

TWO NEW LEXICA ON ACCENTUATION AND VOWEL QUANTITIES (WITH NEW FRAGMENTS OF EUPOLIS, ARISTOPHANES OF BYZANTIUM (?), ARISTARCHUS OF SAMOTHRACE AND SELEUCUS OF ALEXANDRIA (?))

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This paper provides the first critical edition of two Greek lexica on accentuation and vowel quantity, recently discovered in a fourteenth-century manuscript now held in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris. I shall argue that one of the main sources for the first lexicon (on accentuation) was the *περὶ Ἀττικῆς προσφῶδιᾶς* of the first-century BCE grammarian Trypho. As Trypho's work now survives only in fragments, this lexicon allows us to deepen our understanding and knowledge of his handbook. Additionally, some ancient fragments transmitted by these lexica are published here for the first time: one is attributed to the fifth-century BCE poet Eupolis, one to the famous Alexandrian grammarian Aristophanes of Byzantium (but it perhaps belongs to Demetrius Ixion (second century BCE) instead), four to Aristarchus of Samothrace (216–144 BCE) and one to the first-century BCE grammarian Seleucus (although this attribution is debatable: it overlaps with an already-known fragment attributed to Aristocles of Rhodes).

Ms. Par. gr. 2646 is a paper codex dated to the second half of the fourteenth century and written by a priest named Georgios (id. D. Harlfinger; RGK II 103 = III 137).¹ Although almost totally ignored until recently, this codex is particularly interesting for the grammatical texts it preserves; for some of them, it is the *codex unicus*. Apart from Pollux's *Onomasticon* (from f. 22^v to the end of the codex), which was already recorded in H. Omont's catalogue and thoroughly investigated by E. Bethe, other treatises preserved in this manuscript have recently been published as critical editions. These are: *περὶ διχρόνων* (at ff. 6^v–16^r), possibly by Herodian and edited by F. Pontani, and *περὶ πνευμάτων* (at ff. 19^v–22^v), possibly an epitome of the homonymous treatise by Trypho

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1 On this codex, see Omont (1888) 18; Bethe (1900) viii; Pontani (2022); Sandri (2022).

and edited by myself.² These texts transmit, not only ancient grammatical doctrine that was previously almost totally unknown, but also some new ancient fragments, both poetic and grammatical.³ In this paper I shall provide a critical edition of the last two grammatical texts of this codex, entitled *περὶ προσωδίας* and *περὶ χρόνων*.

As is well-known, the most comprehensive and influential handbook on Greek prosody, the *περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* (*On general prosody*) of the famous second-century CE grammarian Herodian, is almost entirely lost, apart from two epitomes – one by John Philoponus, the other one by the so-called Ps.-Arcadius,⁴ together with some fragments of direct and indirect tradition.⁵

The *περὶ προσωδίας* and the *περὶ χρόνων* in ms. Par. gr. 2646 are better described as lexica, rather than treatises. They normally list words in alphabetical order (but taking into account only the first letter of the words).⁶ The *περὶ προσωδίας* records the position of the accent, while the *περὶ χρόνων* gives word-internal vowel quantities. In some cases, different options are presented, and in two cases a poetic quotation is given, by way of example. In most cases, however, these lexica simply record linguistic facts, attaching to the lemma verbal forms such as ὀξύνουσι ('they pronounce/write the word as oxytone') or περισπῶσι ('they pronounce/write the word with a circumflex on the last syllable') in the *περὶ προσωδίας*, and συστελέεται ('it is short') or ἐκτείνεται ('it is long') in the *περὶ χρόνων*.

1. The *περὶ προσωδίας*

1.1 A lexicon on Attic prosody

The main feature of the lexicon on prosody (ff. 16^r–19^r) is to record one particular type of Greek prosody, that is, Attic. Its purpose is descriptive, not prescriptive, since it aims at

2 See, respectively, Pontani (2020) and Sandri (2022).

3 One of the two *περὶ διχρόνων* transmits two new metrical *iuncturae*, one new fragment of Hipponax and one new fragment of Aristarchus of Samothrace. The *περὶ πνευμάτων* carries one new fragment of Alexander Aetolus and one new fragment of Tyrannion. On these fragments see, respectively, Pontani (2020) and Sandri (2022).

4 The epitomes by John Philoponus and Ps.-Arcadius have been recently edited by, respectively, Xenis (2015) and Roussou (2018).

5 As for the direct tradition, a tenth-century palimpsest held in Vienna, ms. Vindob. hist. gr. 10, preserves some fragments from books 5–7 (an edition of the entire palimpsest is being prepared by K. Alpers, J. Grusková, O. Primavesi and N. Wilson, while some *excerpta* from it have already been edited by Hunger (1967)), while a fourth-century parchment fragment, PAnt 2.67, preserves a small portion of an abridged version of book 5 (see Wouters (1975–76) and (1979) 220–1, 223). On the possibility that PAnt 2.60 (fifth/sixth century CE) and PL III/1027 also transmit two fragments of the *περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* see, respectively, Meliadd (2006) and Minutoli (2021). As for the fragments of indirect tradition, they were edited by Lentz (1867) 3–547, but his edition must be handled carefully: see Dyck (1993).

6 The same pattern can be found e.g. in Moeris' *Lexicon*. There are some exceptions, where words are put among those that begin with a different letter (see e.g. ll. 22, 49, 64, 114). It is not clear whether these lemmata were originally in this position or whether they have been somehow moved or interpolated.

describing – not prescribing – how prosody works in Attic.⁷ The third-person plural subject of recurring verbal forms such as *περισπῶσι*, *παροξύνουσι*, *βαρύνουσι* and the like is always the Athenians (οἱ Ἀττικοί). In some cases, this subject is made explicit (lemmata nos. 7, 9, 18, 80, 96, 145, 148, 178, 185), but in most cases it is implicit. It is unclear whether the subject has been lost during textual transmission or not:⁸ the hanging *παρ’ αὐτοῖς* at lemma 2 could be a clue that the subject was explicit in the original version of the work, but there is no certainty about this. The anonymous author of this lexicon surely speaks koine, rather than Attic, as the pronoun *ἡμεῖς* – in contrast with the previous Ἀττικοί – reveals at l. 148 (*πτεόν· ὀξύνουσιν Ἀττικοί, ὅπερ λέγομεν ἡμεῖς πτύον διὰ τοῦ Υ βαρυτόνως*).⁹

To confirm the Attic nature of this lexicon, if we have a look at the lemmata it is clear that most of them pertain to the Attic dialect. Just to give some examples:

- The ‘span’ is named *δόχημη*¹⁰ in Attic according to Moeris, in contrast to its koine counterpart *σπιθαμή*:

περὶ προσφθιάς, l. 46

δοχημή· ὀξύνουσι.

‘*dochmē*: they pronounce/write it as oxytone’.

Moer. δ 41

δόχημη Ἀττικοί· σπιθαμή Ἑλληνες.

‘Athenians say *dochmē*, those who speak koine say *spithamē*’.

- The adverb *ἐπὶ κλην* (‘by name’) is labelled as Attic at least by Hesychius:

περὶ προσφθιάς, l. 61

ἐπὶ κλην· παροξύνεται.

‘*epiklēn* is paroxytone’.

Hsch. ε 4862

ἐπὶ κλην· ἢ ἐπὶ κλησις παρὰ Ἀττικοῖς.

‘*epiklēn* is the word for an additional name among the Athenians’.

- The proparoxytone form of the adjective *ἔρημον* (‘solitary’) is Attic in many sources, starting with Herodian:¹¹

7 On Atticising prosody, see especially Vessella (2018).

8 A similar situation is observed in Moeris’ *Lexicon*, where the subject Ἀττικοί is occasionally restored by Hansen (1998).

9 That this verbal form with -ε- is Attic is a well-known fact within the grammatical tradition: see e.g. Poll. 10.128.2; Ael. Dion. π 37 and 73; Phot. π 1464.

10 The *περὶ προσφθιάς* states that *δοχημή* is oxytone. However, Hansen (1998) prints the lemma as paroxytone (*δόχημη*). The *apparatus criticus* does not say anything about the accent, implying that the form is transmitted by all three manuscript witnesses (CVF), but I have checked the digital reproductions of the manuscripts, and only C and V transmit *δόχημη*, while F has *δοχημή*.

11 See also Eust. in Il. 2.42.1–2.

περὶ προσφθίας, l. 63 Hrd. μον. 938.20–24
 ἔρημον· προπαροξύνεται. Ἐρήμος. οὐδὲν εἰς μος λήγον ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβάς
 ‘*éremion* is *proparoxytone*’. προπερισπόμενον τῷ η παραλήγεται, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἐρήμος
 [...] Ἀττικοὶ μέντοι προπαροξύνουσι τὴν λέξιν’.
 ‘*Érēmos*: no word ending in *-mos* that is longer than disyllabic
 and is *properispomenon* has *eta* in its penultimate syllable,
 except for *erēmos* [...]. Athenians pronounce/write this word as
proparoxytone’.

- The same is true for the *properispomenon* form of the adjective μῶρος (‘dull’), labelled as Attic by Photius and the Suda:

περὶ προσφθίας, l. 114	Phot. μ 612	Suid. μ 1342
μῶρος· προπερισπῶσιν.	Ἰμυρών†· οἱ Ἀττικοὶ	Μῶρος· παρὰ Ἀττικοῖς
‘ <i>mōros</i> : they pronounce/ write it as	<προ>περισπῶσι. [...]	προπερισπῶται. [...]
<i>properispomenon</i> ’.	‘Ἰμυρών†· Athenians pronounce/write it as	‘ <i>mōros</i> : <i>properispomenon</i> , among the Athenians’.
	<i>properispomenon</i> ’.	

- The Attic corn-measure μέδιμος corresponds to its Median counterpart ἀρτάβη in Hesychius:

περὶ προσφθίας, l. 123	Hsch. α 7471
μέδιμος· προπαροξύνουσιν.	ἀρτάβη· μέτρον Μηδικὸν
‘ <i>médimos</i> : they pronounce/write it as	σίτου Ἀττικὸς μέδιμος.
<i>proparoxytone</i> ’.	‘ <i>artábē</i> : a Median corn-measure. <i>Médimos</i> is Attic’.

- οἰσπηρά (‘greasy’) is an Attic word according to Moeris:

περὶ προσφθίας, l. 134	Moer. ο 37
οἰσπηρά· ὀξύνουσιν.	οἰσπηρὸν Ἀττικοί· ἔριον ῥυπαρὸν Ἕλληνας.
‘ <i>oisypēra</i> : they pronounce/write it as	‘Athenians say <i>oisypērōn</i> , those who speak koine say
<i>oxytone</i> ’.	<i>érion rhyparōn</i> ’.

- λεῶ (‘men’) and νεῶ (‘temple’) are patently Attic genitives (l. 111), and likewise χοῶ (a measure of capacity) is an Attic accusative (l. 187);
- genitive plural *proparoxytone* forms such as πόλεων (‘cities’), μάντεων (‘prophets’), λέξεων (‘words’), ὄφεων (‘snakes’) (l. 150) are traditionally considered Attic, for

example, by Theodosius and John Philoponus, whose doctrine on this point goes back to Herodian.¹²

There are a few exceptions to this pattern. For example, our lexicon says that <Athenians> (we must suppose) pronounce/write χαμόθεν as proparoxytone, while in the other grammatical sources the Attic variant of the adverb seems to be the properispomenon χαμᾶθεν (see e.g. Moer. χ 22 χαμᾶθεν προπερισπωμένως Ἄττικοί· χαμόθεν Ἔλληνες).¹³ Additionally, the lexicon states that the <Athenians> pronounce/write φοριαμός as oxytone, while we know from the *Etymologicum magnum* that according to Herodian, the Athenians considered this word to be proparoxytone.¹⁴ Such cases are not surprising, as it is well-known that in the grammatical tradition the positions of ancient and Byzantine grammarians were neither well established nor unanimous. Consider two typical examples:

- The *περὶ προσφῶδιας* says that <Athenians> pronounce/write ὄρφῶς ('great sea-perch') as perispomenon. This is corroborated by a scholium on Aristophanes' *Wasps*.¹⁵ Pollux, however, states that the Attic form is oxytone (although one wonders how reliable accentuation is in the manuscript tradition of Pollux and other similar lexica):

<i>περὶ προσφῶδιας</i> , l. 137	<i>schol. Aristoph. vesp.</i> 493c	Poll. 6.50.4
ὄρφῶς· περισπῶσιν.	τὸ ὄρφῶς καὶ λαγῶς	[...] ὄρφος ἢ τὸ
' <i>orphós</i> : they pronounce/write it as perispomenon'.	περισπῶσιν Ἄττικοί.	Ἄττικώτερον ὄρφῶς [...].
	'Athenians pronounce/write <i>orphós</i> and <i>lagós</i> as perispomena'.	'[...] <i>orphós</i> or the more Attic form <i>orphós</i> [...]'.

- The same can be observed with *μελαγχρῆς* ('black-skinned'). According to Moeris, this form is not Attic, but other sources disagree:

<i>περὶ προσφῶδιας</i> , l. 122	<i>schol. Hom. Od.</i> π 175.4–6	Phot. μ 223	Moer. μ 18
<i>μελαγχρῆς</i> · ὄξυνουσιν.	ἄψ δὲ μελαγχροῖης] ὄξυτόνως. τοῦτο δὲ	μελάγχρωσ καὶ μελαγχρῆς· ἀμφότερα	μελάγχρωσ Ἄττικοί·
' <i>melanchrḗs</i> : they pronounce/write it as oxytone'.	κατὰ συγκοπὴν Ἄττικοὶ μελαγχρῆς φασιν, ὡς Εὐπολις.	Ἄττικά· μᾶλλον δὲ διὰ τοῦ η. Κρατίνως.	μελαγχρῆς Ἔλληνες.
	'back again the	' <i>melánchrḗs</i> and <i>melanchrḗs</i> : they are	'Athenians say <i>melánchrḗs</i> , those

12 See Probert (2008) 277–79. A different proposal on the origin of such a form can be found in Vessella (2018) 255.

13 See also Thom. *ed. voc. Att.* 393.13–14. On χαμᾶθεν/χαμόθεν, see the discussion by Vessella (2018) 254–5.

14 See EM 804.17–23. On this topic, see the discussion by Probert (2008) 282–4.

15 Cf. also Io. Alex. 37.1–2 and Choer. in Th. Alex. *can.* 253.10.

melanchroíēs] oxytone.	both Attic. The form	who speak koine
Athenians say melanchrés	with eta is better.	say melanchrés’.
by contraction. So	Cratinos uses it’.	
Eupolis’.		

There is only one example in which the Attic prosodic form is opposed to another dialectal form, in this case Doric (l. 184). In a single occasion, only the Ionic form is presented (l. 183).¹⁶ Occasionally, the lexicon shows an interest not only in the prosody of Attic, but also in the ‘ordinary language’, i.e. ἡ συνήθεια (see ll. 6, 10, 33, 37, 135). In two cases, the prosodic form of ἡ συνήθεια is opposed to its Attic counterpart (ll. 6, 33¹⁷ and 135). In one case, ordinary language is opposed to Aristarchus of Samothrace’s prescription of the accent (l. 10), while in the other only ordinary language is discussed (l. 37).

Another interesting feature of the lexicon is that, in four cases, linguistic usage is approached in a diachronic sense:

80 Θεττάλη· οἱ νεώτεροι τῶν Ἀττικῶν βαρύνουσι, ὡς δαμάλη (‘Thettálē (“Thessalian”): later Athenians pronounce/write it as barytone, such as damálē (“heifer”)).

169 τροπαῖον· οἱ παλαιότεροι προπερισπῶσιν (‘tropaíon (“trophy”): older (Athenians? authors?) pronounce/write it as properispomenon’).

178 ὕδρον<ρ>οάς· ὀξύνουσιν οἱ νεώτεροι. ὕδρονόας οἱ παλαιοὶ Ἀττικοὶ βαρύνουσι (‘hydronoás (“water-courses”): later Athenians pronounce/write it as barytone. Old Athenians pronounce/write hydronoás as barytone’).

183 φαρμακόν· Ἴωνες οἱ νεώτεροι ὀξύνουσιν (‘pharmakón (“scapegoat”): later Ionians pronounce/write it as oxytone’).

It is not entirely clear what the adjectives ‘old’ and ‘later’ (Athenians, authors, Ionians and so on) exactly refer to. J. Wackernagel noticed that the accentuation assigned to ‘old’ Attic or Ionic probably referred to Homer’s usage, while ‘later’ Attic mainly referred to Classical authors and koine.¹⁸ This assumption has been recently nuanced by P. Probert, who showed that Herodian – and probably older grammarians, such as the Alexandrians – may have considered a wider spectrum of diachronic linguistic varieties, i.e. the language of

¹⁶ It is worth highlighting that the only two cases that deal with two dialects that are different than Attic are consecutive: they may come from the same source.

