatic date of Cicero's *De oratore*), while Polito [1999] claims that Asclepiades could be the son of the Herophilean Andreas and may have been born at the end of the 3rd century BC, thereby connecting Asclepiades with Alexandria. But his argument is not sufficiently demonstrated.

197 Cael. Aur. *Cel.* III 1.5, and Gal. *In Hipp. Off.*, XVIII B 631 K. Erotian. 78, 14–18 s.v. *σκέπαρνος*, cites a passage of the commentary on *Off.*

198 D. Leith plans to publish the *editio princeps* of a papyrus from Oxyrhynchus preserving part of an anonymous commentary on *Epidemics I*, which contains a polemic against Asclepiades. I am grateful to him for letting me read his transcription.

199 List of the passages in Manetti-Roselli [1994] 1616.

200 The information on Hippocratic genealogy is provided by the *Vita Hippocratis* attributed to Soranus (see *infra* in this paragraph), which has a *terminus post quem* by virtue of the mention of Areios as the source of the genealogy, identified as Lekanius Areius from Tarsus, who flourished in the first century AD: Pinault [1992] 9.

speech the *Embassy*, dated to the 4th–3rd c. BC,²⁰¹ shows some essential elements of family genealogy and may be seen partly as the outcome of local traditions, as indeed is suggested by the most ancient pseudo-epigraphic texts of the *Corpus Hippocraticum*. Although these texts are difficult to date, they seem to go back to traditions on Cos, with close family ties to Thessaly. They seem to show no knowledge of the existence of a *Corpus* of works attributed to Hippocrates, and thus were composed, according to Smith, before the collection was put together in Alexandria.²⁰² Subsequently, in Alexandria it was Andreas, Herophilus' pupil, who composed a treatise *On medical genealogy* in which he argued that Hippocrates had left Cos because he had allegedly burnt the repository of books in Cnidos;²⁰³ a detail of this kind presupposes the existence of a biography already properly structured and included within a broad genealogical-biographic context. The allegation, defined as malicious by the biography attributed to Soranus, sprang from a polemical motive, but it may also have had some relation to the contemporary debate on the authenticity of the works of 'Hippocrates'.²⁰⁴ Eratosthenes is likewise said to have addressed the genealogy of Hippocrates, probably in his great chronological work, and he apparently polemicized with Andreas, accusing him of plagiary.²⁰⁵ The accusation underlines once again the intensity of exchange of ideas among intellectuals of different disciplines²⁰⁶ in 3rd c. BC Alexandria. Additionally, a Soranus of Cos (otherwise unknown), probably through Ischomachus' citation (see *infra* in this paragraph), is said to have checked all the archives of the island in search of precise details on the chronology of Hippocrates' life.

One rather remarkable composition, probably more of an ethical-biographic than doxographic character,²⁰⁷ is Bacchius' *Memoirs on Herophilus and the members of his 'House'*.²⁰⁸ The only item of information taken from this

201 Jouanna [1992] 54–56.

202 See Smith [1990] 2–18 and *supra* § 2.

203 Fr. 47 von Staden.

204 Von Staden [1999a] 149–157.

205 *Etym. Magn.* s.v. βιβλιατίγιστος (“a literary Aegistus”), see von Staden [1999a] 156 and n. 28.

206 But see the ‘political’ explanation of this rivalry in Marasco [1996] 452.

207 Von Staden [1989] 486 defines the work as doxographic, but, taking a cautionary view, nothing in our only testimony suggests this: see also von Staden [1999a] 158–160.

208 Ἀπομνημονεύματα Ἡροφίλου τε καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ: on the meaning of *oikia*, see von Staden [1989] 458, 478–479, for whom it is not equivalent to ‘school’ (see Fraser [1972] I 357 and n. 166, IIa 527), but is perhaps more likely to indicate the circle closest to the teacher. Only Callimachus is defined as ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ by Erotianus (= fr. 7 von Staden). Gal. *De venaesect.* XI 196, 13 ff. K. also speaks of a work by Straton on the *oikia* of Erasistratus, which, however, seems to be centred on his doctrines.

work comes to us from Galen, who derives it from the commentary by Zeuxis on *Epid.* VI. Galen speaks disapprovingly of several episodes relating to the physician Callianax, whose response to the words “I am going to die” uttered to him by a patient consisted in reciting the tragic line “unless you were generated by Latona mother of fine children” (*TGF* adesp. 178), and who responded to the same words of another patient by citing the Homeric line “death was the fate of Patroclus as well, who was far better than you” (*Il.* XXI 107). Zeuxis had gleaned this piece of information from the work of Bacchius: Amneris Roselli has recently demonstrated that the original character of the anecdote was far from having the negative connotation portrayed by Zeuxis and Galen,²⁰⁹ and that it invoked the topos of the *contemptus mortis*.²¹⁰ In actual fact, once the anecdote is cleansed of the deforming filter of the Empirical source, it seems to indicate a link with the ethical-philosophical tradition of biographies like that of Diogenes the Cynic,²¹¹ a forerunner of the *Chreiai* genre, which had the aim of illustrating the coherence between the life and the doctrine of the character in question by narrating episodes of a person’s life but, above all, ‘highly revealing’ sentences uttered by the character. The *Chreiai* arose from the model of Xenophon’s *Apomnemonemata*, and it is no coincidence that the latter work bears a title similar to that of Bacchius. It is thus a bio-ethical text, ‘internal’ to the school, highlighting the bond linking the Herophilean *milieu* to the contemporary philosophical culture and interpreting in its own manner the identity of βίος and τέχνη (parallel to that between philosophical doctrine

209 Roselli [2009] 69–74, who believes that the analogous anecdote of a rough answer by Herophilus to the philosopher Diodorus Cronus (T15, von Staden) may also derive from the same work by Bacchius. This seems probable if one considers that Sextus (*Pyrr.* 2.245) also quotes it as a lovely ‘reminiscence’ (ἀπομνημόνευμα) of Herophilus. Fraser [1972] 11a 533 (n. 204), remarks “The third century work of Bacchius . . . seems to have been a memoir of his own teacher, and not a historical work in the same sense” (*scil.* like Heraclides’ work on the Empirical school).

210 The aim of these quips of preparation for death, which can be seen as belonging to the tradition of spiritual exercises, could also reveal a τέχνη ἀλμπίας, like that attributed to Antiphon (87 A 35 DK: note that the source, Plutarch, speaks of an application of this *techne* to the sick (see Pendrick [2001] 30–31, 95, 241), based on different philosophical premises compared to the consolatory *ethos* that was to gain great popularity in the Roman era.

211 Fragments of a biography of Diogenes are attested in a papyrus, PVindob G 29946, dated to the 3rd century BC, and they attest to its circulation in Egypt during the age of Bacchius: see G. Bastianini in *CPF* [1992] 99–143.

and life, so characteristic of the Hellenistic schools) which would later become a conventional feature of the encomium of a physician.²¹²

Doxography as a manner of dealing with a scientific problem by starting from analysis of the earlier theories has Aristotelian roots: the Aristotelian doxography on the causes of disease, preserved in Anonymus Londiniensis,²¹³ makes extensive use of the diairetic method and draws on well-known Aristotelian categories.²¹⁴ Its character is positive, tending to highlight certain elements as “foreshadowing”, in an implicit history of scientific author-oriented ‘progress’. However, this kind of doxography has no continuity in what is known so far about the Hellenistic schools. Rather, it is closer to the tradition of Theophrastus’ *Physikai doxai*, later incorporated into Aëtius, than to the knowledge derivable from available evidence on the doxography of the medical schools.

In this regard, a growing importance of ‘doxography’ with apologetic or proreptic purposes can be observed for the Hellenistic period, and the following typologies can be listed:

a) works with a predominantly polemical intent, among which Herophilus’ *Against common opinions* and Andreas’ *On false beliefs* can be included. In the Empiricist school, we have knowledge of an analogous work, Serapion’s *Against the schools (haireseis)*,²¹⁵ which seems to have been the first to use the term *hairesis* in the sense of a community that shares a body of doctrines. Works displaying a polemical approach are assumed to have contained a defense of a given author’s position against other positions, but nothing indicates that they may have represented a systematically historiographic approach.²¹⁶

b) a historiography apparently internal to the Herophilean school only. It would appear that the historiographic genre was not cultivated by the Empirical school, apart from the work by Serapion of Alexandria cited here above, while the idea that Heraclides of Tarentum wrote a treatise on the Empirical School, *περὶ τῆς ἐμπειρικῆς ἀλρέσεως*,²¹⁷ should be abandoned. In contrast, at no time

212 Von Staden [1997a] 157–172.

213 See *supra* n. 29.

214 Manetti [1999a] 95–129; 128–129.

215 Frr. 1 and 144 Deichgräber.

216 An extensive discussion in von Staden [1999a] 144–149; 157–158; 160–163.

217 This information, derived from the interpretation of Deichgräber [1930] 37 concerning a passage from Gal. *Libr. Propr.* in the Müller edition (*Scr. min.* II 115), is today superseded by the new edition of Boudon-Millot [2007a] II.3, p. 163, 16–17, which reconstructs, on the basis of the Arabic translation, two different titles of Galenic works ‘*Synopsis of the works of Heraclides*’ and ‘*On the Empirical school*’.

in the history of the Herophilean school was there such a heavy concentration of works of this kind as at the end of the 1st century BC: comprehensive works covering physiological and pathological theories with their dual purpose, apologetic and protreptic. Such works include that of Apollonius Mys (1st century BC–1st century AD), of Heraclides of Erythrae (1st century BC) and of Aristoxenus (1st century BC–1st century AD), all titled *On the school of Herophilus*. The common source is Galen's treatise *Diff. puls.*,²¹⁸ in which they are presented as a homogeneous group, apparently concentrated around debate on sphygmology. In von Staden's view, the cause of such a concentration lay in the "growing insecurity of this school within the world of medicine".²¹⁹

A clear-cut definition of the work *Opinions* (Ἀρέσκειντα) by Alexander Philaethes (1st century BC–1st century AD), the title of which seems to imply a doxographical character, cannot easily be given. However, the only source of the title is *De puls. diff.* IV 4 (from Aristoxenus?),²²⁰ in a passage where Galen speaks of Alexander's double definition of the pulse, adding that Alexander, convinced he had some persuasive arguments on the theme, described them in his work. Nothing suggests that there was a comparison among opinions but this may be the result of a cut in the information provided by Galen or in the source he was using. It is nevertheless certain that it was a text containing a number of arguments, and this is not in contrast with what emerges from the text of Anonymus Londiniensis, where Alexander Philaethes' name almost always appears in conjunction with Asclepiades of Bithynia,²²¹ and Alexander very likely constitutes the source for the knowledge of Asclepiades. The material presumed to derive from Alexander is set in a context with a marked dialectical approach. It may be a coincidence, but when Anonymus for the first time cites the two authors polemically, taking up a stance against them, the sentence is introduced by the expression (XXIV 27) καὶ γὰρ ἀρέσκει ἡμῖν. If the source was the work *Opinions*, it is conceivable that rather than being constructed in the form of a doxography of an Aristotelian type, similarly to that on the causes of disease preserved in the first part of the text of Anonymus,²²² it was drawn up according to the *thesis* method, where a propo-

218 10, VIII 746, 9 ff. K. Galen seems to have used the text of Aristoxenus as his direct source, although he mentions this author only rarely (von Staden [1999a] 170–176).

219 Von Staden [1989] 541, cp. 457.

220 VIII 725, 17–726, 12 K. = Heraclides fr. 39 Guardasole. See von Staden [1999a] 165; von Staden [1989] 532–539.

221 An. Lond. XXIV 31, XXXV 22, 54; XXXIX 1 (Manetti [2011a]).

222 Von Staden [1999a] 186, also finds it "puzzling" that the ancient sources are silent on the subject of doxographic or historiographic treatises within the school of Erasistratus as opposed to the evidence of such activity among Herophileans and Empiricists.

sition is stated and arguments for and against are put forward.²²³ But all this remains undemonstrated.

Finally, the *Vita Hippocratis* attributed to Soranus records a treatise *On the hairesis of Hippocrates* by an Ischomachus (*CMG* IV, p. 175, 9–12), who cannot be precisely dated. As far as we know, only Galen speaks of a ‘Hippocratic hairesis’: this suggests rather a late redefinition of the Hippocratic heritage, dating perhaps between the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD.²²⁴

Within the framework of exegetic activity in the sphere of medicine outlined so far, one element is conspicuous by its absence: there is no trace of any exegetic or doxographic or historiographic activity whatsoever in the tradition headed by Erasistratus,²²⁵ the great physician who was a contemporary of Herophilus, even though he enjoyed continuous reception at least until the age of Galen.

4 Medicine and Culture in the Roman Empire up to Late Antiquity

By the imperial age, the schools of medicine had become distributed among the centers of ancient tradition such as Cos and Cnidos, Alexandria and Pergamon and other cities such as Corinth, Smyrna, Laodicea, Ephesus, and above all Rome, where the innumerable opportunities attracted a growing number of physicians eager to build up a brilliant career.²²⁶ In this context, the concept of a school should not be taken as meaning a *hairesis* (*i.e.* an organization associated with a specific doctrinal approach) properly speaking:²²⁷

223 The text bearing the title “*Diktyaka*” by Dionysius of Aege, which we know from Photius’ *Library* (185, 211), has a strongly dialectical structure (each of the chapters is devoted to demonstration of the truth of a given argument, immediately followed by its confutation), was previously considered by H. von Arnim to be the work of a physician of the Hellenistic age, but in actual fact it is difficult to date the text in question (most recently, von Staden [1999a] 177–187, with the previous bibliography).

224 It is not necessary to suppose that Ischomachus lived after Galen (von Staden [1999a] 185 n. 119). Soranus’ text is not certain (Ἰστούμαχος in the mss.), but if the correction by C. Keil is accepted, we must take into account that an Ischomachus is also quoted twice in Erotianus’ *Lexicon* (p. 47, 1 and 103, 15 N.), which thus gives us a *terminus ante quem*.

225 Already von Staden [1999a] 186 ff.

226 Although Greek physicians were present in Rome from as early as the 2nd c. BC, and Asclepiades of Bithynia had built up a great following between the 2nd and 1st c. BC, the opportunities opened up by the new Imperial structure changed the situation, cf. Nutton [2004], chapters 11 and 12.

227 On the concept of *hairesis*, see von Staden [1983].

rather, it indicated the educational background that could be acquired by working in the entourage of celebrated physicians in the various cities. The great physicians, the famous anatomists such as Marinus and Quintus, in Alexandria or Rome, offered not only practical training but also lectures devoted to exegesis of the Hippocratic texts. Knowledge of the rudiments of medicine also formed part of the general cultural background of the Roman ruling class, which provided patronage for the career of this or that physician.²²⁸ Within this context the Methodical school (above all of Thessalus in Rome during the age of Nero), which claimed to be able to train a physician in six months,²²⁹ certainly appeared to be a drastic innovation, but it did not succeed in changing the high-level professional education that included a guided reading of the ancient medical texts, especially those of Hippocrates. Exegesis was often entrusted only to oral lectures or, if it was communicated in written form, it probably did not have a vast circulation beyond the medical *milieu*. Galen reports on the comments of Quintus, who had not left any written testimony, but also on the difficulty of tracing Numisianus' written commentaries. Therefore, when Galen asserts that he wrote the first commentaries for himself or upon the request of some friend, his statement can be considered substantially trustworthy.²³⁰

Apart from the *Lexicon* of Erotianus (and a few works of Soranus), the entire Hippocratic exegesis produced in the first two centuries is known to us through Galen. He is thus the pivotal element of our knowledge, a by no means neutral filter of information concerning the physicians who had preceded him. This implies that it is vital to bear in mind his own position, on the basis of which he awarded Hippocrates an exceptional role in the history of medicine, as the founder of the dogmatic school, reinterpreted above all in the light of the humoral theories of *De natura hominis*. It would appear that a tradition of exegesis for other 'ancient' medical authors never rose to prominence, as compared to the renown of Hippocrates.²³¹ For example, Galen has knowledge of different copies of Diocles, which present variants of the text,²³² and he states

228 See Johnson [2010] 74 ff. about the reading communities at Rome in Galen's times.

229 See Tecusan [2004] fr. 150 (= *Dign. Puls.* I 1, VIII 770 K), cp. 155, 203.

230 On Quintus and his school, Manetti-Roselli [1994] 1580–1589; Grmek-Gourevitch [1994] 1491–1528; on the scanty circulation of the commentaries of Numisianus, for ex. *De ordine libr. suor.* 3.6 Boudon-Millot; on the composition of his commentaries, cf. *Gal. Libr. propr.* 9.1–6 Boudon-Millot. See also Sluiter [1999].

231 On the works Galen devoted to the exegesis of authors other than Hippocrates, see *infra* § 4.1.2.

232 Fr. 188 van der Eijk, on variants of Diocles' *Matters of health*.

that Diocles' *On things in the surgery* circulated in his own times under various titles. Yet Galen seems to be fairly untroubled by this circumstance and is not prompted to devote special attention to the problem.²³³ He is far more concerned about safeguarding the correct transmission of the recipes, which he sets out several times in the pharmacological treatises,²³⁴ where, however, his interest is primarily of a practical order.

4.1 *The First Two Centuries of the Empire up to Galen*

4.1.1 The Authenticity of the 'Hippocratic Works', the Editions and the Lexicons

The number of works attributed to Hippocrates increased slowly over time, but the first attestation of a list of 'authentic' works is not found until Erotianus' (1st c. AD) *Lexicon of Hippocrates*, by which time the concept of criticism designed to examine the authenticity of works had become well established. It is a very extensive list, presenting the *definitely* (βεβαίως) Hippocratic works according to a precise theoretical organization, grouping together first of all the works of semeiotics, then the works on nature and causes, and finally the therapeutic works, themselves divided traditionally into surgical and dietetic. A mixed group made necessary by the classificatory difficulties should also be included among the therapeutic works.²³⁵ Lastly, the final part is devoted to the state of the art. This structure reflects the organization of contemporary medicine and offers a systematic framework vastly different from the list ascribable to Bacchius. There is an evident gap between Erotianus and the sources pertaining to the Hellenistic situation, and with regard to the remainder we derive information above all from Galen. Some scholars argue that Galen wrote a work devoted to examination of Hippocrates' authentic and spurious works,²³⁶ but this is uncertain, whereas Galen explicitly mentions in

233 Fr. 160a van der Eijk. For a putative problem of interpretation of the text of Herophilus, see T39 von Staden = Gal. *Dign. puls.* I 3, VIII 954 K.

234 See *infra* in this paragraph.

235 The list was evidently authoritative and widespread, as shown, for instance, by the fact that Erotianus included the *Prorrhetic* II in it even though he was convinced of its lack of authenticity, saying that he would demonstrate it elsewhere (p. 9, 8 N): Roselli [2000] 180 recalls the order in which information on a disease is given in the technical-therapeutic treatises. It is remarkable that Erotianus, during the course of the work, adopted a different order of reading.

236 Mewaldt [1909], updated by Boudon-Millot [2008], who quotes Ḥunain ibn Ishāq's *Risala* (82); doubts on the Galenic authorship of the work have been raised by Smith [1979] 169 n. 85, shared by Manetti-Roselli [1994] 1555 n. 95. On the overall discussion of the issue, Boudon-Millot [2008] 79 ff.

his commentary on *Epid. II* that the question had been discussed previously.²³⁷ The list given by Erotianus contains *Oath*, cited for the first time deferentially just a few years earlier by Scribonius Largus in his preface,²³⁸ and *Law*, neither of which were ever mentioned by Galen. But more generally, Erotianus bears witness to the persistent uncertainty of some titles (as also testified by Galen's *Glossary*) and also some absences (e.g. *De carnibus*, *De victu*, *Praecepta*, *Epistulae* ecc.).²³⁹ From as early as the beginning of the Alexandrian period, the quantity and variety of works attributable to Hippocrates must have resulted in the need to assess their authenticity, but virtually our only source allowing a glimpse of the protracted question is represented by Galen. Three categories of authenticity are widely employed by Galen and had probably been already employed before him: the most genuine texts by Hippocrates, the genuinely Hippocratic texts (such as those written by close associates, for instance by his son Thessalus or his son-in-law Polybus) and the spurious ones.²⁴⁰ The considerable divergences in doctrine and type of writing were addressed firstly by setting the works in the framework of the biography and *genos* of Hippocrates. Thus there had been some proposals to attribute *On joints* and *On fractures* to Galen's grandfather, Hippocrates the son of Gnosidicus; similarly the group of *Epidemics II*, IV, VI, with its characteristic as a collection of personal notes, had prompted the suggestion that it was a re-elaboration by Thessalus, the son of Hippocrates, of material derived from his father;²⁴¹ Dioscorides (early 2nd c. AD) had proposed identifying the author of *On diseases II* as Hippocrates, son of Thessalus, grandson of the great Hippocrates.²⁴² In parallel with this search for authorship, attempts were made to identify sections regarded as spurious within 'authentic' works, as in *On the nature of man* and *On regimen in acute diseases*, or in *Coan prenotions* which was regarded as a blend of authentic material derived from other Hippocratic texts (*Aph.*, *Prog.*, *Epid.*), with spurious additions.²⁴³ Extremely useful information can be gleaned from the distinction often drawn by Galen—but certainly predating him—between

237 *In Hipp. Epid. II*, CMG V 10.1, p. 310, 41.

238 *Comp. praef.* 5, p. 2, 20–25 Sconocchia.

239 Some doubts concerning the absences may be due to variations in the titles: some of the absent works may have been cited with a different title; cf. for the complete list Anastassiou-Irmer [1997] I, 508–509.

240 Flemming [2008] 341–342.

241 Gal. *Diff. resp.* VII 825, 2–5 K.; 854, 12–855, 7 K.; Gal. *In Hipp. Acut.*, CMG V 9.1, p. 135, 8–10; cf. *In Hipp. Fract.* XVIIIB 324, 1 K.; on *Epidemics* see *Diff. resp.* VI 891, 2–4 K etc.

242 For *Morb. II* see *In Hipp. Epid. VI*, CMG V 10.2.2, p. 55, 16 ff.

243 *On the nature of man*: Gal. *In Hipp. Nat. hom.*, CMG V 9.1, pp. 3, 11; 7, 15–8, 32; 9, 7 etc., see Anastassiou-Irmer [2001] II 1, 358; *On regimen in acute diseases*: Ath. 57c, Gal. *In Hipp.*

works composed for publication (*Epid.* I, III), unfinished works (*Off.*) and notes designed for private use (ὑπομνήματα, *Epid.* II, VI). Naturally, some works were judged as entirely spurious (*Epid.* v, VII, *Gland.* and *Prorrh.* I for Galen).²⁴⁴ Some ancient attributions, such as the attribution of *Nat. hom.* and *Octim. partu* to Polybus²⁴⁵ and that of *On breaths* to Hippocrates, are treated in a differentiated manner by Galen, according to whether or not the work in question hampered the construction of ‘his idealized and updated Hippocrates’. Thus the work *On the nature of man* formed the mainstay of Galen’s representation of Hippocrates: accordingly, Galen decidedly rejects its attribution to Polybus, and in the case of *Octim. partu.*, a marginal work in his framework, he cites Polybus as merely one among the possible hypotheses, whereas with regard to *On breaths*, which he cites several times, he veils it in a sort of silent censorship, ignoring it throughout his long exegetic activity.²⁴⁶ But overall, the set of works attributed to Hippocrates, can at the time of Galen still be depicted as a circle at whose centre there stand the ‘most genuine’ works, with the others radiating outwards from the central core, gradually decreasing in authoriality with increasing distance from the centre. This explains why some works that are absent from Erotianus’ list (*e.g. De victu*) or considered spurious by Galen (*Morb.* I) are nevertheless glossed in the lexicons of the two authors.

The lexicography of the imperial age and subsequently of late antiquity endeavoured to provide a systematic account of the immense erudition accumulated in the previous centuries through work which, in that earlier period, had focused directly on documents. Now attention was directed to drawing up lexicons of a monumentally large nature, starting from a huge array of previous works (for instance the lexicon of Pamphilus, organized by themes and by alphabetical order within each theme), or collections representing a new genre

Acut., CMGV 9,1, p. 277, 3–5; *Coan prenotions*: Gal. In *Hipp. Epid.* III, CMG V 10,2,1, pp. 13, 5 ff., 62, 7 ff.

244 In *Hipp. Art.* XVIII A 379, 6–14 K; In *Hipp. Prorrh.* CMG V 9,2, p. 13 27 ff., 67, 29 ff. and *passim*.

245 Cited both by Aristotle in *Hist. an.* III 3, 512b12–513a7, and also in the doxography of Anonymus Londiniensis (see *supra*); *De octim. partu* is cited, in Aët. doxographer, Ps. Plut. and in Clem. Al. as being by Polybus, in what seems to be a peripatetic doxographic tradition: Anastassiou – Irmer [1997] I, 374–378. In these works no connection between Polybus and Hippocrates is mentioned: Smith [1979] 219–222 maintains that Polybus was inserted only later into the Hippocratic authorship as Hippocrates’ son-in-law.

246 The text of *Flat.* is reduced essentially to two sentences of generic gnomic content, cited in an anonymous manner: namely treatment through contraries, which is much cited, *Flat.* 6 (VI 92, 10–11 L), and the difference between individual constitutions (*ibid.* 98, 7 L: see Anastassiou-Irmer [2001] II 1 281–287). Another silent omission is that on *De morbo sacro*, which is close to *Aër*: Anastassiou-Irmer [2001] II 1 340–341, [2006] II 2, 224–230.

organized only by theme (Pollux). At the same time, work was also devoted to producing epitomes and extracts (Vestinus and Diogenianus). Little by little the function of lexicons underwent substantial change, becoming increasingly independent of the texts from which they drew their origin. The work of Erotianus, who lived in Rome at the time of Nero, basically represents a trend towards conservation of the Hellenistic tradition, whereas the *Hippocratic Lexicon* of Dioscorides, the editor of Hippocrates during the age of Hadrian, seems to be influenced by a new perspective. Galen's *Hippocratic Glossary* also represents a new and independent tool, with its rigorous alphabetical order. The medical and Hippocratic materials would later be partly incorporated into the *Onomasticon* by Pollux (2nd c. AD) and in the *Lexicon* of Hesychius (5th–6th c.).²⁴⁷

Erotianus' work²⁴⁸ has come down to us in a mutilated and drastically revised version: it has been alphabetized and abridged, but it is nonetheless the main source for the history of Hippocratic lexicography. In its original structure the *Lexicon* presented the glosses in the same order as the flow of the text, thereby once again bearing witness to the role of glossography as a direct support for text exegesis. His main source is Bacchius' *Lexeis*, but he also makes use of lexicons of a later date.²⁴⁹ Erotianus' *Lexicon* begins with an extensive introduction, of an apologetic nature, in which he outlines the history of Hippocratic glossography (emphasizing the role of grammarians in addition to that of physicians), and defends Hippocrates against the charge of intentional obscurity. In this perspective, he places Hippocrates among the ancient authors on a par with Thucydides and Herodotus.²⁵⁰ His exegetic aim thus focuses on 'obscure' expressions rather than common words, similarly to the approach that would later be adopted by Galen in his *Glossary*, but the linguistic material Erotianus has gathered together is vast and extremely varied. At the end of the proem he gives the list of works by Hippocrates, thereby perhaps testifying to the

247 Wellmann [1931] 46; Degani [1995] 505–527; most recently Perilli [2006] 174–175. In this volume, see Dubischar § 2.2.3 and Tosi § 1.1 and 2.1.

248 Ilberg [1893], Nachmansohn [1917], Grensemann [1964] and [1968], Jouanna [1989], cf. also Smith [1979], Manetti [1999b]; Irmer [2007]; Perilli [2008].

249 Wellmann [1931] 29 ff. The fragments of Erotianus edited by Nachmansohn, traceable in scholium form in the Hippocratic mss. M and R, are sometimes of certain Erotianean ascendancy, such as fr. 8 and 60 (101, 8; 116, 3 N.), but sometimes they are closer to Hesychius or to one of the sources of the latter: additionally, they sometimes derive from commentaries by Galen or from other sources (Perilli [2008] 38–39): see the case of Metrodorus, cited in the lemma δέτρρον (fr. 19, 105, 10–14 N.), who, if he is the pupil of Sabinus, clearly cannot have been mentioned by Erotianus (Anastassiou-Irmer [1997] I, 225).

250 Manetti [1999b].

vulgata of the dogmatic school. But it is difficult to attribute specific characters to Erotianus that would distinguish him from those taken from his sources; moreover, the fact that he frequently uses a rather generic formula to indicate the existence of text variants, with wording such as “in some manuscripts” or οἱ δὲ γράφουσιν,²⁵¹ does not mean we can assume that he had these copies at his disposal, because the item of information in question could derive from his sources, *e.g.* from Bacchius. In actual fact, what he seems to regard as most relevant is the purely linguistic aspect, in particular with regard to the different meanings of a given word.

Dioscorides (1st–2nd c. AD) is cited in Galen’s *Hippocratic Glossary* as the author of a *Lexicon of Hippocrates* composed of many books, and he is criticized for having attempted—and failed—to explain the entire range of vocabulary (*lexis*) used by Hippocrates and also for explaining the clear words rather than merely the ‘glosses’. Galen’s criticism is revealing in the sense of showing that Dioscorides’ *Lexicon* did not only address language problems but also concerned itself with *Realien*: for instance, it provided the identification of all the plants mentioned by Hippocrates, on the basis of lexicons or specialized texts such as those of Sextius Niger, Pamphilus and Dioscorides of Anazarbus, and it also identified all the cities and heavenly bodies. It was thus an encyclopedic tool for an understanding of the Hippocratic texts, in all their intricate facets. It would probably have had a preface in which Dioscorides explained his stance as a *grammatikos* and his intention to explain the whole *lexis* of Hippocrates. He may also have given information on the authenticity of the Hippocratic works (not unlike the procedure observed in Erotianus’ preface): for it seems highly likely that his attribution of *De morbis* II to the grandson of the great Hippocrates sprang from a context of this kind.²⁵² It is not clear what kind of order was imposed in Dioscorides’ *Lexicon*, but one may surmise, on the basis of a polemical comment by Galen, that it was alphabetical.²⁵³

251 Cf. Nachmanson [1917] 500–504.

252 On his boastful claim to be *grammatikoteros*, cf. *infra* n. 287; for the attribution of *De morbis* cf. *supra* n. 242; probable mention of the Hippocratic genealogy in Gal. *In Hipp. Nat. hom.*, CMG V 9,1, p. 58, 11.

253 Gal. *Gloss. XIX* 68, 4–7 K; already Smith [1979] 162, Manetti – Roselli [1994] 1630, n. 382: this is presumed to have been an alphabetic ordering based only on the first letter. It is possible that the *Lexicon* of Dioscorides contained the information on the Hippocratic place of each gloss.

Today we know that Galen's *Glossary* is one of his early works.²⁵⁴ It testifies for the first time to the imposition of a rigorous alphabetical order, in the modern sense, which takes into account not only the initial letter but also the order of letters in the whole word, and also of subsequent words in the case of composite *lemmata*.²⁵⁵ Thus it was not destined to function as an aid to a reading of the Hippocratic text, but it must instead have been intended for an independent use, as suggested both by the alphabetical order and by the absence of references to the Hippocratic places (with the marked percentage of unlocalizable *lemmata*).²⁵⁶ Its general character also explains the decision to include *lemmata* from works regarded as spurious. Galen draws mechanically on the material he had available, and sometimes derives his exegesis from broader contexts, e.g. commentaries.²⁵⁷ The redaction is poor from the linguistic-stylistic point of view and also as regards the content; this has led to the suggestion that it may have been a rough draft, or a remainder of short records, like the notes he jotted down upon reading the Empiricists, or possibly it may have been the product of a collection of short entries drawn up by another writer to whom Galen had assigned the task, reserving for himself the composition of the proem and the polishing of the overall text, which he then never carried out.²⁵⁸ Galen asserts that he will restrict himself to an explanation of the 'glosses', the latter being taken to signify words that have fallen out of use, or words reflecting Hippocrates' deliberate manipulation of common usage. The work is explicitly addressed to beginners.²⁵⁹ Here we will mention

254 After the discovery of *De indolentia*, 35 (Boudon-Millot – Jouanna [2010] 12, 14–17) in which it is stated that Teuthras, the intended recipient of the *Glossary*, died in Rome in the first great plague (165–166 AD), its composition should be dated to the period of Galen's first stay in Rome. On the general characteristics of his manner of doing lexicography, Skoda [2001].

255 Perilli [1999]; Perilli [2000a]; Ilberg [1888], on the other hand, considered it to be a later intervention by a scrupulous copyist.

256 Perilli [2006] 176, ascribed the lack of interest in the lemma and in its form to the intention that it should, precisely, be a tool for general use.

257 The contradictions with his commentaries can be explained because he draws directly on his sources, such as the encyclopaedic lexicon of Pamphilus (1st c.) or the *Lexicon* of Dioscorides: Perilli [2006] 178–179.

258 On the readings of the Empiricists, see Deichgräber [1930] 415, 14–16. On the mechanical selection of material derived from Erotianus in the gloss *κάμμαρον* (XIX 107, 14–108, 5 K.), see Perilli [2006] 189–192. His mention of this in *Libr. propr.* is likewise very cursory, and in fact the work is placed in the appendix to the section on Hippocrates, without awarding it any special emphasis at all: 9.13, pp. 161, 20–162, 3 Boudon-Millot.

259 *Gloss. XIX* 65, 6–13 K, 67, 17–68, 4 K.

only *en passant* the works of a lexicographic nature that Galen devoted to Attic vocabulary (in alphabetical order), or to the language of Eupolis, or Cratinus etc., all of which are lost (*Libr. propr.* 20).

A rather different typology, closer to the thematic collections and the *Onomastica*, is found in a work by Rufus of Ephesus (80–150 ca.) and in that of Soranus of Ephesus (second half of 1st c.–first half of 2nd c.).²⁶⁰ These are not lexicons devoted to the exegesis of authors, but technical terminological repertoires destined for use by physicians; however, they do imply a comparative approach to anatomical terminology, which also takes into account the literary sources and an ancient branch of knowledge like etymology. In Rufus' work *On the names of the body's parts*, which is extant, the layout of the anatomical lexicon is organised *a capite ad calcem* and citations of ancient authors (Homer, Aristotle, Epicharmus, Empedocles, Sophocles, Zeno the Stoic), are utilized, certainly by making use of lexicographic sources.²⁶¹ In contrast, Soranus' work *Etymologies of the body of man*²⁶² is lost and barely reconstructible, although numerous fragments are preserved in later *Etymologica* and other *Lexicons*.²⁶³

After the work of Bacchius of Tanagra, the first mention of an edition of Hippocrates is a reference to two 'complete' editions, the second of which was drawn up not long after the first, during the era of Hadrian, namely the edition of Artemidorus Capito and that of his relative Dioscorides,²⁶⁴ on both of which we have specific evidence given by Galen. It was noted earlier in this paper that during the previous centuries innumerable copies of the Hippocratic texts must have been made, but the general practice, whether it was a question of *scriptorium* or a personal initiative, consisted in producing a copy that was correct with respect to the model, followed by only occasional checking of a second manuscript.²⁶⁵ Galen, on the other hand, often speaks of comparisons among various different manuscripts, not only in the commentaries

260 For the biography of the two physicians, Hanson – Green [1994] 981–988; Sideras [1994] 1085–1088.

261 For ex. the citation of Hom. *Od.* 9.373–374 (141, 6–12 Daremberg), with the associated commentary, may have an erudite origin and the citation of Epicharmus (143, 10–12) presupposes recourse to a specific lexicographic tradition. See also the etymology of the cultural epithet of Εἰλειθυία Ἀμνιάς (229, 1–3), traced back to the Empedoclean use of ἄμνιον.

