Λέξεις ῥωμαῖαι κατὰ στοιχεῖον in *Barocci* 50 and *Burney* 124: On Greek Lexicographical Sources and the *Suda*

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T HE SHORT TREATISE Λέξεις ῥωμαῖαι κατὰ στοιχεῖον (henceforth abbreviated Λέξεις) consists of a small number of entries in alphabetical order, each of which contains a lemma and its gloss. Most of the lemmata are Latin loanwords used in Greek, but the treatise also includes a couple of words which are not attested anywhere else. The Λέξεις is transmitted in two manuscripts: the tenth-century *Barocci* 50 (fol. 109ᵛ–110ᵛ),[1] kept in the Bodleian library in Oxford, and a seventeenth-century copy of *Barocci* 50, namely *London Burney* 124 (fol. 122ʳ⁻ᵛ),[2] kept in the British Library. *Barocci* 50 is a parchment codex written in minuscule script, originally consisting of 387

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[1] For the date see H. O. Coxe, *Bodleian Library Quarto Catalogues* I (Oxford 1969) 70–78. The MS. is available online at https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/901e221a-988f-4202-8c4d-941509e2c868/surfaces/9f01102a-802d-46f0-8e0e-a3119c058902. A. Adler, *Suidae lexicon* I (Leipzig 1928) p. V, mentions in her preface that in editing the text she found useful the material in the Λέξεις. For a codicological analysis of the MS. see F. Ronconi, "La miscellanea che non divenne mai silloge: il caso del Bodl. Barocci 50," in R. M. Piccione and M. Perkams (eds.), *Selecta Colligere* II (Alessandria 2005) 295–353. For discussion on the origin of this manuscript see e.g. N. G. Wilson, "On the Transmission of the Greek Lexica," *GRBS* 23 (1982) 369–375, with further bibliography. Adler lists the Λέξεις among the grammatical sources she employed in her edition (I p. XVIII). She refers to this treatise as *Explicationes vocum Latinarum, quarum pars in codice Barocciano 50 exstat*. In her critical apparatus she reports the relevant readings and variant readings of *Barocci* 50.

[2] For the date see *The British Library Summary Catalogue of Greek Manuscripts* I (London 1999) 71–73.

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folios of which eight are now missing.[3] It contains a large miscellany of texts, including grammatical and poetic texts such as Theognostus' *Canones*, Choeroboscus' Περὶ ὀρθογραφίας, Museus' *Hero and Leander*, and the *Batrachomyomachia*.[4] *Burney* 124 is made of paper and consists of 136 folios.[5] It contains extracts from miscellaneous texts taken from various manuscripts kept in the Bodleian Library, and could be the hand of some Oxford scholar.

Some of the entries in the Λέξεις appear also in other lexicographical sources: mostly in the *Suda* and in a couple of cases also in Hesychius, Photius, Pseudo-Zonaras, and the Συναγωγή λέξεων χρησίμων. More specifically, my discussion below includes fifteen entries from the Λέξεις, thirteen of which are also in the *Suda*, two in Hesychius, two in Photius, one in Pseudo-Zonaras, and two in the Συναγωγή λέξεων χρησίμων. Inevitably, out of all these other lexicographical sources, my focus will be on the *Suda*. Some of the entries transmitted in the Λέξεις appear in the very same way in the *Suda*, while others differ in their lemma or their gloss. The differences between the Λέξεις and the *Suda*, and the two entries which are solely attested in the Λέξεις, have either gone unnoticed or understudied. This article highlights and offers an appraisal of this underexamined material. I aim to provide a better understanding of certain words used at least in written Greek and to elucidate the transmission history of the texts examined and the sources from which they derive their material.

1. *Errors suggesting that the corruption in Barocci 50 and/or the Suda must have occurred already in their source(s), before the lemmata were alphabetized in the Λέξεις and the Suda*

In this section I study three entries whose glosses are the same (or nearly the same) in the *Suda* and *Barocci* 50 but whose lem-

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[3] K. Alpers, *Theognostos Περὶ ὀρθογραφίας: Überlieferung, Quellen und Text der Kanones 1–84* (Hamburg 1964) 4, corrects Coxe, *Bodleian Library Quarto Catalogues* 70, who writes that seven folia are missing.

[4] See Coxe, *Bodleian Library Quarto Catalogues* 70–78.