¹⁷ Here, ‘Athenians’ must be included in the pronoun τινές; see e.g. Phot. α 3187 Ἀϋξην καὶ ἄνθην καὶ βλάστην· παροξυτονεῖν ἀξιούσι πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα. ἔστι καὶ παρὰ τοῖς κωμικοῖς καὶ παρὰ Πλάτωνι. Ἐπικούρου δὲ πλεονάζει ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο προσίσταται, ὥσπερ ἀττικίζων (‘áúxēn (“growth”), ánthēn (“flower”) and blástēn (“offspring”): they think it right to pronounce/write every word of this sort as paroxytone. This is so also in comedy and in Plato. Epicurus abounds in these and for this reason turns out to be Atticizing’).

¹⁸ See Wackernagel (1893) 38 and (1914).

Homer, ‘later’ Attic, koine and ‘old’ Attic, where ‘old’ and ‘later’ Attic could refer indeed to ‘old’ and ‘later’ pronunciation of Attic in a diachronic sense.¹⁹

Back to our lexicon, as for l. 80, the link between Athenians and the form *Θεττάλη* was already known at least from Stephanus Byzantius’ *Ethnica* (8.35.5–6 τὸ Θεττάλη δρῶμα Μενάνδρου βαρύνεται παρὰ Ἀττικοῖς, εἰς ιδιότητα τεθέν), but without any diachronic specification – admittedly the reference here is truly ‘diachronic’, since on the contrary it would seem that the expression οἱ νεώτεροι τῶν Ἀττικῶν simply refers to Menander, as pointed out to me by A. C. Cassio.²⁰ Additionally, the fact that the properispomenon form *τροπαῖον* was peculiar to ‘old’ Athenians seems to be well established in the grammatical tradition,²¹ and the same is true for *ὑδροροάς/ὑδρορροάς*.²² As for *φαρμακόν*, we already knew that the oxytone form is Ionic from Phot. φ 64, but without any diachronic delineation.²³

Regardless of the meaning of these labels (which as seen above is not entirely clear), Probert has already supposed that *formulae* such as ‘Old Attic’ and ‘Later Attic’ within Herodian’s grammatical theory are inherited from Hellenistic grammarians such as Trypho and Philemon:

My suspicion is that Herodian took over a distinction between earlier and later Attic from the Hellenistic grammarians, and that these grammarians had access to information about the pronunciation of Athenians and to some sort of folk memory of Athenian accentuations that were no longer in use or perhaps used only by older or more linguistically conservative speakers. [...] Evidence that the

19 See Probert (2004).

20 As already suggested by the above-mentioned passage from Stephanus Byzantius (εἰς ιδιότητα τεθέν), this phenomenon is due to the accentual retraction in personal names, such as in ξανθῆ > Ξάνθη (cf. e.g. Jo. Philop. *diff. voc. b* γ 2): on this phenomenon, see Vendryès (1904) 153–4.

21 On this topic, see Probert (2004) 285–8. Cf. e.g. schol. Aristoph. Th. 697 τροπαῖον προπερισπωμένως ἀναγνωστέον παρὰ Ἀριστοφάνει καὶ παρὰ Θουκυδίδῃ, τρόπαιον δὲ προπαροξύτωνος παρὰ τοῖς νεωτέροις ποιηταῖς (‘one should read τροπαῖον (trophy) as properispomenon in Aristophanes and Thucydides, but τρόπαιον as proparoxytone in the later poets’) and schol. Aristoph. Pl. 453 τροπαῖον: Οἱ παλαιοὶ Ἀττικοὶ προπερισπῶσιν, οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι προπαροξύουσι (‘τροπαῖον: old Athenians pronounce/write it as properispomenon, while the later ones pronounce/write it as proparoxytone’).

22 See e.g. schol. Hom. Il. bT Ξ 372b [...] βαρυντέον δὲ τὸ παναίθισι· τὰ γὰρ εἰς ἡ λήγοντα θηλυκὰ δισύλλαβα ὀξύνομα, ἐν τῇ συνθέσει μὴ γινόμενα κύρια, τότε μὲν φυλάσσει τὸν τόνον, ὅταν μετὰ προθέσεως συντεθῆ, ἀνατολή, εἰ δὲ μετὰ ἄλλου πνός, ἀναβιβάζει τὸν τόνον, ἰστοδόκη, καπνοδόκη ὥστε καὶ τὸ Ἵδροροήτ παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαιοτέροις Ἀττικοῖς ἀναλόγως βαρυντέον, τὸ δὲ ἴναροήτ βαρυνόμενον παρ’ αὐτοῖς σημειωτέον (‘panaithēsi (“all-blazing”) must be written as barytone: for the feminine disyllables oxytone ending in *eta*, in a compound when they do not become proper names, maintain the accent when they are compounded with a preposition, such as *anatolē* (“rising”); but if they are put together as compounds to something else, they throw back the accent, such as *histodokē* (“mast-holder”), *kapnodokē* (“smoke-receiver”). Therefore Ἵδροροήτ among the Athenians must also be analogically pronounced/written as barytone, while the barytone form ἴναροήτ by them should be noted’). In light of the text transmitted in the *περὶ προσφιδίας*, I accept Ernst Maas’ emendation of Ἵδροροήτ into ὑδροροή but to emend ἴναροήτ βαρυνόμενον into ὑδροροή ὀξύνομα (Maas wanted ἴναροήτ to be emended into ἀναροή).

23 The source for this entry may be Aelius Dionysius (see Erbse’s edition, φ 2).

Hellenistic grammarians already distinguished between earlier and later Attic when discussing accents is meagre, but one fragment of Trypho on accentuation [scil. Ammon. 73 = Tryph. fr. 12 von Velsen] is transmitted with the term οἱ παλαιοὶ Ἀττικοί, which may go back to Trypho himself.²⁴

According to Probert, in the case of Trypho this distinction was found mainly in his *περὶ Ἀττικῆς προσωδίας*, a work devoted to Attic prosody and pronunciation. New evidence to confirm Probert's suspicion shall be presented in the next section, where it will be argued that Trypho's *περὶ Ἀττικῆς προσωδίας* is one of the main sources for our *περὶ προσωδίας* – it therefore seems very likely to me that these *formulae* of 'Old' and 'Later Attic' also go back to Trypho.

1.2 The relation between the *περὶ προσωδίας* and Trypho's *περὶ Ἀττικῆς προσωδίας*

Given the above-mentioned Attic nature of this text, it is not surprising that, if we look at the *apparatus fontium et comparandorum*, parallels with Atticist lexicographers such as Pollux, Phrynichus and Moeris are abundant. The same is true for the main lexicographical texts on synonyms, such as those by Ammonius and John Philoponus: parallels with these texts can be found mainly for those lemmata where two or more homonyms can be distinguished in their meaning only on the basis of their different accents.

In the *περὶ προσωδίας*, many parallels can be found with the extant fragments assigned to the *περὶ Ἀττικῆς προσωδίας* by the great first-century BCE grammarian Trypho. Very little is known about this work; what we do know is that it dealt mainly with the accentuation of some Attic words, with occasional comparisons with Ionic and Doric.²⁵ Von Velsen (1853) collected thirteen fragments under this title (fr. 7–19). At least two other fragments must be added to these: Hrd. fr. 53 Hunger (discovered in the above-mentioned Herodian *Vindobonensis* palimpsest) and one fragment discovered by G. Pasquali among the scholia on Gregory of Nyssa.²⁶ The fragmentary survival of Trypho's *περὶ Ἀττικῆς προσωδίας* is very disappointing, since it was probably one of the main sources for the lost *περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* by Herodian.²⁷

Among the fragments collected by von Velsen, only seven are explicitly attributed to Trypho's *περὶ Ἀττικῆς προσωδίας*, while another six have been assigned to this work by von Velsen in *ope ingenii*. Of the seven fragments explicitly attributed to the *περὶ Ἀττικῆς προσωδίας* by the indirect tradition, four of them are found in our *περὶ προσωδίας*:

24 See Probert (2004) 289.

25 See von Velsen (1853) 10–11 and Ippolito (2008).

26 See Pasquali (1910). For an updated survey on Trypho's fragments, see Alpers (1981) 113 n. 57. A new edition of Trypho's fragments is currently being prepared by S. Matthaios.

27 See Probert (2006) 25.

1. Tryph. fr. 9 von Velsen (= Ammon. 222) = *περὶ προσφῳδίας* l. 75

Tryph. fr. 9 von Velsen (= Ammon. 222)
 Θαλαμᾶς ὡς ἀγαθᾶς καὶ θαλάμας ὡς μεγάλας
 διαφέρει, φησὶ Τρύφων, παρὰ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς,
 ἐν δευτέρῳ Περὶ Ἀττικῆς προσφῳδίας. ἐὰν μὲν
 γὰρ ὀξυτονήσωμεν, δηλώσει τὸ τῶν
 Διοσκούρων ἱερόν· ἐὰν δὲ βαρυτονήσωμεν,
 τὰς καταδύσεις μηνύει.²⁸

περὶ προσφῳδίας l. 75
 Θαλαμᾶς· ὀξύνουσιν, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῶν
 Διοσκόρων. θαλάμας βαρύνουσιν, ὅποτε
 τὰς καταδύσεις σημαίνει.²⁹

However, this doctrine was widespread in the lexicographical tradition, since it was also found in Aelius Dionysius' *Ἀττικὰ ὀνόματα*, according to Eustathius of Thessalonica (θ 2 Erbse = Eust. in ll. 3.397.16–18). For later lexicographers, see also Philop. *diff. voc. e* θ 5, Phot. θ 1 and EGud 253.14 Sturz.

2. Tryph. fr. 10 von Velsen (= Ammon. 322) = *περὶ προσφῳδίας* l. 120

Tryph. fr. 10 von Velsen (= Ammon. 322)
 μισητὴ καὶ μισητὴ διαφέρει παρὰ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς,
 ὡς φησὶ Τρύφων ἐν δευτέρῳ Περὶ Ἀττικῆς
προσφῳδίας. ἐὰν μὲν γὰρ ὀξυτονήσωμεν
 σημαίνει τὴν ἀξίαν μίσους, καθὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν
 τῇ συνηθείᾳ προφερόμεθα, ἐὰν δὲ
 βαρυτονήσωμεν τὴν καταφερῆ πρὸς
 συνουσίαν. τὴν δὲ διαφορὰν τῶν
 σημαينوμένων καὶ παρὰ Δωριεῦσιν φασὶ
 φυλάττεσθαι καὶ παρ' Ἰωσιν.³⁰

περὶ προσφῳδίας l. 120
 μισητ[η]· ἡ καταφερῆς, βαρύνουσιν·
 μισητὴ δέ, ὀξύνουσιν ἢ ἀξία τοῦ
 μίσους.³¹

28 'Trypho says in the second book of his treatise on the Attic prosody that *thalamás* pronounced/written like *agathás* ('good') and *thalámas* like *megálas* ('big') are different in Attic. For when we pronounce/write it as oxytone, it means the temple of the Dioscuri, while if we pronounce/write it as barytone, it means the caves'.

29 'They pronounce *thalamás* as oxytone, when they refer to the temple of the Dioscuri. They pronounce/write *thalámas* as barytone, when it means the caves'.

30 'Miséte̅ and miséte̅ are different for Athenians, as Trypho says in the second book of his treatise on Attic prosody. For when we pronounce/write this word as oxytone, it means the female that deserves hate, just as we also say in our common language, while if we pronounce/write that word as barytone, it means the female inclined to sexual intercourse. They say that the difference in the meanings is maintained also by Dorians and Ionians'.

31 'They pronounce/write *miséte̅* as barytone when it means the lecherous, while they pronounce/write *miséte̅* as oxytone when it means the female that deserves hate'.

In this case as well, the doctrine is widespread – it can also be found, for example, in Hesychius (μ 1450), John Philoponus (*diff. voc. e μ 13*) and Thomas Magister (*ecl. voc. Att. 240.11*).

3. Tryph. fr. 12 von Velsen (= Ammon. 73) = *περὶ προσωδίας* l. 3

Tryph. fr. 12 von Velsen (= Ammon. 73)
 ἀρπάγη καὶ ἀρπάγη διαφέρει παρὰ τοῖς
 παλαιοῖς Ἀττικοῖς,³² ὡς φησι Τρύφων ἐν τῷ
 τρίτῳ Περὶ Ἀττικῆς προσωδίας. ἐὰν μὲν γὰρ
 ὀξύτόνως προενεγκόμεθα καθάπερ ἐν τῇ
 συνηθείᾳ, τὴν αἰφνίδιον καὶ μετὰ βίας
 ἀφαίρεσιν δηλώσει· ἐὰν δὲ βαρυτόνως
 ἀρπάγην ὡς Ἀνάφην, ἐν ἧ ἕκ τῶν φρεάτων
 τοὺς κάδους ἐξαίρουσιν.³³ [. .]

περὶ προσωδίας l. 3
 ἀρπάγη· ὅτε σημαίνει τὸ ἀρπάζειν
 ὀξύνεται. ὅτε δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ σκεύους
 παραλαμβάνεται ἀρπάγη· ἀρπάγη δὲ
 λέγεται δι' ἧς ἐκ τῶν φρεάτων τοὺς κάδους
 λαμβάνουσι.³⁴

This lemma was also present, in a shorter form, in Aelius Dionysius' Ἀττικά ὀνόματα.³⁵ For later grammarians, see e.g. Philop. *diff. voc. a α 12*, EGud 203.15–17 Stef., *lex. synon.* 57.³⁶

4. Tryph. fr. 13 von Velsen (= Athen. *deipn.* 2.40.15–19) = *περὶ προσωδίας* l. 27

Tryph. fr. 13 von Velsen
 (= Athen. *deipn.* 2.40.15–19)
 Τρύφων δὲ ἐν Ἀττικῇ προσωδίᾳ ἀμυγδάλην μὲν
 τὸν καρπὸν βαρέως, ὃν ἡμεῖς οὐδετέρως
 ἀμύγδαλον λέγομεν, ἀμυγδαλάς δὲ τὰ δένδρα,
 κτητικῶ παρὰ τὸν καρπὸν ὄντος τοῦ χαρακτήρος
 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο περιπωμένου.³⁷

περὶ προσωδίας l. 27
 ἀμυγδάλας· βαρύνουσιν ἐπὶ τοῦ
 καρποῦ. ἀμυγδαλάς περιπωσίν.³⁸

32 ἀρπάγη appears also e.g. in Philo of Byzantium's *Poliorectica* (100.44, third/second century BCE), assuming the accentuation here is correct.

33 'Harpagē and harpāgē are different for old Athenians, as Trypho says in the third book of his treatise on the Attic prosody. For if we pronounce it as oxytone (as in ordinary language), it means a sudden and violent kidnapping; while if we pronounce harpāgē as barytone, like Anāphēn ("Anaphe"), it means the thing with which (i.e. a hook) they remove vessels from wells'.

34 'Harpagē: when it means the action of kidnapping is oxytone, while harpāgē is used for the tool. Harpāgē is said for the instrument by which they take vessels out of wells'.

35 α 175 Erbse (= Eust. in Il. 3.397.15–18) ἀρπάγη· ὀξύτόνως ἢ διαρπάγη· ἢ δὲ ἀρπάγη βαρυτόνως τὸ σκεῦος, ᾧ τοὺς κάδους ἀνάγουσιν ἐκ τῶν φρεάτων ('harpagē: when it means the action of kidnapping it is oxytone, while the barytone form harpāgē is the instrument by which they pull up vessels from wells').

36 On this lemma and its accentuation, see also Vessella (2018) 168–70.

37 'Trypho in his treatise on Attic prosody says that amygdālēn ("almond") the fruit (the one we call, as neuter, amýgdalon) is barytone, while amygdalás are the trees, being the possessive form from the fruit and, for this reason, perispomenon'.

38 'They pronounce/write amygdalás as barytone when referring to the fruit. They pronounce/write as perispomenon amygdalás'.

On this fragment see also Ammon. 33. No other exact parallels for this lemma are extant, but this doctrine must have been well-known, since the uncontracted form ἀμυγδαλέα is well attested.³⁹ It is probable that something (such as *περὶ τοῦ δένδρου*) has fallen out at the end of the lemma in the *περὶ προσωδίας*.

Fr. 7 (on *στρουθός* / *στρούθος*), 8 (on *ἐξανειμοί* / *άνειμοί*) and 11 (on *τρόχοι* / *τροχοί*), which are also explicitly attributed to the *περὶ Ἀττικῆς προσωδίας*, are not discussed here.