262 Hanson – Green [1994] 1021–1023.

263 Also independently in *De natura hominis* by Meletius, cf. Hanson – Green [1994] 1021–1023.

264 Ilberg [1890], Manetti – Roselli [1982] liii–lv; Manetti – Roselli [1994] 1617–1633, Roselli [2012a] and [2012b]. For the complete edition of Hippocrates, see Gal. *In Hipp. Off.* XVIII B 631 K; *In Epid.* VI, CMG V 10.2.2, p. 415, 17–21.

265 Cf. *supra* § 3.1.

on Hippocrates, but particularly in the pharmacological works. With regard to the latter category, he seems to have made comparisons repeatedly among two or more of his sources. But his main concern essentially focused on the practical aspects of the recipes, the exactness of the quantities indicated in the recipes, which every physician must learn to evaluate. Thus he rarely takes a position with regard to variants in recipes, but when he does, his assessment is based not on textual elements but on his own professional experience.²⁶⁶ In short, he did not devote in-depth attention to drawing up a correct 'edition' of these works.

Galen states that he often also composed various works for private use, either for himself or to give them to a friend or pupil, and sometimes also for more general circulation. In the case of private use of such works, this presumably implies a conception of writing as an 'exercise', an essential part of one's cultural and educational training,²⁶⁷ while the second typology reveals a fairly common characteristic, namely the semiprivate circulation of texts or, in some sense, their circulation through personal channels of communication.²⁶⁸ In Galen's perspective, the difference between works destined for private use versus those intended for publication consisted not so much in a different degree of composition or polishing of the text as, rather, in determining whether his intended public was a single individual or an 'average' reader. Thus what was relevant was the nature of the intended reading public.²⁶⁹ Texts composed for friends lacked an indication of the author and a title, as compared to published

266 Totelin [2009] 84–91. On the transmission of Galen's pharmacological texts, see von Staden [1997c] 66–71; von Staden [1998b] 82–87. In *De indolentia* 31–37 Galen clarifies the value and the difficulty of the accumulation of materials in this type of text, relating how he came into possession of ancient parchment codexes of recipes. Scribonius Largus *Comp.* 97, speaking of the recipe of Paccius Antiochus, delivered to the emperor in written form only after Paccius' death and thereafter available in the public libraries, confirms Galen's description, underlining the precious nature of such texts.

267 On the composition of works as an 'exercise', Gal. *Libr. propr.* 2.4; 3.7; 14, 9 Boudon-Millot: they include the first commentaries on Hippocrates, *On Crises* and *Difficulties in breathing* (9.1) and the commentaries on Aristotle (14.14).

268 Similarly in *De indolentia* 21, speaking of the fact that if the fire had broken out two months later, all his works would have had two copies one in Campania, and the other sent to his friends in Pergamon for delivery to the public libraries (διπλὰ γὰρ ἐγγέγραπτο πάντα τὰ πρὸς ἔκδοσιν ἤδη), Galen shows that he entrusted the circulation of his works to personal channels: see, quite recently, Dorandi [2012].

269 This conceptualization was also very useful to him in the distinction between published and unpublished writings, enabling him to identify and justify the 'incomplete' texts of Hippocrates, cf. Gurd [2011] 171–174.

works, and on occasion this favored their appropriation by dishonest persons. Essentially, his works *πρὸς ἔκδοσιν* “for publication” differed from those composed *οὐ πρὸς ἔκδοσιν* “not for publication” only in the approach to the content, and the term *ἔκδοσις* seems to limit itself to a generic indication of “publication, circulation”.²⁷⁰ However, Galen did undertake a form of ‘correction’ when some of his texts which he had circulated among friends were returned to him during his second stay in Rome,²⁷¹ and on each of these he set the title with the wording ‘for beginners’ before authorising their broader circulation. But this does not mean he was unaware of the substance of critical editorial work, as he explains in detail in *On the avoidance of grief (De indolentia)* 14, where he relates that he drew up a personal edition of many texts of philosophers and physicians, pointing out that the process of restructuring and revision includes correction of the readings, elimination of the superfluous, integration of what is missing and, in particular, the insertion of punctuation, which he specifically praises for its helpfulness in aiding text comprehension.²⁷² In this passage the term *ἔκδοσις ἐμὴ* (“my edition”) is used with the specific meaning of a philologically correct ‘edition’ even if it is not intended for publication but simply done for its own sake. In contrast to his custom when speaking of his own texts (whether intended for circulation or not), here the term *ekdosis* is used in the technical sense of the fruit of critical philological work (which does not, *per se*, imply collation of manuscripts). Galen shows himself to be an accomplished editor—rather more so, indeed, than in his commentaries—and seems to have written a new ‘fair copy’ as the product of his work.

An activity similar to that described by Galen in *On the avoidance of grief* probably underlies the two editions by Artemidorus and Dioscorides, which

270 Dorandi [2007] 103–127, and [2012]; Roselli [2012a]. For Galen’s use of the difference between a ‘published’ work and one that is ‘not for publication’ within the context of his specific project of self-characterization, see Gurd [2011], Dorandi [2012].

271 *Libr. propr.* 1.1 B.-M. However, Gurd [2011] 176–180, underlines that it was a question of correction of mistakes, whereas elsewhere he never admits a veritable work of revision; the distinction between works composed for publication and those not for publication was used by Galen to construct the image of his own work as a stable expression of his doctrine, which he regarded as never having need of revision, thereby revealing a close affinity with the attitude of the rhetoricians of the Second Sophistic.

272 P. 6, 8–18 Boudon-Millot – Jouanna [2010] *ὅσα μετὰ τὴν ἐπανόρθωσιν εἰς καθαρὸν ἔδαφος ἐγγράπτω μοι βιβλία τῶν ἀσφαλῶν μὲν, ἀμαρτημένων δὲ κατὰ τὰς γραφὰς ὅσον ἐμοῦ προηρημένου ἔκδοσιν ἐμὴν ποιήσασθαι, τῶν γραφῶν εἰς ἀκρίβειαν ἐκπεποιημένων ὡς μήτε τι περιττεύειν ῥήματα μήτε ἐλλείπειν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ παραγραφῆν ἀπλῆν ἢ διπλῆν, ἢ κορωνίδα προσηκόντως τιθεμένην ἐν μέσῳ βιβλίων· τί δὲ λέγειν περὶ στιγμῆς ἢ ὑποστιγμῆς ὡς οἶσθα τοσοῦτον δυναμένας ἐν ἀσάφεσι βιβλίοις ὥστε προσέχοντα τὸν νοῦν αὐταῖς ἐξηγητοῦ μὴ δεῖσθαι.*

he defines as the most widespread and authoritative 'editions'²⁷³ of his time, although on numerous occasions he classifies these two editors as being among those who have no scruples about changing the 'ancient' text to solve difficulties.²⁷⁴ On this point the criticisms voiced by Galen, who aspired to be looked upon as the perfect commentator, as the one and only interpreter capable of understanding Hippocrates, can in no way be verified.²⁷⁵ Since Galen frequently treats the two editions in a common interpretive perspective with regard to the meaning of a given passage, in the past they were too often treated almost as if they were the outcome of a joint undertaking. Today it is clear that the two editions were independent,²⁷⁶ although it does appear from Galen that in some cases they shared a 'short' version of the text, in the sense that certain text segments were absent from both texts, and these were segments Galen himself suspected of being later insertions. Furthermore, they seem to have had in common a noticeable attention to language and an interest in reconstructing the original dialect of the Hippocratic text: this awareness of dialect features had been lost over time but its revival is in tune with the tendency observed in Hadrian's era towards a resurgence of interest in archaic culture.²⁷⁷ What is certain is that Galen used these editions more systematically only in his mature phase: citations of these two editions are rare in the group of the first Hippocratic commentaries, and give the impression of being later insertions.²⁷⁸ Then from a certain moment onwards he had one or

273 Galen uses the term ἔκδοσις κατὰ + acc, but in some cases he refers to them with the term ἀντίγραφα, probably alluding to the exemplars available to him, cf. Roselli [2012a] and [2012b]. On Artemidorus and Dioscorides, see also Ilberg [1890], Smith [1979] 234–140, Manetti-Roselli [1994] 1617–1633, Hanson [1998] 44–46.

274 Gal. *In Hipp. Epid. VI*, CMG V 10,2,2, p. 415, 17–21; *In Hipp. Nat. Hom.*, CMG V 9,1, p. 13, 19–24; For their textual innovations, cf. for ex. Gal. *Gloss. XIX* 83, 8–15 K; *In Epid. VI* CMG V 10,2,2, p. 4, 15–17; 314, 18–24 etc. A more favorable judgment by Galen emerges from the later commentary on *Aër*: (Jouanna [1996] 145 n. 278).

275 With regard to what Galen may have meant by 'ancient readings', cf. *infra* n. 355. On the affinity of some reading of Artemidorus and Dioscorides to the parallel edition of *Coac.* in comparison to *Prorrh.*, which could demonstrate that their readings originated from antiquity, in contrast to Galen's view, Roselli [2012b] 25–26.

276 Cf. the conclusions of Anastassiou – Irmer [2001] II 1, 483 and Roselli [2012b] 17.

277 Short versions: Gal. *In Hipp. Aph.* XVIII A 59–61 K; *In Prog.* CMG V 9,2, p. 243, 13; 326, 15–17; but omissions are also reported for each of the two. On questions of dialect, see *In Epid. VI*, CMG V 10,2,2, pp. 6, 13–14; 483, 28–30; for grammatical questions *In Hipp. Prorrh.* CMG V 9,2, p. 122, 24–28.

278 Roselli [2012b] 18 nn. 16, 20.

the other edition at hand, or possibly both:²⁷⁹ he definitely was able to take a close look at Dioscorides' edition—he describes its physical characteristics—but he only rarely dwells on any physical condition of Artemidorus' edition; consequently, the Artemidorean edition is harder to characterize.²⁸⁰ In only one case does Galen mention, ambiguously, a particular reading given by Artemidorus, saying that it was introduced by ἴσως, but it is not clear if this was a variant inserted in the margin or included in the text.²⁸¹ The impression one derives from Galen is that Artemidorus' text was more 'eccentric' as compared to the standard he would consider to be authoritative. For instance, several times Galen points out that Artemidorus is the only one whose text differs from that of all the other witnesses,²⁸² but this naturally is the fruit of Galen's own point of view. In another couple of cases Artemidorus seems to have endeavored to regularize certain constructions, for instance by reconstructing narrative nuclei within *Epidemics*, but elsewhere he appears to be concerned mainly with producing a reasonably meaningful text.²⁸³ In such cases Artemidorus seems to have drawn up a 'fair copy' which simply contains the text he had chosen.

Dioscorides' edition, on the other hand, offers an example of an erudite edition, certainly drawing inspiration from the model of the Alexandrian Homeric editions. The text is equipped with critical signs,²⁸⁴ and is structured into parts which sometimes bear subtitles; the punctuation is marked in a

279 Roselli [2012b] 23, points out that all the citations concerning the *Prorrhetic* belong to the third and last book of the commentary.

280 Probably one should exclude the hypothesis put forward by Smith [1979] 236 n. 82, who suggested that Galen had mainly used the edition of Artemidorus, which is said to have incorporated the results of Dioscorides' work; rather, what Galen says concerning the material appearance of Dioscorides' edition would appear, if anything, to suggest the opposite, namely that he mainly used the edition of Dioscorides, who was in the habit of putting variants in the margin and in one case seems to have annotated precisely the variant of Artemidorus, see *infra* and n. 288. But there is no conclusive proof.

281 Gal. *In Hipp. Prorrh.* CMG V 9, 2, p. 131, 21–132, 2. Elsewhere, ἴσως in the marginal annotations introduces an explanation, not a variant: see McNamee [2007] 208 (notes referring to Callim. *Coma Berenices*), 333 (notes referring to Pind. *Pae.*).

282 Gal. *In Epid. VI*, CMG V 10, 2, 2, pp. 176, 19; 309, 13; 395, 39 ff.; 500, 31.

283 *In Epid. II*, CMG V 10, 1, pp. 158, 4; 233, 20 ff. Alessi [2012] considers it a useful case to demonstrate that the medieval mss. of *Epidemics II* depended on the edition of Artemidorus, but the question remains doubtful.

284 He uses the *obelos* for expunctions: Gal. *In Nat. hom.* CMG V 9,1, p. 58, 7; *In Epid. VI*, CMG V 10,2,2, p. 283, 19 app. For the features of Alexandrian ἔκδοσις see Montana § 2.4 and Montanari § 1, in this volume.

careful and orderly manner, and it has marginal additions, double readings²⁸⁵ and also an indication of accents,²⁸⁶ at least in cases of ambiguity. These characteristics are definitely appropriate for one who cherished the ambition of being *grammatikoteros*.²⁸⁷ At times he mentions his sources (a variant found in two manuscripts) and in one case he seems to have inserted a marginal variant (which coincides with the text of Artemidorus), introducing it with ἴσως.²⁸⁸ Taken together, these features prompt the suggestion that Dioscorides' edition was not a text copied *ad hoc*, εἰς καθαρόν ἔδαφος like the one mentioned in *On the avoidance of grief*,²⁸⁹ rather, one feels that he may have modeled it on the ancient Homeric editions, building it up through the stratification of a long-term study, and that it probably constituted a 'school' exemplar, available for consultation in some library in Rome rather than a copy destined to the market.

The erudite character of this work by Dioscorides can be perceived even more clearly from the direct citation of his *Lexicon* in Galen's *Glossary* or from its indirect citation in the commentaries. Thus when Galen attributes to Dioscorides an explanation of his own textual choices, he is very probably drawing the information from the *Lexicon*. However, there remain a few rare cases that suggest the presence of brief annotations by Dioscorides

285 Marginal additions and multiple readings: Gal. *In Hipp. Prorrh.*, CMG V 9, 2, p. 176, 12–18; *In Epid. VI*, CMG V 10, 2, 2, p. 180, 9–12; 480, 40–43; signs of punctuation: *In Epid. VI*, 415, 23; small titles: *In Epid. III*, CMG V 10, 2, 1, p. 110, 2.

286 This item of information can be derived from Galen's *Glossary*: it seems evident to me that where Dioscorides offers a reading, with a specific accent, of an ambiguous lemma (περισπόμενος, δξύτόνωος), one should conclude that there was a corresponding sign in his edition: *Gloss. XIX* 120, 15–121, 2, 148, 8–9, 154, 9 K.

287 *In Hipp. Epid. VI*, CMG V 10, 2, 2, p. 83, 18–20: an ambition of this kind could be expressed by Dioscorides only in a preface to his *Lexicon*, cf. Roselli [2012a] 72 and *supra* in this paragraph.

288 *In Hipp. Epid. VI*, CMG V 10, 2, 2, p. 232, 20 ff., cf. *supra* n. 280. Another element that may perhaps be traced back to his *diorthosis* is an interlinear correction in a passage of the *Prorrhetic*. The variant he presents here is ἐπίσκληρον as compared to the lemma ἐπίσκληρος, but Galen then specifies that he added *supra lineam* a lambda between colons: this was a fairly common sign in the activity of the *scriptoria*, which restores the correct text, cf. *In Prorrh.*, CMG V 9, 2, p. 154, 9–16: see the discussion on the text and the possible interpretations in Roselli [2012a] 73–75, where, however, a scribal correction is suggested, and Roselli [2012b] 25–26.

289 I interpret the expression as 'a fair copy', not as 'sur une base saine' like Boudon-Millot – Joanna [2010] 6: see Manetti [2006], Garfalo-Lami [2012] 15, Roselli [2012a] 66.

in the margin of the text.²⁹⁰ Among the criteria of his working method, certain aspects can clearly be noted, such as attention to grammatical problems, recourse to Homeric exegesis and to literary references (Pindar), and a taste for rare words.²⁹¹

4.1.2 Hypomnemata and Syngrammata

Exegetic activity on Hippocrates, insofar as it can be reconstructed, was particularly intense in the 2nd century AD, but this may simply be due to the fact that Galen, our main source, was most familiar with the history of the period closer to his own time. For the earlier period, Soranus of Ephesus (*floruit* 98–138) is credited in late sources with a commentary on *Aphorisms* and a commentary on *On the nature of child*, but there are serious doubts with regard to the reliability of this information.²⁹² A contemporary of Soranus, Rufus of Ephesus (ca. 80–150), who was active both in his native city and in Egypt,²⁹³ was considered by Galen to be one of the recent commentators who was best acquainted with and best understood the Hippocratic texts, together with Sabinus,²⁹⁴ his younger contemporary. Testimony of their work remains in numerous citations in Galen's commentaries. But, as mentioned above, almost all of the well known physicians, who enjoyed a great following among the students flocking from many parts of the Mediterranean, engaged in teaching activity based on reading the Hippocratic texts. Galen himself assiduously studied under the guidance of great masters from his earliest youth onwards, first in Pergamon (Satyrus and Stratonicus, perhaps Aiphicianus), then in Smyrna (Pelops, per-

290 *In Hipp. Epid. VI*, CMG V 10, 2, p. 190, 23: in the case of *Epid. VI* 4.1 he added an *ἐκ* before *τούτου λαπασσομένου*, saying that he implicitly took it to be *χρόνου* or took it as *μετὰ ταῦτα*. This impression seems to be confirmed by the case of the commentary on *Epid. II* 2,14, where Galen (*In Epid. II*, CMG V 10,1, p. 222, 39–41) seems to imply that Dioscorides had a marginal note saying that the passage was in contrast with the previous one and was not self-sufficient: cf., for a similar case in *Aër*, Anastassiou – Irmer [2001] II 1, pp. 43–44. The hypothesis put forward by Ihm [2002a] 70, who suggests that it may only have been a case of punctuation, is not convincing. On the problem of whether Artemidorus and Dioscorides were *also* commentators, which in my view is to be excluded, cf. also Roselli [2012b] 17, see Anastassiou – Irmer [1997] I xxvi, who refers the reader to Ihm [2002a] 70 and 84. The definition 'commentator' appears only in the Arabic tradition (comm. on *Aër*: and Ibn abi Usaibi'a).

291 See the gloss *ἀπεβρήσσετο*, XIX 83, 11 K; *τροφιῶδες*, XIX 147, 4 K and *In Hipp. Prorrh.* CMG V 9.2, p. 134, 21.

292 Hanson – Green [1994] 1019–1021.

293 Sideras [1994] 1085–1088.

294 *De ordine libr. suor.* 3,11 Boudon-Millot.

haps Aiphicianus); later, during his many journeys, he sought out the teachers of his own teachers, that is to say, the school of Quintus. Quintus was a pupil of Marinus, a famous anatomist who lived in Alexandria two generations before Galen and revived anatomical studies after a prolonged period of decline. Galen read Marinus' work on anatomy, of which he composed an epitome, but he acquired indirect knowledge of at least Marinus' commentary on *Aphorisms*.²⁹⁵ Quintus, Marinus' pupil, who was active in Rome, had a fairly large school, but left no written works.²⁹⁶ Galen explicitly mentions that he sought as teachers the most famous pupils of Quintus: Numisianus, Satyrus, Pelops, Aiphicianus, Lycus,²⁹⁷ endeavoring to become personally acquainted with them or at least with their works.²⁹⁸ The picture that emerges from these passages in Galen reveals that much of their exegesis was oral, sometimes set down in the form of notes or short records by pupils for subsequent transmission, or occasionally written down by the teacher and made available to the pupils themselves.²⁹⁹ The difficulty involved in the circulation of these few written texts, and in actually locating them, was extreme. The basic infrastructure underlying Galen's Hippocratic exegesis resided in this store of materials he had accumulated over the years, which derived from a 'school-room' exegesis. This approach tended to adapt to different doctrinal orientations³⁰⁰ and generally corrected the text at hand wherever the latter diverged from contemporary medical knowledge,

295 See Manetti – Roselli [1994] 1580; Grmek-Gourevitch [1994] 1493–1503.

296 On Quintus, *In Hipp. Epid. VI*, CMG V 10, 2, 2, p. 412, 33–34; Grmek-Gourevitch [1994] 1503–1513.

297 On Aiphicianus, see Moraux [1983].

298 Galen travels to Corinth to search for Numisianus, and then to Alexandria, where he discovers that Numisianus has died; Galen then approaches Numisianus' son, Heraclianus, in order to try to obtain access to Numisianus' writings, but he is unsuccessful in this attempt (Grmek – Gourevitch [1994] 1513–1518); but he does succeed in reading some texts by Lycus, against whom he writes polemically in the commentary on *Epid. III* (CMG V 10, 2.1, p. 14, 4 ff.) and above all in *Against Lycus*, after having read Lycus' commentary on *Aph.* On all these figures, Manetti – Roselli [1994] 1580–1593; Grmek – Gourevitch [1994] 1519–1523..

299 Already Flemming [2008] 336. See the testimony of Galen on the readings of his teacher Pelops and of Numisianus in *In Hipp. Aër.* (Anastassiou – Irmer [2001] II 1, 44–46, in particular 45, 24–26): Galen distinguishes between the oral tradition of the commentaries of Pelops and Numisianus and the writing of the *Eisagogai* for Pelope's pupils. See also Anastassiou – Irmer [1997] I, 394.

300 Quintus' orientation seems to have been empirical (*In Epid. I*, CMG V 10, 1, p. 17, 3 ff.), but Aiphicianus shows Stoic tendencies (*De ordine libr. suor.* 3.10 B.-M.), while Lycus shows training in dialectics (Manetti – Roselli [1994] 1582–1585). Furthermore, it would appear that Lycus' exegetic attitude was open to utilization of all the texts of the *Corpus* (among

though it did not disregard the techniques of literary exegesis (choice of variants, comparison with other Hippocratic texts, use of grammatical or rhetorical concepts, etc.).³⁰¹

Rufus of Ephesus,³⁰² as far as we know, wrote commentaries on *Prorrhetic*, *Epidemics* II and VI, *Aphorisms*³⁰³ and *Airs waters places*.³⁰⁴ Galen held him in good esteem, judging that among the recent commentators Rufus was one who tended to preserve the ancient reading.³⁰⁵ In actual fact, it would seem from the cases cited by Galen that Rufus was a very learned commentator who made use of the commentaries drawn up by the Empiricists (Zeuxis for example) and also of ancient doxographic sources.³⁰⁶ Rufus carefully mentions the variants, discussing them with a view to establishing their medical significance, and does not hesitate to make corrections, displaying considerable ability in making conjectures.³⁰⁷

Sabinus,³⁰⁸ the teacher of Stratonicus of Pergamon, was active in Alexandria; he appears to have been the most “Hippocratic” of the commentators, in that he shares some of the fundamental doctrines of Hippocrates such as the humoral theory and that of *apostasis*.³⁰⁹ His work is thus an ‘internal’ exegesis, which seeks to give an orthodox interpretation within a teleological vision of

which the *Prorrhetic* and *Coan prenotions*), without ordering them into a hierarchy of the most ‘authentic’, in contrast to the practice generally adopted by Galen.

301 Manetti – Roselli [1994] see n. 299: in particular 1592

302 Manetti – Roselli [1994] 1600–1606; Sideras [1994], Ullmann [1994].

303 For the discussion of the commentary Rufus wrote on *Aph.*, see Sideras [1994] 1077–1253, Ullmann [1994] 1306; most recently, Fischer [2002] 311–313 (an observation of Rufus on *Aph.* 4.37 contained in Lat. A).

304 The commentary by Galen on *Aër*: confirms the existence of a commentary by Rufus (Anastassiou – Imer [2001] II 1, 30), denied by Sideras [1994] 1009 n. 154 (with previous bibliography).

305 Gal. *In Hipp. Prorrh.* CMG V 9, 2, p. 73, 10. *In Hipp. Epid. VI* CMG V 10, 2, 2, p. 174, 12 etc.

306 Gal. *In Hipp. Epid. VI* CMG V 10, 2, 2, p. 122, 7 ff., cf. 119, 12 ff.

307 See Gal. *In Hipp. Prorrh.* CMG V 9, 2, p. 73, 7–20, where in the commentary on *Prorrh.* I 59a he corrects the transmitted reading οὔρα δὲ πέποινα by changing it into οὔρα δ’ ἐπίποινα, thus showing consideration of the similarities in the writing: the text is incongruent since it defines ‘cooked’ urine as a negative symptom, whereas this cannot be accepted, given that coction is considered to be a positive process in physiological processes.

308 Manetti – Roselli [1994] 1607–1614.

309 On the self-styled Hippocrateans, Lloyd [1993] 401 n. 14. The list of Hippocratean commentators must include the author of a commentary on *Oath*, known from Arabic sources, ascribed to Galen (see *infra* n. 346): if Nutton [2012] is right in his suggestion that it could also be a work by a contemporary of Galen, like Satyrus, then it should be dated between 70 AD and 250 AD.

natural processes. Sabinus' known works include commentaries on *Epidemics* II, III, VI, as well as on such works as *On the nature of man*, *Aphorisms*, and perhaps also *Airs waters places*.³¹⁰ Gellius quotes Sabinus' commentary on *De alimento*.³¹¹ Sabinus offers an intensive reading of the Hippocratic text, working on the assumption that every word conveyed a conscious medical communication. He thus tends to over-interpret the biographical-documentary data, in order to connect the pathologies to the stories pertaining to the individual patients.³¹² Furthermore, since he lived in Alexandria during the age of Hadrian, it should be no cause for surprise to note that he also drew up an erudite commentary which makes use of many ancient authors, above all philosophers,³¹³ and also applies techniques of literary analysis (with discussion of variants). He engaged in critical assessments of authenticity with the customary methods: observing contradictions between the classification of fevers in *Nat. hom.* 15 as compared to that in *Epidemics* I and *Aphorisms*, he concludes that the book was spurious and attributes it to Polybus (an attribution already traceable in antiquity, cf. *supra*).³¹⁴ This reveals that Sabinus' Hippocratism was fluid, not yet focused on only one reference text, as was to be the case later with Galen in *On the nature of man*.

Galen (ca. 129–216), who was brought up in Pergamon, travelled extensively in order to acquire high-level professional training, reaching the apex of his career when he was called to the court of Emperor Marcus Aurelius. His itinerary from Pergamon, via Smyrna, Corinth, Alexandria and then to Rome and Italy, with other journeys throughout his long life, was similar to that of many successful intellectuals. He relates numerous aspects of his life and has left us two biobibliographical works, in which he details his wide-ranging production. In the recently rediscovered *On the avoidance of grief*, he also describes his activity in Rome as a writer and intellectual and tells us how he sought out, consulted and acquired books for his personal library, how he studied and

310 Galen does not cite Sabinus in the commentary on *Aph.*, but it can be surmised from his polemical tract *Adversus Iulianum*, CMG V 10, 3, p. 39, 12–40, 4, that Julianus wrote polemically against Sabinus' exegesis of *Aphorisms*. Also Steph. Ath., *In Hipp. Aph.* I 1, CMG XI 1.3.1, p. 30, 11 ff., says that Sabinus considered *Aphorisms* to be authentic. Apparently a new fragment of Sabinus comes from Galen's commentary on *Aër*: (Anastassiou-Irmer [2001] II 1, 48 n. 1) and concerns the explanation of *kedmata* (*Aër*: 22), which, nevertheless, could also derive from Sabinus' commentary on *Epid.* VI (*Epid.* VI 5.15).

311 NA III 16.

312 See the passages analyzed in Manetti-Roselli [1994] 1608–1609.

313 *In Hipp. Epid.* III CMG V 10, 2, 1, p. 25, 4–9; *In Epid.* VI CMG V 10, 2, 2, p. 137, 21 ff.; *In Nat. hom.* CMG V 9, 1, p. 15, 17 ff.

314 *In Nat. hom.* CMG V 9.1, p. 87, 18–88, 11.

corrected them, exploiting the vast wealth of materials available in the capital's public or private libraries, and how he devoted attention to conserving and reproducing his own works.³¹⁵ Today we have a clearer idea of the day-by-day working routine that lay behind his literary production, which was impressively wide-ranging.³¹⁶ In *On my own books* he mentions many works devoted to exegesis, not only of Hippocrates but also of Erasistratus, Asclepiades of Bithynia, Plato, Aristotle, Chrysippus, Epicurus and of schools such as the Empiricists, but it is not always clear what type of writings were involved. Some of his production consisted of epitomes and *synopsis* of works by authors he was studying, according to a practice that was common as part of the training of all intellectuals of his era, and which also encompassed the activity of writing commentaries as a personal exercise.³¹⁷ The transition from writing as a study activity (εἰς γυμνάσιον, γυμνάζων), for personal use, to that destined to publication (πρὸς κοινὴν ἔκδοσιν), with regard to writings on Hippocrates, arose later, and sprang from polemical necessities, to counter other interpretations.³¹⁸ Similar reasons certainly lay at the root of Galen's commentary in three books on the first book of *On fevers* by Erasistratus, as well as the commentary on the treatise *On the pulse* by Archigenes and that on the *Introduction* and the *Kefalaia* of the empiricist Theodas.³¹⁹ Their specific form is not always clear but with regard to the text on Archigenes it is explicitly said that it contained both exegesis and assessment (ἐξήγησίν τε καὶ κρίσιν). Similarly, with regard to the writings on authors such as Herophilus and Asclepiades we may surmise that they were polemical treatments, or at best "external exegetical endeavours".³²⁰ It should be underlined that no trace remains of exegetic

315 See Boudon-Millot – Jouanna [2010].

316 Here I do not talk of Galen's works of a grammatical and erudite nature, which are described in *Libr. propr.* 20, *Indol.* 20, 23–24.

317 He wrote a *synopsis* of the Platonic dialogues in 8 books (of which there remains, in an Arabic translation, that of the *Timaeus*), a *synopsis* of the works of Heraclides of Tarentum (*Libr. propr.* 12.3), but also of his own works (*Synopsis on Pulses*). On the other hand, the epitome of the lexicographic work of Didymus (*Indol.* 24) is presented as a text that is of use to whoever wishes to use Attic. He wrote commentaries on Aristotle, as an exercise, upon the request of friends or for a limited circulation and expert readers (*Libr. propr.* 14.9 Boudon-Millot).

318 Manetti – Roselli [1994] 1557–1569.

319 *Libr. propr.* 8.6; 10.1; 12.1 Boudon-Millot.

320 Flemming [2008] 331. It is very likely that the works devoted to specific doctrines of physicians such as Asclepiades, Herophilus, Menodotus and Serapion took the form of the *syngramma* rather than that of the continuous lemmatic commentary, see Ihm [2002a] 117–121.

activity of this type conducted on physicians other than Hippocrates, except in these works by Galen.

The passage from *Diff. puls.* 4.10 (VIII 746, 9–13 K.): “But should someone wish either to know firsthand what the authors have said concerning these things or to turn to commentaries (ὑπομνήματα), let him read the seventh book of the Erythraean’s work *On Herophilus’ hairesis*, the twenty-ninth book of Apollonius’ and the thirteenth of Aristoxenus” suggests that ὑπομνήματα coincides here with the works of Heraclides of Erythrae, Apollonius and Aristoxenus, which were certainly not commentaries. Galen’s rather free use of the term *hypomnema* can be explained if one bears in mind his reasons for writing these works. In particular, the authors of the texts *On Herophilus’ hairesis* devoted considerable effort to rewriting and clarifying, with terminological refinements, that which the predecessors had stated rather obscurely; analogously, Galen was likewise spurred to compose treatises which he viewed as a form of rewriting of the Hippocratic texts³²¹—for example *On the elements*, *Difficulties in breathing*—and it was only later that he proceeded to write actual commentaries on Hippocrates.³²² In other words, for Galen the substance of exegesis could be construed as giving rise to different “literary forms”:³²³ for instance it could take the form of treatises on a given subject (the above cited *syngrammata*, but also other works such as his composition *On the doctrines of Hippocrates and Plato*,³²⁴ in which he aimed to build a system of coherent doctrines by starting out from the works of Hippocrates), or of ‘running commentaries’, such as those on Hippocrates, or alternatively of discussions focusing on specific passages (*Against Lycus* and *Against Iulianus*) or on individual words (like the *χόνδρος* in *On Regimen in acute diseases according to*

321 See Gal. *Diff. puls.* 4.3 (VIII 724, 1–5 K.) and von Staden [1999a] 176. The following works can be defined as *syngrammata*, likewise carrying out an exegesis of the Hippocratic texts: *On the elements according to Hippocrates*, *On Hippocrates’ anatomy*, *Difficulties in breathing*, *Against Lycus*, *Against Iulianus*, *On ‘coma’ according to Hippocrates*, *On crises*, *On critical days*, *On regimen in acute diseases according to Hippocrates*, and also *That Hippocrates claims the same opinion in his other books as in On the nature of man* (*Libr. propr.* 9.12 Boudon-Millot).

322 On Galen’s commentaries, Smith [1979] 123–176; Manuli [1983]; Lloyd [1993]; López Férez [1992]; Potter [1993]; Debru [1994]; Manetti – Roselli [1994]; Mansfeld [1994] 148–176; Sluiter [1995]; von Staden [1995]; Manetti [1998] 1209 ff.; Ferrari [1998]; Hanson [1998]; Sluiter [1999]; Vallance [1999]; von Staden [2002]; Ihm [2002a] and [2002b]; Strohmaier [2002]; Manetti [2003]; Flemming [2008]; Manetti [2009]; von Staden [2009].

323 Von Staden [1998b] 72–73, Flemming [2008] 324–332.

324 On the presentation of Hippocrates and Plato as generally agreeing and the problems involved, see Manuli [1983]; Lloyd [1993] 407 ff.

Hippocrates, and *κῶμα* in *On koma according to Hippocrates*), but it could also take the form of lexicographic tools (his *Hippocratic Glossary*). In *On my own books* 9 where he presents his exegetic works on Hippocrates, Galen includes *Difficulties in breathing*, which, however, does not have the form of a continuous commentary, but is instead explicitly presented by him as a ‘new’ exegesis, never addressed by his predecessors even if the latter were “Hippocratic”.³²⁵ He devotes the first book to demonstration of the theory in a systematic form, while the other two focus on exegesis of the Hippocratic texts. At the beginning of book 11³²⁶ he cites a definition of exegesis as ἀσαφούς ἐρμηνείας ἐξάπλωσις, “the unfolding of an obscure expression”, attributing it to ‘one or other of the ancients’. Such a definition, based on the metaphor of ‘unfolding’, provides a good illustration of the form of rewriting, with translatability of the language and doctrinal integrations, which constitutes the type of exegesis commonly applied in the literary and philosophical tradition,³²⁷ both in continuous commentaries and in treatises. This passage shows some affinity with the expressions used in Erotianus’ *Lexicon*, which often makes use of the verb ἐξάπλωω³²⁸

325 Galen asserts that although numerous writers addressed the respiratory function, none dealt with anomalous breathing, even though Hippocrates wrote important things in *Epidemics*: cf. VII 764, 11 ff. K. ἐξηγητικά τε γραφόντων ὑπομνήματα τῶν συγγραμμάτων αὐτοῦ, τὸν περὶ δυσπνοίας οὐδεὶς τελέως ἐπεξήλθε λόγον. ἀλλ’ ἡμεῖς τὰ τε καθ’ ἕκαστον εἰρημένα τῶν βιβλίων εἰς ταῦτὸν ἀθροίσωμεν ἅπαντα, καὶ δεῖξωμεν ὡς κἀν τούτοις ὁ ἀνὴρ πολὺ δὴ τι ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους ἔστιν . . . οὐ γὰρ . . . μόνον ἐξηγεῖσθαι τὴν Ἱπποκράτους γνῶμην, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς οἰκείας ἀποδείξεις τῶν δογμάτων προσθεῖναι.