Among the fragments that have been conjecturally attributed to the *περὶ Ἀττικῆς προσωδίας* by von Velsen, one matches four lemmata in our *περὶ προσωδίας*:

Tryph. fr. 15 von Velsen (= Ammon. 405 Nickau)
 πόνηρον βαρυτονούμενον, ὡς σόλοικον, καὶ
 πονηρὸν ὄξυτονούμενον, ὡς κυδοιμόν, φασὶ
 διαφέρειν παρὰ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς· ὁμοίως μόχθηρον
 καὶ μοχθηρόν. πονηρὸς μὲν γάρ, φασίν, ὄξυτόνως
 ὁ κακοήθης, πόνηρος δὲ ὁ ἐπίτονος. ‘ἀτόπως’,
 φησὶ Τρύφων· ‘καὶ <γάρ> τὰ φαύλα μοχθηρὰ⁴⁰
 λέγομεν. κατὰ δ’ ὄξυτητα’, φησὶ, ‘καὶ ἐπ’ ἐμψύχων
 καὶ ἀψύχων· [...] πᾶν γὰρ παρώνυμον εἰς ῥος
 λήγον παρασχηματιζόμενον τοῖς γένεσιν
 ὄξυτονεῖται, οἷον κάματος καματηρός, ὄλισθος
 ὀλισθηρός, [...]· εἰ δὴ πόνος καὶ μόχθος τὰ
 πρωτότυπα, πονηρὸς καὶ μοχθηρὸς ῥητέον
 ὄξυτόνως. εἰ δὲ οἱ Ἀττικοὶ βαρυτονοῦσιν, οὐ
 θαυμαστόν ἐστι· χαίρουσι γὰρ τῇ βαρύτητι.
 ἄδελφε γοῦν λέγουσι τὴν πρώτην ὄξυτονοῦντες ὡς
 ἄπελθε’, φησὶν ὁ Τρύφων παρατιθέμενος
 Φιλίμονα τὸν Αἰξωνέα (Αἰξωνέα Frellonius,

περὶ προσωδίας

18 ἄδελφε· προπαροξύνουσι
Ἀττικοί.

80 Θεττάλη· οἱ νεώτεροι τῶν Ἀττικῶν
βαρύνουσι, ὡς δαμάλη.

117 μόχθηρος· τρίτην ἐκ τέλους, ὅτε
σημαίνει τὸν ἐπίτονον.

189 χάριεν· προπαροξύνουσιν.⁴¹

39 See e.g. Ps.-Arcad. 117.14, Theogn. orth. 621.4, Choer. ποσ. 306.32, Eust. in Il. 1.592.13, etc. I thank A. C. Cassio for pointing this out.

40 After A. C. Cassio pointed out to me that the passage as printed by previous editors (starting from L. C. Valckenaer) does not work, I have changed the accent in Nickau’s edition from *μόχθηρα* to *μοχθηρά*. Note that this is not an emendation, because the oxytone accent on *μοχθηρά*, according to Nickau’s *apparatus*, is witnessed by half of the manuscript tradition. <γάρ> is an addition by Valckenaer. To restore this passage, A. C. Cassio suggests the following possibility: ‘ἀτόπως’, φησὶ Τρύφων, ‘καὶ <τὸ> “τὰ φαύλα μόχθηρα λέγομεν” (especially in the light of the insistence between animate and inanimate beings that follows in the fragment).

41 **18** ‘Athenians pronounce/write as proparoxytone *ádelphē* (“brother”, voc.);’ **80** ‘Later Athenians pronounce/write *Thettálē* (“Thessalian”) as barytone, like *damálē* (“heifer”);’ **117** ‘*móchthēros*: [they put the accent] on the third syllable from the end, when it means “painful”;’ **189** ‘They pronounce/write *cháriēn* (“graceful”) as proparoxytone’.

ἀγξωνέα [!] cod.), ἴῳσι Θεττάλην ὡς Μυρτάλην·
καὶ χάριεν, τὴν πρώτην
συλλαβὴν ὀξυτονοῦντες. [...] ⁴²

As for μόχθηρος / μοχθηρός, one needs to assume that Trypho's *περὶ Ἀττικῆς προσφῶδιας* firstly recorded the opinion of unnamed authors (φασί) who argued for a distinction in meaning between μόχθηρος 'wreched' and μοχθηρός 'rascal' in Attic; Trypho then affirmed that this opinion was untenable (ἀτόπως σάι. φασί) and that the only legitimate accentuation was the oxytone one for both the meanings, as in the koine. The anonymous author of our lexicon probably selected from Trypho only the part that interested him, i.e. the one advocating the contrastive Attic accentuation, leaving aside the koine one. Additionally, it is worth noticing that the Attic accentuation of ἄδελφε as proparoxytone is not otherwise discussed.

Among the fragments attributed to the *περὶ Ἀττικῆς προσφῶδιας* there is a long one which discusses the accentuation of λαγῶς / λαγός ('hare'; Athen. *deirp.* 9.62). According to Athenaeus, Trypho says that Athenians generally used to pronounce/write this word as oxytone, i.e. λαγῶς (sometimes without -ς); its corresponding koine-counterpart is λαγός (although this is sometimes found in Attic authors as well). Trypho also says that 'some people illogically pronounce the word as perispomenon' (εἰσὶν δ' οἱ καὶ ταύτ' ἀλόγως κατὰ τὴν τελευτώσαν συλλαβὴν περισπωμένως προφέρονται). This would match the prescription in our *περὶ προσφῶδιας*, which says that this word must be written as λαγῶς (l. 116). However, it is not certain here that the source for this lemma is Trypho: as our *περὶ προσφῶδιας* is to be regarded as a text on Attic prosody, if our author were willing to follow Trypho's argument, he would have chosen the form labelled as Attic by Trypho, i.e. λαγός. ⁴³

A similar situation is found in l. 170: ταῶς· περισπῶσιν καὶ δασύνουσιν. One of the fragments of Trypho (fr. 5 von Velsen (= Athen. *deirp.* 9.57)) deals with precisely this word, and mainly (but not solely) with its internal aspiration. For this reason, the fragment has been assigned by von Velsen to Trypho's *περὶ πνευμάτων*. I have already argued elsewhere that this fragment should probably not be assigned to that work, ⁴⁴ and

42 'They say that *πόνηρον* as barytone, like *sóloikon* ("solecistic"), and *πονῆρον* as oxytone, like *kydoimón* ("hubhub"), are different in Attic, and that the same is true for *móchthēron* and *mochthērōn*. For they say that the oxytone form *ponēros* means "malicious", while *ponēros* means "painful". "This is absurd", Trypho says, "for we call *mochthērā* also paltry things. And they are accented oxytone both when they are used of animate and inanimate things. [...] Every derivative ending in -ros formed from another word by a slight change is oxytone, such as *kámatos* ('trouble') *kamatēros* ('toilsome'), *ólithos* ('slipperiness') *olishēros* ('slippery') [...]. If *rónos* ('hard work') and *móchthos* ('toil') are the primitives, *ponēros* ('toilsome') and *mochthēros* ('wretched') must be pronounced as oxytone. If Athenians pronounce them as barytone, it is not surprising: for they like the barytone accent. Thus they say *ádelphe* ('brother', voc.), putting an acute accent on the first syllable, like *ápelthe* ('go away!')." So Trypho says, citing Philemon from the Attic deme Aixone Thettálē ("Thessalian") like *Myrtálen* ("Myrtale"), and *chárien* ("graceful"), putting the acute accent on the first syllable'.

43 Unless, of course, his text of Trypho said something different from the one to which Athenaeus had access, as Probert suggested in a personal communication.

44 See Sandri (2022) 121.

now we can reasonably assume that it belongs to the *περὶ Ἀττικῆς προσφῶδιας*, instead (after all, it is precisely the Attic aspiration and accentuation of the word that is discussed here). Probert's conjecture of *δασύνουσιν* in place of the transmitted *βαρύνουσιν* is, I think, certainly right: apart from Hsch. τ 294 (*τάως· τέως· Κρήτες· καὶ δασέως τὸ ὄρνειον*), there is no parallel for the barytone form of *τάως*. After we accept Probert's conjecture, Tryph. fr. 5 and our l. 170 match perfectly:

Athen. <i>deirp.</i> 9.57 (Tryph. fr. 5)	<i>περὶ προσφῶδιας</i> l. 170
ταῶς δὲ λέγουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι, ὥς φησι Τρύφων, τὴν	ταῶς· περισπῶσιν καὶ
τελευταίαν συλλαβὴν περισπῶντες καὶ δασύνοντες. ⁴⁵	δασύνουσιν. ⁴⁶

There is one last fragment within von Velsen's edition that finds a match with a lemma from our lexicon:

Athen. <i>deirp.</i> 3.82 (Tryph. fr. 118)	<i>περὶ προσφῶδιας</i> l. 4
καὶ ΜΑΖΑΣ δ' ἔστιν εὐρείν	ἀχίλλ<ε>ια ἢ μάζα παροξύνεται.
ἀναγεγραμμένης παρὰ τε τῷ Τρύφωνι καὶ	ἀχίλλ<ε>ια προπαροξύνεται ὅτε σημαίνει
παρ' ἄλλοις πλείοσιν. παρ' Ἀθηναίοις μὲν	τὰ ἄλφιτα. ⁴⁸
φύστην τὴν μὴ ἄγαν τετριμμένην, ἔτι δὲ	
καρδαμάλην καὶ βήρηκα καὶ τολύπας καὶ	
Ἀχίλλειον· καὶ ἴσως αὐτὴ ἔστιν ἡ ἐξ	
Ἀχιλλείων κριθῶν γινομένη. ⁴⁷	

This fragment was assigned to Trypho's *φυτικά*. To this lexicographical work, which deals with the names of various plants, von Velsen only assigned five fragments (fr. 116–20). It is possible that this specific fragment does not actually belong to the *φυτικά*, but to the *περὶ Ἀττικῆς προσφῶδιας*. After all, as with the case of Tryph. fr. 5, the Attic usage of a given word is discussed here. However, it is not possible to confirm with certainty that the source for l. 4 is Trypho, since Atheneus does not say what Trypho's discussion on *μάζαι* ('barley-cakes') was about.

It was already mentioned that two more fragments belonging to Trypho's *περὶ Ἀττικῆς προσφῶδιας* have been discovered since von Velsen's edition, one by Hunger in the Vindobonsensis palimpsest of Herodian and one by Pasquali among the scholia on Gregory of Nissa. Each of them matches a lemma in our lexicon:

45 'Athenians say *tahōs* ("peacock"), as Trypho says, putting the circumflex and the rough breathing on the last syllable'.

46 '*tahōs* ("peacock"): they put the circumflex on the last syllable and the rough breathing on it'.

47 'You could find barley-cakes in Trypho's writings, and in many other authors. Among the Athenians there is the *phystēs*, which is not too closely kneaded, and also the *cardamālē*, the *bērēx*, the *tolypai* and the *Achilleion*'.

48 '*Achilleia* in the sense of "barley-cake" is paroxytone. *Achilleia* is proparoxytone when it means the "barley-groats".'

1. Hrd. fr. 53 Hunger (Tryph. fr. novum) = περι προσφῳδίας l. 35

Hrd. fr. 53 Hunger

Τρύφων δὲ ἐν α' περὶ Ἀττικῆς προσφῳδίας ἰστορεῖ
παρ' Ἀττικοῖς βαρύνεσθαι τὴν λέξιν· βαῦνον γάρ,
φησι, λέγουσιν ὡς φαῦλον. [...] ⁴⁹

περὶ προσφῳδίας l. 35

βαῦνους· παροξύνουσιν. σημαίνει δὲ
ἢ λέξις καμίνους.⁵⁰

2. Tryph. fr. novum (ed. Pasquali (1910)) = περι προσφῳδίας l. 36

Tryph. fr. novum (ed. Pasquali (1910))

τὸ βλάστη εἶρηκεν Τρύφων, ἀπὸ τοῦ
βλάστησις καταλειφθέν, παροξυτόνως·
ὁ δὲ κανὼν ἀπαιτεῖ ὀξύτόνως.⁵¹

περὶ προσφῳδίας l. 36

βλάστη· βαρύνεται. <παροξυτονεῖν ἀξιούσι>
καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ὀνόματα ἴτων
μηνῶν.⁵²

It has already been shown that, for most of Trypho's fragments, several parallels can be found in the lexicographical tradition. It is well known that Trypho's doctrine influenced that of later grammarians, up to the Humanistic period. If Trypho indeed influenced grammarians of the Imperial era such as Herennius Philo and Aelius Dionysius, and then Ammonius, Philoponus and others, it is unsurprising that these fragments are found in later grammarians' work as well, as they are part of the same lexicographical tradition. However, one could rightly object that the presence of some of Trypho's fragments in our lexicon does not by itself prove that the anonymous compiler of the lexicon had Trypho's *περὶ Ἀττικῆς προσφῳδίας* at his disposal, since he could have easily taken the lemmata from other sources.

Indeed, it is impossible to prove beyond doubt that the author of our lexicon had Trypho's *περὶ Ἀττικῆς προσφῳδίας* in his hands. However, in my opinion, the evident interest of the lexicon in Attic language, and its correspondences with most of the fragments assigned to Trypho's *περὶ Ἀττικῆς προσφῳδίας*, suggest that Trypho's *περὶ Ἀττικῆς προσφῳδίας* was indeed one of the main sources of this work, whether directly or indirectly. Moreover, it should be noted that, immediately after the *περὶ χρόνων*, our *Parisinus* manuscript transmits – as *codex unicus* – the *versio plenior* of an epitome of Trypho's *περὶ πνευμάτων*.⁵³ Of course, Trypho's *περὶ Ἀττικῆς προσφῳδίας* would have been very different from our lexicon on prosody. Due to the poor state of preservation of Trypho's work, we cannot know for certain what it was like, but it was probably similar

49 'Trypho in the first book of his treatise on Attic prosody says that this word is barytone: for they say *baûnon* ("furnace") like *phaûlon* ("cheap"), he says.'

50 'They pronounce/write *baûnous* as proparoxytone. The word means "furnaces".'

51 'Trypho said that *blástē* ("offspring") is paroxytone, as it comes from *blástēsis*. The rule requires it to be oxytone'.

52 '*Blástē* is barytone. They think that all nouns like this must be paroxytone'.

53 See *supra*.

to Herodian's *περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*, comprising a list of words divided into categories and sub-categories. Furthermore, in Trypho there was surely a more detailed and extensive explanation of each choice of accent than we find in the lexicon on prosody: this is confirmed by the above comparisons between Trypho's fragments and the lemmata in the *περὶ προσωδίας*, which show how much Trypho's doctrine is cut to the bone by the anonymous compiler of the lexicon. We are thus led to another consideration concerning the structure of both the *περὶ προσωδίας* and the *περὶ χρόνων*: they represent a *unicum* in Greek lexicography, since no other treatise on accentuation or vowel quantity arranged as a lexicon is attested, at least as far as I know.⁵⁴ It is true that several other lexica and exegetical materials deal with prosody, but there is nothing that can match the very specific interests of our two lexica;⁵⁵ and, of course, various ancient treatises on prosody (*περὶ προσωδίας*) are extant, but they are not lexica.⁵⁶ Unfortunately, there is no clue as to the authorship and/or an exact chronology for the two lexica, but it is clear that at some point somebody collected different sources on prosody and decided to make two unique products, whose aims (orthographic? didactic?) remain uncertain.⁵⁷ It must be pointed out that the sources on prosody the anonymous compiler used were not exclusively focused on Attic prosody, since in the two lexica prosodies other than Attic are also mentioned (albeit to a lesser extent). For a discussion on this with reference to the *περὶ χρόνων*, see *infra* at §2, while in relation to the *περὶ προσωδίας* see e.g. διδοῦσι at l. 47 (obviously, one would expect to find διδόασι in Attic) and ἐχθριῶ at l. 62.⁵⁸

The antiquity of the sources used by the anonymous compiler of the two lexica (if not of the two lexica themselves) is confirmed by the presence of some grammatical fragments and one poetic fragment attributed to Eupolis that are not otherwise preserved. These are published here for the first time (see *infra* at §3).

2. The *περὶ χρόνων*

In the *περὶ χρόνων* (ff. 19r–v), a change in sources can be observed. In the *apparatus comparandorum*, the most quoted work is (not surprisingly) Herodian's *περὶ διχρόνων*. The interest in Attic, here, even if surely present, is less patent than in the lexicon on

54 Lexica of homonyms – such as the one by John Philoponus – mainly focus on semantics, not prosody.

55 In fact, some lexica are entirely devoted to a specific branch of grammar, namely syntax, such as the *Lexica syntactica* edited by Sturz (1818) 587–92, Cramer (1836) 275–307, Massa Positano and Arco Magri (1961) and Petrova (2006).

56 On ancient treatises on prosody and orthography, see Probert (2015) and Valente (2015).

57 We cannot rule out a priori the possibility that these two lexica also aimed at prescribing how to pronounce words (mostly while 'reading aloud' and in oratory), and not only how to write them, unless we think that their main aim was to prescribe how to put accents and quantity marks on words in writing. But accents, and diacritics in general, were not written consistently before the ninth century (quantity marks are only attested in poetry and in a few papyri containing prose, probably as aids for 'reading aloud': on this topic, see Colomo (2017)). On prescriptions related to the spoken language by Atticists, see Vessella (2018).

58 On ἐχθριῶ, see also *infra*. ἐχθραῖσι is particularly attested in the Septuagint and more in general in biblical texts.

accentuation: even if there is some information on Attic quantity (see e.g. ll. 2 and 36⁵⁹), Attic seems to be ‘one of the dialects’, not the main one as it was in the *περὶ προσφθιάς*. In fact, several lemmata under discussion are traditionally considered non-Attic. For example:

– *θύμα* (‘sacrifice’) is said to be non-Attic, at least by Moeris:

Moer. ι 5	<i>περὶ χρόνων</i> l. 27
ιερείον Ἀττικοί· θύμα Ἕλληνας.	θύμα· ἐκτείνουσι, ὡς Σέλευκος ἐν τῷ περὶ διαλέκτων.
‘Athenians say <i>hieréion</i> , while those who speak koine say <i>thúma</i> ’.	‘They make [the <i>hypsilon</i>] long in <i>thúma</i> , as Seleucus says in his <i>On dialects</i> ’.

However, note that this word is attested in Attic authors (twenty-one times in Euripides alone!).

– The plural neuter form of *τέραος* (‘wonder’) as *τέρατα* is cited as belonging to the koine by Moeris, while the Attic form would be *τέρα*:

Moer. τ 13 (see also τ 23)	<i>περὶ χρόνων</i> l. 56
τέρα Ἀττικοί· τέρατα Ἕλληνας.	τέρατα· συστέλλει τὸ πρῶτον Α.
‘Athenians say <i>téra</i> , while those who speak koine say <i>térata</i> ’.	‘ <i>Térata</i> makes its first alpha short’.

That Attic is no longer the focus of this work is made clear by a comparison between these two lemmata:

Moeris υ 9	<i>περὶ χρόνων</i> l. 59
ὑδαρές βραχέως τὸ α Ἀττικοί· μακρῶς Ἕλληνας.	ὑδαρής· διχῶς.
‘Athenians consider the alpha within <i>hydarés</i> short, while those who speak koine consider it long’.	‘ <i>Hydarés</i> : in two ways’.

The main topic of the *περὶ χρόνων* is not to discuss how Athenians perceived the quantity of alpha within the word *ὑδαρής* (‘watery’), but to explore all the possibilities in use. Note that the vowel quantity of this term is not attested anywhere other than in Moeris and in the *περὶ χρόνων*.⁶⁰

59 Compare also Moer. ψ 3 ψμύθιον διὰ τοῦ υ καὶ μακρῶς Ἀττικοί with *περὶ χρόνων* 63 ψμύθιον· ἡ δευτέρα μακρά. Also l. 8 records a traditionally Attic quantity, i.e. Ἀτρέᾶ, βασιλέᾶ, and γωμοίδιον is found in Ar. fr. 727 K.-A.

60 See Vessella (2018) 251: ‘Moeris ascribes to the Ἕλληνας a pronunciation which is not attested elsewhere’. -ᾱρές was possibly conditioned by second members of adjectives based on ἀφρορίσκω beginning with a long vowel e.g. θῦμ-ᾱρής, as A. C. Cassio has pointed out to me.

3. New ancient grammatical and poetic fragments

It has already been mentioned that the *περὶ προσφθιάς* and the *περὶ χρόνων* carry some new ancient fragments: one is attributed to the fifth-century BCE poet Eupolis (*infra* at §3.1), one to the famous Alexandrian grammarian Aristophanes of Byzantium (*infra* at §3.2, but it may belong to Demetrius Ixion (second century BCE) instead), four to Aristarchus of Samothrace (216–144 BCE, *infra* at §3.3) and one to the first-century BCE grammarian Seleucus (*infra* at §3.4, but this attribution is debatable: this fragment overlaps with an already-known fragment attributed to Aristocles of Rhodes).

3.1 Eupolis (*περὶ προσφθιάς*, l. 5)

ἄδικία τῶν σιτίων
'malversations of the provisions'

The neuter substantive ἄδικιον is rarely attested. It occurs once in Herodotus (5.89.7), once in Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 54.2.9–10) and once in Plutarch (*Vit. Per.* 32.5.1).⁶¹ The other rare occurrences are in lexicographical works, which aim at explaining the meaning of this term with the substantive ἄδικημα, by and large 'wrong done'.⁶² Aristotle, in his *Constitution of the Athenians*, describes this crime in detail as mismanagement of public funds.⁶³ Unlike ἄδικιον, σιτίων has so many occurrences both in poetry and prose that no further notes on its usage are needed. The presence of the genitive τῶν σιτίων, here, leaves no doubt that Eupolis' fragment concerns a crime of malversation, related to provisions and/or public maintenance.

The description of politicians and rulers as scum and thieves is a recurring theme in Eupolis' poetry: see e.g. fr. *126 K.-A. (= *Demoi*, fr. 11 Telò, σοφὸς γὰρ ἀνὴρ, τῆς δὲ χειρὸς οὐ κρατῶν ('for the man is wise, but he can't rule his hand'), referring to Themistocles) and fr. 235 K.-A. (ἔξ Ἡρακλείας ἀργύριον ὑφείλετο ('he filched money away from Heracleia'), referring to a certain Simon who stole public funds from his city, from the play *Poleis*).⁶⁴

61 In this latter case, ἄδικιον is Reiske's conjecture. See Stadter (1989) 303: 'Ἀδικίου, Reiske's emendation of ms. ἄδικίας or ἄδικου, restores the technical word that would have been found in the original document, but that does not occur otherwise in P[lutarch]'.
62 See e.g. Harp. α 31 ἄδικίου· οἶον ἄδικήματος. ἔστι δὲ ὄνομα δίκης. ἀποτίννεται δὲ τοῦτο ἀπλοῦν, ἐὰν πρὸ τῆς θ' πρυτανείας ἀποδοθῆ· εἰ δὲ μὴ, διπλοῦν καταβάλλεται. ('adikion: "wrong done". This is the name of a crime. If the fine is paid before the ninth presidency, it is paid once; but if it is not, the fine is doubled'.) See also Hsch. α 1134 ἄδικίου· εἶδος δίκης Ἀθήνησιν.

63 54.2 ἂν δ' ἀδικεῖν καταγνώσιν, ἀδικίου τιμῶσιν, ἀποτίνεται δὲ τοῦθ' ἀπλοῦν, ἐὰν πρὸ τῆς θ' πρυτανείας ἐκτείσῃ τις, εἰ δὲ μὴ, διπλοῦται. τὸ <δὲ> δεκαπλοῦν οὐ διπλοῦται. ('but if they [scil. the Jury] find him guilty of maladministration, they assess the damage [scil. the crime of malversation], and the fine paid is that amount only, provided that it is paid before the ninth presidency; otherwise it is doubled. But a fine of ten times the amount is not doubled' (transl. H. Rackham)).

64 On these two fragments, see the commentary by Olson (2016) and (2017) *ad loc.* On the first fragment, see also the commentary by Telò (2007) *ad loc.* On this topic in general, see Olson (2017) 20–21 and Storey (2003) 338–48.

Metrically speaking, assuming that the fragment is continuous, it could be part of an iambic trimeter. Two possible arrangements are

$$\langle x - \cup - \mid x \cup > \cup \cup \cup \cup \mid - - \cup -$$

and

$$\langle x \cup > \cup \cup \cup \cup \mid - - \cup - \mid \langle x - \cup - >.$$

3.2 Aristophanes of Byzantium (?) (περὶ προσωδίας, l. 92)

κάνθον· Ἀριστοφάνης βαρύνει ἐν τῇ περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων διαλέκτου.

‘kánthōn (“eye”): barytone, according to Aristophanes in his *On the dialect of the Alexandrians*’.

If one excludes textual corruptions, at first sight the Aristophanes mentioned here can be none other than the famous grammarian Aristophanes of Byzantium (ca. 265/257– ca. 190/180 BCE). However, some considerations challenge this attribution. No other source mentions that Aristophanes wrote a treatise on the dialect of the Alexandrians, and even though he must have had a strong interest in the Attic dialect in his Ἀττικαὶ λέξεις (fr. 337–47 Slater), no other work of his on a specific dialect is attested. Additionally, W. J. Slater observed that only three fragments dealing with accentuation are attributed to Aristophanes, and he noted that even these fragments might perhaps be attributed to Aristarchus instead.⁶⁵ What is under discussion is not whether Aristophanes knew accentuation and prosody in general – he surely did – but whether these concepts were just in his mind (as ‘Grammatik im Kopf’)⁶⁶ or were actively employed in his exegetical activity. More recently, on the other hand, other scholars such as F. Pontani seem to be less skeptical about Aristophanes’ involvement in accentuation,⁶⁷ and the same is true for A. C. Cassio who, in a personal communication, pointed out to me that in fr. 382 Slater Aristophanes is quoted by Apollonius Dyscolus about a principle regarding the accentuation of prepositions, thus a systemic issue: it would be quite weird if he was wrong in this passage. It should be also observed that κánθος / κανθός was surely part of

65 See Slater (1986) 210: ‘Herodian reports that Aristophanes accented εἰδῶ at η 317, but since there are no other certain examples of accentuation attributed to him save gl. 382 and gl. 400, perhaps Aristarchus is meant’. On Aristophanes and accentuation, see also Callanan (1987) 26–31 and Probert (2006) 22.

66 For this well-known concept, see Ax (1991) 288. On this topic, with reference to Aristophanes and Aristarchus, see also Schenkeveld (1993) 275–8.

67 See Pontani (2011) 49. In his edition of the *Odyssey* scholia, Pontani does not question the attribution of the fragment to Aristophanes at schol. Hom. Od. η 317e.

Aristophanes' vocabulary, since this term occurs in the epitome of his *περὶ ζώων*, even if the word is here inherited from Aristotle's *Historia animalium* (491b.23).⁶⁸

While leaving open the possibility that the fragment does indeed belong to Aristophanes,⁶⁹ in case it does not, one should look at other suitable candidates. The only two grammarians that are credited with a work entitled *περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων διαλέκτου* are Aristarchus' pupil Demetrius Ixion (second century BCE)⁷⁰ and Minucius Pacatus Irenaeus (first century CE).⁷¹ Let's start by discussing the second option. Minucius Pacatus Irenaeus' treatise on the dialect of the Alexandrians is only preserved in three, maybe seven, small fragments.⁷² These fragments mainly deal with lexical and morphological issues, rather than prosodic ones. On the other hand, only one fragment coming from Demetrius Ixion's *περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων διαλέκτου* is preserved:⁷³

Dem. Ix. fr. 40 Staesche (= Athen. *δείρη*. 9.48.34–36) τὴν μέσην δὲ τοῦ ὀνόματος συλλαβὴν ἐκτείνουσιν Ἀττικοὶ ὡς δοΐδουκα καὶ κήρυκα, ὡς ὁ Ἰξίων φησὶ Δημήτριος ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων διαλέκτου.

'Athenians lengthen the middle syllable within the word, as in *δοΐδουκα* ("pestle") and *κήρυκα* ("herald"), as Demetrius Ixion says in his *On the dialect of the Alexandrians*.

This fragment is very interesting because, like our Aristophanes of Byzantium (?) fragment, it deals with prosody, in particular with a vowel quantity within a certain kind of word. To support the hypothesis that the author of our fragment could be Demetrius, note that Trypho surely knew Demetrius' works, since he quotes Demetrius at least once.⁷⁴ As discussed above, Trypho may be one of the main sources of the *περὶ προσωδίας*, perhaps the most ancient one, and this fragment could therefore come from his work. Obviously, Trypho could not have quoted Irenaeus, since Irenaeus lived after Trypho.

From a palaeographical point of view, we must admit that it is very difficult to understand how the names *Εἰρηναῖος* or *Ἰξίων* (provided they were written in their

68 The epitome is edited by Lampros (1885). Lampros' conjecture *καρθοί* in place of the transmitted *Ξαρθοί* ('errore rubricatoris D', Lampros in the apparatus) is surely correct.

69 It is also possible that the corruption is wider than it seems, and that here the text is referring to both Aristophanes and another grammarian, author of a *περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων διαλέκτου*.

70 On Demetrius Ixion, see especially van Thiel (2000) 6 with n. 16 and 7, and Ascheri (2006).

71 On Minucius Pacatus Irenaeus, see especially Regali (2020).

72 Frs. 1–3 Haupt are explicitly attributed to this work by the sources of these fragments. Reitzenstein (1897) 383 supposes that frs. 5, 9, 12 and 15 might belong to this work too. On Irenaeus' *περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων διαλέκτου*, see Pagani (2015) 819–20 and Regali (2020).

73 On this work, see Staesche (1883) 19–20.

74 Ap. Dysc. pron. 89.14–16 (= Tryph. fr. 31 von Velsen) Τρύφων συγκατατιθέμενος τῷ Ἰξιῶνι φησὶ 'τὴν σφέ ἀνωνομίαν κατ' ἐπένησεν τοῦ ω δυϊκῆν γενέσθαι τῆς αὐτῆς πτώσεως, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν σφίν, ὡς τοῦ ω πτωτικοῦ ὄντος δυϊκῶν' (Trypho, agreeing with Ixion, says: "the pronoun *sphé* by the insertion of *omega* becomes dual of the same case, and *sphín* as well, since the *omega* connected with cases is typical of the dual").

abbreviated form) could have been corrupted into Ἀριστοφάνης, unless due to confusion with another lemma or the loss of something in the middle.

As for the substantive *κάνθος* / *κωνθός*, it is first attested in Hippocrates.⁷⁵ It also occurs in Aristotle,⁷⁶ probably once in Callimachus,⁷⁷ once in Moschion,⁷⁸ once in Cercidas,⁷⁹ once in Nicander⁸⁰ and so on.

3.3 Aristarchus of Samothrace

Aristarchus of Samothrace (216–144 BCE) was well acquainted with accentuation. Indeed, many of the extant fragments from this grammarian are related to accentuation and pronunciation in general. Aristarchus' main method for determining the position of the accent within a given word was the analogical one. As witnessed by several Homeric scholia attributed to Herodian, the main reason for Aristarchus to state the position of accents was to distinguish in meaning between two (or more) homographs.⁸¹

3.3.1 *αὐτόμολος* / *αὐτόμολος* (περὶ προσφῶδιας, l. 10).

αὐτόμολο<ς>. Ἀρίσταρχος παροξύνει. τὸ δὲ ἐν τῇ κοινῇ συνηθείᾳ αὐτόμολος προπαροξύνεται.

'*automólos* ("deserter)": Aristarchus puts the acute on the penultimate syllable. In the common language, *autómolos* is proparoxytone'.

No parallel for the prescription of the accentuation of *αὐτόμολος* / *αὐτόμολος* is found. This term was quite widespread before Aristarchus' period, but it was much more common in prose than in poetry⁸² and it is not attested in epic at all. The most frequent attestations of this term are in Herodotus.⁸³ The fragment may belong to Aristarchus' *Commentary on Herodotus*: this exegetical work included Herodotus' first book, as demonstrated by a third-century CE papyrus, P.Amh. II 12, which at the end of one of its two columns

75 Epid. 7.1.11.58, morb. 2.12.42, loc. 3.4, hebd. 46.28, acut. 2.7.

76 Hist. an. 419b.23, 504a.25; part. an. 657a.30, 657b.18, 691a.23.

77 Aet. fr. 177.28 βρέγματι, καὶ κανιθῶν ἡλασιαν ὄρον ἄπο (the verse is restored by Norsa-Vitelli on the basis of EGEn α 1544.5 and EM 117.17).

78 Fr. 9.9 Sn.

79 Fr. 7.2 Pow.

80 Ther. 673.

81 Cf. schol. Hom. Il. A B 153a. On Aristarchus and accentuation, see Matthaios (1999) 233–4; Probert (2006) 22–4, 28–9, 42–43; Schironi (2018) 109–17 and 377–412.

82 As for poetry, the term is attested once in Menander (Asp. 43) and twice in Machon (fr. 15.231 and 245) – although the latter was probably a contemporary to Aristophanes – as well as in two titles of works by Pherecrates (Αὐτόμολοι) and Epicharmus (Ὀδυσσεὺς αὐτόμολος).

83 The term is attested ten times in Herodotus (2.30.2, 2.30.4, 2.31.4, 3.156.2, 6.38.9, 6.79.2, 6.80.4, 7.219.4, 8.26.1, 9.76.2) and three times in Thucydides (2.57.1.5, 4.118.7.1, 5.2.3.2).

carries the following subscription: Ἀριστάρχου Ἡροδότου ᾧ ὑπόμνημα.⁸⁴ That Aristarchus' commentary could have involved Herodotus' book 2 too – and not only book 1 –, has recently been supposed by Matijašić.⁸⁵ αὐτομόλος / αὐτόμολος does not occur in book 1, but it does occur twice in book 2. This obviously does not make it certain that the fragment comes from Aristarchus' commentary on Herodotus book 2 – many occurrences of the term are found in other writers and works⁸⁶ – but it remains a possibility.

It is common for Aristarchus to oppose literary usage to common language (ἡ συνήθεια):⁸⁷ it is therefore likely that the second part of the lemma also comes from Aristarchus.

3.3.2 ἀκαρῆς (περὶ προσφῶδιας, l. 14).

ἀκαρῆς· Ἀρίσταρχος περισπᾷ.

'akarēs ("small"): Aristarchus puts the circumflex on the last syllable'.

No parallel for ἀκαρῆς as perispomenon is found, since the nominative of this term should normally be oxytone, while its accusative form (ἀκαρῆ) is perispomenon:⁸⁸ it is possible that the lemma is corrupt and the intended form is the accusative.

This adjective is not attested in epic, but it has several occurrences in comedy, mainly in Aristophanes,⁸⁹ and so the fragment may belong to Aristarchus' commentary on this poet.⁹⁰

3.3.3 Κρότων / κροτών (περὶ προσφῶδιας, l. 106).

Κρότων· Ἀρίσταρχος βαρύνει ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ζῶου, ὀξύνει.