326 VII 825, 3–826, 4 K. ὅδε μὲν ὁ λόγος ἐξήγησις ἔστι τῶν ὑφ’ Ἱπποκράτους περὶ δυσπνοίας εἰρημένων . . . ἔστι μὲν οὖν ἐξήγησις ὡς πού τις τῶν παλαιῶν εἶπεν, ἀσαφούς ἐρμηνείας ἐξάπλωσις· ἡμεῖς δ’ οὐ τοῦτο μόνον εἰκόκαμεν δράσειν, ἀλλ’ ὅτι καὶ ἀληθῶς ἔχει πάντα τὰ περὶ δυσπνοίας ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένα, μαρτυρήσειν, οὐ μὴν ἀπόδειξιν οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἐν τῷδε τῷ γράμματι, ἀλλ’ εἰς τὸ προηγούμενον τούτου βιβλίον ἀναπέμψειν, ἐν ᾧ χωρὶς ἀποδείξεως οὐδὲν εἴρηται. Cf. on ἐξάπλωσις also *Ars*, I 305, 5–8 K., where Galen lists a series of words synonymous with διδασκαλία, alluding to ancient uses.

327 The tradition current at the time was that of ‘creative reinterpretation’, which cannot be defined as a specific feature of Galen’s exegesis, cf. Lloyd [1993] and Mansfeld [1994] 155–161: on this, already Manuli [1983]; Ferrari [1998]. On the adjusting of Hippocratic thought to the contemporary opinion of his day in order to demonstrate “the permanence of Hippocrates’ truth”, see von Staden [2002] in particular 126 ff.; Flemming [2008]. For the same reason it is an oversimplification to see Galen’s Hippocratism merely as a defensive weapon in his polemics with his rivals (Lloyd [1993] 412) or as “rhetorical gloss” or “ideological patina” (Smith [1979] 175).

328 Erotian. 29, 10 ff.; 33, 14 ff.; 34, 13 N. The affinity was noted by Mansfeld [1994] 149–150. On the use of the verb in Galen’s commentaries, see *Elem.* I 484, 2–4 K.; *In Hipp. Aph.* xviiB 677, 13–15 K. and von Staden [2002] 118 and n. 31.

and seems to share the same idea of exegesis. As Galen explains in the same passage, exegesis includes a verdict on the truth of the doctrines but not the 'demonstration', which he has concentrated into the first book.

It may be helpful to cite a passage from *De tremore* in which Galen, citing *Ti.* 85d where he points out a mistake made by Plato, comments: "it is not opportune now to investigate whether what Plato said is true, because I have the intention to explain and give a judgment on what is said in the *Timaeus* in another work".³²⁹ The treatise is not the place for discussion on the truth of Plato's doctrines, and Galen refers the reader to the commentary on the text in question. The *Commentary on the Timaeus of Plato*, which is the first of the lemmatic commentaries written by Galen, is therefore programmatically devoted *also* to a verification of Platos's medical doctrines.³³⁰ These texts precede the season of Hippocratic exegesis, which begins with *Difficulties in Breathing*,³³¹ written in a mixed form, as we have seen, and is then developed with continuous commentaries. His decision to embark on a systematic commentary of the Hippocratic treatises was also the natural outcome of a career that was now solidly established on the professional plane. Having reached the height of his career, Galen could take a broader perspective on his teaching activity, which had so far probably been limited to oral work³³² as a continuation of the activity of his own teachers. Moreover, the society of his time possessed prestigious models of commentaries of the great authors of the past in the literary and above all philosophical field; accordingly, the writing of commentaries represented the crowning achievement of his intellectual stature as a physician-philosopher.³³³

329 VIII 630, 10–13 K. περί μὲν οὖν τῆς ἀληθείας ὧν εἶπεν ὁ Πλάτων οὐ πρόκειται νῦν ἐπισκοπεῖσθαι, μελλόντων γε ἡμῶν ἐν ἑτέροις ὑπομνήμασιν ἐξηγεῖσθαι τε ἅμα καὶ κρίνειν ἃ κατὰ τὸν Τίμαιον εἶπεν.

330 The commentary on the medical doctrines of the *Timaeus* is not presented with the formula *hypomnema eis* like the others in *Libr. propr.* 16.1, however, it has the form of the lemmatic commentary (see Schröder [1934]). On the characteristics of this commentary, which shares many methodological elements with the Hippocratic commentaries, see Ferrari [1998] with previous bibliography. This notwithstanding, the assessment of the doctrines coexists with an 'indulgent' attitude on the part of Galen. Galen also composed a compendium of the *Timaeus* (Kraus-Walzer [1951]): on the relationship between compendium and commentary in Galen's project, see Rashed [2009] 95 ff.

331 For the chronology, cf. Bardong [1942].

332 For traces of oral teaching in Galen's commentary on *Aēr.*, see Strohmaier [2004] 5. The aporetic structure of the school commentary is visible in the commentary on *Acut.*, see Manetti-Roselli [1994] 1543.

333 Flemming [2008]. On the Aristotelian commentaries as a form of philosophical expression, see Lapini § 2.5, in this volume.

The great variety of forms and methods of exegetic literature accounts for the need Galen soon felt to define the specific task of the commentary in comparison to other forms of writing. In the proem to the commentary³³⁴ on Hippocrates' *Fractures* he states that the exegesis of a text consists in explaining the obscure passages and *not* in giving a demonstration of the correctness of what is asserted in the text, although he was fully aware that it was normal practice among commentators to pass judgment on the author.³³⁵ But Galen is at pains to distinguish the different planes of exegesis: it is the task of a treatise on a specific subject to evaluate the doctrine, the *gnome*, whereas the commentary fulfils the task of explaining first and foremost the *lexis*, the expression, and only then can the second stage, that of explaining the doctrine, be addressed. He admits the possibility of introducing a certain amount of demonstration within the commentary, but this must not go beyond the appropriate measure. His concern for measure is constant and reveals the rhetorical character of the Galenic approach. Galen adopts the attitude of a literary critic: the commentary has its own measure and its own *prepon*. But he goes even further in seeking to distinguish the task of a commentary on a scientific text from that on a literary work.³³⁶ While remaining within the mainstream tradition of Alexandrian Homeric commentaries (see *infra*), he endeavored to counteract the tendency towards the accumulation of erudition and argued that grammatical analysis should be functional to the 'utility', the core of medical teaching. And although he declared Hippocrates to be an 'ancient author',³³⁷ who could to a certain extent be assimilated to Homer and thus should be examined with critical tools similar to those of the Homeric commentaries, he asserted that Hippocrates' communicative intent was different from that of Homer, Thucydides or Ctesias, inasmuch as his intentions were appropriate

334 Gal. *In Hipp. Fract.* XVIII B 318, 1–322, 2 K. The passage in *In Hipp. Aph.* XVIII B 561, 4–562, 10 K, where Galen seems to attribute to the commentary the additional task of the demonstration can actually be seen as referring to a specific polemic against Lycus and does not contradict the position expressed here. On the variety of forms, see the overview in Sluiter [2000a].

335 Mentioning his work *On exegesis*, he addresses the definition of obscurity, which is both a question in its own right and also stands in relation to the user of the ancient text (Manetti-Roselli [1994] 1557–1559). The classification of the different types of obscurity was already a subject treated by philosophical exegetic tradition: on obscurity and its forms, see Cic. *Fin.* 2.15 in Ferrari [1998] 17–18. On this theme, Manuli [1983] 472; Manetti – Roselli [1994] 1532, 1558, 1607; Mansfeld [1994] 135, 148–154, von Staden [2002] 110–114.

336 Manetti – Roselli [1994] 1559; Manetti [1998] 1211.

337 Manetti – Roselli [1994] 1533.

to a scientific discourse.³³⁸ That is to say, by adjusting its tone to its object, a scientific commentary must explain that which is obscure, and must do so in such a manner as to ensure utility for the art itself, without wasting time in sophistic debates. For example, a commentary can be classified as sophistic if it is written to flaunt erudition. Therefore historical and antiquarian matters, etymologies,³³⁹ sophistic disquisitions on words will be left aside, in favor of selecting problems that are relevant for the *techne*. However, Galen does not always remain true to his intentions, especially in his later commentaries on *Epidemics* II and VI (this may to some extent have been due to the particular difficulties encountered in these texts, but also to Galen's evolution towards a more 'philological' type of commentary).³⁴⁰ Despite this he largely accomplishes his aim, above all by referring the readers of his commentaries to his monographic studies and, conversely, by incorporating within his treatises some references to his commentaries, where detailed exegesis was available.³⁴¹ Moreover, since the legitimation of Hippocrates was more or less taken for granted, Galen felt he no longer need be rigidly bound by the duty to demonstrate the correctness of the doctrine.³⁴²

By virtue of his profound knowledge of grammar and rhetoric,³⁴³ when Galen seeks to reduce the scope of erudite elements in scientific commentaries he also achieves the result of endowing the commentary with cultural traits that led to strong awareness of its nature as a 'genre'.³⁴⁴ In his commentaries he brought into play elements of consciously studied literary composition, in

338 Gal. *Diff. resp.* VII 850–852 K.; *In Hipp. Art.* XVIII A 729, 1–8 K.; *In Epid. VI*, CMG V 10, 2, 2, p. 141; *De comate*, CMG V 9, 2, p. 188. See Manetti – Roselli [1994], Manetti [1998]; Sluiter [1995]; von Staden [2002].

339 For the historical details, see for. ex. *In Hip. Epid. VI*, CMG V 10, 2, 2, p. 177, 12–16. On the use of etymologies, which Galen programmatically rejects (*In Art.* XVIII A 395, 3 ff.; *In Fract.* XVIII B 363, 3 ff. K.), but practices to a certain extent in the commentaries, see Manetti [2003] 202–215.

340 See for ex. *In Epid. II*, CMG V 10, 1, 1, p. 230, 12–19; the text is so corrupt that Galen feels he should record and explain the most ancient readings locatable in the previous commentaries of Zeuxis, Herakleides, Bacchius and Glaukias.

341 For ex. *In Epid. I*, CMG V 10, 1, p. 116; *Placit.* IX 1.15, CMG V 4, 1, 2, p. 542, 25–27.

342 It is remarkable that in the commentary on *Prorrhetic*, which he considers spurious, Galen is polemic against those commentators who maintain that exegesis must be confined to justifying an author's text, although patently false: *In Prorrh.* CMG V 9, 2, p. 52.

343 Manetti – Roselli [1994]; Sluiter [1995]; von Staden [2002]; Manetti [2003] and [2009]; Nutton [2009].

344 Cf. *supra* n. 139: caution should be exercised in using this term, but Galen is the author who came closest to a reflection on the 'genres' of the secondary literature, in his reflection on the function and the reading public of his commentaries and his treatises.

which proems featuring a strongly methodological and doctrinal orientation were combined with detailed exegesis and with questions of a more general nature. The measure embodied in the commentary did not merely concern length but also a harmonious proportion among its internal elements, *i.e.* among the various parts of the commentary and also among the different exegetic elements. Fairly substantial digressions on certain themes are found, as well as the insertion of small monographic sections, anecdotes and above all autobiographic elements, which fulfill both a stylistic and ideological function.³⁴⁵

The commentaries on Hippocrates' *On joints, On fractures, Aphorisms, Prognostic, Epidemics I, II, III, VI, In the surgery, On regimen in acute diseases, Prorrhetic, On the nature of man, Airs waters places* have come down to us in a more or less complete form, while those on *On wounds, On wounds in the head, On humours, On nutriment* are lost.³⁴⁶ Apparently Galen also planned commentaries on *Diseases of women, On the nature of child* and *Eighth Month Child*,³⁴⁷ but probably did not carry out the project.

The explanatory criteria Galen presupposes and applies—albeit not always coherently—in his commentaries are those common to a long exegetic tradition that began in the Alexandrian age: the tools of philology were part of

345 Manetti [1998] 1212 f.

346 The commentary on *Airs, waters, places* is preserved only in an Arabic translation: for an outline of the tradition, see Jouanna [1996] 133–148, with previous bibliography, and also Strohmaier [2002] and [2004]. The commentary on *Alim.* preserved in an anonymous papyrus, PFlor. 115, has been proposed by Manetti [1985] and [1995] as a possible fragment of the lost commentary by Galen. Quite recently Bos-Langermann [2009] published the introduction to Galen's commentary on *Alim.* by Sergius of Res'aina (see *infra*), but not the text of the commentary; for the fragments preserved by 'Ali ibn Riḏwān, see Garofalo [2012b], for those of the commentary on *Hum.* see Garofalo [2011]. There is an allusion to a commentary on *De genitura* in the commentary on *Aēr*: cf. Anastasiou-Irmer [2001] II 1, 301; Ihm [2002a] 104. The authorship of the commentary on *Oath* known from Arabic sources (Rosenthal [1956]) would appear to be dubious (Jouanna [1991]; Ihm [2002a] 106–107), even if there are some 'hippocratic' and 'galenic' features (Nutton [2012]), cf. *supra* n. 309.

347 For *Diseases of women* see Ihm [2002a] 108–109; for *On Nature of the child*, which Galen considers authentic, cf. Anastasiou – Irmer [2001] II 1, 45, 12–16; Ihm [2002a] 110–111; on *On the fetus of eighth months*, see Ihm [2002a] 111: perhaps identifiable with *On the fetus of seven months*, preserved in an Arabic translation, cf. Ihm [2002b] 318. On the ambiguity of *hypomnema* and the exegetic character of these writings in Galen, Ihm [2002b] 316–317. An exegetical work about *On diseases I–III* or *On affections* is ambiguously alluded to in Galen's commentary on *Regimen in acutes diseases* (CMG V 9.1, pp. 198, 237), cf. Ihm [2002a] 92 and 107–108.

the intellectuals' common stock-in-trade. In *De libris propriis* Galen outlines an evolution in his manner of composing a commentary, pointing out that the variation in his approach partly depended on changes in working conditions (availability of books) between the moment when he first composed the early commentaries for a select circle of friends and the later period when he wrote those destined to publication. Additionally, his approach was to a certain degree also shaped by his new motives for writing (the aim of counteracting other interpretations). A gradual development in his thought can be perceived in his commentaries, which from a certain moment onwards begin to cite earlier commentators much more frequently, probably because he had the opportunity of consulting a number of Empiricist commentators (Zeuxis, Heraclides of Tarentum) during his second stay in Rome, and was able to take a look at the two editions of Artemidorus and Dioscorides.³⁴⁸ The general principle of which greatest use was made in the exegesis of authors is contained in the formula of 'explaining Homer with Homer': an author should be interpreted on the basis of his works. This was an internal principle, which Galen states explicitly for the first time in *Diff. Puls.* in connection with the correct manner of interpreting Herophilus, mentioning the method used in Homeric criticism.³⁴⁹ He then returns to the question shortly thereafter, in *Dign. puls.*, again in reference to Herophilus, defining the principle as νόμος τῆς ἐξηγήσεως.³⁵⁰ Elsewhere, Galen also makes use of a different comparison to define this principle, namely that of the actor. For instance, in the commentary on *Epid.* III he speaks appreciatingly of the way the Empiricists conduct themselves when commenting upon Hippocrates: "like in a play, acting in a manner that appropriately portrays the character involved".³⁵¹ Since he regarded Hippocrates as an 'ancient' author, he also pursued the issue beyond this statement, not only quoting from other Hippocratic works but also collecting 'parallels' from ancient authors, to elucidate obscure and ambiguous words and passages.³⁵² A wide range of lexicons, repertories or specialized treatises were

348 Manetti – Roselli [1994] 1617 ff.

349 Gal. *Diff. puls.* VIII 715, 11–716, 6 K. where he compares *Il.* 23.171 and *Od.* 22.110–111; *De comate sec. Hipp.* (VII 646, 3–8 = CMG V 9,2, p. 182, 23 ff.); Manetti-Roselli [1994] 1557–79; Mansfeld [1994] 148 ff.; Hanson [1998] 46–49. For the formula of 'explaining Homer with Homer', see Montana § 2.4, in this volume.

350 *Dign. puls.* VIII 958, 6–8 K.

351 *In Epid.* III, CMG V 10,2,1, p. 17, 2: the Empiricists applied this criterion to the interpretation of Herophilus, Erasistratus or Asclepiades as well (p. 21, 28–22, 2). The motif was used later, inverted, also by David (= ps. Elias) *In Arist. Cat.*, CAG XVIII 1, p. 222, 27 ff.

352 On the construction of the figure of 'ancient' Hippocrates, see Sluiter [1995], Manetti [2003]; Galen was not devoid of a sense of history, though—naturally—his viewpoint

at his disposal and Galen himself had written many works on the language of ancient comedy. More and more frequently he displayed a keen interest in manuscript variants and in interpolations, as well as in questions of authenticity and authorship.³⁵³ He was aware of the limits of an interpretation that has a stochastic character and cannot emend all the corrupted elements;³⁵⁴ this notwithstanding, he proposed several explanatory models for the process of text composition and transmission, drawing extensively on the scriptorial practice of his day. In this framework, Galen put forward interesting reflections on the typology of the errors he found himself dealing with, and he came close to formulating a criterion like that of the *lectio difficilior*. In his later commentaries he became respectful of the tradition he characterized as ‘ancient’, to the point of opting to preserve ancient readings even if they were *apithanoi*.³⁵⁵

4.1.3 Biography and Doxography

Hippocrates’ biography was already consolidated in the early imperial age, but a new general work on the history of ancient physicians is attested, Soranus’ *Lives of the Physicians, Schools and Writings* or *Successions of Physicians*, in 10 books.³⁵⁶ It seems to indicate a work organizing its material according to the schools. One may suppose that it followed established Hellenistic and Roman models for biographical narrative, but we have no knowledge of its content.³⁵⁷

reflected the culture of his time; thus the suggestion that he had little awareness of diachronicity would seem to be an oversimplification, Manuli [1983] 475.

353 This is influenced to a large extent by the quality of the texts on which the commentary is being composed: thus from the fourth section onwards of the commentary on *Aph.*, emphasis is placed on philological problems, as in the commentaries on the difficult texts of *Epid.* II and VI, whereas in *In Hipp. Epid. I* some passages are not even mentioned or supplied with a commentary because they are considered completely clear, and explanations are restricted to the obscure expressions. Finally, it is quite natural that Galen awards considerable attention to the issue of the authorship of *Nat. hom.* and to its spurious parts, given the ideological importance of this text in his vision.

354 *In Hipp. Off.* XVIIIB 715 K; *In Epid. II*, CMG V 10, 1, p. 221, 9 ff; 275, 41 ff.: see López Férez [1992].

355 On the *lectio difficilior*, see *In Epid. VI*, CMG V 10, 2, 2, p. 121, 17–22; Hanson [1998] 48; Ferreri [2005]; also, the still useful collection of material in Bröcker [1885]. Over time Galen was able to form an idea in his own mind of what the ancient tradition was like, basing his interpretation essentially on the Empiricist commentaries and on those of Rufus, see Manetti-Roselli [1994] 1633–1635; on nevertheless maintaining the ancient variants, *In Epid. VI*, CMG V 10, 2, 2, p. 121, 12 ff.

356 *Suid. s.v.*: Βίοι ἱατρῶν καὶ αἰρέσεις καὶ συντάγματα, also known by the alternative title τῶν ἱατρῶν διαδοχαί.

357 Kind [1927] 1116–1117; Hanson – Green [1994].

All that can be read is a *Vita Hippocratis* ascribed to Soranus in some manuscripts of the *Corpus Hippocraticum*, which is probably a very mutilated excerpt from Soranus' fuller work.³⁵⁸ Contrary to the general title of Soranus' work, the *Vita Hippocratis* makes no reference to Hippocrates' writings or doctrines, if not in a skeptical tone,³⁵⁹ well suited to the detached manner in which Soranus generally refers to Hippocrates. Soranus was certainly a well educated physician with an interest in grammar (cf. *supra*), but the Methodical school, of which he was the representative, had rejected *en bloc* the long tradition of Dogmatic medicine. Therefore it is in a sense paradoxical that Soranus devoted attention to the history of medicine, biography and doxography. This may well have been an instrument of self-assertion, even if there is too little evidence for it to be judged as purely an exercise in confutation (a 'hamartography').³⁶⁰ Confirmation of a polemical attitude can be gained from the fragments of the treatise *On the Soul*, in 4 books, quoted extensively by Tertullian, which critically reviewed the opinions of philosophers.³⁶¹ Soranus' *Aitiologoumena* is referred to by Caelius Aurelianus³⁶² as a work on the causes of diseases, perhaps a broad-based doxographical exposition, but it remains dubious, and nothing precise can be said about its nature.³⁶³ The interest in biography, on the other hand, was consistent with the culture of the 1st–2nd century AD, when antiquarianism was widely practiced.

A later source, but difficult to date, is the so-called Anonymus Parisinus and his work *On acute and chronic diseases*.³⁶⁴ He writes about each disease

358 It was included by J. Ilberg in his edition of Soranus, CMG IV 1927, 173–178: there is also a life in *Suidas* (η 564), a garbled Latin version (Schöne [1903]) and a verse biography composed by Johannes Tzetzes in his *Chiliades* (vii 986). All of these are likely to rely to some extent on the Hippocratic *Bios* by Soranus of Ephesus, according to Deichgräber [1933] 147 and recently Pinault [1992]; Hanson-Green [1994] 1010–1018 (see former bibliography): *contra* Edelstein [1935] 1294–1295. *Suidas* and the Latin life also contain the list of Hippocratic writings.

359 13, CMG IV, p. 177, 19–25.

360 See Mansfeld [1994] 180; van der Eijk [1999c] 397–452, in particular 448; 'hamartography' in Smith [1979] 224–225: biography and lexicography acted as a preparation for the study of the real opinions and writings (in order to refute them).

361 See the new edition by Podolak [2010].

362 *Tard.* I iii 55 (= *CML* VI 1.1, p. 460, 17–20); see Wellmann [1901] 140–155.

363 Hanson-Green [1994] 1034–1035. The numerous doxographic traces scattered throughout the *Gynaecia* treatise and in the work of Caelius Aurelianus point to the existence of a structured doxography: Cael. Aur. *Cel.* I xiv 105–xvi 165; II xxix 225–xl 234, *Tard.* II i 55–62, see van der Eijk [1999c].

364 Date uncertain: *terminus post quem* suggested by the quotation of Mnaseas (40–60 AD). Edited by Garofalo [1997]; on the history of the criticism, see Garofalo [1992]. The

according to the same pattern: first the causes, then its symptoms and finally its treatment. The section on causes often contains doxographical reports of only four ancient physicians, Hippocrates, Diocles, Praxagoras and Erasistratus, all representative of the Dogmatist tradition, sometimes referred to collectively as “the ancients”. The author reports their views in a non-evaluative manner: “His attitude seems, on the whole, reconciliatory rather than divisive”.³⁶⁵ His reluctance to commit himself to the causal explanations of the ancients might be seen as consistent with a Methodist attitude, combined with a didactic purpose. Anonymous’ sources are unknown.³⁶⁶

4.2 *After Galen: Reduction and Fusion of Genres (3rd–7th c.)*

Whereas Galen devoted considerable effort (despite his *souplesse* in using the term *hypomnema*) to defining the function of the different genres of exegesis on which he had worked (the difference between *hypomnema* and a scientific treatise, the *hypomnema* and its proper extension, adjustment of the tone and cultural adaptation to fit the intended public, the exegetic value of his *syngammata* on Hippocrates etc.), in later centuries the philological activity linked to teaching activity with focus on the Hippocratic texts and then also on those of Galen underwent several changes. First and foremost, there was a reduction in the forms of writing devoted to text exegesis, and subsequently a blurring of the boundaries between the different forms. Thus the exegetic texts were no longer immediately classifiable in terms of the categories utilized so far in scholarship on medical texts (*hypomnemata*, *syngammata*, lexicons).

The role of Hippocratic lexicography, which was by now well integrated into general lexicons,³⁶⁷ was absorbed into the commentaries, within the part devoted to text *lexis*. Commentaries in the sense of works specifically destined to the continuous exegesis of a text now formed no more than a particular aspect of overall education (the aspect aiming more generally to provide a ‘liberal’ education than to give practical professional training), alongside with forms of mediation that served the function of a fast-track learning route.

authorship has been variously attributed, now to Herodotus the physician belonging to the Pneumatic school, now to Soranus, now to Themison: see van der Eijk [1999b] 295 ff., with the previous bibliography.

365 Van der Eijk [1999b] 314; for the conclusions 325–331.

366 It is possible that he relies on a medico-doxographical tradition with regard to the question of the so-called “affected parts”, see van der Eijk [1999b] 322–23. Further traces of a doxographic tradition on Hippocrates in Stobaeus (Jouanna [2010]) and in papyri (Marganne [2010]). See also, for the doxographic elements in Celsus, von Staden [1999b].

367 On the presence of Hippocratic material in Hesychius, via Diogenianus, and the influence of the lexicons of Rufus and Soranus on Pollux, see Perilli [2006].

Another development in the 4th century that reveals the changing perspective is the work of Oribasius, who had been trained in Alexandria and then became the personal physician of the emperor Julian. Oribasius constructed a great medical encyclopedia, only partially preserved, which was based on the technique of selecting passages from previous authors and then reorganizing them by theme.³⁶⁸ Thus paraphrases and summaries played an increasingly significant role, where more or less literal citations tended to merge with reworked and interpretive segments, without any apparent solution of continuity, and were often preferred because, in particular, Galen's works "were too complex and disorganized, too lengthy and physically unwieldy, for the purpose of the average educated man, let alone the busy, peripatetic, medical practitioner".³⁶⁹ Indeed, even Galen himself had begun not only to compose summaries of his own works as well as those of others, but also to write introductory texts, condensing more complex treatises.³⁷⁰ Finally the scholia, that is to say, the texts transcribed for exegetic purposes as an accompaniment to a work by Hippocrates or Galen, often occupying the margins of a codex, were formulated, at least in the case of Galen, according to the same technique as adopted by Oribasius in utilizing his sources, *i.e.* by using passages taken from the source author, sometimes simply reordered and juxtaposed, as a means of explaining and completing the annotated text.

From the death of Galen in the early decades of the 3rd century, up to the end of the 5th century, surviving evidence of medical exegesis is very scanty, and even the papyrus witnesses from Egypt concerning Hippocrates and Galen offer few traces of philological work or commentaries. The papyrus codex PRyl. 530, dating from the 3rd–4th century, has been revealed by a recent revision to contain a copy of *Aphorisms*, interspersed with paraphrase-commentaries.³⁷¹ This evidence is of particular value because its editorial characteristics suggest that it could be defined as a 'commented edition':³⁷² for instance, the text is clearly separated from the commentary through signs and indentations and there is, as far as can be perceived from a reading of the text,

368 On the role of Oribasius in the development of Galenic Hippocratism, see Temkin [1932] 38; cf. Orib. *Coll.* I 1, CMG VI 1.1, p. 4, 15–18.

369 Lieber [1981] 170.

370 Garofalo [2000b] 14–15, for the synopsis of *De methodo medendi*; Galen presents *De musculorum dissectione* as an abregé of his larger anatomical work (*Libr. propr.* 4.1 B.-M.). Galen was also in the habit of writing summaries of other authors' texts (for ex. Marinus' *Anatomy*, *Libr. propr.* 4.9, of Lycus, 4.34; of Heraclides, 12.3, of Platos' dialogues, 16.2); for Plato's dialogues see Kraus-Walzer [1951], see *supra* n. 317.

371 D. Manetti-R. Luiselli in *CPF* [2008] 180–197.

372 According to the definition of Montanari [2006a] 11–14.

an apparent quantitative balance between the authorial text and the interpretive paraphrase. The relationship between the text and the commentary—the latter being simple and of a paraphrastic nature, independent of Galen—is one of strong integration, with a manner of realization that foreshadows phenomena attested at a later date. Furthermore, this testimony is valuable in that it fills a gap in our sources, which otherwise provide us with only two names for this period: Philagrius and Magnus of Nisibis.³⁷³

Philagrius,³⁷⁴ who is known mainly from *Suidas* and from the *excerpta* of Oribasius, was active between the 3rd and 4th century in Thessalonica; and, in addition to many other works, he also composed a commentary on Hippocrates, though nothing is known of its nature. Magnus of Nisibis,³⁷⁵ a pupil of Zeno of Cyprus together with Oribasius around 370, was *iatrosophistes*, i.e. a professor of medicine; he was active in Alexandria, where he gained considerable popularity and prestige on account of his dialectical powers, but he faced accusations of lack of professional competence. He composed a commentary on *Aphorisms*, which is cited a few times by Cassius Felix.³⁷⁶

A page of Hippocrates' *Aphorisms* is also preserved on a rather well made parchment codex that has come down to us, PAnt. 28, thought to date from the 5th century, and characterized by the presence of small sub-titles in the margin, which may, albeit minimally, be suggestive of its possible use as teaching material.³⁷⁷ It is not until the 6th century, with PAnt 183,³⁷⁸ that one finds a copy of *Aphorisms* supplied with marginal scholia derived from different materials, revealing contacts with the exegetic activity of the school of Alexandria which was flourishing during that same period. In fact Alexandria became the main centre of philosophical, but also grammatical and medical studies from

373 On these and the later authors, Overwien [forthcoming].

374 *Suidas* φ 295 (ὕπομνηματικὸν εἰς Ἴπποκράτην); Temkin [1932] 30 (he dates it to the first half of the 4th c. AD), Nutton [2000] 779; for the Arabic sources, Sezgin [1970] 154–156; see now Matino [1999].

375 Temkin [1932] 41; Nutton [1999b] 698.

376 Cassius, *De medicina* 29.1, 76.3 Fraise, twice quotes the text of *Aphorisms* followed by Magnus' exegesis (*secundum expositionem Magni iatrosophistae*). Cassius, *archiater* of Carthage in the first half of 5th century, reveals his close connection with the Alexandrian context, see also his quotations (39, 44) of Galen's *De locis affectis* (with the title of *Diagnostike*, used by the Alexandrians): cf. for ex. Steph. Ath. *In Hipp. Aph.* III 5, CMG XI 1.3.2, p. 38.15; V 27, CMG XI 1.3.3, p. 96.8, Ioh. Alex. *In Hipp. Epid.* VI, CMG XI 1.4, p. 58.11). On these aspects see Palmieri [2007] with the previous bibliography.

377 Andorlini [2000] 41; Andorlini [2003] 20–24; text and commentary in *CPF* [2008] 77–82.

378 Andorlini [2000] 42–43; Andorlini [2003] 24–26; text and commentary in *CPF* [2008] 79–86.

roughly the end of the 5th c. onwards when, after the death of Proclus (485), the Athens school faced a severe crisis.

During this period there arose a gradual unifying tendency among the higher education systems of philosophy, grammar, rhetoric and medicine.³⁷⁹ In all disciplines, as a result of the influence of the philosophical teachings of the school of Ammonius, educational activity became systematized and was organized according to precise course plans. The outcome was an exegetic method well adapted to classroom practice, profoundly influenced by Aristotelian logic, as testified by the use of the syllogistic method in the development of arguments (to clarify textual difficulties), the differentiation between ‘substance’ and ‘accident’, recourse to the four philosophical causes forming part of the Aristotelian framework, the ἀπορία/λύσις procedure of commenting, the διαίρεσις (division of a subject into a series of subdivisions and complementary definitions).³⁸⁰

As far as the field of medicine was concerned, the ‘classics’ were read and commented in a certain order, and this was the case both for Hippocrates and Galen.³⁸¹ There was a flowering of introductions to the works, which organize the discussion according to eight traditional points:³⁸² the subject of the book, its usefulness, its authenticity, its title, its place in the curriculum, subdivision, the branch to which it belongs (physiology, etiology or diagnostics), the teaching method.

The construction of a *curriculum* should not be taken as implying a fixed and exclusive ‘Canon’, even though it is commonly referred to by this term. It arose from the practical requirements of teaching and was a process that developed from the early 5th century onwards, continuing to evolve further until the 7th century, and even beyond this period in the Arabic environment. Among the works of Hippocrates and Galen, those chosen for educational

379 That medicine was studied on the higher levels together with other disciplines such as grammar, rhetoric, logic, philosophy, etc., is a recurrent phenomenon in the centuries immediately following Galen as well: Marasco [2010]. Cf. Lamberz [1987] 1–20.

380 For ex. Westerink [1964]; Duffy [1984]; Wolska-Conus [1992]; Roueché [1999]; Ieraci Bio [2003]; a general overview in Pormam [2010].

381 This phenomenon is parallel to the formation, in the school of Ammonius, of a philosophical curriculum based on an ordered selection of works: in order to reach the level at which Plato was studied the program began with Porphyry’s *Isagoge* and then continued with the works of Aristotle’s *Organon*; see Hadot [1987] 120–122.

382 On the development of the *prolegomena* to the authors, in particular of the *octo capitula*, see Richard [1950]; Mansfeld [1994] (the first three chapters).

purposes were texts considered (by the Alexandrians, not always by Galen)³⁸³ to be appropriate for beginners. The works were then organized into groups that were divided by degree of background knowledge required, and were to be read in class, in a specified order under the guidance of the teacher.³⁸⁴ Works that were not included in the so-called Canon were by no means excluded, but it was left up to the individual students to peruse them in greater depth subsequently. Our most authoritative source is Ḥunain's *Risala (Report)*,³⁸⁵ which describes Alexandrian educational practice.

I list here below the structure of the curriculum of Galenic studies:³⁸⁶

Collection I (*Medicine for beginners*): 1. *De sectis*; 2. *Ars Parva*; 3. *De pulsibus ad tirones (Small Pulse)*; 4. *Ad Glauconem (B. 11)*; 5. Collection II (*Anatomy for beginners*):³⁸⁷ *De ossibus, De musculis, De nervis, De venis, De arteriis*; 6. *De elementis secundum Hippocratem*; 7. *De temperamentis*; 8. *De naturalibus facultatibus*; 9. Collection III (*The book of causes*): *De differentiis morborum, De causis morborum, De differentiis symptomatum, De causis symptomatum*; 10. *De locis affectis*; 11. Collection IV (*Great pulse, only 4 books*):³⁸⁸ *De differentiis pulsuum, De dignoscendis pulsuum, De causis pulsuum, De praesagitione ex pulsibus*; 12. *De febrium differentiis*; 13. *De crisis*; 14. *De diebus decretoriis*; 15. *De sanitate tuenda*; 16. *De methodo medendi (only the last 8 books)*.³⁸⁹

383 While *De sectis* is the first work also recommended by Galen (*De ordine libr. suor.* 2.4 p. 92, 7 ff. Boudon-Millot) for those who do not have have a background in philosophy and dialectics, for the others the order suggested by Galen does not coincide precisely with that of the Canon although the latter is clearly inspired by Galen.

384 It should be underlined that all the texts that have come down to us reveal a strong link with oral teaching, and even their title often makes it clear that they derive from notes prepared for an oral lesson (for the formula ἀπὸ φωνῆς cf. Richard [1950]).

385 The text of Ḥunain ibn Ishāq, who was the head of a school of translators in Baghdad in the 9th century, is available in a German translation in Bergsträsser [1925].

386 For the variations in the different Syriac and Arabic sources, see Iskandar [1976]; Lieber [1981] in particular 173; Strohmaier [1994]; Boudon-Millot [2007a] cxiv–cxxvi. The ‘Canon of the 16 works’ is described by Iohannes Grammatikos (see the following note).