'Krotōn (Crotona): Aristarchus writes this word as barytone, when it refers to the city; when it refers to the animal instead [i.e. the tick], he writes the word as oxytone'.

This fragment should be added to the list of those Aristarchean fragments which are clearly meant to disambiguate the meaning of two homographs on the basis of their different accents.⁹¹ The city name is too frequently attested to guess at the

84 See the edition by Montana (2019) 39–61.

85 Matijašić (2013).

86 Especially since the term occurs, for example, also in Menander (see *supra*), a poet in whom Aristarchus may have been interested: see Montana (2007).

87 Schironi (2018) 599–601. On the opposition between the style of a certain author (ἡ ιδιότης) and the common language (ἡ συνήθεια), see also Meijering (1987) 228–9.

88 For the difference between ἀκαρῆς and ἀκαρῆ, see e.g. Ammon. 25; Phot. α 713, 714 and 716; EGud 62.21.

89 It occurs five times in Aristophanes (Nub. 496, Vesp. 541 and 701, Av. 1649, Plut. 244), once in Xenarchus (fr. 7.15 K.-A.), once in Alexis (fr. 148.1 K.-A.) and three times in Menander (Asp. 307, Dys. 695, Pk. 356).

90 On this commentary, see Pfeiffer (1968) 224, Muzzolon (2005) and Montana (2020) 212.

91 See Schironi (2018) 111–12.

provenance.⁹² On κροτών ('tick') as paroxytone (κρότων), see, *contra*, Suid. κ 2482 and EGud 349.19.24 Sturz.

3.3.4 χροία, χροίας (περὶ προσφθιάς, I. 188).

χροία καὶ χροίας· Ἀρίσταρχος βαρύνει.

'*chroía* and *chroías* ["skin", scil. nominative and genitive]: barytone, according to Aristarchus'.

The fragment may belong to Aristarchus' commentary on Homer, but given the very frequent occurrences of this term, it is impossible to state the origin of the fragment with certainty.

According to the *Suda*, *χροία* is the Attic form of this substantive (in opposition to the oxytone form, which belongs to the koine):

Suid. χ 552 Χροία: χροία δὲ παροξυτόνως οἱ Ἄττικοί. ὡς ἤδομαι πρῶτα τὴν χροίαν ἰδῶν. ἢ δὲ κοινῇ ὀξυτόνως. Χρόα δὲ βαρυτόνως, ὡς ψόα.

'*Chroía*: in Attic *chroía* is paroxytone, as "I am delighted to see the skin (*chroían*) first" (Ar. Nub. 1171). In the koine, the term is oxytone. *Chróa* is barytone, like *ψόα* ("muscles of the loins")'.

In addition, the barytone form of this term with the loss of *iota* (i.e. *χρόα*), is cited as Attic in the *Etymologicum magnum*:⁹³

EM 679.25–43 (= Hrd. παθ. 280.4–19) Ποιῶ: Παρὰ τὸ ποιόν· ἢ παρὰ τὸ πονῶ, ἀποβολῆ τοῦ ν, καὶ πλεονασμῶ τοῦ ι. Ἰστέον ὅτι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀποβάλλουσι τὸ ι, λέγοντες ποῶ. [...] Λέγουσι δὲ τινες, ὅτι οὐ πάντως οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀποβάλλοντες τὸ ι καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τόνον φυλάττουσιν· ἰδοὺ γὰρ τὸ χροιά, γινόμενον παρ' αὐτοῖς κατὰ ἀποβολὴν τοῦ ι χρόα, βαρύνεται. [...]

'*Ποιῶ* ("to do"): from *ποιόν* ("of a certain nature"), or from *πονῶ* ("to work hard"), by the loss of *nu* and the addition of *iota*. It must be known that Athenians lose the *iota*, saying *ποῶ*. Some people say that the Athenians do not always preserve the accent, when removing an *iota*: *chroía* ("skin"), after becoming *chróa* in their dialect by the loss of *iota*, is barytone'. [...]

92 Given the high number of occurrences in Herodotus' work (3.131.1, 3.131.2, 3.136.11, 3.137.2, 3.138.1, 5.44.3, 5.45.1, 5.47.3), this fragment may belong to Aristarchus' commentary on that historian. But, as already mentioned, there is no evidence that Aristarchus commented on Herodotus' books beyond book 1 and (maybe) 2.

93 Cf. also *epim. Hom.* π 151 and *Ps.-Hrd. part.* 154.5.

3.4 Seleucus (?) (περὶ χρόνων, I. 27)

θύμα· ἐκτείνουσι, ὡς Σέλευκος ἐν τῷ περὶ διαλέκτων.

‘θύμα (“sacrifice”): they lengthen [scil. the *hypsilon*], as Seleucus does in his *On dialects*’.

As with the fragment attributed to Aristophanes, this one also presents some problems concerning its attribution. The Seleucus mentioned here must be the so-called Ὀμηρικός, a grammarian active in Alexandria at the court of Tiberius (first half of the first century CE).⁹⁴ Most of his extant fragments belong to a commentary on the Homeric poems (fr. 1–26 Müller) and to a glossary (γλῶσσαι, fr. 36–68 Müller),⁹⁵ where he shows an interest in both lexicography and dialectology. In some fragments, he is even interested in prosody, such as the accentuation and aspiration of words (see, for example, fr. 66 on σησαμῖν and fr. 70 on ταῶς). The problem is that no other source mentions a treatise on dialects (περὶ διαλέκτων) by him in the strict sense.

Moreover, the very same fragment is attributed to the first-century BCE grammarian Aristocles of Rhodes⁹⁶ in the *Epimerismi Homerici*, as well as in other lexicographical and exegetical sources:⁹⁷

epim. Hom. κ 18 Dyck 1κύματα (B 144): ἐκ τοῦ κυκῶ δευτέρας συζυγίας τῶν περισπωμένων. [...] κινᾷ ἔστι μακρὸν τιὸ υἱ· τὰ εἰς μα δισύλλαβα τῷ υ παραληγόμενα συστέλλουσιν αὐτό, οἷον πλύμα χύμα θύμα· σεσημείωται τὸ κύμα, τὸ δὲ λύμα ποιητικῶς ἐκτείνεται, τὸ δὲ θύμα ἱστορεῖ Ἀριστοκλήης ἐν τῷ Περὶ διαλέκτων ἐκτείνόμενον.

‘*kýmata* (“waves”): from *kykḗ* (“to stir”) of the second conjugation of perispomena verbs. [...] The *hypsilon* is long. Disyllabic words ending in *-ma* and having *hypsilon* in their penultimate syllable, make *hypsilon* short, such as *plýmata* (“water used in washing”), *chýmata* (“fluid”), *thýmata* (“sacrifice”). Note that *kýmata* and *lýmata* (“water used in washing”) have a long *hypsilon* in poetry. Aristocles in his treatise on dialects says that *thýmata* is long’.

Another fragment is attributed to the same work in Herodian’s *περὶ διχρόνων*, and this fragment also deals with vowel quantities (those within words ending in *-ις*):

94 On Seleucus, see e.g. Müller (1891), Ucciardello (2006) and Baumbach (2008).

95 He also wrote commentaries on Hesiod (fr. 27–33 Müller), Aeschylus’ *Seven against Thebes* (fr. 34 Müller) and Solon’s laws (fr. 35). Furthermore, he wrote a treatise on *Hellenismos* (περὶ Ἑλληνισμοῦ, fr. 69–70 Müller). For other fragments and works attributed to him, see Baumbach (2008).

96 On Aristocles of Rhodes, see especially Corradi (2019).

97 See also EGud 353.33–40 Sturz; EM 545.1–9; schol. *Batr.* 69; schol. *Op.* 1.225.

18.14–17 Τὰ εἰς ις λήγοντα βαρύτονα ἀεὶ συστέλλει τὸ ι, εἰ μὴ σύνθετα ὑπάρχοι ἐξ ἀπλῶν ἐκτεινόντων τὸ ι, κόνις, δῆρις, μάντις, ὄρχις, ὄφις, λάτρις, ὄρνις, Ἀριστοκλῆς δὲ ἐν τῷ περὶ διαλέκτων φησὶν Ἀττικοὺς ἐκτείνειν.

‘Barytone words ending in *-is* always have the short *iota*, unless they are compounds that come from simple forms with long *iota*, like *kónis* (“dust”), *dḗris* (“battle”), *mántis* (“prophet”), *órchis* (“testicle”), *órhis* (“serpent”), *látris* (“hired servant”), *órnis* (“bird”); but Aristocles in his treatise on dialects says that Athenians lengthen the *iotas* within these words’.

That both Seleucus and Aristocles commented upon the quantity of *hyp̄silon* in the word *θῦμα* in their treatises on dialects is possible, but maybe untrue. As already mentioned, no source attributes a *περὶ διαλέκτων* to Seleucus except for our *περὶ χρόνων*. Although Seleucus surely dealt with accentuation and aspiration, there is no evidence that he commented upon vowel quantity. On the other hand, many sources report that Aristocles did write a *περὶ διαλέκτων*, and besides the fragment on *θῦμα* another fragment of his also deals with vowel quantities. Very little is known about either Aristocles’ or Seleucus’ grammatical activity, but based on what is extant, perhaps the most likely hypothesis is that the name *Σέλευκος* in our *Parisinus* manuscript is a corruption from *Ἀριστοκλῆς* (although this corruption is very difficult to explain from a paleographic point of view: compare *supra* on the possibility that *Ἀριστοφάνης* was corrupted into *Ἰξίων*, or *Εἰρηναῖος*).

The two lexica also provide new *testimonia* for three previously known tragic fragments.

TrGF 585a and b Kn.-S., respectively *ἀλκηστής* (‘sea-bream’) and *ἀμυντής* (‘defender’), are attested in Photius’ *Lexicon* and the *Suda*:

Phot. α 1270 Ἀμύντης καὶ ἀλκήστης· ἴσπρατηγικά· καὶ Αἰσχυληρὰ τὰ ὀνόματα.

Suid. α 1681 Ἀμύντης καὶ ἀλκήστης, τραγικά καὶ Αἰσχυληρὰ τὰ ὀνόματα.

‘*Amýntēs* and *alkḗstēs*, these words are tragic and Aeschylean’.

These are ll. 19 and 20, respectively, in the *περὶ προσφῶδιας*. As for *ἀμυντής*, it is also cited by the *Etymologicum magnum*⁹⁸ as being oxytone – while according to Photius and the *Suda* this term is paroxytone, like *ἀλκήστης*. *ἀλκηστής* was marked as oxytone as well by Dindorf in the TLG *ope ingenii*, and the correctness of his emendation is hereby confirmed.

Furthermore, l. 55 in the *περὶ χρόνων* attributes to Sophocles (without any identification of the play) the use of the term *σιρός* (‘silo’) with long *iota*. This fragment could match fr. 276 R. *σιροὶ κριθῶν*, which belongs to the play *Inachus* and is transmitted by a scholium on Demosthenes:

⁹⁸ EM 346.5–6 Παρὰ δὲ Ἀττικοῖς ὀξύνεται τὸ καθαρτής· ἀμυντής, ἐπὶ τοῦ βοηθοῦ (‘*Kathartēs* (“cleanser”) is oxytone for Athenians, as is *amýntēs*, which means “defender”). See also schol. Soph. El. 70.

schol. Demosth. 8.61b σιροῖς] τὰ κατάγεια. Θεόπομπος (FGrHist 115 F 349) καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Ἰνάχῳ (fr. 254 N.2) ‘σιροὶ κριθῶν’.

‘sīrois] the silos. Theopompus, and Sophocles in his play *Inachus*: “sīroi (‘silos’) of barleycorns”’.

Note that no other source gives us information on the quantity of *iota* within this word in Sophocles.

4. Implicit clues of peculiar pronunciations

In a personal communication, A. C. Cassio pointed out to me that, in several cases, these lexica give implicit clues to some peculiar pronunciations – particularly recessive accents – in ancient and Byzantine times. This paragraph relies totally on his observations and owes a great debt to him.

The prescription on ἀποδόσθαι (περὶ προσ. I. 6) must reflect the pronunciation with recessive accent *ἀπόδοσθαι (the compiler here wants to say, ‘do say/write ἀποδόσθαι, and not ἀπόδοσθαι as you are used to doing’), and the same is true of such forms as *γένεσθαι, *δέδεσθαι, *πίθεσθαι, *λάβεσθαι (περὶ προσ. I. 38). Prescriptions on the traditional, paroxytone accentuation of nouns ending in -ία (such as γωνία, γενία, ἱστορία, συνθεσία and ἀρτηρία, see περὶ προσ. I. 43) must reveal recent, different pronunciations of these nouns with a retracted accent.⁹⁹ The prescription of διδοῦσι (περὶ προσ. I. 47) wants to correct the vernacular pronunciation δίδουσι, which is very well attested in the Byzantine period. Our lexicon prescribes διασπάσθαι (περὶ προσ. I. 56; one would actually expect διασπᾶσθαι), probably meant to correct a common pronunciation *διάσπασθαι, which in turn may have been favoured by the loss of the long quantity of alpha (in practice the word was pronounced with the same accent and quantity as πράξασθαι). ἐχθρίῳ (περὶ προσ. I. 62, a verb not otherwise attested) probably reveals a pronunciation *ἐχθρίῳ. ἰμάντος and ἀνδριάντος (περὶ προσ. I. 83), witness the lengthening of alpha in the spoken language, which is similar to the case of ἐνθά μιν or φύλλά τε in Homer, in which the first syllable, with a short vowel as nucleus and a nasal or liquid as coda, was ‘susceptible d’intonation’¹⁰⁰ and as a consequence treated like the one of δῆμός τις from an accentual viewpoint. κυῶ (περὶ προσ. I. 89) witnesses the alternation between the forms κύω and κυέω. As to κάθησθαι (περὶ προσ. I. 98 in the place of correct καθῆσθαι), the retracted accent must be attributable to the analogy κάθεσθαι from thematic κάθομαι, a verb still alive and well in Modern Greek.

99 See Schol. Hom. II. 2. 339 b (prob. < Herodian): οὕτως συνθεσία τε ὡς θυσία τε. ὅσοι δὲ προπαροξύνουσι πταίουσιν. τῆς γὰρ μεταγενεστέρως Ἀθηδῶς ἢ τοιαῦδε ἀνάγνωσις. A. On this topic, see Scheller (1951) 136–9.

100 See Vendryès (1904) 85.

5. Critical edition

|^{16r} περι προσφθιάς

- 1 ἄληθές· ὀξύτωνος τὸ ὄνομα λέγουσιν. ἄληθες δὲ βαρυτόνωσ τὸ ἐπίρρημα.
- 2 Ἄνα{γ}κες· ὅταν ἐπὶ τῶν Διοσκόρων προπαροξύνουσι. τὸ δὲ ἀνα{γ}κές ὀξύνουσιν ὅτι ἐστὶν ἐπιθετικόν, καὶ κατὰ στέρησιν τοῦ ἄκουσ. ἀνα{γ}κῶς περισπῶσι· |^{16v} δηλοῖ δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἡ λέξις τὸ ἐν φροντίδι καὶ ἐπιμελ{λ}εῖα εἶναι.
- 3 ἀρπαγή· ὅτε σημαίνει τὸ ἀρπάζειν ὀξύνεται. ὅτε δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ σκεύους παραλαμβάνεται ἀρπάγη· ἀρπάγη δὲ λέγεται δι' ἧς ἐκ τῶν φρεάτων τοὺς κάδους λαμβάνουσι.
- 4 ἀχιλλ<ε>ία ἡ μάζα παροξύνεται. ἀχιλλ<ε>ια προπαροξύνεται ὅτε σημαίνει τὰ ἄλφια.
- 5 ἀδικίων· περισπῶσιν. ἀδικίων παροξύνουσιν, ὡς βιβλίων, ὁπότε ἀπ' εὐθείας πέπτωκε τῆς τὰ ἀδίκια· Εὐπολις·
ἀδίκια τῶν σιτίων. [fr. novum]
- 6 ἀποδόσθαι· πρὸ τέλους ἡ ὀξεῖα. ἡ μέντοι συνήθεια ἀλόγως <προ>παροξύνει τὸ ἀπόδοσθαι.
- 7 ἄχρειος· προπαροξύνεται Ἀττικῶς καὶ ἀναλόγως. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἀχρεῖος.
- 8 ἀποχρη· περισπῶσι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἀπόχρη παροξυτόνωσ.
- 9 ἀ{σ}παρτί· ὀξύνουσι τὴν τελευταίαν Ἀττικοί, καὶ βραχύνουσι.
- 10 αὐτομόλο<ς>· Ἀρίσταρχος παροξύνει. τὸ δὲ ἐν τῇ κοινῇ συνηθείᾳ αὐτόμολος προπαροξύνεται.
- 11 λέγεται καὶ ἀγροῖκος καὶ ἄγροικος· ὅτε δὲ προπερισπᾶται, σημαίνει τὸν ἐν ἀγρῷ διατρίβοντα.
- 12 ἀτεχνῶσ· καὶ περισπῶσι καὶ παροξύνουσι. σημαίνει δὲ τὸ περισπῶμενον τὸ ἀπλῶσ. τέσσαρα μόνον ἐπιρρήματα ἴσως εἰσὶ παραλόγως βαρυνόμενα· συμπερισπᾶσθαι γὰρ αὐτὰ ἔδει τῇ γενικῇ τῶν πληθυντικῶν· αὐτάρκως, κακοήθως, νοσάδως, αὐθάδως.
- 13 ἀτταγάσ· περισπῶσιν.
- 14 ἀκαρῆς· Ἀρίσταρχος περισπᾶ.
- 15 ἀρνεῶσ· κατ' ὀξεῖαν τάσιν.
- 16 ἀχυρῶν· κατ' ὀξεῖαν τάσιν. τὸν ἀχυρῶνα λέγουσιν.
- 17 αἰῖξ καὶ ὀξύνεται κατὰ τινος κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογία, καὶ περισπᾶται κατὰ τινος.
- 18 ἀδελφε· προπαροξύνουσιν Ἀττικοί.
- 19 ἀμυντὴν τὸν βοηθὸν, ὀξύτωνος λέγουσιν.
- 20 ἀλκηστής· ὀξύνουσιν.
- 21 Ἀδικράν [Hdt. 4.159]· ὀξύνουσι, ὡς νεκράς, εὐκράς.
- 22 ἡμέρα· βαρύνουσιν.
- 23 ἄναντες, πρόσαντες· |^{17r} προπαροξύνουσι.
- 24 ἀγόραιον· ὁμοίως.
- 25 αὐθημερόν· ὀξύνουσι.
- 26 ἀλοπέκεως, χελιδόνεως, βασίλειως, ἵππεως· προπαροξύνουσι.
- 27 ἀμυγδάλως· βαρύνουσιν ἐπὶ τοῦ καρποῦ. ἀμυγδαλάς περισπῶσιν.
- 28 ἀττελεβός· ὀξύνουσι.