387 Iohannes Grammatikos (see *infra*) in the *Prologue* of his *Overview of the works of Galen's Canon* (transmitted only in Arabic) puts the *Anatomy* in sixth place after *Nat. fac.* in agreement with other Arabic sources, perhaps correctly, cf. Garofalo [2000a] 146 n. 36; Garofalo [2003b] 207–208.

388 Lieber [1981] 174: “According to Hunayn... the Alexandrians made a great mistake in limiting their reading to the first book of each section”.

389 *De sanitate tuenda* was subsequently added: Iskandar [1976]; Lieber [1981].

The curriculum is thus composed of 12 groups or 'courses' required for the training of a doctor, from general and theoretical knowledge to therapy. Since Ḥunain says that the works of the Canon were translated into Syriac by Sergius of Res'aina (d. 536), it seems clear that the curriculum was already in force in the 5th century. In fact knowledge of elements of the Canon is already found in the work of Cassius Felix (dated about 447 AD), suggesting that the beginning of this process goes back to the first half of the 5th century.³⁹⁰

Later Arabic sources add that the Alexandrians chose to prescribe a reading of Galen prior to that of Hippocrates, of whom 4 treatises were selected: *Prognostic, Aphorisms, On regimen in acute diseases, Airs waters places*.³⁹¹ The order Galen-Hippocrates clearly reveals that the former provides a key background for a reading of the Hippocratic medical tradition, thereby definitively establishing that Hippocratic Galenism that was to prove so enduring both in eastern and western medieval medicine.³⁹² It is worth noting, however, that the curriculum of studies focusing on the works of Hippocrates is attested with variants in the Greek and Arabic sources.³⁹³ The following list is reconstructed both from Palladius and Stephanus (see *infra*): *Aphorisms, On the nature of man, On the nature of child, On liquids, On nutriment, Prognostic, On regimen in acute diseases, On joints, On fractures, Airs waters places, Epidemics, On women's diseases*,³⁹⁴ but the list (and the order) differs from that given by other Greek and Arabic sources.³⁹⁵ The ordering criteria, whereby priority was awarded to study of phenomena according to nature, which were then

390 Sergius introduced, it would appear, some modifications in the Canon. Stephanus of Athens (*infra*) cites the 16 works, cf. Westerink [1985] vii–viii, Wolska-Conus [1994] 42 n. 34. For Cassius Felix, see *supra* n. 376.

391 'Ali ibn Riḍwān in Lieber [1981] 172–174; for the variants of the Hippocratic Canon, which reached a total of 12 works, see nn. 393–395.

392 Cf. Ioh. Alex. *In Gal. De sectis*, 2ra48–49 Pritchett [1982], who asserts that Hippocrates is too difficult for beginners; Temkin [1932] 32–34, points out that the rise of the pre-eminent role of Galen can be dated as early as Oribasius and his medical encyclopedia; cf. Temkin [1973] 62 ff. In contrast, on the hypothesis of a western Hippocratism free from the influence exerted by Galen, see Beccaria [1959] and [1961].

393 Iskandar [1976] 235–238, 249. Ibn abi Usaibi'a cites the same works in a different order, adding *De morbis muliebribus* and *Officina medici*; cf. Duffy [1997] 9–11. On the variants of the Canon of Hippocrates, see Irmer [1987].

394 Palladius *In Hipp. Fract.* 18, 5–20, 5 Irmer and Steph. Ath. *In Hipp. Prog.* CMG XI 1.2, p. 30, 31–32, 37; cf. Anastassiou-Irmer [2012] III, 439–440, but see also the following pages (441–457) for all the lists of Hippocratic writings. See first of all the reconstruction in Iskandar [1976] 235–258. Cf. also Bräutigam [1908] 43–44.

395 On the order that can be reconstructed from the commentary by Stephanus on *Aph.*, see Westerink [1992] 11–12; Bräutigam [1908] 43–44: "Iusiurandum, Aphorismi, Prognostica,

followed by those against nature, are common to the Canons of Hippocrates and Galen.³⁹⁶

The names of those said to have contributed to shaping the Canon are found only in the Arabic sources. For Galen, we have from 4 to 7 names, depending on the source: Stephanus, Gesios, Angilawus, Marinos, to whom can be added Theodosius, Palladius and Iohannes the Grammarian.³⁹⁷

On some of these names, only uncertain information is available,³⁹⁸ but there are others for whom a few texts have come down to us. A recent study has made it possible to attribute the commentary on Epidemics VI preserved in a Syriac translation (possibly by Sergius of Res'aina) to Gesius of Petra,³⁹⁹ a pagan physician of great renown who, at the end of the 5th century, studied at Alexandria under the tutorship of the teacher Domnus.⁴⁰⁰ The commentary on *Epid. VI*, of a lemmatic type, draws on Galen, because Galen was regarded as having absolute authority: it is "in a certain sense a supercommentary, a commentary on Galen's commentary".⁴⁰¹ But Gesius adds further material, which often suggests a comparison with the commentary by Iohannes Alexandrinus (see *infra*), although in the case of Gesius the versions are longer and therefore independent. The exegetic approach typical of late antique Alexandrian commentaries can already be seen in Gesius, for ex. the division of teaching into lectures (*praxeis*), each composed of a general discussion (*theoria*) and an explanation of the text (*lexis*). This new work extends the list of those on which

Regimen acutorum, De fracturis, De capitis vulneribus, Epidemia, De humoribus, Officina medici, De aeribus, aquis, locis, De natura hominis, De foetibus".

396 Irmer [1987] 170–172 (on Hippocrates); Garofalo [2000a] 144–146 (the prologue of Iohannes Grammatikos on the sequence of Galen's works); Overwien [forthcoming].

397 The following are still useful, although in need of updating: Meyerhof [1930]; Temkin [1932] 51 ff. See also Garofalo [2003b] 203–208.

398 For the otherwise unknown Theodosius, see Meyerhof [1930] 397 n. 3, most recently Ihm [2002a] 213; for Marinos (who is not the pupil of Proclus), Ihm [2002a] 165; for the identification of Anquilaos (or Aqilaus?), Sezgin [1970] 160; Temkin [1935] 421 n. 82 (with Agnellus), Wolska-Conus [1996] 47 ff. (with Asclepius); for an overview Ihm [2002a] 73–74; finally Irvine-Temkin [2003] (with Angeleuas, cited by Stephanus of Athens). For Iohannes the Grammarian, often confused by the Arabic sources with Iohannes Philoponus, and by modern scholars sometimes with Iohannes Alexandrinus, see Ihm [2002a] 138–154. The most recent survey of the problem of identification is in Pormann [2003] 248–252.

399 Kessel [2012a] in particular 98–99; on Gesius see also Temkin [1932] 73–74; Nutton [1984] 6–7; Duffy [1984] 23; Wolska-Conus [1989] 50–55; Nutton [1998b]; Watts [2009].

400 Almost nothing is known of him: Ihm [2002a] 85–86.

401 Kessel [2012a] 98. For Gesius as the possible source of an Arabic commentary on Prognostic, see Jooisse-Pormann [2012].

information is already available,⁴⁰² such as a commentary on Hippocrates' *Aphorisms*, cited by Stephanus of Athens,⁴⁰³ and commentaries on Galen's *On elements according Hippocrates* and *De foetuum formatione*.

The so-called 'Alexandrian Canon' of the works of Hippocrates (12) and of Galen (16) has not been preserved materially in any manuscript (with the possible exception of the codex Ambr. G 108 inf., see *infra*), but it has left a profusion of traces in the Greek, Latin, Syriac and Arabic speaking world.

The Greek commentaries on Galen that have come down to us are often fragmentary, such as the group of commentaries on Galen's *De sectis*: PBerol 11739 A (7th c.),⁴⁰⁴ which preserves the beginning of the *Prolegomena* to the commentary, and another two fragmentary commentaries, attributed to Archelaus and Palladius (6th c.) in later mss.⁴⁰⁵ The *Prolegomena* of PBerol is a general introduction to the art of medicine, which has the features characteristic of many other *Prolegomena philosophiae* datable between the 5th and 6th century, and it has textual affinities not only with the fragments of Palladius and Archelaus but also with the Latin commentary of Agnellus on *De sectis* (vedi *infra*).⁴⁰⁶ In contrast to these fragmentary pieces of evidence, the commentary by Stephanus of Athens on Galen's *Ad Glauconem* is complete.⁴⁰⁷ A commentary by Iohannes Alexandrinus (6th c.) on Galen's *De sectis* survives in a Latin translation.⁴⁰⁸

The texts relating to Hippocrates are more numerous: commentaries by Palladius (6th c.) on Hippocrates' *Epidemics* VI,⁴⁰⁹ *On fractures*⁴¹⁰ and *Aphorisms*

402 Wolska-Conus [1989] 50–54 and [1996] 47–48. In Pal. lat. 1090 commentaries on *De sectis* and on *Ars medica* are attributed to Gesius. Additionally, a commentary by Gesius on *De temperamentis* has been reconstructed (Garofalo [2003b] 205, with previous bibliography).

403 *In Hipp. Aph. II* 53, CMG XI 1.3.1, p. 256, 3–8.

404 See most recently Manetti [1995], with previous bibliography.

405 Baffioni [1954] and [1958]; for a comparison among the commentaries on *De sectis*, Manetti [1992].

406 Temkin [1935] 405–414; Manetti [1992] 216–224.

407 Dickson [1998].

408 Pritchett [1982]; for the commentary on *De sectis* see also Palmieri [1989] 34–42; Goel-Mayer-Staub [2000] 201–222. In the Latin commentary on *De sectis*, the proem, which seems to be independent of the commentary itself, is attributed to him in only one manuscript. On the problems of identification of Iohannes Alexandrinus, see Garofalo [1999] 189–193.

409 Today, this still remains available only in Dietz [1834], II, 1–204.

410 Edited by Irmer [1977]; on the relations between parallel redactions of Palladius and Stephanus, Irmer [1975].

(partially preserved in Arabic);⁴¹¹ commentaries by Stephanus of Athens (6th c., second half)⁴¹² on Hippocrates' *Aphorisms*, *On fractures* and *Prognostic* have also come down to us.⁴¹³ A commentary by Iohannes Alexandrinus on *Epidemics* VI is extant, transmitted partially in Greek as marginal scholia (but complete in the Latin version),⁴¹⁴ and a commentary, mutilated, on *De natura pueri* (which was likewise a work belonging to the Canon).⁴¹⁵ Furthermore, in the past few decades the fragments of anonymous commentaries traceable back to the same cultural *milieu* have been identified in various manuscripts:⁴¹⁶ although the texts are generally independent from one another, they reveal great basic homogeneity. Fundamentally they are influenced by the exegetic approach of the school of Ammonius, displaying familiarity with philosophical themes on levels ranging from a passing acquaintance to in-depth knowledge, and reflecting the same teaching practice. They always presuppose a certain order of reading of the works, whether Hippocratic or Galenic, and the order generally corresponds to that of the Canon. The substance of this commenting activity is derived from Galen, who was the constant reference point, even though this was not always made explicit. As well as the division into lectures (*praxeis*),⁴¹⁷ other typical elements of Alexandrian medical scholasti-

411 Magdelaine [2003]; see also Duffy [1997] 9, n. 4: the commentary has been reconstructed partly also through the citations of *Aph.* by Palladius himself in the commentary on *Epid.* VI. For the reconstruction, these citations were examined comparatively with the commentary on *Aph.* of Stephanus, who quite probably used Palladius systematically, under the name of Galen or of "the recent commentator": see Wolska-Conus [2000]. A probable testimony of Palladius' commentary on *Prognostic* is identified in the summary of this text forming part of a work by al-Ya'qubi, see Overwien [2011].

412 He has been identified, by Wolska-Conus [1989], with the philosopher Stephanus of Alexandria; but see also Roueché [1990]; Westerink [1998²] 19–23.

413 The commentary on *Aphorisms* is edited by Westerink [1985–1995]; for the commentary on *Fract.*, see Irmer [1977], for the commentary on *Prognostic*, Duffy [1983].

414 Duffy [1997] 13: the Greek *excerpta* were inserted as *marginalia* in the text of the *Ephodia* in the codex Vat. gr. 300 (12th c.), written in the Reggio Calabria area; Pritchett [1975] for the Latin version. In the commentary on *Epid.* VI Iohannes mentions many commentaries he had composed on other works of the Canon (Bräutigam [1908] 51).

415 The commentary on *Nat. puer.*, edited for the first time by Dietz [1834] II, 205–235, was re-edited by Duffy [1997].

416 Fragments of anonymous commentaries on *Epid.* VI in Duffy [1997] 119–125, in Roselli [1999] and Ieraci Bio [2012]. In the work of 'Ali ibn Riḏwān, segments of two commentaries on *Mul.* 1–11 have been identified, one falsely attributed to Galen, the other attributed to an Asclepius, Ullmann [1977]; lastly, the fragment of the commentary on *Praecepta*, in the scholium of ms. vat. Urb. gr. 68, was analyzed by Bräutigam [1908] 54 ff.

417 However, it is not present in the commentary by Stephanus on Gal. *Ad Glauconem*.

cism include discussion, in the first lecture, of the *octo capitula* (see above), the frequent repetition of basic information (anatomical, physiological, therapeutic), the tendency to using *diairesis*⁴¹⁸ and the use of the problem and solution approach (*ἀπορία-λύσις*).

For all the authors mentioned in this survey, who essentially survive only in their works (or in fragments, like Archelaus),⁴¹⁹ it is extremely difficult to reconstruct the outline of a biography and a corresponding chronology.⁴²⁰ Palladius and Stephanus certainly taught in Alexandria,⁴²¹ just as the name Iohannes Alexandrinus leads back to the same city. But in all other respects their figures are evanescent. The relative chronology would appear to suggest that Palladius was earlier than Iohannes, and that both preceded Stephanus.⁴²² The personality of Stephanus of Athens is somewhat more clearly defined: dating from between 550 and 650, he is often defined as a ‘Philosopher’ and identified, not without controversy, with Stephanus of Alexandria, a commentator of two of Aristotle’s works.⁴²³ If the identification is accepted, Stephanus,⁴²⁴ born in Athens, would have arrived in Alexandria between 567 and 572.⁴²⁵ He cites Asclepius (twice by name, several times as “the commentator of this work”),

418 On the *diairesis*, Duffy [1984]; Mansfeld [1992] 326–331; Ieraci Bio [2003] 11–13; Ieraci Bio [2007].

419 For the discussion of a series of hypotheses, see, most recently, Manetti [1992] and [1995].

420 Bräutigam [1908] 35–46, dates them all to the period 550–650 AD, but on the basis of stylistic features he considers Palladius to be earlier than Iohannes. An internal element helpful in dating Iohannes is his allusion to his teacher as “Triseudemon maximus noster sophista”, who is likely to be identifiable with Gesius (Duffy [1997] 12, and Kessel [2012b]): this would date him to the first half of the 6th c.

421 Bräutigam [1908], 36

422 Bräutigam [1908] 38; Wolska-Conus [1989] 82 ff.; Irmer [1977].

423 Wolska-Conus [1989], who also identifies Stephanus with Pseudo-Elias, the author of the *Prolegomena philosophiae*. The argument put forward by Wolska-Conus is shared by Roueché [1990] 108–128, although Roueché believes that some doubts still remain.

424 I set aside the commentary and the figure of Theophilus, who, according to Westerink [1985] 17–19, is probably one of the revisors of the work of Stephanus: he is identified with the Theophilus who was the addressee of some letters written by Photius, designated as Protospatharius, datable to the 9th c. With regard to Theophilus’ commentary see Magdelaine [1988] 273–284. However, the chronological relation between Stephanus and Theophilus remains controversial, cf. Wolska-Conus [1994] (T. dated to the 9th–10th c.), Lamagna [2003] 67–68. The commentary attributed to Damascius in some manuscripts has been shown to be a late anonymous abridgement of Galen’s commentary, see Magdelaine [1996] 289–306.

425 Wolska-Conus [1989] 5–89: however, this identification is contested by Lautner [1992] 519–522.

and one may presume that Asclepius was his tutor.⁴²⁶ It may be possible, through Stephanus' citations, to gain an—extremely cautious—idea of the approach probably adopted in his commentary. Asclepius is defined as “the commentator of Hippocrates, who explains Hippocrates from Hippocrates”⁴²⁷ and he is often set in opposition to Galen by Stephanus, but this is not sufficient to define him as the representative of an exegetic strand that was a rival of the more common Galenic Hippocratism, since the same principle (“the law of exegesis is to interpret Hippocrates with Hippocrates”) was stated explicitly several times by Galen himself.⁴²⁸ Iohannes Alexandrinus and Stephanus⁴²⁹ sketch three or four points that summarize the aims of exegesis: 1) textual clarity; 2) the ancient author's thought; 3) the advantage or utility that can be obtained therefrom (this only in Stephanus); 4) discrimination between truth and falsehood. At the root of this approach stands once again Galen, who, however, tended to see the last of the four points as extraneous to the commentary (cf. *supra*):⁴³⁰ but the change in perspective arose from the need to reconcile the form of teaching based on the Hippocratic texts with a teaching methodology that would provide genuine professional training. This also explains why the *hypomnema*, while maintaining its lemmatic structure, began to show greater emphasis on a series of theoretical treatments concerning individual themes (sometimes also accompanied by small subtitles) that were relatively unconnected to the passage forming the object of the commentary: this was a format that served to provide students with a systematic doctrinal training, and it often went beyond the commentary, taking up themes addressed by Galen in specific treatises. Thus what Galen had deliberately left out of the commentary, referring readers explicitly to his scientific treatises, is in the end

426 Westerink [1985] 20–21, despite still nursing some doubts, is inclined to favor this interpretation; a much more decisive position is taken by Wolska-Conus [1996], who identifies Asclepius as the common source of Stephanus and Theophilus (see *supra* n. 416) and tries to reconstruct the character of Asclepius' exegesis. But it is not correct to generalize on the basis of certainly selective citations of Stephanus. One should also keep in mind the commentary on Hippocrates' *Mul.* attributed to 'Asclepius', who can be identified with Asclepius, a professor of medicine who was a fellow student of Asclepius of Tralles, a commentator of Aristotle, at the school of Ammonius, see Ullmann [1977].

427 *In Hipp. Aph.* v 27, CMG XI 1.3.3, p. 94.3–5: ὁ μέντοι Ἀσκληπιὸς ὁ ὑπομνηματιστὴς τοῦ Ἱπποκράτους ἐκ τῶν Ἱπποκράτους τὰ Ἱπποκράτους ἐξηγούμενος.

428 Wolska-Conus [1996] 42–47; [2000] 65–66; for Galen, see *supra*, § 4.1.1.

429 Ioh. Alex. *In Hipp. Epid.* VI, CMG XI 1.4, p. 28, 14–18; Steph. Ath. *In Hipp. Aph. Prooem.* CMG XI 1.3.1, p. 32, 20–25.

430 Duffy [1984] 22–23; see Wolska-Conus [1996] 42–47, but also the previous articles [1992] 77–86 and [1994] 33–42.

reintroduced, integrated into the commentary on the text, sometimes prevailing over the part dedicated to the *lexis*.⁴³¹ In this perspective it is easier to understand why these commentators only occasionally preserve some elements of textual criticism: they may effectively quote different text variants, but such readings are typically already known from Galen⁴³² and textual criticism is only a residual feature in medical exegesis. Moreover (again following along the path laid out by Galen) Iohannes Alexandrinus declares that he has made a rigid selection in discussion of variants, limiting himself to those that were ἀληθεστέρα: however, at times two variants may both be “true”.⁴³³ Stephanus, however, sometimes mentions different readings not known from Galen, but he contents himself with quoting the variants and explaining each of them.⁴³⁴

The most concrete evidence of the Canon in the Greek tradition can be traced in the *diabaseis* of ms. Vind. med. gr. 16.⁴³⁵ This codex contains a series of schematic representations (as if they were diagrams) of a selection of Galen's works, bearing the title ἀρχὴ σὺν θεῷ τῶν διαίρέσεων πασῶν τῶν Γαληνείων πραγματειῶν, ἀρχόμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ περὶ αἱρέσεων, τελευτῶν δὲ εἰς τὴν θεραπευτικὴν “I begin, with the favour of God, some *diabaseis* of all the works of Galen, starting from the book *On Schools* and ending with the book *Therapeutics*”. The initial and final work coincide with the first and last work of Galen's Canon, although the codex contains schematic outlines of only two groups of works (cf. *supra* the First and the Third Collection), in the same order as the Canon. It is interesting also to note the use of the title of *De pulsibus ad tirones* as

431 As far as Stephanus is concerned, see Wolska-Conus [1992] 15 ff.

432 For ex. Steph. Ath. *In Hipp. Aph. III* 14, CMG XI 1.3.2, p. 96.3; *III* 18, p. 114.13 etc.; *In Hipp. Prog.*, CMG XI 1.2, p. 48.2, 282.26, for a case derived explicitly from Galen, *In Hipp. Aph. IV* 77, CMG XI 1.3.2, p. 420.36 ff., for an implicit derivation, *III* 18, *ibid.* p. 112.34 ff. Magdelaine [1988] 271 admits the possibility of personal readings and points out that these observations appear only in the *non* epitomized section of the commentary. A list of cases is also given in Wolska-Conus [1996] 41 n. 113.

433 Ioh. Alex. *In Hipp. Epid. VI*, CMG XI 1.4, p. 28, 10–17, see Gal. *In Epid. VI*, CMG V 10.2.2, p. 3, 11–4, 25 = Ioh. Alex. *In Hipp. Epid. VI*, p. 7, 43–48 Pritchett [1975]. For a case of variants both of which are true, see Ioh. *In Hipp. Epid. VI*, CMG XI 1.4, p. 94, 12 ff.

434 See Steph. Ath. *In Hipp. Aph. V* 37, CMG XI 1.3.3, p. 116, 8–10: διττὴ γραφὴ φέρεται τοῦ παρόντος ἀφορισμοῦ . . . καὶ δεῖ ἑκατέραν γραφὴν τῇ πρεπούσῃ ἐξηγήσει ἀρμόσασθαι καὶ ἀποδοῦναι (“we must give each of the two readings its appropriate and fitting interpretation”); cf. *In Hipp. Prog.*, CMG XI 1.2, p. 282, 26–30. With regard to a negative judgment on a variant, a judgment which, however, derived from previous commentators; *ibid.* p. 152, 8. Variants are also annotated by Palladius, cf. *In Hipp. Epid. VI* (= II 187, 8–12 Dietz, on *Epid. VI* 7.5.1, 52 Manetti-Roselli), where he also records several variants unknown to Galen, but he explains all of them without taking up any specific position.

435 Studied by Gundert [1998]. On further attestations of *diabaseis*, Ieraci Bio [2007].

Small Pulse (σφυγμικάριον) and of the Third Collection as *The Book on Causes*.⁴³⁶ In the *diabaseis*, faithfulness to the Galenic text is variable: Galen's words are often reproduced in a fairly precise manner at the beginning, but then the degree of faithfulness tends to wane progressively. Certain types of information are omitted, some parts are simplified or reordered, but sometimes additions have been made by including material which is not contained in the source text, above all examples and analogies, designed to clarify specific factual elements or to render more explicit certain aspects of which Galen made only a passing mention. The content has affinity both with the Alexandrian exegetic tradition and also, in certain cases, with the *Summaria Alexandrinorum* that were transmitted through Arabic, and finally with the scholia to Galen in ms. Yalensis 234⁴³⁷ (see *infra*). In this process of interpretation of the Galenic text and of completion and systematization of the materials, there exists no clear dividing line between the text and the commentary: unlike commentaries in which the text is cited in the lemmata, the Galenic text and the explanatory material are linked in the condensed layout of ms. Vind. med. gr. 16, or rather, merged in an overall abridged version, which is effectively a rewriting. Such a technique is strongly evocative of the *summaria* of the Arabic tradition, of which the *diabaseis* are the stemmatic form.⁴³⁸

Although the Mediterranean world was gradually undergoing a cultural and language-based division between the Greek and the Latin area, Alexandrian medical culture still maintained close contacts with Italy,⁴³⁹ not only by virtue of a presumed medical 'school' in Ravenna in the 6th century but also on account of the presence within Italy of Greek materials deriving from Alexandria. The hypothesis of a medical school in Ravenna, based on Latin but structured according to the teaching model predominant in Alexandria, springs from a famous essay by Beccaria.⁴⁴⁰ His starting point was the examination of the codex Ambr. G 108 inf., dating from the 9th century, which reproduces an exemplar composed in Ravenna in the 6th century. Doubt has been cast on this idea of an autonomous 'Latin' school, or rather, it has been suggested that not

436 See Gundert [1998] 136–138.

437 Gundert [1998] 113–144; for a specific case, in the *Synopsis* by Iohannes of *Caus. morb.*, see Garofalo [2000a] 141, with regard to the *hegemonikon*.

438 Overwien [2013] considers both the *diabaseis* and the *summaria* to be texts designed as an accompaniment for the lessons held by Alexandrian iatrosophists, the structure of such texts being functional to memorization.

439 And with Latin Africa, cf. *supra* the case of Cassius Felix (n. 376).

440 Beccaria [1959] and [1961], followed many years later, after Beccaria's death, by the publication of the last part—incomplete—of his research, Beccaria [1971]. Palmieri [1991], [1993], [1994].

every Latin translation should be placed in Ravenna.⁴⁴¹ However, the presence and influence in Italy of a certain number of texts clearly derived from the Alexandrian exegetic tradition remains undeniable.⁴⁴²

The 5th–6th century saw the beginning of the first Latin translations of Greek medical texts (Oribasius, Rufus of Ephesus, Hippocrates), which, as early as the studies of Mørland,⁴⁴³ were putatively set in the context of Ravenna on the basis of internal information emerging from the translator of Oribasius. With regard to Hippocrates, there remain translations of *Aphorisms*, *Airs waters places*, *Prognostic*, *On regimen*, *On women's diseases*, *On weeks*, almost all of which concern works contained in the Canon (see *supra*). By far the most widely read and copied work⁴⁴⁴ is *Aphorisms*, which gradually took on the value of a handbook for general use but also of a treatise acting as an introduction to the study of medicine. But the Latin version of *Aph.* rarely appears in isolation; it is more frequently placed at the beginning of the commentary or even merged with the latter: for instance, two different commentaries on *Aphorisms* have been preserved, with lemmata that are based on the same translation and which are testified by a greater number of manuscripts. This same translation of *Aph.* also seems to be presupposed by the Latin commentaries on Galen of the codex Ambr. G 108,⁴⁴⁵ and these commentaries certainly date from the 6th century (see *infra*).

The ancient commentary on *Aph.* (Lat. A) is attributed to Oribasius⁴⁴⁶ in some manuscripts of the 11th century and later;⁴⁴⁷ it offers (in some mss.) a general prologue (showing an affinity with the *Prolegomena philosophiae*) on the parts of medicine, and then proceeds to the commentary on *Aph.* with

441 For a bibliographic overview see Palmieri [2002].

442 For ex. the scholia containing the commentary by Iohannes Alexandrinus on *Epid.* VI, in the cod. Vat. 300 (Magna Graecia origin). In general see Manetti [1992]; on the origin of the manuscripts containing the Hippocratic translations from a given area of Northern Italy, Beccaria [1959] 7, taken up again by Palmieri [1981] 210. But the traces of the presence, in southern Italy, of other medical texts, such as the commentaries on *Aph.* by Stephanus and Theophilus (Magdelaine [1988] 284–286) should not be omitted; on the role of southern Italy, see Vazquez-Buján [1982–83] and in general Irigoin [1969] 53.

443 Mørland [1932].

444 Beccaria [1961] 5 ff.: the most ancient codex is Mutin. Archivio Capitolare O.I.11, VIII–IX cent.; Müller-Rohlfen [1980] xxii ff., Fischer [2002].

445 Beccaria [1961] 22.

446 The commentary was edited in 1533 by the humanist Winter von Adernach under the name of Oribasius (Fischer [2002] 212 and 293–295).

447 Beccaria [1961] 30–31: cf. Fischer [2002] 287 ff. A fragment, in another codex, of the ancient Pseudo-Oribasian commentary was identified by Haverling [1995].

discussion of the *octo capitula*, which has some points of resemblance to the introductory parts of Stephanus' commentary. It can be described as an erudite commentary, which at times seeks to make certain themes clear to beginners in a manner different from Galen. Although the commentary must evidently be based on an Alexandrian tradition,⁴⁴⁸ no conclusion as to specific dependencies can be drawn. The second commentary (Lat. B), defined by Beccaria as being of a much later date,—although study is still in progress⁴⁴⁹—is testified by ms. Bern. 232 of the 10th century and by two later but independent and more complete manuscripts. It has no prologue and seems to contain an abridged and simpler commentary.⁴⁵⁰

Finally, ms. Ambr. G 108 inf., of the 9th century, preserves not only a first section, with Hippocratic works, composed of the Latin versions of *Prognostic*, *On weeks* and *On airs waters and places*,⁴⁵¹ but also important testimony in the form of a 'block' of commentaries on the First Collection of Galen's Canon (in the same order), namely *De sectis*, *Ars medica*, *De pulsibus ad tirones*, *Ad Glauconem*, attributed to lecture notes of Agnellus 'iatrosophist' (*ex vocem Agnelli*) written down by his pupil Simplicius in Ravenna, as declared in the *subscriptio* to the first three texts.⁴⁵² Agnellus' Galenic commentaries bear witness to a unitary course of the overall set of εἰσαγωγαί, to be read and explained according to the prescribed order. The form of Latin used is strongly overlaid with Greek traits and the texts clearly bear the hallmarks of the Alexandrian commentaries: the division into lectures (*actiones/praxeis*), the tendency towards *diairesis*, the mention of groups of Galenic works with the titles of the Canon (*Anatomy*, *On causes*, *Diagnostics* etc.). The commentary on *De sectis* offers many close parallels with that attributed to Iohannes Alexandrinus.⁴⁵³

The reception of Greek medicine in the Arabic context after the conquest of Egypt was extensive and profound. Through the Arabic sources the great gaps in the Greek tradition can to some extent be bridged. Galen was widely translated and utilized, to the point that the lemmata of his commentaries

448 Fischer [2002] 291 ff.

449 Fischer [2002] 279–280: Klaus-Dieterich Fischer is planning a critical edition.

450 Ann Hanson proposed seeing an affinity of Lat. B with the exegesis of *Aph.* represented by PRyl. 530 (see *supra*), but the research is still in progress.

451 Palmieri [1981] 204–211 on the transmission of these texts, partly also present in other mss. On Pal. 1090, a later witness (15th c.) of the texts of the Ambrosianus, that attributes the commentary on *De sectis* to Gesius, see Palmieri [1989] 27–46.

452 On his identity, an open problem, see Palmieri [2001] 237–246 with previous bibliography. For *De sectis* Palmieri [1981], [1989]; *Ars medica* Palmieri [1993], [1994], [2003]; for *De pulsibus* Palmieri [2005], [2007].

453 See most recently Nutton [1991] 511 ff.

became the almost exclusive source of the Arabic translation of the work of Hippocrates; however, traces of two commentaries on Hippocrates' *Mul.* 1–11 are known through the reports given by Ali ibn Riḍwan:⁴⁵⁴ 1) attributed to Galen, pseudepigraphical, datable between the 3rd and 6th century; 2) attributed to Asclepius, identified with the physician of this name, a study companion of Asclepius of Tralles, who was a philosopher and commentator of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* and a pupil of Ammonius.⁴⁵⁵

The Arabic tradition also provides information concerning works on Galen attributed to a Iohannes Grammatikos,⁴⁵⁶ often identified with the Neoplatonic philosopher John Philoponus. Criticism has long distinguished these two figures and has identified a physician named Iohannes Grammatikos distinct from Philoponus.⁴⁵⁷ Three works by Iohannes Grammatikos have come down to us: a commentary on *De pulsibus ad tirones* (*Small pulse*), one on *De elementis* and another on *De temperamentis* (but it should be noted that Iohannes Grammatikos is thought to be distinct from the cited Iohannes Alexandrinus who was a commentator of Hippocrates and of Galen's *De sectis* (see *supra*). The Iohannes now kept separate from Philoponus also wrote a *Digest* of all the works of Galen's Canon.⁴⁵⁸ Iohannes' synopsis of *De pulsibus* has been shown to be an epitome of his own commentary, which has come down to us. It can therefore be surmised that Iohannes Grammatikos is very likely to have adopted a similar procedure for the other works, and one may find in this line of reasoning a confirmation of the close complementarity of the two text typologies.

Gotthard Strohmaier has recently proposed that the author known as "Iohannes Grammatikos" who composed a commentary on book XI of Galen's *De usu partium*, transmitted in an Arabic codex, should be identified as being John Philoponus, the Neoplatonic philosopher. The text, which is a remnant of a commentary on the entire work, is written in the form of

454 Ullmann [1977] 245–262, but Overwien [2005] 204 ff. shows that other commentaries were also used, for ex. that of Palladius on *Aph.* The picture could undergo further change with the systematic study of the Syriac and Arabic translations dating from earlier than Ḥunain, as pointed out recently by Oliver Overwien (*Colloque Hippocratique*, Paris 8–10 November 2012).

455 Asclep. *In Arist. Metaph.*, CAG VI 2, p. 143, 31 f.

456 A commentary on *De antidotis*, under the name of Iohannes Grammatikos, in a Cairo ms., is also known (Pormann [2003] 248 and n. 42).

457 Bräutigam [1908] 50; Meyerhof-Schacht [1931] 1–21; Sezgin [1970] 157–160.

458 Cf. Garofalo [2000a]; Garofalo [2003b] 207–208: it is one of the sources of Galen's 16-work Canon.

a condensed explanatory paraphrase, without lemmata.⁴⁵⁹ John Philoponus' competent knowledge of the Galenic texts had already been demonstrated,⁴⁶⁰ but this constitutes a further piece of evidence pointing to the close connection between medicine and philosophy in the Alexandrian environment of the school of Ammonius. It also highlights the importance of the reception of Galen in his role as a philosopher.⁴⁶¹ We know that Asclepius, a professor of medicine, attended Ammonius' courses and that the members of the school of Ammonius were favorable to the use of references to medicine, in particular to Galen, but information on any specific exegetic activity is problematic.⁴⁶² Accordingly, if confirmed, the identification of a commentary by John Philoponus on a work of Galen's not included in the Canon but definitely of philosophical importance is of major significance.⁴⁶³ The question is still highly controversial, as there are other medical texts attributed to John Philoponus that reveal an approach in which medicine and philosophy are merged, but whose authenticity is doubtful.⁴⁶⁴

But the most important Arabic texts that bear witness to the Galenic Canon are the so-called *Summaria Alexandrinorum*, describable as digest-commentaries, possibly by more than one author, translated from Greek by Ḥunain and his *entourage*.⁴⁶⁵ They take a number of different forms, from very short précis to digest-commentaries longer than the original work, like that on *Ad Glauconem*.⁴⁶⁶ Rather than servile compendia, they are a genuine reworking and abridgment of the text with the aim of creating a handbook for students

459 Strohmaier [2003]; the commentary is also cited by Ibn abi Usai'bia, *ibid.* 110 n. 13.

460 Todd [1977] 118–120; Todd [1984] 106 ff.

461 Todd [1977] and [1984]: with a better examination of the testimonies, Roueché [1999]. See also Manetti [1995] 30–31, Perilli [2000b] 100–116.