- 29 Ἀχαΐα ἢ Δημήτηρ, προπερισπῶσιν.
- 30 ἄθροως· παροξύνεται. ἄθροος δὲ τὸ κατὰ στέρησιν τοῦ θροῦ τρίτην ἐκ τέλους ποιεῖ τὴν ὀξεῖαν.
- 31 ἀρχιέρεως· προπαροξύνουσιν.
- 32 ἢ ἄνθη· βαρύνεται.
- 33 αὐξή· ἐν τῇ συνηθείᾳ ὀξύνεται. τινὲς δὲ τὴν λέξιν βαρύνουσι.
- 34 βομβυλιός· ὀξύνεται.
- 35 βαύνουσ· παροξύνουσιν. σημαίνει δὲ ἡ λέξις καμίνους.
- 36 βλάστη· βαρύνεται. <παροξυτονεῖν ἀξιούσι> καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ὀνόματα †τῶν μνηῶν†.
- 37 βασιλίνδα· παροξύνει ἢ συνήθεια.
- 38 γενέσθαι, δεδέσθαι, πιθέσθαι, λαβέσθαι· παροξύνουσιν. τὸ μέντοι παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ
 π[ε]ῖθεσθέ μοι, ὡς ἀγορεύω [Od. 24.461]
 προπαροξύνεται.
- 39 γύλιον· προπαροξύνουσιν.
- 40 γέλοιος· ὁμοίως.
- 41 γήραντα, ἴσταντα· ὁμοίως.
- 42 γληχῶν· ὀξύνουσι, καὶ θηλυκῶς ἀποφαίνονται. λέγεται καὶ χωρὶς τοῦ N, καὶ κατὰ μεταβολὴν τοῦ Γ εἰς Β. τάττεται καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ γυναικείου αἰδοίου.
- 43 γωνία, γενία, ἱστορία, ὁμιλία, συνθεσία, ἀρτηρία· βαρύνουσι.
- 44 γενοῦ· περισπῶσι.
- 45 πυθοῦ, λαβοῦ, γρυ, γλαυξ· ὁμοίως.
- 46 δοχμή· ὀξύνουσι.
- 47 διδοῦσι· προπερισπῶσι.
- 48 δικρόν· ὀξύνεται.
- 49 Φιλήμων· παροξύνεται.
- 50 δάκετον· προπαροξύνεται.
- 51 διαλ<λ>ακτής· ὀξύνεται.
- 52 δασεῖ· περισπῶσι.
- 53 δένδραν· βαρυτόνως. καὶ δεινδρῶν περισπωμένως λέγουσι, δένδρη.
- 54 δισεπτά λέγουσι, ἀλλ' οὐν γε ἐν τριβῇ τὸ παροξυτόνον.
- 55 δεκάπαλαι· προπαροξύνεται.
- 56 διασπάσθαι, ἀνασπάσθαι· παροξύνεται.
- |^{17ν} 57 δαΐδιον· τρίτην ἀπὸ τέλους ἢ ὀξεῖα.
- 58 δου[.]της, τριέτης, οἰκέτης· βαρύνεται, ὡς δαΐδων, Μήδων.
- 59 δύσερως· προπαροξύνεται.
- 60 Διοσκόροι· πρὸ τέλους ἢ ὀξεῖα.
- 61 ἐπὶ κλην· παροξύνεται.
- 62 ἐχθριῶ τὸ ἐχθραίνω περισπωμένως.
- 63 ἔρημον· προπαροξύνεται.
- 64 τὸ δὲ δῆμος Θρία, ἢ μέντοι <ἄρρηγ> εὐθεῖα Θριῶς ἐστίν.
- 65 ἐνδύδα· παροξύνεται.

- 66 ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐπέκεινα· προπαροξύνεται, παραλόγως· ἡ γὰρ ἐπεὶ οὐδέποτε συντίθεται μετὰ ἀντωνυμιῶν.
- 67 ἐνώπιον· προπαροξύνεται.
- 68 εἰς πάντα· παροξύνεται.
- 69 ἔρκιος τὸ ὄνομα <προπαροξύνεται>. ἐρκεῖος <προ>περισπῶσιν.
- 70 ἔνβραχυν· προπαροξύνουσι. σημαίνει δὲ ἡ λέξις τὸ συντόνας καὶ ἀπλῶς.
- 71 εὐδαμιον· προπαροξύνουσι.
- 72 Ἐλευ<θε>ράς τὸ τοπικὸν ὀξύνουσι, τὸ δὲ ἐπιθετικὸν βαρύνουσι· ὥσπερ μελαινας τὸ ἐπιθετικὸν βαρύνουσι, τὸ δὲ τοπικὸν ὀξύνουσι.
- 73 ἐπίπλα· πρὸ τέλους ἢ ὀξεῖα.
- 74 <ἐπ>ηλύτην· παροξύνουσι.
- 75 Θαλαμάς· ὀξύνουσι, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῶν Διοσκόρων. θαλάμας βαρύνουσι, ὅποτε τὰς καταδύσεις σημαίνει.
- 76 θριᾶ τὰ φύλλα συκῆς περισπῶσιν.
- 77 Θαλῆς· περισπῶσιν, ὡς Ἑρμῆς.
- 78 Θήσειον· προπαροξύνουσι.
- 79 θρομβοὺς· ὀξύνουσι, ὡς πολλοὺς.
- 80 Θετάλλη· οἱ νεώτεροι τῶν Ἀττικῶν βαρύνουσι, ὡς δαμάλη.
- 81 θεμέλιον καὶ θήλυδες· προπαροξύνουσι.
- 82 Θρᾶξ· περισπῶσιν.
- 83 ἱμάντος, ἀνδριάντος· προπερισπῶσιν.
- 84 ἴδου· τὸ προστακτικὸν ῥῆμα βαρύνουσι.
- 85 ἴκτινος· προπαροξύνουσι.
- 86 ἰτέα, μηλέα, καρύα, περσέα· παροξύνουσι.
- 87 Ἰκάριοι· προπαροξύνουσι.
- 88 ἰδέ, λαβέ, φερέ, εἰπέ· ὀξύνουσι.
- 89 κυῶ· περισπῶσιν.
- 90 καθᾶψε· προπερισπῶσιν· οὕτω καὶ ὁ λόγος.
- 91 Κολώνου· βαρύνουσι, ὡς Κορώνου.
- 92 κάνθον· Ἀριστοφάνης βαρύνει ἐν τῇ περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων διαλέκτου.
- 93 κόλοβος· προπαροξύνεται.
- 188 94 κρεῶν· περισπῶσι.
- 95 κλέπτων· βαρύνουσι.
- 96 κλεπτικόν, κου[φ]οτής· ὀξύνουσι Ἀττικοί.
- 97 καθαρτής, βραδυτής, ταχυτής· ὁμοίως.
- 98 κάθησθαι, Κυνόσαργες· τρίτην ἐκ τέλους.
- 99 κ<ρ>αμβόν· ὀξύνουσι.
- 100 καταδέρθειν· βαρύνουσι.
- 101 κλειδίων· προπαροξύνουσι.
- 102 κάτω, κάρα· παροξύνουσι.
- 103 Καλλισθενῶν· περισπῶσιν, καὶ τὰ ὁμοίως.
- 104 καταγέλως· παροξύνουσι.

- 105 κραγόν· ὀξύνουσιν.
 106 Κρότων· Ἀρίσταρχος βαρύνει ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ζώου, ὀξύνει.
 107 κάκη· βαρύνεται ἐπὶ τῆς κακώσεως.
 108 καταπυγών· ὁπότε τίθηται ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγάλῃν ἔχοντος πυγῆν <παροξύνεται>· τὸ{ν} δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ καταφεροῦς προπερισπᾶται.
 109 ληδίων· παροξύνουσιν.
 110 λαρινοί· τῇ τάσει ὡς ἀλγεινοί.
 111 λεά, νεά· ὀξύνουσιν.
 112 λεπαστήν· ὁμοίως.
 113 λαβέσθαι, ιδέσθαι, μεθέσθαι· παροξύνουσιν.
 114 μῶρος· προπερισπῶσιν.
 115 ἴλινοπίς· ὀξύνουσιν.
 116 λαγῶς· περισπῶσιν.
 117 μόχθηρος· τρίτην ἐκ τέλους, ὅτε σημαίνει τὸν ἐπίπονον.
 118 μεθυπλήξ· ὀξύνουσιν.
 119 Μαρικᾶς· περισπᾶται.
 120 μισητή{ς} ἢ καταφερῆς, βαρύνουσιν· μισητή δὲ, ὀξύνουσιν ἢ ἄξια τοῦ μίσους.
 121 μάκρος τὸ οὐδέτερον, βαρύνουσιν. τὸ δὲ ἀρσενικόν, ὀξύνουσιν.
 122 μελαγχρῆς· ὀξύνουσιν.
 123 μέδιμνος· προπαροξύνουσιν.
 124 μυρσίνας· παροξύνουσιν.
 125 μυριῶν, χιλίων· περισπῶσιν.
 126 μεθύσθαι· παροξύνεται.
 127 νοσῶδων· παροξύνει Ἀρίσταρχος· ὁ δὲ λόγος ἀλόγως βούλεται.
 128 νυνί· ὀξύνουσιν.
 129 νύμφιος ὁ παστὸς, προπαροξύνουσιν.
 130 νεότης· παροξύνουσιν.
 131 νύνη καὶ Ἰνύνην· ὁμοίως παροξύνουσιν.
 132 ξυρεῖν· περισπῶσιν.
 133 οὐλάς· ὀξύτόνως λέγουσι τὰς κριθάς.
 134 οἰσυπηρά· ὀξύνουσιν.
 135 οὐλόν· τὸ ἐν τῇ συνηθείᾳ ὀξυνόμενον. οὐλον προπερισπῶσιν.
 136 οὐκ ἐτός· ὀξύνουσιν.
 137 ὀρφῶς· περισπῶσιν.
 138 πάλημα· προπαροξύνουσιν.
 139 πριῶν· ὀξύνουσιν· πριόνος τομήν.
 140 πριῶ· περισπῶσιν τὸ προστακτικόν.
 141 πλανῶ καὶ φυσῶ· περισπῶσιν.
 142 περίστων· προπαροξύνουσιν.
 143 προστῶν· προπερισπῶσιν.
 144 π[.] π[.] ὀξύτόνως ὁ ποιητῆς ἀναγι<γ>νώσκει.
 145 πλήθρον· Ἀττικοὶ προπερισπῶσιν.

- 146 πλευρίτιν, νεφρίτιν, πρεσβύτιν· προπερισπῶσιν.
 147 πρωτόλεια· προπαροξύνουσι.
 148 πτεόν· ὀξύνουσιν Ἄττικοί, ὅπερ λέγομεν ἡμεῖς πτύον διὰ τοῦ Υἱ βαρυτόνωσ.
 149 πανάγη· βαρύνουσι.
 150 πόλεων, μάντεων, λέξεων, ὄψεων· προπαροξύνουσι.
 151 προῖξ· περισπῶσιν.
 152 πριάσθαι, καὶ πυθέσθαι, καὶ παραθέσθαι, καὶ ὑποθέσθαι, καὶ διαθέσθαι·
 παροξύνουσι.
 153 παιδίον· παροξύνουσι.
 154 ἱπλατεῖν· περισπῶσιν.
 155 παρεῖαι ὄφεις [Crat. fr. 225 K.-A.]· προπερισπῶσιν.
 156 πάμαλα· ὑφὲν ἀναγιγνώσκουσι.
 157 ρόφειν· βαρύνουσι.
 158 ῥινή ὁ τῶν χαλκῶν ὀξύνεται, ἡ δὲ θαλαττία βαρύνεται.
 159 σηπία· βαρύνουσι, καθάπερ γωνία.
 160 στελεόν· ὀξύτόνωσ λέγουσι. λέγεται καὶ ἀρσενικὸν στελεός.
 161 σκορπίος· παροξύνουσι.
 162 σκινδαλαμος· καὶ ὀξύνουσι καὶ προπαροξύνουσι.
 163 Σύνερωσ· προπαροξύνουσι.
 164 Σάβοι· βαρύνουσι.
 165 συνεργός· ὀξύνουσι.
 166 σιρόν· ὀξύνουσι.
 167 τρήμη· βαρύνουσι.
 168 <αὐ>τουργούσ· ὀξύνουσι.
 169 τροπαῖον· οἱ παλαιότεροι προπερισπῶσιν.
 170 τῶσ· περισπῶσιν καὶ δασύνουσι.
 171 τορύνη· ἐκτείνουσι τὸ Υἱ καὶ βαρύνουσι.
 172 τίθηνος· προπαροξύνουσι, ἐπὶ τοῦ τρέφοντος καὶ τρεφομένου.
 173 τάναγρα· προπαροξύνουσι.
 174 τιμῶρια, τραγῶδια· προπαροξύνουσι.
 175 τίμαιος· ὁμοίως.
 176 τυφῶσ· περισπῶσιν.
 177 τρίβος· παροξύνουσι.
 178 ὕδρορ<ρ>οάς· ὀξύνουσι οἱ νεώτεροι. ὕδρορ<ρ>οάς οἱ παλαιοὶ Ἄττικοί
 βαρύνουσι.
 179 ὑπέρφευ, ὑπέρευ· παροξύνουσι.
 180 φαλῆς· περισπῶσιν.
 181 φιλαπέχθ<ημ>ον· προπαροξύνουσι.
 182 φρούριον· ὁμοίως.
 183 φαρμακόν· Ἴωνες οἱ νεώτεροι ὀξύνουσι.
 184 φράτηρ· βαρυτονοῦσι. Δωριεῖς δὲ ὀξύνουσι.
 185 φακῆ· περισπῶσιν Ἄττικοί.

- 186 φοριαμός· ὀξύνουσιν.
 187 χοᾶ· περισπῶσιν. χόα <δέ>, βαρύνουσιν.
 188 χροία καὶ χροίας· Ἄρισταρχος βαρύνει.
 189 χάριεν· προπαροξύνουσιν.
 190 χερνίβας· παροξύνουσιν, καὶ |^{19†} οὕτω εὐρίσκεται παρὰ τοῖς κειμένοις τραγικοῖς.
 191 χαμάζε· προπερισπῶσιν.
 192 χ{ε}λιδή· ὀξύνουσιν, ὡς τρυφή.
 193 χάμαθεν· προπαροξύνουσι, καὶ ἄνευ τοῦ I γράφεται.
 194 χνόη· βαρύνουσιν.
 195 ψαλτής· ὀξύνουσιν.
 196 ψυλλῶν· περισπῶσιν, ἐκ τοῦ αἰ ψύλλαι. Ψύλλ<λ>ων δὲ βαρύνουσιν, ἐκ τοῦ οἰ
 Ψύλλοι. καὶ τὸ θηλυκὸν δὲ <...>.
 197 <ῶ πόποι...> ὅταν δύο περισπωμένας λάβῃ ἐπὶ τοῦ γενομένου ἀπὸ τοῦ μόχθου.
 198 ῶ· τὸ δοτικὸν ἄρθρον. ἐπίρρημα δὲ ῶ, περισπῶσιν. τὸ δὲ σχετλιαστικόν, ὀξύνουσιν.