462 Perilli [2000b] 101, who cites the passage of Asclepius' commentary taken from the lessons held by Ammonius on Aristotle's *Metaphysics*. Asclepius of Tralles was perhaps also the author of a commentary on *Aph.* and on *Mul.* I (Ihm [2002a] 73–76), cf. *supra*. On the doubtful information of commentary writing attributed to philosophers who were exponents of the Alexandrian school (Damascius, David, Elias), see most recently Ihm [2002a] 79–81 and 86.

463 For ex. Westerink [1964] and [1990] x–xliii.

464 Cf. for ex. Schiano [2003].

465 Garofalo [1999] 187. It is by now accepted that these were translations from Greek and not material elaborated by the Arab authors, cf. already Peterson [1974] 113–115; Garofalo [1994] 333; Garofalo [2003b]. Some codices of the *Summaria* are reproduced anastatically by Sezgin [2001].

466 Garofalo [1994]; Pormann [2004]. However, there are also summaries of works not belonging to the Canon, see Savage-Smith [2002].

(the diairesis method is the most prominent feature): some materials are suppressed, but one also notes that certain parts have been shifted to different positions, or there may be additions, or the use of figures (diagrams),⁴⁶⁷ as mentioned earlier in connection with the *diairesis* of ms. Vindob. gr. 16.⁴⁶⁸

In conclusion, mention should be made of a phenomenon that is quantitatively important at least for Galen, namely the scholia conserved in some manuscripts, which represent the final outcome of the reception of exegesis on the works of Galen. So far two groups of scholia have been identified, which, however, represent a rather fragmentary situation:

- a) *Scholia Parisina*, preserved in ms. Par. gr. suppl. 634, 12th c., *sch. ad De elementis, De temperamentis, De naturalibus facultatibus, De sectis, Ad Glauconem*.⁴⁶⁹
- b) *Scholia Yalensia*, preserved in ms. Yalensis 234 (14th c.),⁴⁷⁰ but also in Par. gr. 2147 (16th c.) and in Marc. App. v 9:⁴⁷¹ *sch. ad De naturalibus facultatibus, De locis affectis, De elementis, Ad Glauconem*.

They represent a sort of ‘zero degree’ of commenting.⁴⁷² The authoriality of the exegete has disappeared, as they represent a constant conflation of various different Galenic materials,⁴⁷³ and numerous clues seem to point to their dependence on the Alexandrian exegetic context.⁴⁷⁴ The utilization of selections of authorial material reorganized by theme forms part of a teaching tech-

467 For the attestation of the diagrams in the Greek manuscript tradition of various authors, see Ieraci Bio [2003] 17 ff.

468 According to Garofalo [2003a] and [2003b], they are likely to have derived from a Greek model that was the base-text of the *Tabulae* of the Vindob. gr. 16 (*supra*); on the affinities between Arabic summaries and the *Tabulae*, see also Pormann [2004] 19–21.

469 Helmreich [1910]; the *scholia* on *De sectis* and *Ad Glauconem* have been published by Garofalo [2008].

470 Published by Moraux [1977]; to these should be added the scholia to *De inaequali intemperie*, which show an affinity in their approach, and which are preserved in ms. Philips 4614 (= Yale Beinecke Library 1121): Garcia Novo [1999] proposes a datation between the 3rd and 6th century.

471 This manuscript was added by Perilli [2000b] 92 ff.

472 The function of these collections is not completely clear: Overwien [forthcoming] expresses doubt as to whether they were genuinely utilized for teaching purposes.

473 On the scholia, see Manetti [1992] and most recently the articles by Lorusso [2005] and [2010], with careful examination of the codex Par. gr. suppl. 634. But the other collection of scholia reveals analogous characteristics.

474 Manetti [1992], Lorusso [2005] 45 and n. 10, and in particular [2010].

nique that goes back to Oribasius and should by no means be considered as a mere 'epitomization'. The merger of different texts presupposes in-depth, detailed and vast knowledge of a far broader Galenic *corpus* than that which has come down to us, so much so that the material in question has allowed the individuation of some notable fragments of lost works. But the operation of selection, which reflects the intelligence and ability of the compiler, tends to be concealed behind the texts chosen, even though the compilation is based on an exegetic principle explicitly drawn from Galen himself: "explaining Hippocrates by Hippocrates". This was a principle which, in turn, was applied to the great Galen—a destiny that would certainly not have displeased him. Here exegesis, once defined by Galen as 'mimesis' of the commented author performed by an actor-commentator, reaches its crowning and paradoxical achievement.⁴⁷⁵

475 In particular Moraux [1977] III 168–171 and p. 57. For the mimetic aspect of exegesis, according to Galen, *supra* § 4.1.2.

Hellenistic Astronomers and Scholarship

Raffaele Luiselli

- 1 *Editorial and Exegetical Activities*
- 2 *Source Criticism*
- 3 *Manuscript Collation*
- 4 *The Evaluation of Variants*
- 5 *Emendation*
- 6 *Interpreting the paradoxis*
- 7 *Some Final Observations*

Science and scholarship enjoyed impressive connection in the Hellenistic period. Eratosthenes of Cyrene (c. 285–c. 194 BC) represents a striking example of an intellectual combining these widely differing spheres of activity;¹ as Pfeiffer has remarked, “he seems to have been the first scholar and poet who was primarily and truly a scientist”.² On a smaller scale, other figures are known to have dealt with scientific as well as scholarly issues. One topic, for which we have plenty of material in the scholia, concerns grammarians and commentators discussing scientific matters as they take the trouble to elucidate passages of literature involving questions relevant to the exact sciences. It is beyond the scope of this chapter to investigate such material. My aim will be, instead, to assess evidence of a text-critical as well as exegetical attitude shown by those who were concerned not so much with the arts subjects as, rather, with the phenomena of nature. Some scientists did tackle problems posed by the wording of individual writings; and on occasion they did so at length, although, not surprisingly, their scholarly interest appears to have focused on the scientific textbooks of their predecessors. This chapter will concentrate on the individuals who were known in antiquity as astronomers; and it will focus on the second century BC when, to quote Otto Neugebauer, “astronomy becomes a real science in which observable numerical data are made the decisive criterion for the correctness of whatever theory is suggested for the description

1 Pfeiffer [1968] 152–170, and Montana in this volume. The bibliography on Eratosthenes is vast, but to date there is no reliable modern collection of all his fragments.

2 Pfeiffer [1968] 152.

of astronomical phenomena".³ A prominent figure in this crucial phase of the history of astronomy is Hipparchus of Nicaea,⁴ and it is to his critical attitudes that the greater part of this chapter will be devoted.

1 Editorial and Exegetical Activities

In addition to many an essay on matters of astronomy, Hipparchus wrote a monograph on the *Phaenomena* of Aratus (first half of the third century BC)⁵ which happens to be the only one extant of his output.⁶ There he treats a variety of topics, including the relation between Eudoxus (first half of the fourth century BC)⁷ and Aratus (1.2.1 ff.), and the simultaneous risings and settings of constellations (2.4–3). The title given to Hipparchus' work in some of the extant manuscripts runs as follows: Τῶν Ἀράτου καὶ Εὐδόξου Φαινομένων ἐξήγησις (*Exegesis to the Phaenomena of Aratus and Eudoxus*).⁸ In the technical language of Hellenistic scholarship the word ἐξήγησις seems to have been used of an individual interpretation of a particular passage or word; a set of such interpretations may or may not have been part of a running commentary.⁹ Hipparchus' work is exegetical in nature inasmuch as it deals with a primary text, on specific points of which it offers notes of varying extent and complexity. But it is not a line-by-line commentary. In particular, it lacks all distinguishing

3 Neugebauer [1975] 1.4.

4 For general information on Hipparchus, see Toomer [1978], Jones [2008], and Toomer in Hornblower-Spawforth [2003] 708. Cf. also Rehm [1913] and Montana in this volume; see also Broggiato [2012]. For discussion of Hipparchus' achievements in mathematical astronomy, see Neugebauer [1975] 1.274–343.

5 This hexameter poem (Φαινόμενα) is preserved in its entirety in several manuscripts which are seldom older than the fourteenth century. It has most recently been re-edited by Martin [1998], and Kidd [1997]. For the exegetical material relevant to the poem, see Jean Martin [1976] (ancient scholia found in medieval manuscripts), Luiselli [2011] (commentaries and annotations in papyrus rolls), and Di Maria [1996] (Achilles). For further bibliography, see Erren [1994].

6 The standard edition is Manitius [1894]. For discussion of various topics, see Nadal and Brunet [1989]; Nadal and Brunet [1984].

7 Hipparchus focuses on two prose treatises by Eudoxus, named *Mirror* (Ἔνστρονον) and *Phaenomena* (Φαινόμενα), of which we possess a few fragments gathered from references by Hipparchus himself. These fragments are collected by Lasserre [1966], to which reference is made throughout in this chapter. On Eudoxus, see Toomer in Hornblower-Spawforth [2003] 565–566; on his astronomical theories, see especially Neugebauer [1975] 2.675–683.

8 See Manitius [1894] viii, xi, xii, 280.

9 Pfeiffer [1968] 223.

features of a work of systematic exegesis, where words and lines picked out for comment from the primary text are cited verbatim and are followed by explanatory material;¹⁰ where such lemmata are used, they are linked by connecting phrases (e.g. ἐξῆς δὲ φησι, “Thereafter he says”) to what precedes.¹¹ Instead the work bears the main hallmarks of a treatise.¹² Hipparchus not only takes on a variety of topics but also cites passages from Aratus’ *Phaenomena* insofar as they are serviceable for the purposes of his discourse, without strictly following the order in which they appear in the poem. Moreover he ends his references to the *Phaenomena* at line 729 (2.3.37) because he is not concerned with the calendrical material and the forecasting of weather changes, on which lines 758–1141 of Aratus’ poem focus. It is significant that Hipparchus refers to an individual book or section within his work as a σύνταγμα (3.1.1a). In his usage, at least, this word must mean ‘dissertation’ as he calls Eudoxus’ monographs συντάγματα, ‘essays’.¹³ As has been observed, such treatises “were also interpretations, though in a form different from that of the ὑπομνήματα [*i.e.* running commentaries]”.¹⁴ Therefore, if the reading ἐξήγησις in the manuscript-transmitted title of Hipparchus’ work is sound, it must be taken to have a loose significance. Yet its very presence in that title looks suspiciously like a sign of late reworking.¹⁵ As it happens, two more titles are in evidence: one of Aratus’ extant lives, the so-called ‘Vita III’, speaks of a work being written “against Aratus and Eudoxus” (ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Εὐδοξὸν καὶ Ἄρατον);¹⁶ and the *Suda*-entry for Hipparchus cites him as having written “on the *Phaenomena* of Aratus” (περὶ τῶν Ἀράτου Φαινομένων).¹⁷ Either title suggests an essay.¹⁸

10 On the characteristics of these commentaries, see e.g. Dorandi [2000], and Del Fabbro [1979]. They are called ὑπομνήματα by modern scholars, and would no doubt have been given the same designation in antiquity; see *P.Amh.* II 12, *P.Oxy.* XXXI 2536. However, as S. West [1970] 291 has pointed out, the word ὑπόμνημα “is used of a wide range of literary productions, from rough jottings to the history of Polybius”.

11 Cf. Hipparch. 1.8.14, 1.8.18, 1.10.1–10, 1.10.19–21.

12 Martin [1956] 27.

13 Hipparch. 1.2.3, 1.3.10, 1.6.1, 1.8.6–7, 2.3.12, 2.3.29–30. For the differences between ὑπόμνημα and σύγγραμμα/σύνταγμα, see Montana and Dubischar in this volume.

14 Pfeiffer [1968] 213.

15 Manetti [1995] 23–24 provides evidence for the use of ἐξήγησις in the titles of late (especially sixth-century AD) scholarly writings to mean a set of notes on particular points of interest. Cf. also Manetti [1992] 212.

16 Arat. Vita III, ed. Jean Martin [1974] 17.9–10 (right-hand column). Cf. *apud Eudoxum et Aratum* in the Latin translation of this passage, ed. Jean Martin [1974] 17.9–10 (left-hand column), reprinted from Maass [1898] 149.22–150.1.

17 *Suda* ι 521, ed. Adler [1931] 2.657.26.

18 Cf. the extant titles of Aristarchus’ monographs, which include works of polemics (πρός) as well as treatises ‘on’ (περὶ) particular subjects: see Pfeiffer [1968] 213.

The question then is, was Hipparchus' work written 'against' (πρός) or 'on' (περί) Aratus (and Eudoxus)? Jean Martin has argued for the former.¹⁹ But Hipparchus in his prefatory letter to Aischrion (1.1.2) informs us of his intention to write 'on' (περί) the *Phaenomena* of Aratus; like the *Suda*, he does not mention Eudoxus. He also tells us that he aims to point out both the positive and the negative aspects of Aratus' poem (πᾶν καθόλου τὸ καλῶς ἢ κακῶς λεγόμενον <ἐν> αὐτοῖς ὑποδεικνύων).²⁰ In other words, what he intends to write is primarily not a work of polemics, but an essay. His words are consistent with the information provided by the *Suda*; and a περί-titled monograph on the *Phaenomena* of Aratus compares well with the titles of a number of lost scholarly works that were concerned with individual texts of particular authors.²¹ Unfortunately we know nothing about their format and appearance.²²

At 1.1.3 Hipparchus refers to Attalus of Rhodes as a mathematical astronomer of his own time (ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς μαθηματικός). Attalus too is known to have done much work on Aratus' *Phaenomena*, of which we possess only a few remnants.²³ In one of these fragments, where his own words are cited verbatim by Hipparchus, Attalus asserts that he has produced both a revised text (βιβλίον διωρθωμένον) and an interpretation (ἐξήγησις) of Aratus' poem.²⁴ We will consider each in turn. But before discussing their nature and format, it is important to point out that Attalus' distinction between a διόρθωσις or edited text and an ἐξήγησις or exegetical exposition has a parallel in an A scholion to *Iliad* 2.192 which is attributable to Didymus.²⁵ There, as Pfeiffer has observed, "the recensions of the text and the commentaries stand side by side neatly distinguished".²⁶ Martin West agrees, arguing convincingly that while referring in the above scholion as well as elsewhere to edited texts and commentaries by his predecessors, Didymus envisages two different products of scholarly activity.²⁷ This suggests that Attalus is likewise referring to two separate

19 Martin [1956] 27 n. 1.

20 Cf. also Hipparch. 1.1.4.

21 Cf. the titles collected by Leo [1904] 258 n. 2 (= Leo [1960] 2.391 n. 3).

22 In this connection, it must be observed that Didymus' *On Demosthenes* (Περὶ Δημοσθένους) is cast in the form of a ὑπόμνημα, but it is debatable whether in effect the work is best considered a commentary or a monograph; see Harding [2006] 13–20. For a typology of philological writings, see Dubischar in this volume.

23 These fragments are collected by Maass [1898] 3–24, to which reference is made throughout in this chapter. Cf. Kidd [1997] 18; Martin [1956] 22–27; Maass [1898] xi–xv.

24 Fr. 1.12–13, ed. Maass [1898] 3 (= Hipparch. 1.3.3) τὸ τε τοῦ Ἀράτου βιβλίον ἐξαπεστάλακαμέν σοι διωρθωμένον ὑφ' ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν ἐξήγησιν αὐτοῦ.

25 *Sch.* A (Did.) Hom. *Iliad* 2.192b, ed. Erbse [1969] 1.222.

26 Pfeiffer [1968] 216.

27 West [2001a] 50–75. He cites the *Iliad* scholion under discussion on p. 50 n. 14.

products of scholarship, of which one, viz. the exegesis, was intended to accompany the other, viz. the edition. There is further evidence in support of this conclusion. Hipparchus offers no fewer than 13 verbatim quotations from Attalus' exegesis,²⁸ of which some are very extensive—much longer than the blank space above, below or to the right of each column in second-century BC manuscripts could accommodate, and much longer than extant *marginalia* in the papyri of Hellenistic date.²⁹ The probability must be that Hipparchus took those quotations not from the material penned in the margins of an edited text of Aratus' *Phaenomena*, but from a prose text. This in turn suggests that the edition and the exegesis were truly two distinct entities. Taken together, however, they are likely to have formed a set of scholarly texts, to which Attalus prefixed a preface. A verbatim quotation from the latter as cited by Hipparchus shows that the preface, which Hipparchus calls *προοίμιον*, was meant to introduce the edition as well as the exegesis.³⁰

What was this exegetical work? Was it a monograph, like Hipparchus', or a running commentary? It is hard to tell. Hipparchus four times provides interesting, yet inconclusive, evidence:

- (i) In 1.7.1–3 he cites lines 303–310 of Aratus' *Phaenomena*. He then continues: *περὶ δὲ τούτων ὁ Ἄτταλος προενεγκάμενος αὐτίκα γράφει ταυτί*, "Immediately after citing these verses, Attalus writes the following". This sentence introduces a verbatim report of Attalus' interpretation.³¹
- (ii) In 1.8.8–10 Hipparchus cites lines 367–385 of Aratus' *Phaenomena*. Next comes the following sentence: *ταῦτα δὲ προενεγκάμενος ὁ Ἄτταλος ἐπιφέρει*, "After citing these verses, Attalus adds". The verb *ἐπιφέρει* introduces a verbatim report of Attalus' interpretation.³²
- (iii) In 1.3.9–10 Hipparchus writes: *προεκθέμενος γὰρ τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ θερινοῦ τροπικοῦ ποιήματα, ἐπιφέρει ταυτί*, "After recording the verses on the tropic of Cancer [that is, lines 497–499 of Aratus' *Phaenomena*], he [Attalus] adds the following words". The words in question constitute Attalus' interpretation, which Hipparchus reports verbatim.³³

28 They are found in Maass' collection of Attalus' fragments as nos. 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 18, 20–25, 28.

29 Width of intercolumnar space and of upper and lower margins in the Ptolemaic papyri: Johnson [2004] 119, 133, and Blanchard [1993]. Marginal comments in papyrus rolls from Egypt: McNamee [2007], and *CLGP* (in progress); annotations in the papyrus copies of Aratus' *Phaenomena*: Luiselli [2011].

30 Hipparch. 1.3.3 (= Attal., fr. 1.10–13, ed. Maass [1898] 3).

31 Attal., fr. 14, ed. Maass [1898] 10.

32 Attal., fr. 17, ed. Maass [1898] 13–14.

33 Attal., fr. 21, ed. Maass [1898] 17.

- (iv) In 2.2.36–42 he cites *Phaenomena* 597–606 on the rising of the Maiden. He then makes a few comments on these lines, stating that Aratus followed Eudoxus. He also gives a summary account of Attalus' opinion on line 606. Hipparchus then continues as follows (2.2.41): ἐκθέμενος γὰρ τῶν προειρημένων στίχων τοὺς ἐσχάτους [ρ'] ἐπιφέρει ταυτί, "After picking out the last of the afore-mentioned verses, he [Attalus] adds the following words". Again the phrase ἐπιφέρει ταυτί introduces a verbatim report of Attalus' explanation.³⁴

All these passages suggest that in Attalus' work each explanation was preceded by a verbatim quotation of the relevant verses of Aratus' *Phaenomena*. It follows that the text consisted of a series of lemmata and explanatory notes. This format is characteristic of a running commentary (ὑπόμνημα), but there is evidence to show that it could also be adopted in a treatise (σύγγραμμα, σύνταγμα). As we have seen, Hipparchus in his monograph makes occasional use of short phrases to connect quotations from Aratus' *Phaenomena*, which he adduces for discussion, to that which precedes.³⁵ So far as I can see, there is nothing that can establish whether Attalus did or did not use connective units of utterance before each quotation from Aratus' poem. Therefore, it remains unclear whether his exegesis was cast in the form of a commentary or of a monograph.

It appears from Hipparchus' report in 1.8.8–10 that some of the lemmata in Attalus' work were extensive—much longer than the lemmata found in papyrus commentaries published to date. Perhaps one might compare a special category of papyri which is characterized by lengthy lemmata, accompanied by comparably long interpretations.³⁶

We now move on to Attalus' editorial activity. His wording in the preface (fr. 1), βιβλίον . . . διωρθωμένον ὑφ' ἡμῶν, suggests that Attalus did consciously revise a text of the *Phaenomena* of Aratus.³⁷ The format and appearance of such a διόρθωσις are a vexed topic. Recent scholars maintain that we should envisage a base text of a literary work on which the 'editor' or 'corrector' (*diorthotes*) recorded all variant readings and emendations by entering them in the blank

34 Attal., fr. 25, ed. Maass [1898] 20.

35 I do not take into account here Didymus' *On Demosthenes* as the nature of this text is a question that has given rise to much controversy; see n. 22 above and Montana in this volume.

36 On such texts, see especially Montanari [2006a] 11–14. For a further text, probably an amateurish one, see Luiselli [2011] 119–126.

37 On this meaning of διόρθωσις, see West [2001a] 33, 50, Pfeiffer [1968] 216, and also Rosato [1999] 116–117.

space between the written columns (the intercolumnium), and/or at the top and bottom (that is, in the upper and lower margins).³⁸ Hellenistic book-production supports this view. Therefore, where Attalus says that he has produced a corrected copy of Aratus' poem (τό τε τοῦ Ἀράτου βιβλίον . . . διωρθωμένον ὑφ' ἡμῶν), it is likely that he is thinking of an existing copy of the *Phaenomena* which he marked with his own corrections. There is evidence in support of this conclusion. In 2.3.21–23 Hipparchus gives a verbatim report of Attalus' interpretation of lines 712–714 of Aratus' *Phaenomena*.³⁹ As we shall see, Attalus advances a conjecture in line 713. First he writes οἰόμεθα δεῖν γράφεσθαι τὸ ποίημα τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον, "We think the verse should be written as follows", then he cites lines 712–714 in the emended form. It follows that his conjecture is unlikely to have been put into the text of these lines as cited by Attalus himself as a lemma for his comment. This in turn has far-reaching implications for the topic under discussion. First, the quotations from the *Phaenomena* which Attalus prefixed to his exegetical notes did not constitute the edition proper of the poem as they did not contain a διωρθωμένον text. Secondly, Attalus' chosen base-text of the *Phaenomena*, from which he is likely to have taken all unemended quotations which he cited as lemmata in the course of his exegetical work, did not incorporate any corrections; besides being adduced for discussion in his ἐξήγησις, all corrections must effectively have been recorded in the blank space between the written columns (or in the upper and lower margins) of the copy of the *Phaenomena* which Attalus used as a base text for his critical activity. This emended copy of Aratus' poem Attalus made available to the reader.⁴⁰ This implies an intention to publish (and circulate) his work, limited though such an initiative may have been.⁴¹

Taken together, the two products of Attalus' philological activity constitute a major scholarly enterprise. Inasmuch as διόρθωσις (textual criticism) and ἐξήγησις (explanation) represent two distinct activities within the domain of ancient γραμματικὴ or scholarship,⁴² Attalus may well be viewed as a scientist who was (or intended to be) truly a scholar.⁴³ His work takes us straight to the world of second-century BC Alexandrian scholarship. So far as we know,

38 Montanari [2011b] 2–3; Montanari [2009d] 403–404; Montanari [2002a] 120–121, 125; West [2001a] 39; Montanari [1998d] esp. 4–9. See also Montana and Montanari in this volume.

39 Attal., fr. 28.21–39, ed. Maass [1898] 23.

40 Attal., fr. 1.12–13, ed. Maass [1898] 3 (= Hipparch. 1.1.3) τό τε τοῦ Ἀράτου βιβλίον ἐξαπεστάλακαμέν σοι διωρθωμένον ὑφ' ἡμῶν.

41 On publication of literary works in Graeco-Roman antiquity, see Dorandi [2007] 83–101.

42 Schenkeveld [1994] 265.

43 For a different view, see Martin [1956] 27.

it is with Aristarchus (c. 216–c. 144 BC) that the scholarly genre which we call ὑπόμνημα was first exploited on a large scale; as Pfeiffer has written, Aristarchus' predecessors "had, with very few exceptions, abstained from writing commentaries on the texts they edited".⁴⁴ As we have seen, the nature of Attalus' exegetical work is beyond secure determination, yet it is significant that his interpretive efforts focused on a poem which he edited in a revised form.

Besides Attalus and Hipparchus, the text of Aratus' *Phaenomena* was dealt with by Diodorus of Alexandria in the first century BC. There is evidence to suggest that he was an astronomer, and a well-known scientist in antiquity although he is a rather shadowy figure because of the dramatic loss of his writings.⁴⁵ It seems as though Aratus was a major target for study and discussion by the leading astronomers of the Hellenistic age. Much attention will, consequently, be devoted in the next paragraphs to selected, yet remarkable, aspects of the early history of the textual transmission of the *Phaenomena*.⁴⁶

2 Source Criticism

The debt of Aratus' hexameter poem to the prose works of Eudoxus was as favourite a topic for discussion in antiquity as it is nowadays.⁴⁷ Hipparchus discusses it at length in his extant monograph, and claims to have conclusively proved it. As has been observed, he may well have overstated his own merits in settling the case.⁴⁸ Yet his demonstrative method is noteworthy. Hipparchus sets the words (λέξεις) of the texts side by side (1.2.1–22), and notes their similarities. In doing so he calls attention to the existence of agreements in error between those texts. This point is illustrated, to take one example, by an observation which Hipparchus makes on the position of the Kneeler on the celestial sphere. This constellation, which today is named Hercules, was thought to have a foot close to the Dragon's head.⁴⁹ While identifying the foot in question with the left one, Hipparchus notices (1.2.6) that it is the Kneeler's right

44 Pfeiffer [1968] 212. On Aristarchus' commentaries, see West [2001a] 74, and Pfeiffer [1968] 212ff. For further discussion, see Montanari [2002a] 124–125, and Montanari [1998d] 10.

45 Kidd [1997] 46–47; Neugebauer [1975] 2.840–841; Martin [1956] 30–31. Cf. also Toomer in Hornblower-Spawforth [2003] 473.

46 For a survey of evidence, see Martin [1956] 22–31.

47 See e.g. Martin [1998] 1.lxxxvi–xcvii, and Kidd [1997] 16–17 with further bibliography.

48 Hunter [2008] 1.153–154.

49 In order to understand this descriptive language, the reader should keep in mind that all constellations were viewed in antiquity as figures of which individual parts pictorially represent individual stars or star-groups.

foot that both Eudoxus (fr. 17) and Aratus (lines 69–70) place over the Dragon's head. In his opinion, this inaccuracy is a mild one;⁵⁰ but apparently it is of a type sufficient for Hipparchus to establish a connection.

Another example is provided by a remark on the position of Cepheus in relation to the Little Bear. According to Eudoxus (fr. 33) and Aratus (lines 184–185), the tip of the Bear's tail, that is to say the star α UMi, forms an equilateral triangle with the feet of Cepheus, which are represented by the stars κ and γ Cep. Hipparchus finds fault with this view since he says (1.2.12) that the distance between the feet of Cepheus is shorter than the distance between each foot and the Bear's tail. The implication of the observations discussed thus far is straightforward. Factual errors common to *comparanda* are meaningful for establishing a link between them. The aim of Hipparchus is to emphasize the significance of patterns of agreement in error as markers of close relationship between the texts compared (cf. 1.2.6).

3 Manuscript Collation

The fragmentation of Attalus' work has no doubt obliterated much evidence that would otherwise have allowed the determination of the main characteristics of his editorial activity. He is known to have made conjectures on Aratus' *Phaenomena*.⁵¹ Did he also make collations of a plurality of different manuscripts? Modern scholars disagree over the attitude of the Alexandrians of the third and second centuries BC to the particular aspect of textual criticism which we call *recensio*. Whether and to what extent they took the trouble to search for, and make use of, diplomatic evidence in compiling their text of Homer is in dispute. Some scholars believe that manuscript collation was by no means a widespread practice in the time of Zenodotus, Aristophanes, and Aristarchus; others are of a different opinion.⁵² As we will see in a moment, close scrutiny of Hipparchus' words enables the determination of what Attalus is likely to have done with the text of Aratus.

50 Cf. Hipparch. 1.4.9 ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Ἐνγόνουσι παρεωρακέναι μοι δοκοῦσιν ὅ τε Εὐδοξος καὶ ὁ Ἄρατος, ἀλλ' οὐ διημαρτηκέναι, εἰπόντες τὸν δεξιὸν πόδα ἐπὶ μέσης τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ Δράκοντος κείσθαι ("as regards the Kneeler, it seems to me that both Eudoxus and Aratus were inattentive, yet not quite wrong, when they say that the right foot lies over the centre of the Dragon's head").

51 We shall discuss this aspect later on in this chapter.

52 See e.g. West [2001a] 36–38, and Montanari [2002a] 126–135. Cf. also Montanari [2011b] 14, Montanari [1998d] 2, and Montanari in this volume.

Although Hipparchus was not concerned with editing the *Phaenomena*, he cites selected variant readings in the course of his monograph. In particular, he sometimes reports that the existing copies of the poem are divided between two readings (cf. 1.9.1, 2.3.32), or share readings emended by Attalus (cf. 1.4.9, 2.3.9, 2.3.19). Unfortunately he fails to attribute individual identities to his sources. He refers to them vaguely (e.g. ἐν μὲν τισιν ἀντιγράφοις . . . ἐν δέ τισι, “in some of the manuscripts . . . in others”, at 2.3.32; or ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς βιβλίοις, “in all manuscripts”, at 1.4.9), without specifying where he found each reading. Thus the question must first be asked: did he have access to a plurality of different manuscripts, or did he derive the relevant information on readings from the margins of an annotated copy of the *Phaenomena*? On closer inspection, it appears that wherever Hipparchus cites instances of disagreement amongst extant manuscripts, he also cites Attalus’ choice between the transmitted variants; and wherever Hipparchus reports on cases of manuscript agreement, he also adduces Attalus’ conjectures for discussion. This suggests that all readings known to Hipparchus were also known to Attalus. It follows that Hipparchus may well have derived all pieces of information on readings from Attalus’ work.⁵³

There is no reason to believe that Attalus himself inherited all readings that were known to him from the exemplar which he used as a base-text for his critical revision of Aratus’ *Phaenomena*; this assumption would project further back a collating plan that could conceivably be attributed to Attalus’ initiative. In none of the cases in which Hipparchus reports on manuscript readings do his words make it clear whether his use of indications such as “in some of the manuscripts” also stems from Attalus’ work; but it may well have been so. It is to be regretted that we cannot assign numerical values to vague words such as “some” and “all”. As a result, we cannot tell whether Attalus collected several copies of Aratus’ poem, or just kept an eye on a couple of extra copies besides his chosen base-text of the *Phaenomena*. We should also very much like to know where and from whom he obtained his manuscript sources, and how old these were. There is in addition a question of method: did Attalus make extensive (if not systematic) collations, or did he check the readings of manuscripts whenever he thought it advisable to do so? There is simply no way to tell.

4 The Evaluation of Variants

We now focus on the diagnostic skill of Attalus and Hipparchus. We will begin by examining the criteria by which variant readings were judged. First and

53 Cf. Martin [1956] 28.

foremost, let us consider what Aratus has to say on the belt of Perseus (*i.e.* the star α Per) in lines 712–714:

αὐτὴ δὲ ζώνη καὶ κ' ἀμφήριστα πέλοιτο
ἢ Κριῶ λήγοντι φαίνεται ἢ ἐπὶ Ταύρω,
σὺν τῷ πανσυδίῃ ἀνελίσσεται.⁵⁴

But it may be questioned whether the belt itself is visible at the end of the Ram's rising or with the Bull, during whose rising he emerges entirely.⁵⁵

Most editors print the second half of line 712 as καὶ κ' ἀμφήριστα πέλοιτο. Hipparchus (2.3.32) knows of two variants: one is πέλοιτο, the other πέλονται. He reports that each of these readings is given by some of the manuscripts available.⁵⁶ Attalus is said to have accepted πέλονται.⁵⁷ Hipparchus instead argues for πέλοιτο on the ground that (a) the optative is congruent with κ' (*i.e.* κε),⁵⁸ and (b) it is ordinary practice to associate a neuter plural (ἀμφήριστα) with a singular verb.⁵⁹ His observation on the optative shows remarkable connections, in the spheres of theory and terminology, with the grammatical research of contemporary Alexandrian scholarship. The doctrinal aspect concerns the optative and the particle κε (epic and Aratean for ἄν): Aristarchus, the famous grammarian, seems to have regarded them as complementary;⁶⁰ and Hipparchus is aware of a link between them, describing it, as he does, in terms of concord (καταλλήλως λέγεται). Perhaps the model for his utterance is to be sought in the technical jargon of second-century BC scholarship,⁶¹ in consideration of the fact that in the realm of textual criticism the use of

54 Ed. Kidd [1997] 124.

55 Transl. Kidd [1997] 125.

56 Hipparch. 2.3.32 διχῶς δὲ γραφομένου, ἐν μὲν τισιν ἀντιγράφοις... 'πέλοιτο', ἐν δὲ τισι... 'πέλονται' ("this is written in two ways—πέλοιτο in some of the manuscripts, πέλονται in others").

57 Attal., fr. 28.24 and 82, ed. Maass [1898] 23, 24 (= Hipparch. 2.3.21 and 32).

58 Hipparch. 2.3.32 τῷ γὰρ ἄν συνδέσμῳ τὸ 'πέλοιτο' καταλλήλως λέγεται ("πέλοιτο is rightly constructed with the particle ἄν"). Kidd [1997] 419 suggests (correctly in my opinion) that "it was probably natural for Hipparchus to use the prose particle [*i.e.* ἄν in place of κε] in his comment".

59 Hipparch. 2.3.32 οὐδὲ γὰρ περισπᾶσθαι δεῖ διὰ τὸ πληθυντικῶς ἐκφέρεσθαι τὸ 'ἀμφήριστα'. σύνηθες γὰρ ἔστι τὸ σχῆμα τοῦτο τῆς ἐκφορᾶς ("nor should one be worried as ἀμφήριστα is expressed in the plural, for this form of expression is customary").

60 Matthaios [1999] 367–368, 579.

61 See Pagani and Lallot in this volume.

κατάλληλος to convey the notion of congruence between two elements in a sentence or clause is encountered in a papyrus commentary on the *Odyssey* of Homer which seems to preserve remnants of Aristarchean exegesis.⁶² In addition to this peculiarity of vocabulary, the terminological interest of Hipparchus' words lies in his use of σύνδεσμος ('conjunction') for ἄν / κε. On present evidence, Aristarchus seems to have been the first to name the particles σύνδεσμοι,⁶³ and may well have adopted the term σύνδεσμος for κε (ἄν) though this usage is attested for later grammarians.⁶⁴ An influence of scholarly language can also be detected in Hipparchus' perception of the so-called 'schema Atticum' as a characteristic of Hellenistic Greek. While the editorial disagreement between πέλοιτο and πέλονται in line 712 of Aratus' *Phaenomena* parallels the dispute amongst Alexandrian scholars about whether a plural or a singular verb should be associated with a plural subject in Homer,⁶⁵ there is much correspondence between, on the one hand, Hipparchus' advocacy of the use of a singular verb with a neuter plural as a feature of the ordinary language of his own days (σύνηθες γάρ ἐστι), and, on the other hand, the surviving fragments of Hellenistic commentaries on Homer where this element of incongruence in number is ascribed to συνήθεια (customary usage).⁶⁶

Hipparchus' approach to the vagaries of manuscript-transmitted texts is revealed by yet another example, which involves a disputed reading in a section where Aratus mentions the four celestial circles, that is to say, the tropics, the equator, and the ecliptic. Recent editors print lines 467–468 of the *Phaenomena* in this fashion:⁶⁷

αὐτοὶ δ' ἀπλατέες καὶ ἀρηρότες ἀλλήλοισι
πάντες, ἀτὰρ μέτρῳ γε δύο δυσὶν ἀντιφέρονται.

the circles themselves are without breadth and fastened all to each other,
but in size two are matched with two.⁶⁸

62 *PSI* XV 1464, lines 26–27 in the improved edition by Lunden [2011b] 7; on κατάλληλος, see Lunden's commentary on p. 16.