περὶ χρόνων

- 1 ἄκονιτί, ἄμισθί, ἄπνευστί, ἄναμιωτί· διχῶς καὶ ἐκτείνουσι καὶ συστέλλουσι.
 2 ἀλμυρός· ἢ δευτέρα μακρὰ παρὰ τοῖς Ἄττικοις.
 3 Ἀμαζών· ἐκτείνει τὴν δευτέραν συλλαβήν.
 4 ἀμελείᾳ· τὸ τελευταῖον Α ἐκτείνει. ὁμοίως ἀδρανεῖᾳ, εὐσεβεῖᾳ, εὐμαθεῖᾳ καὶ
 συνηθεῖᾳ.
 5 ἀνδρίζου· συστέλλει τὴν δευτέραν.
 6 ἄνᾶν, ἄπᾶν· ὁμοίως.
 7 ἄνᾶλτος· ὁμοίως, καὶ ψιλοῦται.
 8 Ἀτρέᾳ, βασιλέᾳ· τὸ ἐπὶ τέλους Α ἐκτείνουσι.
 9 ἀμφιφερέᾳ [Il. I.45], δυσκλέᾳ· συστέλλουσι.
 10 βόθῦνος· ἐκτείνουσι τὸ Υ̅.
 11 βέλτιον, κάλλιον, ἥδιον, ἰατρός, τορύνη, ξυρόν· ταῦτα πάντα καὶ ἐκτείνουσι καὶ
 συστέλλουσι.
 12 βούλιμος· ἐκτείνουσι.
 13 γνωμιδῖον· τὸ δεύτερον <I> συστέλλει.
 14 Γύγης· ἐκτείνει τὸ Υ̅.
 15 γλύφειν· συστέλλουσι τὸ Υ̅.
 16 γονεᾶ· ἐκτείνει τὸ Α.
 17 Διονύσιον· συστέλλει τὴν παραλήγουσαν, οὕτω καὶ Ἀπολλώνιον.
 18 ἐνέπρισεν· ἐκτείνει τὸ I. πρίσαι δέ, ἐκτείνει.
 19 εὐκλείαν, εὐροῖαν, ἐννοῖαν· ἐκτείνουσι τὸ Α.
 20 ἐωλοκρασιᾶ· τὸ τελευταῖον Α μακρόν.
 21 θρίναξ· καὶ ἐκτείνουσι καὶ συστέλλουσι.
 22 Θριάσιον· τὸ πρῶτον ἐκτείνει.
 23 θρίον· ἐκτείνει.

- 24 θύρᾶζε· ἡ παραλήγουσα βραχεῖα.
 25 θύειν· καὶ ἐκτείνουσι καὶ συστέλλουσι.
 26 θύλακος· ἐκτείνει τὸ Υ̅.
 27 θύμα· ἐκτείνουσι, ὡς Σέλευκος ἐν τῷ περὶ διαλέκτων.
 28 ἰατρός· ἡ πρώτη διχῶς.
 29 ἰχθύδια· ἐκτείνουσι τὸ Υ̅.
 30 ἱερεῖᾶ· τὸ Α̅ ἐκτείνει.
 31 ἱμάντα, |^{19v} ἀνδριάντα· τὴν παραλήγουσαν ἐκτείνουσιν.
 32 κηρυκίνη· μακρὸν ἔχει τὸ Ι, ὡς Ἀμφιτρίτη.
 33 κᾶτᾶρα· ἡ πρώτη συστέλλει, καὶ ἡ δευτέρα μακρά.
 34 κάτᾶγμα· ἡ δευτέρα βραχεῖα.
 35 καλαμῖς, κεραμῖς· συστέλλουσι τὴν τελευταίαν.
 36 λίαν· Ἀττικοὶ μακρύνουσιν, ὁ ποιητὴς καὶ ἐκτείνει καὶ συστέλλει.
 37 λῦσιτελές· τὸ Υ̅ συστέλλει.
 38 Μακεδονία· ἡ τελευταία μακρά.
 39 μύστακα· ἡ μέση συστέλλεται.
 40 μεῖζαι· ΕΙ διχῶς γράφεται.
 41 ξῦ<ρ>εῖν, καὶ ξῦρόν, καὶ ξῦρῶ· μακρὸν τὸ Υ̅.
 42 ὄρνις· μακρὸν.
 43 οἰκίδιον· μακρὸν τὸ δεύτερον.
 44 πίτυρα· μακρὰ ἡ μέση.
 45 πέρδικας· συστέλλει τὴν μέσην. ὁμοίως χοινῖκα.
 46 πελᾶργός· συστέλλει.
 47 πτύω· συστέλλει.
 48 πλοκαμῖς, ρίπῖς, καλαμῖς, κεραμῖς· συστέλλει τὴν τελευταίαν.
 49 <ρ>ᾶγδαῖος· μακρὸν τὸ Α̅.
 50 ράβδος· συστέλλει τὸ Α̅.
 51 ραφανίδας, ὄρνις, αἰγίδια, σῖδια· ταῦτα διχῶς φασί. καὶ τὸ σηπίδιον.
 52 στρῦφνός· ἐκτείνει.
 53 σπλαγχνίδια· ἐκτείνει τὸ ΧΝΙ.
 54 στέᾶρ· ἐκτείνει.
 55 σῖρος· συστέλλουσι, ποιητικῶς δὲ ἐκτείνει Σοφοκλῆς [fr. 276 R. ?].
 56 τέρᾶτα· συστέλλει τὸ πρῶτον Α̅.
 57 ὑίεις· ἐκτείνει.
 58 Ὑμηττός· διχῶς.
 59 ὑδαρής· διχῶς.
 60 φρέᾶρ· ἐκτείνει.
 61 φιτύσαι· βραχεῖα ἡ μέση.
 62 φύμα· διχῶς.
 63 ψημῦθιον· ἡ δευτέρα μακρά.
 64 ψώρα· διχῶς.
 65 ὄριον· συστέλλεται. παρὰ δὲ τῷ ποιητῇ ἐκτείνεται [Od. 9.131].

Apparatus criticus¹⁰¹

περὶ προσφῶδιας

1 ἄληθες scripsi] ἄληθές cod.

2 ἀνακῶς ἢ ἀναγκῶς μετὰ τοῦ Γ in folii marginem inferiorem adnotavit scriba αὐτοῖς cod., Ἀττικοῖς fort. recte

3 λαμβάνουσι cod. p.c., λαμβάνομεν cod. a.c.

8 ἀπόδοσθαι] ἀποδόσθαι cod.

10 παροξύνει scripsi] παροξύνουσι cod. a.c., παροξύνεται cod. p.c.

12 αὐτάρκως, κακοθήως, νοσῶδως, αὐθάδως scripsi] αὐταρκῶς, κακοθηῶς, νοσοδῶς, αὐθαδῶς cod. lemma suspectum, idem in EM 171.40 (fort. interpolatum?)

14 ἀκαρῆ fort. recte περισπᾶται cod.

20 ἄξια F. Pontani per litteras] ἐκ cod.

21 Ἀδικράν] -κράς cod. νεκράς cod., νεκάς fort. recte

22 ἀμέρα prop. F. Pontani per litteras

24 ἀγόραιον scripsi, cf. e.g. Ammon. 11 et Philop. diff. voc. α α 2 (vel ἀγόρε<υ>ον vel ἄγορον [Eur. Herc. 412]?) ἀγόρεον cod.

27 ἀμιγδ- hic et infra cod.

36 κανόνων pro τῶν μηνῶν prop. anonymus arbiter

38 π[ε]ίθεσθέ Hom.] πείθεσθέ cod.

36 <παροξυτονεῖν ἄξιούσι> addidi e Phot. α 3187

40 ὁμοιος cod.

42 αἰδείου cod.

43 γωνία, γενία, ἱστορία, ὀμιλία, συνθεσία, ἀρτηρία· βαρύνουσι scripsi (cf. l. 159)] γώνια, γένια, ἱστόρια, ὀμίλια, συνθέσια, ἀρτήρια· προπαροξύνουσι cod.

44–5 unam glossam malit P. Probert per litteras, fort. recte

49 hoc lemma suspectum, fort. ad lemma antecedens haec verba e.g. δικρόν· ὄξυνεται. Φιλήμων παροξύνει (vel δικρόν· ὄξυνεται, <ῶς> Φιλήμων· [...]) (verbum a littera δ-incipiens) παροξύνεται prop. anonymus arbiter)

54 λέγουσι δισεπτά cod. ἐν τριβῆ] ἐντριβεῖ cod.

58 δου[.]της lacunosum ob rasuram

64 τὸ δὲ δῆμος Θριά, ἢ μέντοι <ἄρρηγ> εὐθεῖα Θριάς ἐστίν scripsi (cf. Steph. Byz. 8.59), sed corruptela multo amplior mihi videtur] τὸ δ' ἐν τῷ δήμῳ θραῖ [!], ἢ μέντοι εὐθεῖα Θριάς ἐστίν cod.

65 ἐνδύδα suspectum, sed cf. Hsch. ε 2830 (†ἐνδύδαν· ἔωθεν†). ἐνδύτα vel Ἐνδηΐδα fort. recte

68 εἰσάντα pro εἰς πάντα prop. F. Pontani per litteras

69 Ἐρκιος scripsi, ἐρκίος cod. ἐρκεῖος scripsi, ἐρμεῖος cod.

70 ἀπλῶς scripsi (vel ὄλως?), cl. e.g. synag. ε 328 et Phot. ε 825

101 When not otherwise specified in the apparatus, the additions or deletions marked with hook and curly brackets within the text are mine.

- 71 εὔδαμων cod.
 73 ἐπίπλα cod.
 80 Θεττάλη scripsi, cl. Ammon. 405.18] θαττάλοι cod.
 81 θήλυδος [Soph. fr. 1054 R.] fort. recte
 90 καθᾶψε F. Pontani per litteras] καθᾶ δέ cod.
 92 Ἀριστοφάνης cod., Εἰρηναῖος vel Δημήτριος fort. recte., sed amplior corruptela fort. latet Ἄλεξανδρέων scripsi, ἄλεξάνδρου cod.
 100 καταδέρθειν F. Pontani per litteras] καταδέρθην cod.
 103 de Καλλισθενῶν vd. app. loc.
 108 κατὰ πυγῶν cod. προπερισπᾶται cod., sed περισπᾶται possis
 115 Ἴλινοπίς cod., λοιπὶς vel λινοπλήξ fort. recte (vd. Suid. λ 567). λινοπάξ prop. F. Pontani per litteras
 119 Μαρικᾶς scripsi (cf. etiam Hdn. cath. pros. 50.12), μαρικῶς cod.
 124 μυρρίναι fort. recte (cf. e.g. Moer. μ 23)
 131 προπαροξύνουσιν cod. p.c. s.l Ἴνύναην cod., νύνδι prop. F. Pontani per litteras
 136 οὐκ ἐτός A. C. Cassio per litteras] οὐκετός cod.
 138 πάλημα scripsi (cf. etiam Poll. 7.21.6)] πάληνα cod.
 144 π[.] π[.]οξυτόνωσ lacunosum ob rasuram. fort. π[ρο]π[αρ]οξυτόνωσ recte, ad lemma 143
 152 παραθέσθαι, καὶ ὑποθέσθαι, καὶ διαθέσθαι om. cod., deinde redint. in mg.
 154 πατεῖν fort. recte
 158 ὀξύνουσι et βαρύνουσι cod.
 163 Σύνερωσ suspectum
 168 <αὐ>τουργούς F. Pontani per litteras
 169 <τῶν Ἀττικῶν> vel <Ἀττικοί> post παλαιότεροι fort. supplendum est
 170 δασύνουσιν conii. P. Probert per litteras] βαρύνουσιν cod.
 171 τορύμη cod.
 174 προπαροξύνουσιν P. Probert per litteras ὁμοίως cod.
 181 φιλάπεχθον cod.
 186 φοριαμὸς suspectum (sed cf. EGud 556.37 Sturz Φορίαμος, εἰς τὸ ὄκα et 556.56 Sturz Φορίαμον, κιβόπιον). φοριαμὸς fort. recte
 196 αἰ ψύλλαι scripsi] αἰ ψύλου cod. οἱ Ψύλλοι scripsi] ὁ ψυλός cod. <Ψύλλα> in lacunam fortasse?
 197 <ὦ πόποι. . . > addidit F. Pontani per litteras
 198 ᾗ scripsi] ᾧ cod. δοτικὸν scripsi] δοκῶς cod. ᾧ scripsi] ὄν cod.

περὶ χρόνων

- 1 ἀναιμοσί cod.
 6 ἄνᾶν (vel Ἄναν? cf. Polyb. hist. 34.9.12) suspectum, sed cf. Hsch. α 4453
 11 τορύμη cod. ξυρόν suspectum (cf. l. 41), sed cf. Moer. ξ 5
 13 τὸ δεύτερον <I> scripsi (vel τὴν τρίτην fort. recte?)] τὴν δευτέραν cod.
 23 θρίον cod.

- 27 Ἀριστοκλήης pro Σέλευκος praeb. epim. Hom. κ 18
 30 ἐκτείνουσι] ἐκτείνει cod.
 35 cf. l. 48
 42 sed cf. l. 51
 47 πτώ scripsi] τύπτω cod.
 48 καλαμίς, κεραμίς fort. delendum (cf. l. 35)
 58 Ὑμηττός scripsi] ὕμητῶς cod.
 61 φιτύσαι cod.
 63 χημύθιον cod.

Apparatus locorum

περὶ προσφθιάς

- 1 Ptol. diff. verb. α 12; Ammon. 26; Philop. diff. voc. α α 20; Zon. 131.22–24; Thom. ecl. voc. Att. 34.14–16 cf. etiam Ap. Dysc. adv. 160.19–22 et Ps.-Arcad. 134.24–26
 2 Ael. Dion. α 118; Paus. α 111; Moer. α 147 et 148; Philop. diff. voc. β α 8
 3 Her. Phil. 28 et Ammon. 73 (= Tryph. fr. 12 von Velsen); Philop. diff. voc. α α 12; EGud 203.15–17 Stef.; Eust. in Il. 3.397.15–18; lex. synon. 57 de ἐκ τῶν φρεάτων τοὺς κάδους λαμβάνουσι cf. Ar. Eccl. 1004
 4 cf. Athen. deipn. 3.82 (= Tryph. fr. 118); Paus. att. 181; synag. α 2596; Phot. α 3440
 7 schol. Hom. Il. A–bT B 269a1–2; epim. Hom. A 79; Ps.-Arcad. 99.25–100.1 et 134.7–10; Eust. in Od. 2.174.19; Ps.-Choer. ποσότ. 284.19 ἀχρεῖος apud Ps.-Hrd. Philet. 241
 8 Moer. α 9 cf. etiam Ps.-Arcad. 198.3
 9 Phot. α 2267; Io. Alex. 176
 11 Ptol. diff. verb. α 13; Her. Phil. 7; Ammon. 6; Poll. 9.12.4–5
 12 Ammon. 84; Ptol. diff. verb. α 47; Philop. diff. voc. α 8; schol. Aristoph. pl. 109; EGud 226 Stef. EM 171.40; Zon. 338.22–23
 13 Phryn. ecl. 86 et PS 275*; Phot. α 3127; Eust. in Il. 3.226.21; EM 167.55–56
 14 Moer. α 64 e t 89; synag. α 657; Phot. α 714
 15 ἀρνεώς tantum apud Soph. fr. 723a?*** cf. Phot. α 2848
 16 Phryn. PS 9.19; epim. Hom. ζ 2
 17 cf. Io. Alex. 27; Philop. diff. voc. α α 3.3; Theogn. can. 800; epim. Hom. α 131; EGud 50 Stef.; Eust. in Il. 3.730.15 et in Od. 2.60.14; EM 36.55
 19–20 ἀλκηστής et ἄμυντής apud TrGF adesp. 585a–b schol. Soph. El. 70; Phryn. PS 175*; Phot. α 1270; Suid. α 1681 et ψ 16
 21 Ἀδικράν apud Hdt. 4.159
 22 Choer. epim. Ps. 39.11
 23 Ps.-Hrd. Philet. 245 cf. Io. Alex. 149.6–7
 24 Ammon. 11; Philop. diff. voc. α α 2; Suid. α 309; Zon. 19.15
 25 Io. Alex. 136.28
 26 Choer. in Th. Alex. can. 253.35–36