63 Matthaios [1999] 566.

64 Matthaios [1999] 579.

65 On this topic, see Matthaios [1999] 382–384. Cf. also Lunden [2011b] 14–15.

66 See ἡμῖν συνήθως in *sch. A*^{im} (Ariston.) Hom. *Iliad* 2.135a, ed. Erbse [1969] 1.210, and Matthaios [1999] 382–383. The 'schema Atticum' is most strictly followed in Attic. Koine Greek of the Hellenistic period is less consistent, although it tends to respect the rule when non-personal neuters are involved; see Mayser [1934] 2/3.28–30 (§ 151).

67 Martin [1998] 1.28; Kidd [1997] 106.

68 Transl. Kidd [1997] 107.

Hipparchus (1.9.1) reports the existence of two variant readings in line 467, δ' ἀπλατέες and δὲ πλατέες. Attalus is said to have preferred πλατέες (“broad”) in view of a scientific theory put forward by some unnamed astronomers, whom he calls ἀστρολόγοι.⁶⁹ Hipparchus instead pleads for ἀπλατέες (“without breadth”) on the basis of two arguments, of which one is scientific in nature and the other literary. The scientific justification is intended to challenge the rival theory: unlike the authorities invoked by Attalus in support of his choice, students of mathematical astronomy (μαθηματικοί) believe the celestial circles to have no breadth; and Hipparchus thinks their views are correct inasmuch as the circles are notional lines.⁷⁰ The literary aspect of Hipparchus' argumentation calls attention to Aratus himself. Examination of a number of passages of the *Phaenomena* where the celestial circles are dealt with suggests to Hipparchus that Aratus in line 467 must be taken to agree with the leading figures of mathematical astronomy (1.9.9–13);⁷¹ Hipparchus cites in evidence lines 513–514 on the equator, lines 497–499 on the northern tropic, and lines 541–543 and 553–558 on the ecliptic. In method this argument is reminiscent of an interpretive principle adopted within the mainstream tradition of Hellenistic scholarship. Aristarchus appears to have based his approach to the textual criticism of the Homeric poems on the assessment of Homeric usage.⁷² He is even credited with a famous precept, “Ὀμηρον ἐξ Ὀμήρου σαφηνίζειν (“elucidate Homer from Homer”).⁷³ It means that Homer's own words are regarded as the best guide to the understanding of individual readings and passages of the Homeric poems. Because of its value to both textual criticism and exegesis the criterion

69 Attal., fr. 20.7–12, ed. Maass [1898] 16 (= Hipparch. 1.9.1). For information on the theory in question, see Kidd [1997] 349–350.

70 Hipparch. 1.9.6–8. The point is made clear in 1.9.6: καθόλου τε οἶμαι τοὺς μαθηματικούς ἅπαντας τοὺς εἰρημένους <κύκλους> ἀπλατεῖς ὑποτίθεσθαι . . . οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπινοῆσαι δυνατόν ἐστι τούτους πλάτος ἔχοντας· τὸ γὰρ ἴδιον ἐκάστου περιουσιακῆν καὶ ἀπλατῆ γραμμῆν ἔχον θεωρεῖσθαι συμβέβηκεν (“on the whole I think the mathematicians suppose all the said <circles> . . . to be without breadth; nor is it possible to see them as having breadth, for, as it happens, each of them is considered to be characterized by a notional line which is without breadth”).

71 In 1.9.9 Hipparchus is very clear about this: ὅτι δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἄρατος τοῖς μαθηματικοῖς ἀκολούθως ἀπλατεῖς αὐτοὺς νοεῖ ὑπάρχοντας, μάθοι ἂν τις ἔκ τε τοῦ περὶ τοῦ ἰσημερινοῦ λέγειν (“Aratus, too, in accordance with the mathematicians thinks of them as being without breadth; one could learn this from what he says on the equator”).

72 West [2001a] 37.

73 On the Aristarchean origin of this maxim, see Montanari [19970] 285–286, and Montana in this volume; for doubts, see Wilson [1997a] 90. For discussion of the principle, see Porter [1992] 70ff. Schäublin [1977] 224–227 detects parallels in the juridical and rhetorical traditions.

compares well with modern *usus scribendi*.⁷⁴ Hipparchus' interpretive method is similar, for he explores Aratus' usage with the purpose of determining what Aratus himself might have said in the controversial passage under discussion. In other words, Hipparchus is explaining Aratus from Aratus.

5 Emendation

We now move on to another kind of diagnostic activity, viz. conjectural criticism. We know of several conjectures made by astronomers on the text of Aratus. In principle, they emended what seemed scientifically untenable. Attalus of Rhodes is a case in point. The aim of his work on Aratus, including the *διόρθωσις* proper, is to show how "Aratus is in tune with the phenomena of nature".⁷⁵ A similar attitude is revealed by Diodorus of Alexandria in the first century BC. Let us consider lines 254–255 of Aratus' *Phaenomena*, ἀγγι δέ οἱ σκαίης ἐπιγουνίδος ἤλιθα πάσαι / Πληιάδες φορέονται ("near his left thigh-muscle all in a cluster the Pleiades move").⁷⁶ The muscle in question belongs to Perseus; it is the star ε Per. Hipparchus (1.6.12) blames Aratus for representing it as close to the Pleiades. Diodorus is cited in a scholion on this passage as having conjectured ὑπογουνίδος ("the part under the knee", "tibia") in place of ἐπιγουνίδος.⁷⁷ As Kidd has written, paraphrasing the scholion, Diodorus has made an attempt "to 'correct' the error noted by Hipparchus by shifting the reference to a position farther down the leg".⁷⁸

Hipparchus shows a more conservative attitude towards the transmitted text of Aratus. On the one hand, he offers no conjectures of his own on previously unemended passages; and, on the other hand, he defends the *paradosis* against emendations by other scholars. Observance of the "intention" (βούλημα) of the poet represents an important criterion by which Hipparchus argues in favour of the transmitted text. For example, let us return to the Kneeler and the position of his foot over the Dragon's head. Aratus in lines 69–70 has the following words: μέσσω δ' ἐφύπερθε καρήνω / δεξιτεροῦ ποδὸς ἄκρον ἔχει σκολιοῖο Δράκοντος, "he (*i.e.* the Kneeler) has the tip of his right foot above the mid-point of the tortuous Dragon's head".⁷⁹ Attalus conjectured μέσσου . . . καρήνου in place of

74 Tosi [1997a] 223 n. 4.

75 Attal., fr. 1.17–21, ed. Maass [1898] 3 (= Hipparch. 1.3.3). Cf. Martin [1956] 24.

76 Transl. Kidd [1997] 91, revised.

77 Jean Martin [1974] 203.9–10.

78 Kidd [1997] 276.

79 Transl. Kidd [1997] 77.

μέσσω . . . καρῆνῳ under the influence of the prepositional use of ἐφύπερθε with the genitive.⁸⁰ Hipparchus dismisses this emendation as a conjecture violating the intention (παρὰ τὸ βούλημα) of Aratus.⁸¹

Another example is provided by a remark of Aratus on the rising of the Water-pourer, who is named Aquarius in modern astronomy. Lines 693–694 of the *Phaenomena* in the edition by Kidd [1997] 122 run as follows:

Ἴππος δ' Ὑδροχόοιο μέσον περιτελλομένοιῳ
ποσσὶ τε καὶ κεφαλῇ ἀνελίσσεται.

When the waist of the Water-pourer rises, the Horse
with feet and head comes coursing up.⁸²

Hipparchus (2.3.6–7) cites both lines in the above form but reports that Attalus has altered the transmitted version of line 693⁸³ by emending the manuscript reading μέσον to νέον.⁸⁴ Hipparchus defends the *paradosis*: “the intention (βούλημα) of the poet, and also the phenomenon”, he says, “escape the notice of Attalus and of the others”.⁸⁵ In addition to this statement, Hipparchus seems to appeal to the authority of manuscripts against the proposed conjecture.⁸⁶

There is yet another example. Let us return to the belt of Perseus, on which Aratus focuses in lines 712–714. Hipparchus (2.3.19) observes that the transmitted reading λήγοντι in line 713 is likely to be an error because it does not conform to the way Aratus introduces the Zodiacal rising of constellations.⁸⁷ He also states that Attalus recognized the error and emended λήγοντι to

80 Attal., fr. 6.4–6, ed. Maass [1898] 6 (= Hipparch. 1.4.9). Cf. Kidd [1997] 204.

81 Attal., fr. 6.4–5, ed. Maass [1898] 6 (= Hipparch. 1.4.9).

82 Transl. Kidd [1997] 123.

83 Attal., fr. 27.22–24, ed. Maass [1898] 22 (= Hipparch. 2.3.9) ἀναγκαῖον οὖν εἶναι δοκεῖ μοι μὴ μετατιθέναι τὸν στίχον, ὡς ὁ Ἄτταλος ὑποδεικνύει, ἐν πάσι γε δὴ τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις οὕτως αὐτοῦ γραφομένου (“Therefore, I think it necessary not to alter the line as Attalus indicates, since it is written in this way in all manuscripts”).

84 Attal., fr. 27.8–10, ed. Maass [1898] 21 (= Hipparch. 2.3.7). In fact all extant manuscripts of the poem give νέον, whereas other sources provide evidence for either μέσον or νέον; for further information, see the apparatus criticus in Martin [1998] 1.42.

85 Hipparch. 2.3.7 λανθάνει δὲ τὸν τε Ἄτταλον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τὸ βούλημα τοῦ ποιητοῦ, τάχα δὲ καὶ τὸ φαινόμενον. For discussion of the point at issue, see Kidd [1997] 413.

86 See the passage cited above, n. 83. Cf. Martin [1956] 28.

87 Hipparch. 2.3.19 ἐξ ἀρχῆς γὰρ πάντων τῶν ζωδίων τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνατολῆς ὑποτίθεται, καὶ οὐχὶ μεσοῦντα ἢ λήγοντα (“from the beginning, he places the beginnings of all constellations on the eastern horizon, not the middle or end of them”).

ἀνιόντι.⁸⁸ Hipparchus (2.3.20) accepts this conjecture as a possibility but suggests an alternative, λήγουσα, making it agree with ζώνη (“belt”) in line 712. In short, both Attalus and Hipparchus agree on the need for emendation; and they do so on inspection of Aratus’ usage. But there is a difference between them. According to Attalus, whose words are cited verbatim by Hipparchus, his own emendation is designed to bring Aratus into conformity with himself as well as with the astronomical data.⁸⁹ Attalus lays special emphasis on the latter: “if the passage is written in this way [*i.e.* the way Attalus has emended it]”, he says, “the phenomena will be saved, and the poet’s explanation of the belt might appear both competent and accurate”.⁹⁰ For Hipparchus, the key factor to emendation seems to have been the observance of Aratus’ usage.

Close examination of what a poet intends to say (βούλημα) is a criterion linked to the method, which we discussed in the preceding section, of assessing variant readings on the basis of the poet’s own usage, so far as this can be determined from the context, or from the work in its entirety.⁹¹ In other words, it seems as though Hipparchus used the same basic criteria in choosing between transmitted variants as well as in his approach to conjectural criticism. These criteria are reminiscent of Aristarchean scholarship.

Perhaps this debate among Hellenistic astronomers is echoed by Achilles, the third-century AD grammarian, when he reports in a passage of *On interpretation* (Περὶ ἐξηγήσεως) that astronomers (ἀστρονόμοι), grammarians (γραμματικοί), painters (ζωγράφοι), and geometers (γεωμέτραι) all spoiled Aratus’ poem with “readings” (γραφαί) and interpretations (ἐξηγήσεις) of their own, which they contributed at will (πρὸς τὸ βούλημα τὸ ἴδιον).⁹² Hipparchus would in all probability not reckon himself among these people.

88 Hipparch. 2.3.20–21 = Attal., fr. 28.15–17, 25, ed. Maass [1898] 22–23.

89 Attal., fr. 28.21–22, ed. Maass [1898] 23 (= Hipparch. 2.3.21) ἡμεῖς μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ τε ποιητῇ συμφώνως καὶ τοῖς φαινόμενοις ἀκολουθῶς οἰόμεθα δεῖν γράφεσθαι (“we think we should write here in a way that is both concordant with the poet and consistent with the phenomena”).

90 Attal., fr. 28.36–39, ed. Maass [1898] 23 (= Hipparch. 2.3.23) τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον γραφομένου τοῦ ποιήματος τὰ τε φαινόμενα σωθήσεται καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς ζώνης ὁ ποιητῆς οὐ μόνον ἐμπείρως ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἐξηγούμενος ἂν φαίνοιτο.

91 Cf. Porter [1992] 73–74; Schäublin [1977] 223–225, 226. Of course both principles represent important criteria in modern textual criticism; see *e.g.* West [1973] 48.

92 Achill. *De Inter.* 3.1, ed. Di Maria [1996] 63.21–23 = Jean Martin [1974] 33.10–13.

6 Interpreting the paradosis

Evidence on Hipparchus' understanding of grammar has been discussed elsewhere in this chapter. There is evidence to show that other astronomers resorted to grammar in order to solve textual problems.

Aratus in lines 21–23 of the *Phaenomena* has a brief remark on the axis of the cosmos. In the edition by Kidd [1997] 72, 74, his words run as follows:

ἀλλὰ μάλ' αὐτως
ἄξων αἰὲν ἄρηρεν, ἔχει δ' ἀτάλαντον ἀπάντη
μεσσηγὺς γαῖαν, περι δ' οὐρανὸν αὐτὸν ἀγινεῖ.

the axis, however,
just stays for ever fixed, holds the earth in the centre
evenly balanced, and rotates the sky itself.⁹³

The transmitted reading in line 23, οὐρανὸν αὐτόν, makes excellent sense and is also accepted by Jean Martin in his 1998 Budé edition. Yet there is another reading attested from antiquity, namely οὐρανός; and much controversy arose over the next word.⁹⁴ The latter is not likely to have been equipped with the breathing and the accent in the autograph of the *Phaenomena* as well as in many of the subsequent copies. According to tradition, it is Aristophanes of Byzantium (c. 257–c. 180 BC) who must be credited with the invention of lectional aids πρὸς διάκρισιν τῆς ἀμφιβόλου λέξεως (“for the purpose of determining an ambiguous word”).⁹⁵ Many scholars have doubted the truth of this tradition,⁹⁶ yet on present evidence there is no denying the fact that the innovation was slow to catch on, for inspection of the papyrus copies of verse texts that circulated in Ptolemaic Egypt suggests not only that the accents and breathings came into use from the second century BC,⁹⁷ but also that copyists who adopted them did so desultorily and most often very sparingly. People in the third century BC read texts without accents; and accentuation was often a

93 Transl. Kidd [1997] 73, 75.

94 Kidd [1997] 178–179.

95 For the relevant sources, see Lameere [1960] 91 n. 3, and Laum [1928] 100–102. See also Montana in this volume.

96 See Slater [1986] 170 no. 427 with further references. Cf. also Pagani-Perrone [2012] 114–115, and Mazzucchi [1979b] 145–147.

97 Cavallo-Maehler [2008] 20; Turner-Parsons [1987] 11–12.

matter of interpretation.⁹⁸ Such being the state of affairs, it is not surprising that doubts should have arisen as to the orthography of the pronoun in line 23 of Aratus' poem.⁹⁹ An ancient note, which has been preserved in the margins of some of the medieval codices of the *Phaenomena*, reports the existence of a debate on this issue between grammarians and astronomers. Let us cite the scholion in full:

πολλή και διάφορος ἐνταῦθα ζήτησις περὶ τὴν γραφὴν ἐγένετο τοῖς μαθηματικοῖς και γραμματικοῖς. οἱ μὲν γὰρ γραμματικοὶ ἀγνοήσαντες εἶπον “περιάγει ὁ οὐρανὸς τὸν ἄξονα”. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τῶν ἀτοπωτάτων. εἰ γὰρ ἀκίνητον αὐτὸν ἀπεδώκαμεν, [και] αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἄρατου ἀντικρυς εἰπόντος “ἀλλὰ μάλ’ αὐτως ἄξων αἰὲν ἄρηρεν”, πῶς αὐτὸν φασὶ περιάγεσθαι; ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν μαθηματικοὶ τὸ αὐτὸν δασύνουσιν, ἴν’ ἦ ἑαυτὸν. ὁ δὲ λόγος “περὶ δὲ τὸν ἄξονα ἄγει και στρέφει ὁ οὐρανὸς ἑαυτὸν”.¹⁰⁰

Here the astronomers and the grammarians had extensive and differing inquiries about the reading. The grammarians said from ignorance: ‘the sky rotates the axis’. But this is a crowning absurdity, for if we have defined the axis as motionless (Aratus himself openly says: ‘The axis, however, stays for ever fixed’), how can they say that it rotates? Instead the astronomers aspirate αὐτὸν in order that it may become ἑαυτὸν. The sense is this: ‘the sky moves and revolves round the axis’.

Neither the grammarians nor the astronomers (μαθηματικοί) can be identified. The interpretation of the grammarians is said to be scientifically ungrounded; and as the ancient commentator remarks, it is at variance with what Aratus himself has just said in the preceding lines (21–22). The astronomers have a different approach. Their αὐτὸν (= ἑαυτὸν) introduces a linguistically weak expression which, as Kidd puts it, “is an obvious corruption, a clumsy way of expressing what would normally be done by the middle voice”.¹⁰¹ But the proposed solution is grammatical in nature.¹⁰²

98 Cf. West [1973] 54–55, and Probert in this volume.

99 For a similar case in Aratus' *Phaenomena*, see Hollis in Montanari-Lehnus [2002] 94–95.

100 Ed. Martin [1974b] 68.14–69.3. Cf. Montanari [2002c] 78–80.

101 Kidd [1997] 179. See also Martin [1998] 2.156.

102 Montanari [2002c] 79.

7 Some Final Observations

As we have seen, both Attalus and Hipparchus exhibit intriguing connections with second-century BC Alexandrian scholarship, especially with Aristarchus. Were they influenced by him, or by a pupil of his?¹⁰³ This is difficult to ascertain. Attalus' work was produced shortly before Hipparchus' monograph; the date of the latter can approximately be guessed on the basis of the time of the stellar observations recorded in the catalogue, which seem to have taken place c.140 BC.¹⁰⁴ It is likely that both works were written in Rhodes,¹⁰⁵ where Hipparchus spent his later career, from 141 to 127 BC.¹⁰⁶ But did Attalus and Hipparchus dwell in Alexandria before 144 BC, when Ptolemy VIII came to power? On present evidence, the question defies solution as we know nothing about Attalus' biography, and little about that of Hipparchus. As Toomer has written, "the statement found in some modern accounts that he [*i.e.* Hipparchus] also worked in Alexandria is based on a misunderstanding of passages in the *Almagest* referring to observations made at Alexandria and used by or communicated to Hipparchus",¹⁰⁷ and it is doubtful whether his knowledge of the richness of the Alexandrian library, as recorded by Strabo (2.1.5), should be taken to suggest an awareness of the library's fame, or a direct acquaintance with the book-shelves.¹⁰⁸ As it happens, it was to the island of Rhodes that young Dionysius Thrax, a pupil of Aristarchus who was himself a grammarian and an author of treatises and commentaries,¹⁰⁹ fled from Alexandria in consequence of the diaspora of the Alexandrian scholars in the time of Ptolemy VIII.¹¹⁰ Was he the one (or was it another member of the Aristarchean school) who influenced Attalus and Hipparchus? There is simply no way to tell.

103 On the Aristarchean school, see West [2001a] 79–83; Pfeiffer [1968] 252–279.

104 Nadal-Brunet [1989].

105 Martin [1956] 22–24.

106 Toomer [1978].

107 Toomer [1978].

108 The latter view is maintained by Rossetti-Liviabella Furiani [1993] 687.

109 Rossetti-Liviabella Furiani [1993] 692–693; Pfeiffer [1968] 266–267; Montana in this volume. Cf. also West [2001a] 80.

110 Pfeiffer [1968] 211–212.

On the Interface of Philology and Science: The Case of Zoology¹

Oliver Hellmann

- 1 *Talking Humans—Talking Animals?—Ancient Biological Concepts of Speech and Communication in Humans and Animals*
- 2 *Working on Zoological Texts: Re-using, Organizing, Editing, and Commenting on Zoological Data*
 - 2.1 *Zoology and the Alexandrian Philologists*
 - 2.2 *Andronicus of Rhodes: A Decisive Edition of Aristotle?*
 - 2.3 *Commenting on Aristotle's Zoological Works*
- 3 *Epilogue*

At the beginning of the third book of his work *On the Characteristics of Animals*, Aelian² reports a story about communication between lions and humans. If lions enter the houses of humans because of hunger, he was told, men and women react in different ways. Whereas men drive off the beast immediately, women try to persuade it using words demanding self-control. They argue like this:

Are not you ashamed, you, a Lion, the king of beasts, to come to my hut and to ask a woman to feed you, and do you, like some cripple, look to a woman's hand hoping that thanks to her pity and compassion you may get what you want?—You who should be on your way to mountain haunts in pursuit of deer and antelopes and all other creatures that lions may eat without discredit. Whereas, like some sorry lap-dog, you are content to be fed by another.³

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- 1 For valuable comments on this paper I wish to thank most sincerely H. Enders (Heidelberg), A. Kirichenko (Trier), B. Strobel (Trier) and G. Wöhrle (Trier).
 - 2 *Ael. NA* 3.1. For an interpretation of this chapter cf. Hellmann [2008] 190–192.
 - 3 *Ael. NA* 3.1: σὺ δὲ οὐκ αἰδέῃ λέων ὦν ὁ τῶν ζώων βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐμὴν καλύβην ἰών, καὶ γυναικὸς δεόμενος ἵνα τραφῆς, καὶ δίκην ἀνθρώπου λελωβημένου τὸ σῶμα ἐς χεῖρας γυναικείας ἀποβλέπεις, ἵνα οἴκτω καὶ ἐλέω τύχῃς ὦν δέη; ὄν δέον ἐς ὀρείους ὀρμῆσαι διατριβάς ἐπὶ τε ἐλάφους καὶ βουβαλίδας

The lion, it seems, accepts these arguments, since it moves away in shame. For Aelian, this behavior is no surprise.

Now if horses and hounds through being reared in their company understand and quail before the threats of men, I should not be surprised if Moors too, who are reared and brought up along with Lions, are understood by these very animals.⁴

Aelian's conclusion makes it quite clear that his opinion is not *communis opinio*. He even gives some special reasons for the lion's communicative abilities: it has been in contact with humans for a longer period of time. In his eyes, this seems to be a necessary condition for the ability to communicate, while difference in species does not seem to be decisive—at least in mammals.⁵

This episode may be seen as just a part of the ongoing ancient debate about the communicative abilities of animals. This debate was not limited to the scientific field of zoology, it was part of the philosophical discussion of *logos*—in its double sense of reason and speech—in animals, which was analyzed masterly by Richard Sorabji about 20 years ago.⁶

The present study will focus on ancient biological texts.⁷ In the first part, I will try to provide some insights into the ancient physiological concepts of speech and animals' ability to communicate with humans as well as with individuals of their own species. From a broader perspective, the question is one of language and speech as a topic of ancient biology.

But this is just one aspect of the interrelation between biology on the one side and philology and linguistics on the other. The second aspect is the work of ancient textual scholarship on biological material. Several Alexandrian scholars worked on biological texts or created works with biological content. Andronicus of Rhodes edited Aristotle's biological texts for ancient readers,⁸ and Byzantine authors created voluminous commentaries for a better under-

καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὅσα λεόντων δειπνον ἔνδοξον. κυνιδίου δὲ ἀθλίου φύσει ἀγαπᾶς παρατραφῆναι. (Transl. Scholfield).

4 Ael. NA, 3.1: εἰ δὲ ἵπποι καὶ κύνες διὰ τὴν συντροφίαν ἀπειλούντων ἀνθρώπων συνιάσι καὶ καταπτήσσοσι, καὶ Μαυρουσίους οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσαιμι λεόντων ὄντας συντρόφους καὶ ὁμοτρόφους αὐτοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἀκούεσθαι. (Transl. Scholfield).

5 Since all species named are mammals.

6 Cf. Sorabji [1993].

7 This category is not without problems, of course. While there may be no question that Aristotle's *History of animals* is a biological text, Plutarch's *De sollertia animalium* may be classified as a philosophical work too.

8 See Montana in this volume.

standing of Aristotle's works.⁹ Philology had to deal with biological matters in a lot of different ways. A few cases, which may be seen as characteristic examples, shall be presented in the second part of this paper. In a wider sense, Aelian may be seen as a kind of philologist too. He is re-writing a story that he borrowed, as we know, from Juba II, King of Mauretania.¹⁰ Aelian did not do any biological fieldwork, he worked on the texts of others.

1 Talking Humans—Talking Animals?—Ancient Biological Concepts of Speech and Communication in Humans and Animals

Although we do find scattered information about physiological aspects of language in various authors before Aristotle,¹¹ it was the Stagirite who gave us the first detailed physiological concept of speech in humans and animals.¹² In his great collection of zoological data, the *History of Animals*, an entire chapter (4.9) is dedicated to the voice (*phone*). Aristotle first carefully distinguishes voice (*phone*), sound (*psophos*), and articulated speech (*dialektos*). A necessary condition to utter voice is the possession of a *pharynx*, Aristotle's term for the modern larynx and windpipe.¹³ "Hence", Aristotle concludes, "those that have no lung, do not utter any speech".¹⁴ Although there may be a great variety of animal sounds, in animals without respiratory system those sounds cannot, according to Aristotle, be classified as voice. The singing of a cicada may be used as an example.¹⁵ Further organs are needed to articulate speech—that is, to have *dialektos*—most importantly, a tongue, as *dialektos* is clearly defined in the typical Aristotelian manner as "the articulation of the voice by means of the tongue".¹⁶ The tongue must have specific capacities to perform this action: it has to be able to move freely.¹⁷ Beside the tongue, lips and teeth play a role too. According to Aristotle, tongue and lips produce consonants as one part of

9 See Pontani in this volume.

10 Cf. Wellmann [1892] esp. 406.

11 See the full discussion in Ax [1986] 59–118.

12 There are several detailed studies on Aristotle's analysis of language, see esp. Ax [1978] and [1986], Zirin [1980], Labarrière [2004] and Fögen [2007].

13 Cf. Kullmann [2007] 515–517.

14 *Hist. an.* 4.9,535a30: διὸ ὅσα μὴ ἔχει πλεῦμονα, οὐδὲν φθέγγεται.

15 Cf. *Hist. an.* 4.9,535b6–9.

16 *Hist. an.* 4.9,535a30–31: διάλεκτος δ' ἢ τῆς φωνῆς ἐστὶ τῇ γλώττῃ διάρθρωσις.

17 *Hist. an.* 4.9,535b1–3: διὸ ὅσα γλώτταν μὴ ἔχει ἢ μὴ ἀπολελυμένην, οὔτε φωνεῖ οὔτε διαλέγεται.

dialektos,¹⁸ and the front-teeth are seen as important for articulation especially in men.¹⁹

Subsequently, these definitions are used by Aristotle to distinguish the major zoological genera. Cephalopods and Crustacea produce absolutely no sounds, insects and fishes produce sounds only, the oviparous quadrupeds such as frogs, birds and the viviparous animals with four feet, *i.e.* mammals, have voice (*phone*), *dialektos* is restricted to men and some kinds of birds.²⁰

In our context, these birds are of special interest. One may note right away that lips and teeth may not be seen as a *sine qua non* for articulated speech, since birds do not have these organs. But the situation is more complex if one takes into account that Aristotle considers the beak of the birds as a kind of supplement for the lips and teeth in *Parts of Animals* 2.16.²¹ We may leave this problem aside and return to Aristotle's line of argument in the *History of Animals* that concentrates on the tongue. "The genus of birds emits voice, and especially those have articulated speech whose tongue is broad and those which have a fine tongue."²² Tongues of this kind can be found especially in little birds, particularly the song-birds: "The smaller (birds) have a great variety of tones and are more talkative than the larger ones."²³ Furthermore, Aristotle carefully notes differences in voice according to sex, and declares that birds speak and sing especially in the mating-season and when they fight.²⁴ These statements give a good impression of how Aristotle combined theoretical concepts with detailed observation.

The key role of the tongue is emphasized in the *Parts of Animals*, too, in a passage where Aristotle deals with the different functions of that organ.

And that is why among the birds those most able to pronounce articulate sounds have broader tongues than the others. Those of the four-footed animals that are blooded and live-bearing have little vocal articulation. This is because they have a tongue that is hard, undetached, and thick. Some of the birds, however, are quite vocal, and those with crook-talons

18 Cf. *Hist. an.* 4.9,535a32–b1.

19 *Part. an.* 3.1,661b13–15.

20 Cf. *Hist. an.* 4.9,535b3–536b8 with Zirin [1980] 346 and Ax [1986] 127–128.

21 *Part. an.* 2.16,659b21–27.

22 *Hist. an.* 4.9,536a20–22: τὸ δὲ τῶν ὀρνίθων γένος ἀφήσι φωνήν· καὶ μάλιστα ἔχει διάλεκτον ὅσοις ὑπάρχει μετρίως ἢ γλώττα πλατεία, καὶ ὅσοι ἔχουσι λεπτήν τὴν γλώτταν αὐτῶν. Cf. also 2.12,504b1–3.

23 *Hist. an.* 4.9,536a24–25: πολύφωνα δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ λαλίστερα τὰ ἐλάττω τῶν μεγάλων.

24 Cf. *Hist. an.* 4.9,536a22–32.

have broader tongues. The smaller ones are quite vocal. And though all also use their tongue to communicate with one another some do so more than others, so that in some cases they even seem to be learning from one another.²⁵

The important point here is that some birds not only have the physiological apparatus to utter articulated speech, but that they also use this ability to communicate (*pros hermeneian*), that is, they use it in the same manner as human language. And that is not all: they also seem to be able to learn this kind of language.

We may finally take a look at *De Anima*, a work that is not biologic in the strict sense, though it may be classified as belonging to natural science. In his discussion of the five senses, Aristotle deals with hearing (*akoe*) in *De anima* 2.8. In this context we find a definition of the term voice (*phone*) that is of special interest for the present discussion. Having pointed out before that *phone* in its true sense is solely the sound of an animate being (*empsychou*),²⁶ Aristotle gives his physiological definition:

Hence voice consists in the impact of the inspired air upon what is called the windpipe under the agency of the soul in those parts. For, as we have said, not every sound made by a living creature is a voice (for one can make a sound even with the tongue, or as in coughing), but that which even causes the impact, must have a soul, and use some imagination (*phantasia*); for the voice is a sound which means something (*semantikos*)...²⁷

The important point here is the connection between voice and meaning: the voice has to be *semantikos*, otherwise it is to be taken as a mere sound, like coughing. Are animals able to produce such meaningful voices? The answer

25 *Part. an.* 2.17,660a29–b1: Διὸ καὶ τῶν ὀρνίθων οἱ μάλιστα φθειγγόμενοι γράμματα πλατυγλωττότεροι τῶν ἄλλων εἰσίν. Τὰ δ' ἕναιμα καὶ ζωτόκα τῶν τετραπόδων βραχεῖαν τῆς φωνῆς ἔχει διάρθρωσιν· σκληρὰν τε γὰρ καὶ οὐκ ἀπολελυμένην ἔχουσι καὶ παχεῖαν τὴν γλώτταν. Τῶν δ' ὀρνίθων ἔνιοι πολύφωνοι, καὶ πλατυτέραν οἱ γαμψώνυχοι ἔχουσιν. Πολύφωνοι δ' οἱ μικρότεροι. Καὶ χρώνται τῇ γλώττῃ καὶ πρὸς ἐρμηνείαν ἀλλήλοις πάντες μὲν, ἔτεροι δὲ τῶν ἐτέρων μᾶλλον, ὥστ' ἐπ' ἐνίων καὶ μάθησιν εἶναι δοκεῖν παρ' ἀλλήλων. (Transl. J. Lennox.).

26 Cf. *De an.* 2.8,420b5–6.

27 *De an.* 2.8,420b27–33: ὥστε ἡ πληγὴ τοῦ ἀναπνεομένου ἀέρος ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν τούτοις τοῖς μορίοις ψυχῆς πρὸς τὴν καλουμένην ἀρτηρίαν φωνὴ ἐστίν. οὐ γὰρ πᾶς ζῶου ψόφος φωνή, καθάπερ εἴπομεν (ἔστι γὰρ καὶ τῇ γλώττῃ ψοφεῖν καὶ ὡς οἱ βήττοντες) ἀλλὰ δεῖ ἔμψυχόν τε εἶναι τὸ τύπτον καὶ μετὰ φαντασίας τινός· σημαντικός γὰρ δὴ τις ψόφος ἐστὶν ἡ φωνή.... (Transl. W.S. Hett).

must clearly be yes, if one takes into account Aristotle's statement in *Parts of Animals* 2.17 about communication among birds.²⁸

From the physiological perspective animals are completely capable of articulate speech in Aristotle's eyes. There is no absolute difference to men here, the difference is one of degree, not of kind.²⁹ But terminology deserves careful attention at this point! In all the texts cited above, Aristotle never used the term *logos*.³⁰ *Logos* is restricted to men, as is stated clearly in *Politics* 1.2 and *Generation of Animals* 5.7—a biological work!³¹ For Aristotle *logos* is more than articulated speech with some meaning:

And why man is a political animal in a greater measure than any bee or any gregarious animal is clear. For nature, as we declare, does nothing without purpose; and man alone of the animals possesses speech. The mere voice (*phone*), it is true, can indicate pain and pleasure, and therefore is possessed by the other animals as well (for their nature has been developed so far as to have sensations of what is painful and pleasant and to signify those sensations to one another), but speech (*logos*) is designed to indicate the advantageous and the harmful, and therefore also the right and the wrong; for it is the special property of man in distinction from the other animals that he alone has perception of good and bad and right and wrong and the other moral qualities, and it is partnership in these things that makes a household and a city-state.³²

Only man uses this kind of *logos* with its political and ethical function. “What birds are capable of is not λόγος with which to communicate τὸ σύμφερον καὶ τὸ

28 See above n. 25. Ax [1978] 256 n. 38 refers as further evidence in the biological writings to *Hist. an.* 536a13ff., and 608 a17ff. (which he declares “unecht”).

29 This was discussed in detail by Labarrière [2004] 46–49, cf. also Ax [1978] 257–258.

30 Cf. Ax [1978] 259.

31 See *Pol.* 1.2,1253a7–18 and *Gen. an.* 5.7,786b17–22.

32 *Pol.* 1.2,1253a7–18: διότι δὲ πολιτικὸν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ζῶν πάσης μελίττης καὶ παντὸς ἀγελαίου ζῴου μᾶλλον, δῆλον. οὐθὲν γάρ, ὡς φαμέν, μάτην ἢ φύσις ποιεῖ· λόγον δὲ μόνον ἄνθρωπος ἔχει τῶν ζῴων. ἢ μὲν οὖν φωνὴ τοῦ λυπηροῦ καὶ ἡδέος ἐστὶ σημεῖον, διὸ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑπάρχει ζῴοις (μέχρι γὰρ τούτου ἢ φύσις αὐτῶν ἐλήλυθεν, τοῦ ἔχειν αἰσθησιν λυπηροῦ καὶ ἡδέος καὶ ταῦτα σημαίνειν ἀλλήλοισι), ὁ δὲ λόγος ἐπὶ τῷ δηλοῦν ἐστὶ τὸ συμφέρον καὶ τὸ βλαβερόν, ὥστε καὶ τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ ἀδίκον· τοῦτο γὰρ πρὸς ἄλλα ζῴα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἴδιον, τὸ μόνον ἀγαθοῦ καὶ κακοῦ καὶ δικαίου καὶ ἀδίκου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αἰσθησιν ἔχειν, ἢ δὲ τούτων κοινωνία ποιεῖ οἰκίαν καὶ πόλιν. (Transl. H. Rackham).

βλαβερόν, ὥστε καὶ τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ ἄδικον, but rather the mere communication of information.”³³

Aristotle’s successors in the field of biology did not share his interest in the physiological basis of speaking in humans and animals. Some years ago James Lennox dealt in an important article with “the disappearance of Aristotle’s biology” in the Hellenistic era, describing the phenomenon as a “Hellenistic mystery”.³⁴ Core of the mystery is the abandonment of Aristotle’s research program. This program cannot be analyzed in detail here, but can be outlined in just one sentence as based on definite methodical principles and structured around a collection of facts and the following search for causes, especially in view of the interdependence of form and function.³⁵

Like others before him, Pliny the Elder, whose encyclopedic work deals extensively with zoological matters,³⁶ was not very interested in this kind of causal explanation. At one point of his work he states this openly: “But our purpose is to point out the manifest properties of objects, not to search for doubtful causes.”³⁷ Accordingly, in his *Natural History* we find several amazing stories about animals comprehending, imitating or even speaking human language,³⁸ but the physiological causes of these phenomena are widely neglected. Elephants are described as “nearest to man in intelligence” and therefore understand the language of their native country.³⁹ “They are also believed to understand the obligations of another’s religion”, as Pliny records “in so far as to refuse to embark on board ships when going overseas before they are lured on by the manhout’s sworn promise in regard to their return.”⁴⁰ While this anecdote is related to show that elephants understand foreign religious customs, it implies that the elephant is able to comprehend the (verbal) promise. Another story told by the consul Mucanius reports an elephant who

33 Zirin [1980] 344, who notes, that the term *dialektos* is not used in this passage.

34 Lennox [2001] 110–125.

35 See Kullmann [1990], [1998] 55–115 and Lennox [2001] 1–109. For the influence of the Aristotelian scientific pattern on Alexandrian scholarship cf. Montana, Nünlist, and Lapini in this volume.

36 Cf. Plin. *NH* 7–11.

37 Plin. *NH* 11.8: *nobis propositum est naturas rerum manifestas indicare, non causas indicare dubias*. (Transl. Rackham). Cf. Lennox [2001] 115.

38 The material has been collected by Fögen [2007] 53–57.

39 Plin. *NH* 8.1: *Maximum est elephants proximumque humanis sensibus, quippe intellectus illis sermonis patrii...* (Transl. Rackham).

40 Plin. *NH* 8.3. *alienae quoque religionis intellectu creduntur maria transitori non ante naves conscendere quam invitati rectoris iureiurando de reditu*. (Transl. H. Rackham).

learned the Greek alphabet and even wrote some sentences.⁴¹ We hear about lions that show *clementia* by refusing to attack human suppliants, though there was a dispute, as Pliny remarks, whether this kind behavior is caused by the natural disposition of the animal or simply by chance. As in the case of Aristotle, animals that imitate human speech or speak like humans can be found especially among birds.⁴² Parrots are marked out first for their ability to speak (*sermocinantes*). “It greets its masters and repeats words given to it.”⁴³ A certain kind of magpie is said to talk even “more articulately” (*expressior*).⁴⁴ In this context Pliny inserts a physiological observation, taken, as one may assume, from Aristotle: “All the birds in each kind that imitate human speech have exceptionally broad tongues, although this occurs in almost all species.”⁴⁵ Yet physiology is abandoned immediately after this remark, and Pliny adds further amazing stories of speaking thrushes, starlings and nightingales, ravens and crows.⁴⁶ It is rewarding to take a closer look at Pliny’s diction here. While he sometimes uses verbs describing human speech as *sermocinari* or *loqui*, other formulations like *humanas voces reddere*, *sermonem imitari* or *verba exprimere* give the impression that the sounds uttered by these birds cannot be interpreted as use of language in the strict sense. But a clear answer to this question is not to be found in the text.

In his work *On the Characteristics of Animals*, Aelian reports several instances of animals that possess remarkable communicative abilities too. One case, the story about lions in Mauretania, has already been mentioned at the beginning of this study. There are several further species that are capable of understanding human speech, most prominently elephants who follow the vocal instructions of their trainers. Not only do they comprehend the language spoken by the Indians, but they can learn Greek as well!⁴⁷ The bird called *asterias* that lives in Egypt understands human speech as well,⁴⁸ as do dogs

41 Plin. *NH* 8.6.

42 Cf. Plin. *NH* 10.117–124. Stories about speaking animals in other genera can be found in Pliny’s work, too, but Pliny has his doubts about them; cf. Fögen [2007] 54.

43 Plin. *NH* 10.117: *imperatores salutat et quae accipit verba pronuntiat*. (Transl. H. Rackham).

44 Plin. *NH* 10.118–119.

45 Plin. *NH* 10.119: *latiores linguae omnibus in suo cuique genere quae sermonem imitantur humanum, quamquam id paene in omnibus contingit*. Vgl. Arist. *Hist. an.* 2.12,504b1–3.

46 Plin. *NH* 10.119–124.

47 Cf. Ael. *NA* 2.11, 4.24 (συνιάσι γὰρ ἐλέφαντες καὶ γλώττης ἀνθρωπίνης τῆς ἐπιχωρίου), 11.14, 11.25 (Greek).

48 Ael. *NA* 5.36. The species cannot be identified with certainty. It is sometimes identified with the Bittern (cf. Thompson [1966] 57, who is sceptical about this), or with a starling (cf. Scholfield [1958] 329).

and horses.⁴⁹ Even sows attend the call of the swineherd.⁵⁰ Several species seem to be able to speak, namely birds. The raven is described as the bird that has “the largest variety of voices” (*polyphotonatos*); after training, it is able to emit human voice.⁵¹ Jays and parrots are also able to imitate the human voice,⁵² and the francolin utters sounds “clearer and more articulate than any child” and reacts to the maltreatment of deportation from Lydia to Egypt and the subsequent famine, which killed many inhabitants of Egypt, with the proverb “Three curses on the accursed.”⁵³ This story implies that these birds not only imitate voices but really speak with an intelligent verbal reaction to their situation! So the reader may be inclined to assume that Aelian is willing to grant the faculty of speech at least to some kinds of animals. This would be in full accord with his general thesis, stated clearly in the prologue and the epilogue, that animals possess a huge number of human virtues and that they even surpass humans in some of these.⁵⁴ But his position on this point does not seem to be clearly defined.⁵⁵ From the beginning of his work onwards, he contrasts man (*anthropos*) and animals without reason / language (*aloga*). The elephant with its communicative abilities as mentioned above is none the less called an unarticulated animal (*zoon anarthron*) in opposition to man, the *zoon logikon*,⁵⁶ and even the so called “Dog-heads” (*kynokephaloi*), who are able to understand the Indian language and have a lot of habits in common with men—for example they keep goats and sheep and drink their milk—are none the less classified as *aloga*.⁵⁷ And Aelian gives his reasons for this classification as follows:

I have mentioned them along with brute beasts, as is logical, for their speech is inarticulate, unintelligible, and not that of man.⁵⁸

49 Ael. *NA* 3.1.

50 Ael. *NA* 8.19.

51 Ael. *NA* 2.51: ἦν δὲ ἄρα ὀρνίθων πολυκλαγγότατος τε καὶ πολυφωνότατος· μαθὼν γὰρ καὶ ἀνθρωπίνην προῖησι φωνήν.

52 Ael. *NA* 6.19 and 13.18, 16.2; the *Corocotta* (perhaps *Hyaena crocuta*) is said to imitate human speech (*NA* 7.22), too, but Aelian is sceptical about this and classifies this story as fabulous (μυθῶδες).

53 Ael. *NA* 15.27.

54 Cf. Ael. *NA*, Prologue and Epilogue with Hübner [1984] esp. 157–163.

55 Cf. Kindstrand [1998] 2966–2968.

56 Ael. *NA* 2.11.

57 Ael. *NA* 4.46 with Gera [2003] 185–187.

58 Ael. *NA* 4.46: μνήμην δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀλόγοις ἐποιησάμην, καὶ εἰκότως· ἔναρθρον γὰρ καὶ εὔσημον καὶ ἀνθρωπίνην φωνὴν οὐκ ἔχουσιν. (Transl. Scholfield)

All in all, Aelian's position is not without contradiction. On the one hand, he denies reason (*logos*) in animals in accordance with the Stoic doctrine; on the other, he illustrates their intelligence and virtue throughout his work.⁵⁹

It was Plutarch who vehemently advocated the idea of *logos* in animals. His work entitled *Whether Land or Sea Animals are Wiser* is not limited to the question posed in its title but may be interpreted as defending rationality in animals against the Stoics.⁶⁰ "In the course of Plutarch's defense of animal rationality, scarcely any argument employed in ancient discussions for or against its existence fails to appear."⁶¹ Right in the middle of the dialogue Plutarch deals with the ability of birds to speak and learn:

As for starlings and crows and parrots which learn to talk and afford their teachers so malleable and imitative a vocal current to train and discipline, they seem to me to be champions and advocates of the other animals in their ability to learn, instructing us in some measure that they too are endowed both with rational utterance (*logos prophorikos*) and with articulate voice.⁶²

The terminology of this passage makes it quite clear that Plutarch is dealing with the Stoic doctrine here.⁶³ In another story he tries to demonstrate that birds possess "inner reason" (*logos endiathetos*) too. A certain barber in Rome, he claims to have heard from eyewitnesses, had a jay "with a huge range of tones and expressions, which could reproduce the phrases of human speech and the cries of beasts and the sound of instruments."⁶⁴ When a rich man was buried accompanied by the sound of many trumpets, the jay heard this music and as a result uttered no sound anymore. So people suspected that he had been poisoned by rivals or deafened by the musical instrument. But neither of these suppositions was true, since the bird after an "inner retreat" (*anachoresis eis heauto*) started to use his voice again. Now, however, it imitated only the

59 Cf. Kindstrand [1998] 2967–2968.

60 A detailed discussion may be found in Newmyer [2006] 30–47.

61 Newmyer [2006] 33.

62 Plut. *De soll. an.* 972F–973A: Ψᾶρες δὲ καὶ κόρακες καὶ ψιττακοὶ μανθάνοντες διαλέγεσθαι καὶ τὸ τῆς φωνῆς πνεῦμα τοῖς διδάσκουσιν εὐπλαστον οὕτω καὶ μιμητὸν ἐξαρτῦναι καὶ ῥυθμίζειν παρέχοντες ἔμοι δοκοῦσι προδικεῖν καὶ συνηγορεῖν τοῖς ἄλλοις ζώοις ἐν τῷ μανθάνειν, τρόπον τινὰ διδάσκοντες ἡμᾶς, ὅτι καὶ προφορικοῦ λόγου καὶ φωνῆς ἐνάριθρου μέτεστιν αὐτοῖς. (Transl. Helmbold).

63 For the stoic doctrine see Dierauer [1977] 199–252, esp. 234–235 and Fögen [2007] 49–53.

64 Plut. *De soll. an.* 973B–C: . . . πολυφώνου καὶ πολυφθόγγου κίττης ἔτρεφεν, ἢ καὶ ἀνθρώπου ῥήματα καὶ θηρίων φθόγγους καὶ ψόφους ὀργάνων ἀνταπεδίδου, . . .

melody of the trumpet it had heard before. As Newmyer pointed out, “it was the period of silence and inner meditation on part of the jay that proved, for Plutarch, that the “uttered reason” of birds is prompted by “inner reason” (*logos endiathetos*) that inspires and guides the utterance.”⁶⁵ Therefore, in Plutarch’s eyes, birds possess both kinds of *logos* differentiated by the Stoics.

2 Working on Zoological Texts: Re-using, Organizing, Editing, and Commenting on Zoological Data

2.1 *Zoology and the Alexandrian Philologists*

By the time when scholars in Alexandria began their work at the *mouseion*,⁶⁶ biology had been established by Aristotle as a distinct field of research and huge masses of biological data were available mainly in Peripatetic scripts. Beside their work on poetic texts, some scholars in Alexandria worked on this biological material, explaining and re-writing biological texts and using them to create new forms of literature. The poet and scholar Callimachus, well known for his poems, wrote a work *On Birds* (*Peri orneon*), of which several fragments survived (fr. 414–428 Pfeiffer).⁶⁷ From these fragments, we can trace the outline of some kind of catalogue of birds. Several instances show a special interest in onomatology and the differentiation of species, sometimes held to be identical, since they had names nearly identical—as the *porphyron* and the *porphyrus* of fr. 414—or were similar in appearance and belonged to the same genus as different kinds of doves (fr. 416) or falcons (fr. 420).⁶⁸ Two fragments deal with etymological questions (fr. 417 and 418). But Callimachus’ work was clearly not limited to nomenclature. Several texts listed in Pfeiffer’s edition show very well that biological details were treated at least in some cases, such as reproduction and parturition (fr. 427), body size (fr. 421), color (fr. 418) and voice of birds (fr. 418 and 421). Of special interest in this context is fr. 415, a passage of Athenaeus’ *Sophists at Dinner*, book 9. After a detailed description of the partridge (*perdix*) attributed to Aristotle⁶⁹ including information about habitat, classificatory description of feet, duration of life in both sexes, ethological observations, character, sexuality and parturition, Athenaeus

65 Newmyer [2006] 46.

66 See Montana in this volume.

67 For a discussion of the fragments of this work see Martinez [2001]. Cf. also Witty [1973], esp. 242, Blum [1977] 194 and Asper [2004] 47–51, esp. 48; see also Montana in this volume.

68 Cf. also fr. 418, 422, and 427.

69 Cf. Arist. fr. 346 R³.

remarks: “the same information Callimachus records in his (book) *On birds*”.⁷⁰ Unfortunately, we do not know, if this remark refers to the entire description. If this were the case, we could deduce that at least in some cases Callimachus integrated detailed descriptions in his work. But Athenaeus’ words could also refer specifically to the final sentence. Even then one could postulate that Callimachus treated sexuality and parturition.⁷¹ And there is another important point to observe here: Callimachus owed some of his material to Aristotle for his work *On Birds*. This fact has long been noticed,⁷² and may be proven with several further fragments,⁷³ though, as Martínez has pointed out,⁷⁴ there are significant differences in some cases. For this reason it seems quite obvious that Callimachus used other material, too. The arrangement of data in Callimachus’ work, which according to Pfeiffer consisted of one book,⁷⁵ seems to have been by species, since fr. 427, quoted verbatim in a scholion to the *Iliad*, shows that every lemma opened with the name of the species.⁷⁶ Just as other prose-works *On Birds* too came from a “desire to collect and organize information, much in the Peripatetic tradition”. In the context of Hellenistic Alexandria the view was Panhellenic: “Callimachus, from his position within the vast collection of material in the Ptolemaic library, looked at the Hellenic world more holistically, in terms of how various components, both natural and institutional, could be organized and understood.”⁷⁷

One can easily imagine that Callimachus’ *On Birds* was of great benefit to the philological and poetical work at the *mouseion*. His information on the sea-bird *krex*, thought to be an ill omen when people get married, could have been easily used, as Markus Asper convincingly argued,⁷⁸ in *Akontios and Kydippe* or the *Propemptikon* (fr. 400 Pfeiffer). Traces of its reception, as is apparent in the extant fragments, show three main fields of usage: 1. Writings with zoological content, here the work of Athenaios,⁷⁹ 2. Lexica, such as Hesychius,⁸⁰

70 Callim. fr. 415: ... τὰ αὐτὰ ἱστορεῖ καὶ Καλλίμαχος ἐν τῷ Περὶ ὄρνέων.

71 Cf. Martínez [2001] 60.

72 Cf. e.g. Susemihl [1891] 367 and Herter [1931] 403.

73 Callim. fr. 416, 420, 421, 427 (with Pfeiffer’s commentary: Callimachi verba nil nisi excerptum ex Aristot. esse apparet).

74 Martínez [2001] 64. Cf. Callim. fr. 416 and 420.

75 Pfeiffer [1949] 344.

76 The quotation begins with the name *Asterias*: ἀστεριάς, ὁ δ’ αὐτὸς καλεῖται ὄκνος· οὔτος οὐδὲν ἐργάζεται. ... A second lemma, *Leukos*, follows: λευκός· οὔτος ἀνωδύτως ἐν ἀμφοτέροις ἀπαλλάσσεται. Cf. Pfeiffer [1949], 344, commentary to Fr. 428, Witty [1973].

77 Both citations Gutzwiller [2007] 62.

78 See Asper [2004] 48.

79 fr. 414–418.

80 fr. 419; cf. fr. 414, 416, 417, 423.

3. Scholia.⁸¹ As one might expect, the majority in this field derives from the scholia to the *Birds* of Aristophanes.⁸² Apart from his work *On Birds*, Callimachus dealt with fishes, too. In the article on *Kallimachos* the Suda-lexicon lists a work *On the Change of Name of Fishes* (*Peri metonomasias ichtyon*).⁸³ This text was probably part of a larger work entitled *Local Nomenclature* (*Ethnikai onomasiiai*).⁸⁴ We have just one fragment from Athenaeus that lists local names of several kinds of fish.⁸⁵ As far as we can see, the scope of this work was limited to onomatological questions.⁸⁶

Callimachus' successor in Alexandria, Aristophanes of Byzantium also dealt with onomatology in the animal kingdom.⁸⁷ A section of his great lexical work entitled *Lexeis* was dedicated to the study of names of different ages (*Peri onomasias helikion*). In this work, humans were dealt with at the beginning (fr. 37–90 Slater) followed by domestic animals (fr. 91–171) and wild animals (171–219).⁸⁸ To receive an impression of the work, we may take a look at the fragments on the names of young children. The first name is *brephos*, explained as “the child, right after birth”,⁸⁹ the next one *paidion*, defined as the “child, nursed by the nurse”⁹⁰ and so on. In the section on domestic animals, the material was organized according to the pattern: herdsmen, herd, old, middle-aged, and young animals.⁹¹ Further information was added at the end, as the first fragments on the goat (*aix*) demonstrates:

aipolos: The herdsman of the goats; *aipolion*: the mass (sc. of goats); and the full-grown (are called) *tragoi* and *ixaloi*. The next age *chimaroi*; the youngest (of the goats) *eriphoi*. The poet in the *Odyssey* calls the full-grown *progonoi*, those after them *metassai*, the (goats) even younger *ersai*.⁹²

81 fr. 424–428.

82 fr. 424–426.

83 *Suid.* 227 s.v. Καλλιμαχος, vol. 3, p. 19 Adler.

84 Cf. Pfeiffer [1968] 135.

85 fr. 406.

86 Animals were also treated in Callimachus' *Collection of Wonders*, cf. fr. 7, 8, 16, 25, 26, 27, 43 Giannini.

87 See Montana in this volume.

88 Cf. Nauck [1848b] 339 and the disposition of the fragments in Slater [1986] 28–71.

89 fr. 37 Slater: βρέφος· τὸ ἄρτι γεγονός.

90 fr. 38 Slater: παιδίον· τὸ τρεφόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς τήτθης (l. τίτθης).

91 Cf. Callanan [1987] 85 and Slater [1986] 39 on fr. 91–171, who gives a slightly different pattern excluding the middle-aged animals: “pastor, grex, seniores, iuniores, alia”.

92 fr. 91–99 Slater: αἰπόλος ὁ τῶν αἰγῶν νομεύς. (92) αἰπόλιον δὲ τὸ πλῆθος (sc. αἰγῶν). (93.94) καὶ οἱ μὲν τέλειοι, τράγοι καὶ ἴξαλοι. (95) ἢ δὲ ἐχομένη ἡλικία χίμαροι. (96) τὰ δὲ νεώτατα

Then follow further names for goats of different ages.⁹³ One can easily imagine that this treatise would have been of use chiefly for philological research. Accordingly, Eustatius used it frequently for his commentaries on the Homeric epics. In addition, the definitions were used in the lexicographical tradition.

Another work of Aristophanes was dedicated to zoology. The Alexandrian scholar worked out an *Epitome* of Aristotle's zoological writings in four books.⁹⁴ Parts of this work along with some zoological information from other authors have been preserved in a Byzantine collection put together under the patronage of the emperor Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos.⁹⁵ In this collection, excerpts from Aristophanes are combined with texts from Aelian, Timotheus and further authors. The first book, which, according to the editor Spyridon Lambros, is excerpted entirely from Aristophanes,⁹⁶ can be regarded as a general introduction. At the beginning, zoological names of animal groups are explained to the reader beginning with the cartilaginous fish (*selachia*) (§§ 1–27). After this, a section dealing with copulation, pregnancy and birth (§§ 28–97) is followed by a heterogeneous collection of singular properties of animals and man (§§ 98–155). Books 2–4 were dedicated to the treatment of separate animal species. The topic of book 2 is viviparous animals, books 3 and 4—know lost—dealt with oviparous animals, beginning with fish, followed by birds.⁹⁷ This macrostructure is explained in the important introductory section of book 2 (§ 2–3), which comes from Aristophanes. In this context, the reader is also informed that viviparous animals will be treated in separate groups according to the form of their feet. In the first section, animals that have toes (*polyschide*) are discussed, followed by cloven-hooved animals (*dichela*) and animals with a single hoof (*monycha*).⁹⁸ With this structure Aristophanes preserves Aristotle's 'scientific' zoological classification, as Wolfgang Kullmann has pointed out.⁹⁹

(sc. τῶν αἰγῶν) ἔριφοι. (97–99) ὁ δὲ ποιητὴς ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐα (ι 221) τὰ μὲν τέλεια προγόνους καλεῖ, τὰ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα μετάσσης, τὰ δὲ ἔτι νεώτερα ἔρσας.

93 Frr. 100–104 Slater.

94 Beside the zoological writings known to us, material from some of Aristotle's lost works, as for example the anatomical atlas *Anatomai* and probably other Peripatetic scripts were used by Aristophanes. It is likely, that this material was incorporated in a zoological collection *Zoica* that circulated under the name of Aristotle.

95 Edition: Lambros [1885]. For interpretation cf. the contributions in Rursus 7 [2012] that were published after completion of this article.

96 Cf. Lambros [1885] Praefatio xvi.

97 For the reconstruction of the content of books 3 and 4 cf. Lambros [1885] viii–ix; de Stefani [1904] 425–426 and 441; Kullmann [1999] 186.

98 Ar. Byz. *Epit.* 2.2, p. 36.8–9 Lambros.

99 Kullmann [1999] 191–192.

The microstructure in the treatment of each single species is explained right at the beginning of book 2:

In this composition, the second in number, after giving the name of the animal, I will try to place under this heading how many parts the proposed animal has, then I will [speak] about its mating and how many months it is able to be pregnant, and concerning its birth, what kind of young and how many [of them] it is able to bear. In all cases [I will explain] the life of the animal named in the heading, what its character is like, and how many years it is able to live.¹⁰⁰

This arrangement of topics: name, parts, reproduction, life, character, and duration of life, is still following Aristotle's paths. One may compare the overall structure of the *History of Animals*: Books 1–4: “parts”, *i.e.* anatomy, 5–7: reproduction, 8: life, 9: character. What is new in Aristophanes' *Epitome* is the arrangement by single species. Aristotle's biology was not focused on single species. He examined differences and attributes in animal groups. This may be seen in the differentiation of homogenous parts (*omoiomere*) and unhomogenous parts (*anomoiomere*) as the basic structure for research in the first books of the *History of Animals*. As the largest groups in the examination, blooded animals (*enaima*) and bloodless animals (*anaima*) are treated separately. Single species are marked out only as examples or if they possess singular characteristics. Aristophanes' rearrangement therefore is fundamental and has major consequences. This may become clear, if we take a closer look at an animal description by Aristophanes.¹⁰¹

The leopard has saw-like teeth and (feet with) toes. For it has five toes on the front paws and four on the hind paws. It moves its legs cross-cornerwise. It has two breasts. When dissected it has all other parts similar to the dog, but it has a rough tongue like a file, a lung with four lobes and a stomach like a pig's. Regarding conception and birth, everything is

100 Ar. Byz. *Epit.* 2.1, p. 35.18–36.3 Lambros: Ἐν τῆδε τῇ συντάξει, τὸν ἀριθμὸν οὐσῆ δευτέρᾳ, πειράσομαι, προγράφων περὶ οὗ ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος ζώου ὄνομα, προσυποτάσσειν τούτῳ ὅσα τὸ προταχθὲν ζῶον μόρια κέκτηται, εἶτα περὶ τῆς ὀχρείας αὐτοῦ καὶ πόσους κύειν δύναται μῆνας, περὶ τε τῆς ἐκτέξεως ποῖα καὶ πόσα ὑπομένει τίχτειν βρέφη· ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τίς ὁ βίος τοῦ προγραφέντος ζώου καὶ ποῖον τὸ ἦθος καὶ πόσα δύναται ζῆν ἔτη. Cf. Kullmann [1999] 187 and De Stefani [1904] 431–432.

101 I deal with the leopard in Aristophanes in a more detailed manner in Hellmann [2010] 566–570.

similar to the dog. The female is more courageous than the male. It is said that after eating along with other herbs by mistake the so-called leopard's bane (*pardaliagches*) it becomes healthy, when it eats man's excrements, whence its hunters put excrements in their traps. In Asia there are leopards, in Europe there are none at all. It is a characteristic property of the leopard to move the top of the tail while the tail itself does not move.¹⁰²

As one can immediately observe, the sequence of topics corresponds to the announcement made at the beginning of the second book. Yet both here and in other species, some points are missing. In the case of the leopard for example, we do not find information about the duration of its life. Presumably, the reason for this is not textual transmission or excerption, but simply the fact that Aristotle does not deliver such information.

If we take a look at the description as a whole, we instantly recognize that this is not a full description as may be found in a modern biological handbook.¹⁰³ We get no information, to mention just a few points, about the animal's size, its external appearance or its extraordinary physical abilities in hunting. On the contrary, the overall impression is that isolated details on a single species were collected and put together. And this is what seems to have happened. In the opening section of book two, Aristophanes declares that his goal is to collect the information of single speeches "so that you need not go through Aristotle's treatise on animals which is divided into many parts, but you can have the entire enquiry about each single animal brought together."¹⁰⁴ On the one hand, he achieved his goal, since the information we get does come from Aristotle¹⁰⁵ and it is assembled at one point. On the other hand, he missed the

102 Ar. Byz. *Epit.* 2.245–251, p. 90.12–91.6 Lambros: "Ἔστι μὲν ἡ πάρδαλις καρχαρόδους καὶ πολυσιδής· καὶ γὰρ πενταδάκτυλος ἐκ τῶν ἐμπροσθίων, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὀπισθίων τετραδάκτυλος. (246) πορεύεται δὲ κατὰ διάμετρον. (247) ἔχει δὲ μαστοὺς δύο. (248) ἀνατμηθεῖσα δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἔχει ὅμοια κυνί, γλῶσσαν δὲ ἔχει τραχείαν καὶ ρινώδη, πνεύμονα ἐπτάλοβον καὶ κοιλίαν ὑεῖαν, κύησιν καὶ ἔκτεξιν πάντα ὅμοια κυνί. (249) Ἔστι δὲ ἡ θήλεια ἀνδρειότερα τοῦ ἄρρενος. (250) λέγεται δὲ <ὅτι> ὅταν καταφάγη μὴ γνοῦσα σὺν ἄλλοις φυταρίοις τὸ παρδαλιαγχῆς λεγόμενον βοτάνιον, ἀνθρωπεῖαν κόπρον φαγοῦσα ὑγιάζεται· ὅθεν οἱ θηρευόντες αὐτὰς τὴν κόπρον κατὰ τῆς ἐνέδρας τίθεισιν. (250a) Γίνονται δ' ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ παρδάλει, ἐν δὲ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ οὐδ' ὄλωσ γίνονται. (251) Ἴδιον δ' ἔχει ἡ πάρδαλις τὸ κινεῖν τὸ ἄκρον τῆς οὐράς αὐτῆς ἀκίνητούσης.

103 I tried to show this point in detail in Hellmann [2006].

104 Ar. Byz. *Epit.* 2.1, p. 36.3–5 Lambros: "... , ἵνα μὴ διηρημένην ἐν πολλοῖς τὴν ὑπὸ Ἀριστοτέλους περὶ ζῴων πραγματεῖαν ἐπιπορεύῃ, συνηγμένην δὲ ὁμοῦ πάσαν τὴν ἐφ' ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ ζῴῳ ἱστορίαν ἔχῃς.

105 The Aristotelian parallels are noted in the edition of Lambros [1885] 90–91. According to Lambros § 251 may be taken from Timotheus.

target, since he failed to provide a brief account of Aristotle's biological works. And this can be regarded as the chief goal of an epitome. To make this point clearer, we take closer look at Aristotle. As I already mentioned,¹⁰⁶ Aristotle's biology is divided into a collection of facts and a subsequent search for causes. In Aristophanes' *Epitome* this research program is lost. We do get facts but no causes. Aristotle's goals are lost almost entirely from sight. Aristophanes does not tell us that according to Aristotle the cause for the saw-like teeth is the fact that the leopard is carnivorous¹⁰⁷ and that these teeth can be used for fighting.¹⁰⁸ We are not informed that Aristotle explained that the five toes of the front paws are used in a similar fashion to a human hand.¹⁰⁹ Aristotle's biological material is *decontextualized* by Aristophanes. The research program as the primary context carefully developed by Aristotle is not presented to the reader by Aristophanes. But he creates a new context, he *recontextualizes* the material. Yet this recontextualization centered on a disposition by species creates a new form of biological treatise that cannot be used as a substitute for Aristotle. So what could be the use of this new form of a biological text? With its clear structure, this kind of text could be used as a kind of reference book or lexicon in the *mouseion* and in many other contexts. One has to admit that it does provide quick information. The problem is that this information is not of great value for those who try to understand Aristotle's biology. A different kind of goal could be taken into consideration, too, to entertain an audience not so much interested in scientific biology, as one eager to hear or read interesting data that was at least in parts unknown and astonishing. But here we enter the realms of speculation. What we can say for sure is that Aristotle's *Epitome* did find a lot of readers in different fields. The *Epitome* seems to have been used, either directly or via intermediate sources, by Aelianus, Plutarch, Plinius, Oppian, Artemidorus as well as the authors of scholia and lexica, e.g. the *Suda*. Though, as we have seen, the *Epitome* is not able to replace Aristotle's biological texts functionally, it was nonetheless used as a substitute for Aristotle by many ancient readers.

And this fact may be seen as another sign of the demise of scientific biology as established by Aristotle, which began as early as in the later generations of the Peripatetic school.

106 See above § 1.

107 Cf. *Hist. an.* 8.5, 594 a 25–26. This point is mentioned in *Ar. Byz. Epit.* 1.6 p. 2.12–13, but not in the description of the leopard.

108 Cf. *Part. an.* 3.1,661a 34–b6.

109 Cf. *Part. an.* 4.10,687b29–688a8.

2.2 *Andronicus of Rhodes: A Decisive Edition of Aristotle?*

The “zoological” works of Callimachus and Aristophanes demonstrate very well that at least some of Aristotle’s biological writings were used in Ptolemaic Alexandria. Considering the aims of the Alexandrian library and its close relations to the Peripatetic school, this fact is definitely no surprise. It has to be stressed at this point, since it contradicts the famous story about the fate of Aristotle’s library in the Hellenistic era as related by Strabo and Plutarch.¹¹⁰ According to this story, shortly after the death of Theophrastus, Aristotle’s esoteric works were not available for research for a long period of time, which, according to Strabo, explains why the later Peripatetics could not pursue any serious philosophy. Of course, modern research has shown that this simple argument cannot by itself explain such a complex phenomenon as the decline of the Peripatetic school in the Hellenistic era. What makes the story interesting in our context is that in its conclusion, we learn about several efforts to edit Aristotle’s works. The main point of Strabo’s story can be recapitulated as follows: When Theophrastus died, Neleus of Scepsis came into possession of Aristotle’s and Theophrastus’ books; he took them to his hometown in the Troad; his successors hid them under ground in some kind of a tunnel,¹¹¹ where they were damaged; later, the books were sold to a man called Apellicon of Teos, who tried to repair the damage and published an edition that was full of errors. This edition does not seem to have been a great success, since Strabo is our only witness for it.¹¹² After Apellicon’s death, his library was brought to Rome by Sulla after his capture of Athens. Some time later, a certain Tyrannion worked on the material. As Barnes rightly remarks, “Plutarch does not say that Tyrannio published an edition, and neither does Strabo.”¹¹³ What Strabo says is that certain booksellers induced some scribes to make copies and that these were full of mistakes. Further information about these copies is missing. Nonetheless, they can be seen as an edition of sorts.¹¹⁴ Strabo’s report ends here, but Plutarch offers some further information. According to him, Andronicus of

110 Strab. 13.1.54; Plut. *Vit. Sull.* 26. There is a mass of literature on this story, see Düring [1957] esp. 412–425, Moraux [1973] 1–94, Barnes [1997], Wilker [2002]; see also Montana and Lapini in this volume.

111 Cf. Barnes [1997] 2 with n. 3. Others have spoken of a cave or cellar.

112 Cf. Barnes [1997] 12.

113 Barnes [1997] 19.

114 Cf. Barnes [1997] 19.

Rhodes obtained copies of Tyrannion's scripts, "published them, and drew up the lists now current."¹¹⁵

I do not want to enter into the ongoing debate about the credibility of Strabo's and Plutarch's account or any of its elements.¹¹⁶ The most interesting point for our purpose is the edition of Andronicus of Rhodes mentioned by Plutarch, since it is the only edition about which we can also learn from other sources.¹¹⁷ According to Plutarch the edition included "most of Aristotle's works" that were part of Sulla's library.¹¹⁸ Further information about Andronicus' editorial practice is found in Porphyry's *Life of Plotinus*, in a passage, where Porphyry talks about his own edition of the works of Plotinus:

Since Plotinus had entrusted to me the task of arranging and emending his books . . . I decided first of all not to allow them to remain in a random chronological order as they had been issued; but following the example of Apollodorus of Athens and Andronicus the Peripatetic, of whom the first collected (the works of) the comic writer Epicharmus into ten volumes and the other grouped the writings of Aristotle and Theophrastus into treatises, bringing together those on related subjects, in the same way I grouped the fifty-four books of Plotinus I had into six Enneads.¹¹⁹

Porphyry states clearly that Andronicus is responsible for some rearrangement of Aristotle's works. The question is: what kind of rearrangement? According to the traditional view, Andronicus created at least some of our modern

115 Plut. *Vit. Sull.* 26: λέγεται . . . τὸν Ῥόδιον Ἀνδρόνικον εὐπορήσαντα τῶν ἀντιγράφων εἰς μέσον θεῖναι καὶ ἀναγράψαι τοὺς νῦν φερομένους πίνακας. (Transl. Perrin).