- 27 Athen. deipn. 2.40 (= Tryph. fr. 13 von Velsen); Ammon. 33; Zon. 150.7 cf. etiam Moer. α 15 et 98
- 29 cf. Or. 18.21
- 30 Or. 28.18 cf. etiam Philop. diff. voc. α α 4; EGen α 141; epim. Hom. α 100; EGud 33.7–14 Stef.; Eust. in Od. 1.13.32 etc.; EM 25.54
- 32 Ps.-Hrd. part. 269. 3–5; Ps.-Hrd. loc. prav. 249.1–13; synag. α 2417; Phot. α 3187; LexVind. α 8 cf. etiam Moer. κ 9 et Thom. ecl. voc. Att. 10.15
- 33 (Vd. app. Ad. l. 33) cf. etiam Moer. α 23
- 34 Or. 186.19–21; Ps.-Hrd. παθ. 171.5–7; Choer. epim. Ps. 7–10; EGud 533.14–16 Stef.; EM 380.37–40
- 35 Poll. 6.88.5 cf. etiam Moer. β 12; schol. Aristoph. Ach. 86a et c; Hsch. κ 4092
- 36 (Vd. app. Ad. l. 32) ὁ ποιητής, scil. Homerus
- 37 Io. Alex. 150
- 38 schol. Hom. Il. A H 282c, bT H 293c, A O 698 (= Tyrann. fr. 1.40), AbT Π 47a–b; EGen. λ 126; Ps.-Hrd. Philet. 252; Eust. in Il. 3.805; EM 567.28–38
- 40 Ael. Dion. γ 4; Ap. Dysc. pron. 50.4–6; Moer. γ 4; Theogn. can. 292; epim. Hom. γ 22; schol. Aristoph. Ra. 6; schol. Lond. DT 471.14–15; EM 224.40–4 cf. etiam Phryn. ecl. 199 (sed Γελάσιμον μὴ λέγε, ἀλλὰ γελοῖον) et Philop. diff. voc. α γ 6
- 42 schol. Aristoph. Ach. 874a–c et Lys. 89b; Phot. β 176; Suid. β 338 et γ 287; Zon. 440.8–9 de γληχών apud Iones (pro γλήχων), vd. Phryn. PS 53.17
- 45 Ps.-Hrd. Philet. 251; Ps.-Arcad. 196.14–19; Choer. in Th. Alex. can. 140.23–25 et 246.12; schol. Aristoph. Pl. 103b
- 46 cf. Ael. Dion. δ 30 et Moer. δ 41 (δόχη codd. C V, sed δοχημή cod. F)
- 47 Choer. in Th. Alex. can. 334.23–9; Zon. 543.25–7.
- 51 schol. Eur. Ph. 468
- 53 cf. Ael. Dion. δ 6
- 54 Phot. δ 667;
- 55 cf. Phot. δ 152, π 49 et π 371; Suid. δ 176
- 59 schol. Hom. Il. T X 473b; Ps.-Hrd. Philet. 253
- 60 cf. Phryn. ecl. 205; Eust. in Od. 1.417.20–2
- 61 cf. Hsch. ε 4862
- 63 Hrd. μov. 938.23; Ps.-Arcad. 69.12–13; Eust. in Il. 2.42.1–2
- 64 cf. Steph. Byz. 8.59
- 66 epim. Hom. ε 97, ε 172 et μ 70; Ps.-Hrd. Philet. 254
- 68–9 cf. Eust. in Il. 2.285.39
- 70 Io. Alex. 178; schol. Aristoph. vesp. 1120a cf. etiam Phot. ε 825
- 71 Io. Alex. 59; EM 130.46. cf. etiam Choer. in Th. Alex. can. 395.10–11; EGud 173.22–25 Stef.
- 75 Her. Phil. 94; Ammon. 222 (= Tryph. fr. 9 von Velsen); Ael. Dion. θ 2; Philop. diff. voc. e θ 5; EGud 253.14–16 Sturz; Eust. in Il. 3.397.17
- 76 cf. (sed θρία) EGud 265.21 Sturz
- 77 schol. Hom. Il. A O 302b1.8–9; Moer. θ 4; EM 442.7

- 78 Ps.-Hrd. loc. prav. 252.17; EGud 262.54 Sturz; EM 451.47 cf. etiam Hsch. θ 554
 80 Ammon. 405; schol. vet. Aristoph. nub. 749b; Suid. θ 289
 81 cf. etiam Moer. θ 11
 82 Io. Alex. 26; EGud 50.2–4 Sturz; EM 36.55; epim. Hom. α 131
 83 Io. Alex. 34
 84 Philop. diff. voc. a ι 2; Choer. in Th. Alex. can. 140.21
 86 Ps.-Hrd. part. 217.8; Theogn. can. 621; Ps.-Choer. ποσότη. 306.28
 88 schol. Hom. Il. A A 85c; schol. vet. Plat. Res. 514a, ter; Io. Alex. 92.3–4; Choer. in Th. Alex. can. 25.23; epim. Hom. A 85b; Eust. in Il. 1.533.22
 89 Heraclid. fr. 48 (= Eust. in Od. 1.45.11) cf. etiam Philop. diff. voc. a κ 19; EM 509.14; ESym. ε 209
 94 schol. vet. Aristoph. ran. 338d; Theod. can. 35.20; Choer. in Th. Alex. can. 356.18
 95 schol. vet. Aristoph. vesp. 900b
 96 Choer. in Th. Alex. can. 326.12; Thom. ecl. voc. Att. 193.11
 97 sch. vet. Soph. El. 70; Suid. ψ 16; EM 436.5; Thom. ecl. voc. Att. 185.11
 98 schol. vet. Demosth. 24.231.11; cf. Theogn. can. 232; Zon. 1272.13
 99 cf. Hsch. κ 3941; Phot. κ 1050
 103 cf. Io. Alex. 81; Theod. can. 7.19–8.3; Zon. 498.23–4; Choer. in Th. Alex. can. 179.18; schol. Vat. DT 128.11–13
 105 schol. vet. Aristoph. eq. 487a
 106 Steph. Byz. 1.144.9; Philop. diff. voc. a κ 17
 109 Eust. in Il. 4.190.23
 111 Theod. can. 16.5; Theod. τόν. 200.3; Io. Alex. 41.8; Choer. in Th. Alex. can. 248.28
 112 Athen. deipn. 11.70
 113 Vd. l. 38
 114 schol. vet. Aristoph. eq. 350b; Phot. μ 612; Suid. μ 1342; Eust. in Od. 1.67.5
 116 Io. Alex. 37; schol. Aristoph. vesp. 493c; Choer. in Th. Alex. can. 253.10; EM 635.36
 117 Ptol. diff. verb. 402.13–16 Hey.; Her. Phil. 140; Suid. μ 1310; Eust. in Il. 1.533.17; schol. rec. Aristoph. pl. 391b; Thom. ecl. voc. Att. 240.9–10
 120 Ammon. 322; Hsch. μ 1450; Philop. ε μ 13; Thom. ecl. voc. Att. 240.11
 121 schol. Hom. Il. A M 66a et Ψ 419α1; EM 727.1–4
 122 schol. Hom. Od. π 175.4–6; Phot. μ 223 (= Orus fr. 98); Eust. in Od. 2.120.12 cf. contra Moer. μ 18
 123 cf. Hsch. α 4020; Suid. α 4020; EM 150.7; Thom. ecl. voc. Att. 240.13
 125 Io. Alex. 77.18–19; schol. Aristoph. ach. 1055b; schol. Aristoph. eq. 660b; Suid. χ 308
 126 vd. l. 38
 127 Io. Alex. 198.10–11
 128 Io. Alex. 173
 129 Philop. diff. voc. a ν 4; Theogn. can. 311.7
 131 Io. Alex. 134; schol. Lond. DT 444.8–9
 132 Ps.-Hrd. Philet. 209

- 133 epim. Hom. ο 43.7; EGud 440.47 Sturz cf. etiam Erot. voc. Hipp. 104.1; schol. Hom. Od. T 393; Hsch. ο 1733; Choer. orth. 280.30–1; EGud 584.8–9 Sturz
- 134 cf. Moer. ο 38
- 135 schol. Hom. Il. A B 153a; schol. Hom. Il. A K 134b; Eust. in Il. 3.31.12–15; EM. 640.50
- 137 Io. Alex. 37.1–2; Choer. in Th. Alex. can. 253.10; schol. Aristoph. vesp. 493c Vd. contra Poll. 6.50.4 (ὀρφός ἢ τὸ Ἀττικώτερον ὀρφός)
- 139 Phot. π 1168
- 141 Ps.-Hrd. part. 181.7; Choer. in Th. Alex. can. 14.31
- 142–3 Hrd. fr. 52 Hunger (= Philemon Fr. novum); EM 665.4–5; Hrd. fr. 52 Hunger cf. etiam Poll. 78.1–2 et Moer. π 11
- 148 vd. (sed de πτέον, nec πτεόν): Poll. 10.128.2–4; Ael. Dion. π 73; Eust. in Il. 3.518.7–9 cf. etiam Poll. 245.2–3 et Paus. att. 37
- 150 Moer. μ 12; Io. Alex. 80–1; Theod. can. 41.14–16; Choer. in Th. Alex. can. 179.28
- 152 vd. l. 38
- 153 Suid. π 857 cf. etiam Her. Phil. 153 et Philop. diff. voc. b π 17
- 155 Ptol. diff. verb. 404.13–14 Hey. cf. etiam Harp. π 26; Hsch. π 765; Phot. π 344–5; Suid. π 585
- 156 Ap. Dysc. adv. 190.22–191.3; Or. 137.16–21; EM 698.45–50; schol. Aristoph. pl. 66d et 206a
- 157 Ael. Dion. ο 44 et ρ 12; EM 705.27–29
- 158 Philop. diff. voc. a ρ 2; Choer. orth. 255.6–9; Suid. ρ 169 cf. etiam Moer. ρ 8
- 160 Hrd. μov. 943.12–13; Theogn. can. 732.3–4
- 161 Poll. 6.50.4–5
- 162 Hsch. σ 1008; schol. rec. Aristoph. nub. th–thr 1301a–b cf. etiam Moer. σ 50 (sed σχινδαλμός ἐν τῷ χ Ἀττικοί· σκινδαλμός Ἕλληνας)
- 164 vd. Steph. Byz. 18.4; Suid. σ 12
- 165 cf. Ptol. diff. verb. σ 141; Ammon. 452; Philop. diff. voc. a σ 14; Eust. in Od. 2.330.45–6; EGud 516.8–10
- 167 Eust. in Il. 3.241.1–2; EM 726.53–6
- 169 schol. vet. Aristoph. thesm. 697; Suid. τ 1049; Eust. in Il. 1.533.12–14; schol. Vat. DT 131.19; EM 796.16–17
- 170 Athen. deipn. 9.57 (= Tryph. fr. 5 von Velsen); Eust. in Il. 2.27.8 de τωός, cf. etiam schol. Aristoph. av. 268 et 269a; Io. Alex. 37; Choer. in Th. Alex. can. 253.31–32
- 171 Hrd. διχρ. 10.33 cf. etiam schol. vet. Aristoph. av. 78 et [Did.] lex. Plat. 1004
- 174 Moer. T4; schol. vet. Eur. Or. 425; Choer. in Th. Alex. can. 403.16–23
- 175 EGud 269.24 Stef.; EM 198.55; schol. Aristoph. pac. 62ab
- 176 Choer. in Th. Alex. can. 253.30–31
- 177 schol. Hom. Il. bT Ξ 372b cf. etiam Moer. υ 14 et schol. Eur. Or. 261
- 178 cf. Ps.-Arcad. 117.10–11
- 180 schol. Hom. Il. A O 302b1; schol. Aristoph. ach. 263b
- 183 Ael. Dion. φ 2; Phot. φ 64
- 184 epim. Hom. π 136.4–5

- 185 Zon. 1793.3–4; EM 538.49–50; schol. Aristoph. pl. 192f
 186 Ps.-Arcad. 68.21–69.2; schol. Hom. Il. A Ω 228a; EM 804.17–23
 187 Moer. χ 26; Choer. in Th. Alex. can. 238.1–6
 188 schol. Hom. Il. A Λ 437a–b1
 189 Ammon. 405; Io. Alex. 136.21–22; Choer. in Th. Alex. can. 211.30; schol. Aristoph. pl. 145; Suid. χ 103 cf. etiam Philop. diff. voc. χ 2
 190 χερνίβας apud e.g. Aesch. choe. 129, Eur. IT 244 et 335, phoe. 662, etc.
 191 Hrd. διχρ. 14.17 et μον. 95 1.28; Ael. Dion. χ 3 schol. Hom. Il. A Γ 29b; epim. Hom. χ 21 cf. etiam Ap. Dysc. adv. 194.18–21
 192 cf. Moer. χ 17
 193 Ael. Dion. χ 3 [. . .] τὸ δὲ χαμᾶθεν ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον (vd. Vessella 2018, 253–4) cf. etiam Ap. Dysc. adv. 187.7; Moer. χ 22; Thom. ecl. voc. Att. 393.13–14
 194 schol. Aesch. th. 153p et 154; schol. Soph. El. 716; epim. Hom. β 31; Suid. χ 359
 195 Hrd. μον. 946.5 (= Apollod. fr. 237a); Philop. diff. voc. ψ 2; Choer. in Th. Alex. 187.18
 196 cf. Ael. Dion. ψ 5; Hsch. ψ 267; Phot. 656.4–7; Suid. ψ 152; EGud 574.62–63 Sturz
 197 Io. Alex. 169; schol. Vat. DT 278.6–10
 198 Io. Alex. 143.14–17; Philop. diff. voc. ω 3; EGud 576.36–44 Sturz

περὶ χρόνων

- 1 Ap. Dysc. Adv. 161.4–12; Hrd. Διχρ. 19.19–28; synag. A 1913; Phot. A 2586; Suid. A 3454
 2 Hrd. Διχρ. 15.18–21
 5 Choer. Epim. Ps. 30.1
 6 de ἄπᾶν apud Iones vd. Ael. Dion. A 155; synag. A 1620; Phot. A 2250; Suid. A 2892; Eust. in Il. 1.82.2
 8 Hrd. Διχρ. 13.19–20; Mischl. Spirit. 192.20
 9 de δυσκλέα cum alpha longo apud Atticos vd. Schol. Hom. Il. Κ 281a
 10 Hrd. Διχρ. 10.23
 12 Hrd. Διχρ. 14.31–35
 17 Phryn. Ecl. 346; Ps.-Hrd. Loc. Prav. 252.12–17
 18 cf. Egud 468.35–37 Sturz
 19 Ael. Dion. E 71; schol. Eur. Or. 30; Phot. E 2227; EM 462.4–5; Esym. Γ 190 vd. etiam schol. A M 281a–b1
 23 cf. supra περὶ προσφθίας §76
 24 Hrd. διχρ. 14.15–17; Io. Alex. 161; epim. Hom. χ 21; EGud 560.55 cf. Moer. θ 10
 25 Choer. in Th. Alex. can. 75.1–5
 27 Choer. epim. in Ps. 81.25–7; epim. Hom. κ 18
 30 Choer. in Th. Alex. can. 221.35–8
 33 Choer. epim. in Ps. 39.15
 34 cf. Moer. κ 20
 35 Hrd. fr. 53 Hunger (= Trypho Fr. novum); Hrd. διχρ. 18.25–32
 36 Ammon. 298; Hrd. διχρ. 12.29–31; Phot. λ 496; EParv λ 8; epim. Hom. π 134
 39 Phot. β 318

- 41 cf. Ps.-Hrd. Philet. 209
 43 Phot. o 88
 44 Moer. π 29
 45 Athen. deipn. 9.41; Hrd. δρχρ. 9.10–17; Choer. in Th Alex. 223.30–31
 46 Phryn. ecl. 80
 48 Hrd. δρχρ. 18.25–32
 51 de ῥαφανίδας vd. Phryn. ecl. 142; cf. etiam Hrd. δρχρ. 18.28–29 de ὄρνις cf. Hrd. δρχρ. 18.14–17; Ps.-Arcad. 34.1–4; epim. Hom. o 46; schol. T M 218b2; EM 632.9
 52 Hrd. δρχρ. 14.29–30; Hrd. μον. 947.1
 54 Hrd. δρχρ. 12.10–11
 56 Hrd. δρχρ. 8.3–4
 58 Steph. Byz. 20.29
 59 cf. Moer. υ 9
 60 Hrd. δρχρ. 12.10–11
 62 cf. epim. Hom. κ 133.4
 63 Moer. ψ 3
 64 cf. Moer. ψ 6 et epim. Hom. ω 6

Sigla in the apparatus locorum

Ael. Dion. = Aelii Dionysii atticistae fragmenta, ed. H. Erbse, *Untersuchungen zu den attizistischen lexika*, Berlin 1950, 94–151.

Ammon. = Ammonii qui dicitur liber De adfinium vocabulorum differentia, ed. K. Nickau, Leipzig 1966.

Ap. Dysc. adv. = Apollonii Dyscoli περὶ ἐπιρρημάτων, ed. R. Schneider, GG 2.1, Leipzig 1878, repr. 1965, 119–20.

Ap. Dysc. pron. = Apollonii Dyscoli περὶ ἀντωνυμίας, ed. R. Schneider, GG 2.1, Leipzig 1878, repr. 1965, 3–116.

Apollod. = *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum (FGH Hist)*, vol. 1, ed. K. Müller, Paris 1853, 428–69.

Ps.-Arcad. = Pseudo-Arcadius' *Epitome of Herodian's De prosodia catholica*, ed. S. Roussou, Oxford 2018.

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Choer. in Th. Alex. can. = Choerobosci Scholia in Theodosi Alexandrini canones, ed. A. Hilgard, GG 4.1 (103–17) et 2 (1–371), Leipzig 1889–94.

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EGud. .Sturz = *Etymologicum Graecae linguae Gudianum*, ed. F. G. Sturz, Leipzig 1818.

EM = *Etymologicum magnum*, ed. Th. Gaisford, Oxford 1848.

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Hrd. $\mu\omicron\nu$. = *Herodiani technici perì $\mu\omicron\nu\eta\rho\omicron\nu\varsigma$ $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\xi\epsilon\omega\varsigma$* , ed. A. Lentz, GG 3.2, Leipzig 1870, 908–52.

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