116 A critical examination may be found in Gottschalk [1987] 1083–1088. Some of his results were criticized by Barnes [1997], 6 with n. 28, 8 with n. 38.

117 Scholars disagree about the place and date of Andronicus' work. While some believe that he prepared his edition in Rome in the second half of the first century BC (cf. e.g. Düring [1957], 421 followed by Flashar [2004] 181, Barnes [1997] 24), others believe that it was written in Athens in the first half of the first century BC, cf. e.g. Moraux [1973], 45–58 and Gottschalk [1987] 1093.

118 Plut. *Vit. Sull.* 26.

119 Porph. *Plot.* 24: Ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸς τὴν διάταξιν καὶ τὴν διόρθωσιν τῶν βιβλίων ποιῆσαι ἡμῖν ἐπέτρεψε, ἐγὼ δὲ κάκεινῳ ζῶντι ὑπεσχόμην καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐταίροις ἐπηγγειλάμην ποιῆσαι τοῦτο, πρῶτον μὲν τὰ βιβλία οὐ κατὰ χρόνους ἕασαι φύρδην ἐκδεδομένα ἐδικαίωσα, μιμησάμενος δ' Ἀπολλόδωρον τὸν Ἀθηναῖον καὶ Ἀνδρόνικον τὸν Περιπατητικόν, ὃν ὁ μὲν Ἐπίχαρμον τὸν κωμωδιογράφον εἰς δέκα τόμους φέρων συνήγαγεν, ὁ δὲ τὰ Ἀριστοτέλους καὶ Θεοφράστου εἰς πραγματείας διείλε τὰς οικείας ὑποθέσεις εἰς ταῦτ' ὅσα συναγαγῶν· οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἐγὼ νῦν ἔχων τὰ τοῦ Πλωτίνου βιβλία διεῖλον μὲν εἰς ἕξ ἐννεάδας. (Transl. Gottschalk [1987] 1089).

Aristotelian *pragmateiai* from shorter isolated texts and established a *corpus* of Aristotelian writings.¹²⁰

As we know, Andronicus' edition was accompanied by a monograph, the so-called *Pinakes*, in five books at least.¹²¹ This work contained biographical material,¹²² Aristotle's will and a catalogue of Aristotle's writings that included information on their length and cited their beginnings at least in some cases. It dealt with the arrangement of the *corpus* of Aristotle's works and discussed their authenticity, as in the case of the *De Interpretatione*, which, according to Ammonius, he believed to be spurious.¹²³ Besides, we know that Andronicus wrote a commentary on the *Categories*.¹²⁴

The catalogue of Aristotle's writings found in Diogenes Laertius¹²⁵ certainly antedates the edition of Andronicus and includes only a few works of Aristotle with the same title and in the form we know them today. Contrary to this, the catalogue of Ptolemy preserved in Arabic sources¹²⁶ presents in its middle section all the main Aristotelian works we know and is for that reason believed to be later than Andronicus. Based on a comparison of these catalogues scholars have put forward the idea that Ptolemy's list reflects Andronicus' work on Aristotle's text. So Ptolemy's list seems to give further evidence to support Porphyry's statement on Andronicus.¹²⁷

Due to this broad engagement in Aristotelian studies Andronicus has been given a position of first rank in the history of the Peripatetic school. Just two quotations may illustrate this:

Andronicus performed his task well. He not only established the form and canon of Aristotle's writings which, with comparatively slight modifications, we still use today, but initiated a way of doing philosophy which was to predominate among Aristotelians to the end of antiquity and to spread to the adherents of other schools. (Hans B. Gottschalk)¹²⁸

120 Cf. *e.g.* Gottschalk [1987] 1089–1091.

121 The material may now be found in Barnes [1997] 24–66 (with critical revision).

122 Some scholars have argued for a whole biography, see *e.g.* Barnes [1997] 26.

123 Cf. Ammon. *In Inter.* p. 5.24–6.4 Busse.

124 Cf. Moraux [1973] 97–113.

125 D.L. 5.22–27.

126 Cf. Moraux [1951] 289–309.

127 Cf. Gottschalk [1987] 1089–1091.

128 Gottschalk [1987] 1097.

Mit der Ausgabe des aristotelischen Corpus durch den Rhodier Andronikos beginnt zweifellos eine neue Epoche in der Geschichte des Aristotelismus. Ohne das Vorhandensein eines zuverlässigen und verhältnismäßig leicht zugänglichen Aristotelestextes wäre die Tätigkeit der Kommentatoren, die schlagartig kurz vor der Zeitwende einsetzt, beinahe undenkbar gewesen. Es ist eben das Verdienst des Andronikos, diese Wiederbelebung der aristotelischen Studien angeregt, ja überhaupt ermöglicht zu haben. (Paul Moraux)¹²⁹

This evaluation of Andronicus' work was called into question by Jonathan Barnes some years ago. In a detailed analysis he tried to show that Andronicus' role had been strongly exaggerated.¹³⁰ We cannot go through all of his arguments in detail, but a few points can be listed here. The large works of the ancient commentators on Aristotle do not refer to Andronicus in their textual discussions: the Aristotelian corpus evolved gradually, it was no invention by Andronicus; the renaissance of Aristotelian studies in the first century was not initiated by Andronicus, since the renaissance of Platonism shortly before did not depend on a new edition and a new arrangement of its works either.¹³¹

While one could surely agree that such a complex phenomenon as the renaissance of Aristotelian studies cannot be explained solely as a result of the emergence of a new textual edition and that the comparison of Andronicus' edition with the monumental work of Bekker in the 19th century, which some scholars have made, is certainly anachronistic, Andronicus' achievements as editor and commentator of Aristotle were probably downplayed a little bit too much by Barnes. Dealing with Barnes' thesis Hellmut Flashar rightly pointed out that Andronicus was a scholar of high renown from Rhodes, one of the centers of Peripatetic research. And it is well attested that he made an edition, in which he put together isolated texts to produce *pragmateiai*.¹³²

Be that as it may, regarding the scope of the present study, we should take a closer look at the edition of the great biological treatises. In Diogenes Laertius'

129 Moraux [1973] 45.

130 Barnes [1997].

131 Barnes [1997] 29, 64, 66.

132 Flashar [2004] 181: "Andronikos war ein anerkannter Gelehrter, der schon in seiner Heimat Rhodos, einem Zentrum peripatetischer Gelehrsamkeit, mit der Philosophie des Aristoteles vertraut wurde. Es ist gut bezeugt, dass Andronikos in Rom auf der Grundlage der vorbereitenden Tätigkeit des Grammatikers Tyrannion eine Ausgabe besorgt hat (Plutarch: *Vita Sullae* 26), in der er (erstmalig) Einzelschriften zu Pragmatien zusammengefasst hat (Porphyrios: *Vita Plotini* 24) ...".

list of Aristotle's works we find a work *On Animals* in 9 books (no. 102), which is commonly believed to be an edition of *History of Animals* 1–9, and a separate treatise *On Sterility* (no. 107), which has been regarded as identical with *History of Animals* 10.¹³³ Since in Ptolemy's list we find a zoological work in 10 books (no. 48),¹³⁴ most scholars have argued that Andronicus added the last book to the *History of Animals* and possibly gave it its title following Aristotle's own references.¹³⁵ According to Friederike Berger, who has recently analyzed the textual history of the *History of Animals*, Andronicus did even more. To the original edition in 7 books, she believes, he added 3 more (books 8–10¹³⁶).¹³⁷ If one accepts this, the question arises, what treatises might be hidden behind Diogenes Laertius' title *On Animals*. Berger assumes that this title subsumes the *Progression of animals* and some books of the *Parts of Animals* and the *Generation of Animals*.¹³⁸ But this assumption raises further problems. As Peter Beullens rightly remarked in his review: "It is difficult to understand how the nine books under the title Περὶ ζώων in Diogenes Laertius' list could refer to a jigsaw collection (*De Incessu Animalium* in three books [!], *De Partibus Animalium* 2–4, and *De Generatione Animalium* 1–3)."¹³⁹ So it seems more plausible that *On Animals* refers to *History of Animals* 1–9, as argued above, and that Andronicus worked on a *History* that already included nine books.¹⁴⁰ We know even less about the other biological treatises. It is obvious that *De Partibus Animalium* 1 had a special function in Aristotle's biology, as it served as an introduction to the zoological writings dealing mainly with questions of methodology.¹⁴¹ At the beginning, it might have been an independent work and was later added to our *Parts of Animals* by Andronicus, as Düring remarked: "We possess a treatise which probably received the title, the external form and the disposition which it now has by Andronicus."¹⁴² But we have no further evidence for this, and Aristotle could well have combined *Parts of Animals* 1 with

133 Cf. e.g. Moraux [1951] 107, Lennox [2001] 115. Balme [1991] 3–4. For a different view see Lord [1986] 155, who sees *On animals* as a combination of *Part. an.* and *Gen. an.*, and Berger [2005] 6–7, who votes for *IA, Part. an.* 2–4 and *Gen. an.* 1–3.

134 Its Greek title is restored by Düring [1951] 297 as περὶ ζώων ποιοτήτων (= ἱστοριῶν) ι'.

135 Cf. e.g. Balme [1991] 4, Flashar [2004] 253.

136 8–10 in the 'traditional' order of Theodore Gaza, 7, 8 and 10 according to the manuscripts.

137 Cf. Berger [2005] 5–7.

138 Cf. above n. 133.

139 Beullens [2006] 307.

140 Cf. Flashar [2004] 253.

141 Cf. Kullmann [1998] 101–115, who called it a "propädeutische Schrift".

142 Cf. Düring [1943] 5–37, citation: 8.

the other books of this treatise himself.¹⁴³ In the case of *Generation of Animals* the last book (5) is of a special character.¹⁴⁴ It deals with secondary characteristics such as hair-colour, whereas the first four books discuss the genesis of animals and their parts, as signified by the title. As in the case of *Parts of Animals* 1 this book may have been an independent treatise, as Hellmut Flashar has presumed.¹⁴⁵ But again, we do not know who added it to the remaining material and created our *Generation of Animals*. All in all as with Aristotle's works as a whole, we cannot definitely determine what contribution Andronicus made to the textual constitution of the three main biological works. There are signs that he edited at least the *History of Animals* as we know it today—but there is no definite proof.

2.3 *Commenting on Aristotle's Zoological Works*

The revival of Aristotelianism in the first century BC was the starting point of a long tradition of commentaries on Aristotle's treatises.¹⁴⁶ Andronicus' commentary on the *Categories* has already been mentioned, and he was followed by further Peripatetics and adherents of other schools, especially Neoplatonists, who filled thousands of pages with paraphrases, explanations and discussions of Aristotle's doctrines. But not all of Aristotle's writings attracted the interest of the commentators in the same measure. It is an astonishing fact that we have virtually no commentaries on the biological works from the time of Andronicus to the end of antiquity.¹⁴⁷ There are only two exceptions: (1) The philosophical compendium of Nicolaus (of Damascus?) and (2) a kind of Epitome of Aristotle's zoology by Themistius. Nicolaus' compendium dealt with Aristotle's natural philosophy including the biological writings at the end (Books 8–13). According to Paul Moraux Book 8 summarized the *History of Animals*, 9 *Parts of Animals*, 10 *On the Soul*, 11 *On Sense* and *On Dreams*, 12 *Generation of Animals* 1–4, 13 *Generation of Animals* 5, *On Longevity* and possibly *On Plants*.¹⁴⁸ Fragments of this book survived in a Syriac translation. Unfortunately, only the fragments of books 1–5 have been published so far,¹⁴⁹

143 Cf. Flashar [2004] 252.

144 Cf. Liatsi [2000] 13–25.

145 Cf. Flashar [2004] 256.

146 For a general overview see Sorabji [1990].

147 Cf. Gottschalk [1987] 1100. Of course, this statement does not hold for the *de Anima*, but this work is not a biological treatise in a strict sense.

148 See Moraux [1973] 466 and Drossaart Lulofs [1969] 11, for testimonies of the biological books: 12–13. *De Plantis* is now believed to be an independent work, cf. Drossaart Lulofs-Poortman [1989] 17–21 and Herzhoff [2006] 104.

149 Drossaart Lulofs [1969].

and therefore no description of his work on biology can be given here. A short quotation from Drossaart Lulofs can however provide an impression of its general character: "... it is certain that the aim of his *Compendium* was to give a brief survey of a large part of Aristotle's works which was generally left aside by others. . . . Its most conspicuous merit was its faithful adherence to Aristotle's own opinions: Nic.'s deviations were few, and they were certainly not dictated by conflicting views of other schools."¹⁵⁰ Since Nicolaus stands nearly alone with his biological interests, his historical and cultural context is of special interest. Traditionally, the author of the *De philosophia Aristotelis* has been identified as Nicolaus of Damascus, who lived from about 40 BC to 10 AD.¹⁵¹ Drossaart Lulofs supposed that the compendium "was written at Rome in the years around the beginning of our era".¹⁵² Recently, Silvia Fazzo has challenged this traditional setting and argued that the author of the compendium was not Nicolaus of Damascus, but a Peripatetic called Nicolaus, who lived probably in the fourth century AD.¹⁵³ If she is right—and her thesis surely deserves consideration—Nicolaus' engagement in biology would have to be placed in the context of the 4th century, and we would have no work on the biological treatises until that date. In this case, Nicolaus would not be alone in the 4th century in his interests. Themistius dealt with zoological matters, too. An abridged version of Aristotle's zoological writings made by Themistius was being handed down in an Arabic translation by Iṣḥāq ibn Ḥunain. Its Arabic title *Ġawāmi' kitāb Aristātālīs fī ma'rifat ṭabā'i' al-ḥayawān* could be translated as *Collection of Aristotle On the Knowledge of the Natures of Animals*.¹⁵⁴

At the beginning of the 6th century, we hear that Boethius intended to deal with Aristotle's biological material. In his commentary on Aristotle's *De Interpretatione* he declares that he intends to translate into Latin and commentate on all of Aristotle's works available to him.¹⁵⁵ But, unfortunately, he was not able to fulfil this plan, since he was murdered in 525 or 526, and therefore we have no zoological works from his hand.¹⁵⁶

So, as far as I can see, Nicolaus and Themistius were the only authors who actually worked as commentators or epitomizers on Aristotle's biological

150 Drossaart Lulofs [1969] 21.

151 Cf. Zucker [2008], Drossaart Lulofs [1969], esp. 42–44.

152 Drossaart Lulofs [1969] 5.

153 Fazzo [2008].

154 Cf. Ullmann [1972] 9, who gives the translation "Kurzkommentar" for the Arabic *Ġawāmi'*.

155 Cf. Boethius *In Inter.* p. 79.9–80.1 Meiser.

156 Cf. Sorabji [1990] 19 with n. 88.

writings from the first century BC to the end of antiquity.¹⁵⁷ Not one of the large group of Neoplatonists dealt with the *History of Animals* or *Parts of Animals*. Why? The answer lies hidden in the Neoplatonic classification of Aristotle's writings and the corpus of Aristotle's works read by these Neoplatonists. We can see this, if we take a look at the introductions in Aristotle's philosophy found in a number of commentaries on Aristotle's *Categories*. These introductions are structured by means of ten questions about how to study Aristotle. In our context, the second and third questions are of primary concern: 2. How can Aristotle's works be classified? 3. Where should one start to study Aristotle's works? With regard to classification, three groups of works were differentiated by the commentators: the *particular writings* (*merika*), the *general* (*katholou*) and the *intermediate* (*metaxy*). If we take Simplicius as an example, the *particular* writings are defined as those that are addressed to one person and written about particular things.¹⁵⁸ The *general* writings are subdivided into *hypomnematic* writings, which the author put together for personal reminding, and *systematic writings*, i.e. dialogues and *autoprosopa*, in which the author speaks in his own person. The *autoprosopa* include theoretical writings, such as the *Metaphysics* and *Physics*, practical writings, such as the *Grand Ethics* and the *Politics*, and instrumental writings (*organika*), such as the *First Analytics*, *Categories* and the *Rhetoric*.¹⁵⁹ There is no general definition for the *intermediate* writings (*metaxy*), instead the *History of Animals* and *Plants* are presented as examples "that do not deal with particular things altogether, since they deal with animal species."¹⁶⁰ As Ilsetraut Hadot has shown in her commentary, it is not only the *History of Animals* that was thought to belong to this group, but all the other biological treatises, too.¹⁶¹ In accordance with this classification, Philoponus gives the *Generation of Animals* as an example for this group instead of the *History of Animals*.¹⁶² This classification has important

157 For the *De anima* the situation is different, of course, due to its philosophical impact. Cf. the useful synopsis on the ancient commentaries in D'Ancona Costa [2002], 250–251, especially for mentions in Arabic sources. The *Commentary on Generation of Animals* that was attributed to Ioannes Philoponus (ed. Hayduck, CAG 14.3) in reality is a work of Michael of Ephesus.

158 Simpl. *in Cat.* p. 4.10–12 Kalbfleisch. See Hadot [1990] 64–66 and 63–64 on the ten questions.

159 Simpl. *in Cat.* p. 4.14–5.2 Kalbfleisch.

160 Simpl. *in Cat.* p. 4.12–13 Kalbfleisch: τὰ δὲ καὶ μεταξύ, ὡς αἱ Περὶ ζώων καὶ φυτῶν ἱστορίαι, οὐ περὶ μερικῶν οὐσαί πάντη τινῶν· περὶ γὰρ εἰδῶν εἰσι ζώων.

161 Cf. Hadot [1990] 69–70 and 85–86.

162 Io. Philop. *in Cat.* p. 3.26–28 Busse. But cf. Moraux [1973], 74 n. 45 who thinks that this may be a confusion of facts.

consequences, since the Neoplatonist commentators were not interested in these *intermediate* writings.

Leur caractère « particulier » est encore trop prononcé et leurs sujets sont trop enracinés dans la matière et ce qui est sensible et périssable pour qu' ils puissent avoir une portée philosophique au sens platonicien. Ce n'est donc probablement pas un hasard, si nous ne possédons aucun commentaire d'un auteur néoplatonicien qui porte sur ce genre d'écrits.¹⁶³

If we now move on to the third question about how to study Aristotle, the Neoplatonists prefer to begin with logic.¹⁶⁴ After this one may advance to ethics, followed by physics in the third position.¹⁶⁵ The commentators Ammonius, Philoponus, Simplicius and Olympiodorus give five titles of physical works: *Physics*, *On the Heavens*, *On Generation and Corruption*, *Meteorology* and *On the Soul*. As Ilsetraut Hadot has rightly pointed out, these five works seem to be the only five in the field of physics that were incorporated in the Neoplatonist educational program. The biological works were not part of this program, since they belonged—in contrast to the physical works just mentioned—to the *intermediate writings*.¹⁶⁶

For these works outside the educational canon, one can easily imagine, there was no great demand for commentaries to aid the readers.

As far as we know, readers of Aristotle had to wait until the Byzantine era for commentaries on his biological works. It was Michael of Ephesus,¹⁶⁷ who undertook the task of commenting on Aristotle's biology. His undertaking was part of a larger project in the philosophical circle of the Byzantine princess Anna Comnena (1083–after 1148). As R. Browning has shown in his analysis of

163 Hadot [1990] 70, cf. 89.

164 Cf. Simpl. *in Cat.* p. 5.3–6.5 Kalbfleisch.

165 Cf. Hadot [1990] 85 with n. 101, who refers to Ammon. *in Cat.*, p. 6.4–8; Olymp., *Proll.* p. 9.9–13, Simpl. *in Ph.* I, p. 5.29–31.

166 Cf. Hadot [1990], 85, who notes that David in contradiction to the division of works enumerates all physical treatises including biology. "Si David (Élias) s'efforce, pour sa part, d'énumérer la presque totalité des traités physiques d'Aristote, c'est parce que, à partir de maintenant, il suit une division péripatéticienne de ces écrits, sans s'apercevoir qu'il range ainsi sous la rubrique des écrits physiques deux traités qu'il a auparavant classés, à titre d'exemples, dans les écrits intermédiaires: l' *Histoire des animaux* et le traité *Des plantes*. Cf. David (Elias), *in Cat.* p. 115.21–116.14 Busse.

167 See Pontani in this volume.

her funeral oration by George Tornikes, it was Anna Comnena, who encouraged Michael's work on Aristotle, as Tornikes states himself:¹⁶⁸

I myself have heard the philosopher from Ephesus blame her as the cause of his blindness, because he had worked night after night, without sleep, commanded by her to write commentaries on the works of Aristotle; the use of candles had caused drying of the eyes.¹⁶⁹

The philosopher of Ephesus is, with all probability, Michael. Accordingly, his work has to be dated to the middle of the 12th century AD.¹⁷⁰

Michael of Ephesus commented on a wide range of Aristotelian works. I limit myself to name those of biological content with their number in the series of the *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca: Parts of Animals* (CAG 22,2 ed. Hayduck), *Generation of Animals* (CAG 14,3 ed. Hayduck),¹⁷¹ *Parva Naturalia* (CAG 22,1 ed. Wendland), *Movement of Animals* (CAG 22,2 ed. Hayduck) and *Progression of Animals* (CAG 22,2 ed. Hayduck). The last two treatises are available in an excellent English translation with introduction and notes by Anthony Preus, who points out that Michael's commentaries are "the only surviving Greek commentaries on these treatises".¹⁷² Apart from the works just mentioned, Praechter has called attention to an ancient list of exegetes of Aristotle, according to which Michael commented on the *History of Animals* too.¹⁷³ This work has not come down to us, and it has to be noted at this point that it is not listed in Michael's own overview of his work.¹⁷⁴ All we can say is that Michael seems to have had a *History of Animals* at hand that included nine books.¹⁷⁵ If we can trust his words at the end of his commentary on the *Parva Naturalia*, he was eager to obtain as many of Aristotle's works as he could. If Aristotle was not available, he consulted the works of Theophrastus.¹⁷⁶

168 Browning [1962].

169 Georgius Tornikes *Or.* 14, p. 283 Darrouzès: Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἐξ Ἐφεσίων ἡκηκόειν σοφοῦ ταύτη τῆς τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἀβλεψίας τὴν αἰτίαν προσπεριρίπτοντος, ὅτι παννύχους σχολάσειεν ἀϋπνίαις ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν Ἀριστοτελείων, κελευούσης αὐτῆς, ἐξηγήσειν. ὅθεν τὰ ἐλλύχνια τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς διὰ ξηρασίαν παθήματα. (Transl. cited from Preus [1981] 10).

170 See Preus [1981] 10–11 against Praechter, who argued, that the commentaries were written before 1040.

171 The commentary was wrongly attributed to Ioannes Philoponus, cf. above n. 157.

172 Preus [1981], citation: 1.

173 Cf. Praechter in Sorabji [1990] 52 with n. 71.

174 Cf. Mich. Eph. in *Parv. nat.* p. 149.8–16 Wendland and Praechter [1906] 864 with n. 3.

175 Cf. Mich. Eph. in *Part. an.* 2, p. 25.10–11 Hayduck.

176 Mich. Eph. in *Parv. nat.* p. 149.7–8 Wendland.

As Browning rightly emphasized, “Michael of Ephesus was breaking entirely new ground in his commentaries on the zoological and anthropological works and on the *Rhetoric* and the *Politics*.”¹⁷⁷ While there are signs that he was interested in natural science and biological matters from his youth,¹⁷⁸ with his selection of works for commentary he surely attempted to fill the gaps left by his predecessors.¹⁷⁹

In his work, Michael seems to have cooperated with Eustratius, who commented on the *Organon* and the *Nicomachean Ethics*. Since Eustratius wrote commentaries on the *Nicomachean Ethics* 1 and 6, and Michael dealt with the other books of this work, it seems plausible that they coordinated their efforts.¹⁸⁰

In his commentaries Michael's perspective was not limited to a single work, but he was trying to demonstrate interconnections within Aristotle's writings. An impressive example is the beginning of his commentary on *Parts of Animals*, where he points to parallels with the *Nicomachean Ethics*.¹⁸¹ Before starting his line-by-line commentaries, he tends to inform his readers about the overall structure of the work and the main topics of the following section. A good example is the beginning of his commentary on the second book of the *Parts of Animals*:

in the first (book) he spoke on how the student has to be. That he has to be educated and that one has to speak first about the common properties of all animals and then about the individual properties of each kind, in order that one may not be forced to talk many times about them. (He said) that one had to observe the phenomena about animals first and then search for their causes, and (he spoke on the question) in how many ways necessity (was used). After reprehending the divisions of Plato, he now is about to talk about causes. (For the information) of which and of how many parts (each of the animals) consists, he says, one has to search the work *On the History of Animals*, where he determines in nine books the things concerning all animals, but the causes of these parts and how each of these is positioned according to nature, must be looked at (now).¹⁸²

177 Browning [1962] 7.

178 Cf. Praechter [1906] 863–864.

179 Gottschalk in Sorabji [1990] 68 n. 67.

180 Browning [1962] 6–7.

181 Mich. Eph. in *Part. an.* 1, p. 1.3–13 Hayduck. Cf. also *In IA.* p. 170.28–34 Hayduck.

182 Mich. Eph. in *Part. an.* 2, p. 25.3–13 Hayduck: «Εἰπὼν» ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ, ποταπὸν δεῖ εἶναι τὸν ἀκροατὴν, ὅτι πεπαιδευμένον καὶ ὅτι δεῖ πρώτα περὶ τῶν κοινῆ πάσι τοῖς ζῴοις ὑπαρχόντων

In addition to this, there are cross-references that demonstrate thematic connections with other Aristotelian works and Michael's commentaries on them.¹⁸³ On several occasions supplementary examples are used to illustrate Aristotle's line of argument. In the commentaries on the *Progression of Animals* he even uses a diagram to illustrate Aristotle's difficult description of the different ways of flexing the joints. Since we have a direct reference to the diagram within the text, we may confidently believe that this diagram is not a later addition.¹⁸⁴ But in general Michael tries to explain Aristotle by extensive paraphrases and line by line commentary.

There are signs that Michael's commentaries originated from oral lectures. Praechter has called attention especially to a phrase in his *Commentary on Parts of Animals*, where Michael comments on Aristotle's discussion of the function of fins in swimming. To illustrate his comment Michael starts here with a comparison "As if this door was the fish...". Obviously, he must have been pointing at the door of the lecture-room in the original context and left this deictic remark in his text.¹⁸⁵

By Michael's times, commentaries on Aristotle had a long tradition, and it was especially the great Peripatetic commentator Alexander of Aphrodisias who was widely read and used by him. As Antony Preus pointed out: "The work done by Michael of Ephesus is continuous with work done by Alexander of Aphrodisias in the years 190–210 (approximately), so much so that when Michael quotes verbatim from Alexander (as he often does) one cannot easily distinguish what is Michael and what is Alexander."¹⁸⁶ Now, as far as we know, Alexander did not comment on the biological works of Aristotle,¹⁸⁷ but nonetheless, Michael refers to him on several occasions¹⁸⁸ and even copies a long

εἰπεῖν, εἴθ' ὕστερον περὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἐκάστω, ἵνα μὴ πολλάκις περὶ αὐτῶν ἀναγκάζοιτο λέγειν, καὶ ὅτι δεῖ τὰ φαινόμενα περὶ τὰ ζῷα θεωρῆσαι πρῶτον, ἔπειτα καὶ τὰς αἰτίας τούτων ζητεῖν, καὶ ποσαχῶς τὸ ἀναγκαῖον, ἔτι τε καὶ τὰς τοῦ Πλάτωνος διαιρέσεις μεμψάμενος, νῦν περὶ τῶν αἰτιῶν μέλλει ἐρεῖν. ἐκ τίνων οὖν, φησί, μορίων συνέστηκε καὶ πόσων ἕκαστον τῶν ζῴων, ζητητέον ἐν τῇ πραγματείᾳ τῇ Περί ζῴων ἱστορίας, ὅπου ἐν ἐννέα βιβλίοις τὰ περὶ πάντων τῶν ζῴων διαλαμβάνει, τὰς δὲ αἰτίας τούτων καὶ καθ' ὃν τρόπον ἐτάχθη ἕκαστον παρὰ τῆς φύσεως ἐπισκεπτέον.

183 Examples in Praechter [1906] 880.

184 Mich. Eph. in *IA* p. 164 Hayduck. The reference to the diagram is p. 164.13–14: θεωρεῖσθω δὲ ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς ὑπογραφῆς. Cf. Preus [1981], 141 and 178–179, Stückelberger [1993] 138.

185 Mich. Eph. in *Part. an.* 4, p. 96.5 Hayduck: ὥσπερ γὰρ εἰ ἦν ἡδε ἡ θύρα ἰχθύς... Cf. Praechter [1906] 903–904.

186 Preus [1981] 2–3.

187 Cf. the useful overview of his work by Sharples [1987].

188 See the indices in the CAG editions of Wendland and Hayduck.

passage from Alexander's introduction to *De Sensu* in his introduction to the *Commentary on the Parva Naturalia*.¹⁸⁹

With Michael's set of commentaries, readers of Aristotle's biology finally had an aid at hand. William of Moerbeke probably used them for his Latin translation and Albert the Great seems to have known them too.¹⁹⁰

Although Michael's commentaries are the most complete in Greek that have come down to us, he was not the only one who was engaged with Aristotle's biological work. Georgios Pachymeres (1242–ca. 1310), the Byzantine historian, who held several important public and ecclesiastical offices,¹⁹¹ wrote an exegetical compendium of Aristotle's philosophy in 12 books.¹⁹² In this *Philosophia* he dealt with the *Parts of Animals* (book 6), *On the Soul* (7), *Parva Naturalia* (8) and *Generation of Animals* (9).¹⁹³ One may note again that *History of Animals* is not included in the commentary-canon. In his comments on Aristotle's texts Pachymeres is following the method of Sophonias. Citing long passages of the original texts he limits himself to putting these quotations together and paraphrasing the passages left out. Only occasionally he adds explanatory notes.¹⁹⁴ On the whole, his texts are often identical or similar to Aristotle's originals, and probably for this reason his text of *Περὶ ἀτόμων γραμμῶν* is found in some early editions instead of the pseudo-Aristotelian original.¹⁹⁵

Another paraphrase of Aristotle's work was written at about the same time by Theodorus Metochites. Herbert Hunger called him "die politisch und geistig führende Persönlichkeit im ersten Viertel des 14. Jh. in Byzanz."¹⁹⁶ In addition to his work on Aristotle, he wrote essays on natural science, a work on astronomy, speeches and even poems. His paraphrase of Aristotle includes the *Parva Naturalia*, *Motion of Animals*, *Progression of Animals*, *Parts of Animals* and *Generation of Animals*.¹⁹⁷ It is currently available only in a Latin translation by Genantius Hervetus from the end of the 16th century,¹⁹⁸ but in this edition the great aitiological works *Parts of Animals*, *Generations of Animals* as well as *Progression of Animals* are unfortunately missing. But the Greek original

189 Starting p. 1.5 as noted in the apparatus by Wendland.

190 Cf. Preus [1981] 14–21.

191 Cf. Hunger [1978] vol. 1, 447–453.

192 Cf. Harlfinger [1971] 345–360 and Hunger [1978] vol. 1, 37.

193 According to Harlfinger [1971] 345 only the first part on logic has been published in Greek, the other parts are available in a Latin translation by D. Ph. Becchius (Basel 1560).

194 Cf. Harlfinger [1971] 347–348.

195 Cf. Harlfinger [1971] 345–347 and Hunger [1978] vol. 1, 37.

196 Hunger [1978] vol. 2, 248 and Lohr [1992] v–xii.

197 Cf. Lohr [1992] ix and Hunger [1978] vol. 1, 38, who does not list *De Generatione Animalium*.

198 Edition: Lohr [1992].

of the *Commentary on De Somno et Vigilia* and the introduction were edited along with the Aristotelian text by Hendrik Drossaart Lulofs.¹⁹⁹ As Theodorus Metochites states in the introduction, his work on Aristotle is intended to be an act of *philanthropia*, an aid for his readers, but valuable for his personal work as well.²⁰⁰ To achieve this goal, he extensively used the commentaries of Michael of Ephesus.²⁰¹ Several sumptuous codices as well as the translation of Gentianus Hervetus are clear signs that Metochites' work was highly esteemed until the 17th century.²⁰²

Due to the scope of the present volume, the focus of this paper was laid on the Greek tradition of Aristotle. It is a matter of common knowledge, of course, that Aristotle was broadly received in the Arabic tradition. I cannot enter into this interesting field here and limit myself to pointing to the fact that there are quite a number of Arabic compendia of Aristotle's zoology by Abū al-Faraj ibn al-Ṭayyib, Ibn Rushd and Moses Maimonides to name just a few.²⁰³

3 Epilogue

The interrelations between philology and biology are manifold, and the number of characteristic examples presented in this paper must therefore be in some way arbitrary. One goal of the selection presented above has been to demonstrate the key-role of Aristotle in the tradition of ancient biology and biological writing. By analyzing language from a biological perspective Aristotle developed a detailed concept of language in humans and animals, which may be seen as much more than a major contribution to ancient linguistics, since it played an important role in the philosophical debate about language as a specific difference of humans.

Aristotle's great biological texts stimulated philologists to enter the field of biology. The mass of material he analysed had to be organised, physiological concepts and aetiological argumentations had to be explained to the readers, all the more so as Aristotle's style does not always make reading his biological

199 Drossaart Lulofs [1943].

200 Cf. Drossaart Lulofs [1943] 11.16 (φιλανθρωπία) and 22–25: ἔδοξα γοῦν βοήθειάν τινα καὶ ῥαστώνην ἐν τούτοις ἀμεργέπη πορίσασθαι, καθόσον οἶός τ' ἂν εἶην, καὶ ὡς ἄρα βέλτιστον ᾤήθη, δι' ὑπομνηματισμῶν ὀριστικῶς εὖ μάλ' ἐπιτέμνων παντὶ τρόπῳ καὶ γυμνῶν τάπόρρητα τοῖς τῶν καλλίστων καὶ μεγίστων ἑρασταῖς, καὶ οὐχ ἥττον γ' ἑμαυτῷ πρὸς τὸ τῆς χρήσεως ἔτοιμον.

201 Cf. Drossaart Lulofs [1943] XXIV and Drossaart Lulofs [1947] LXXVII.

202 Cf. Drossaart Lulofs [1943] XXIII.

203 Cf. Peters [1968] 48, Mattock [1966], Ullmann [1972] 8–10 and Eisenstein [1990] 117–156.

treatises an easy task. There were commentaries that provided assistance to the readers, and it is amazing that not all of Aristotle's zoological works attracted the same interest. We have no commentaries to the voluminous *History of Animals*. The reason for this may lie in its function as 'data-base' for further research. How should one comment on these masses of facts, if almost no research is undertaken to gain additional material or verify the facts? The situation is different for the great aetiological treatises *Parts of Animals* and *Generation of Animals*. There is much to do for commentators, here, but only a few actually engaged in this project. Why? Presumably the sophisticated arguments of Aristotle's aetiology were a challenge not everyone was willing to take. But, more important, potential readers were certainly few, even if the material commented on was by Aristotle. At first glance, it may seem surprising that more commentaries on the *Parva Naturalia* have come down to us.²⁰⁴ A reason for this fact may be detected in their subject-matter. In many cases, they dealt with psychic phenomena, and the *psyche* was always of major concern in philosophical debate.²⁰⁵ *Mutatis mutandis* the same holds true for the *De Anima*, which was conceived as a philosophical treatise and therefore was always part of the commentary-tradition.

204 For reception of the *Parva Naturalia* see now Grellard-Morel [2010].

205 I owe this point to Georg Wöhrle (Trier).

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