[5] See *The British Library Summary Catalogue of Greek manuscripts* 71–73.

mata seem problematic. The first is transmitted under the lemma ἀπουρία (*Suda* α 3624; *Barocci* 50 fol. 110ᵛ.2), which is most probably wrong; the second under δηναδίπτρα in the *Suda* (δ 479) and under δωνάτιβα in *Barocci* 50 (fol. 109ᵛ.28); the third under προνκομισ(σ)άριος (*Suda* π 2520; *Barocci* 50 fol. 110ʳ.23), which might be wrong. If we correct the lemma ἀπουρία to σπουρία, δηναδίπτρα to δωνάτιβα, and προνκομισ(σ)άριος to κομπρομισσάριος (as suggested below), then the corrected lemmata will be out of alphabetical order. This suggests that these errors must have occurred at an early stage in the textual transmission, before they were alphabetized. The sources for our texts must have already contained the wrong lemmata.

1.1. The entry on ἀπουρία (σπουρία?)

Suda α 3624 reads:[6]

> Ἀπουρία: ἡ ἐξ ἀνίσων γάμων σπορά, ἀπὸ δούλης ἢ δούλου γεννωμένη.

> Ἀπουρία: the offspring of unequal marriage, begotten from a female slave or male slave.[7]

We find the same entry in *Barocci* 50 (fol. 110ᵛ.2), with a small number of scribal errors. The diplomatic transcription of this passage is:

> απουρία ἡ ἐξ ἀνίσων γάμων σπορά ἠ ἀπο δούλης ἠ ἀπο δούλου γεννώμενον (γενώμενον in the text, with a superscript ν for γεννώμενον)

The scribal error ἠ after the word σπορά leaves unclear whether the intended reading was the disjunctive ἢ or the article ἡ. If ἡ, one should change the transmitted γεννώμενον to γεννωμένη:

> ἀπουρία: ἡ ἐξ ἀνίσων γάμων σπορά, ἡ ἀπὸ δούλης ἢ ἀπὸ δούλου γεννωμένη.

> ἀπουρία: the offspring of unequal marriage, the one begotten from a female slave or male slave.

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[6] Other than that οἷον appears before ἀπὸ δούλης, the entry is the same in Pseudo-Zonaras α 245.16–17.

[7] All translations are mine except where otherwise indicated.

However, it is hard to see how γεννωμένη could have given rise to γεννώμενον. On the other hand, if the disjunctive ἤ with a variant gloss was intended, one should add before ἀπὸ δούλης the article τό in agreement with γεννώμενον. This seems palaeographically preferable and I therefore propose:

> ἀπουρία: ἡ ἐξ ἀνίσων γάμων σπορά, ἢ ⟨τὸ⟩ ἀπὸ δούλης ἢ ἀπὸ δούλου γεννώμενον.

> ἀπουρία: the offspring of unequal marriage or what is begotten from a female slave or male slave.

ἀπουρία is attested only in the *Suda* (α 3624), in Pseudo-Zonaras (α 245.16-17), and in *Barocci* 50 and *Burney* 124. Whitehead in the *Suda On Line* notes: "Its etymology is left unelucidated, but the obvious link would seem to be with urine."[8] I argue instead that the intended lemma must have been σπουρία. *Burney* 124 includes ἀπουρία in the main text but provides σπουρία in the margin. This is probably a conjecture because it is preceded by the abbreviation ισ. for ἴσως ("perhaps").[9] In both *Barocci* 50 and *Burney* 124 the lemma ἀπουρία occurs where one would expect words beginning with σ- (in general these manuscripts follow an alphabetical order, at least for the first letter of the word). Thus, ἀπουρία either starts with the wrong letter (a scribal error) or has been wrongly alphabetized.

Two reasons convince me that σπουρία in *Burney* 124 is the correct reading: (i) the word σπουρία fits the gloss attested in the *Suda* (and Pseudo-Zonaras) and in *Barocci* 50 and *Burney* 124, for σπούριος "bastard/false" is borrowed from the Latin *spurius* "son of an unknown father";[10] (ii) the corruption can be explained on palaeographical grounds with recourse to Latin, if one accepts that it occurred when the lemmata were still written in Latin.

[8] http://www.cs.uky.edu/~raphael/sol/sol-entries/alpha/3624.

[9] *Burney* 124 offers two other good readings for two lemmata reviewed below. I discuss the status of the good readings in the margin of this MS. in section 7 below.

[10] See E. Dickey, *Latin Loanwords in Ancient Greek: A Lexicon and Analysis* (Cambridge, forthcoming) s.v. σπούριος.

The change of *s* to *a* likely happened in the Latin script, e.g. in the Roman pen-written cursive of the second century A.D., due to similarity.[11] *Figure* 1 shows first the letter *a* and then *s* in the Roman cursive of this period:[12]

Figure 1

Alternatively, it is possible that a scribe might have had in mind the word ποῦρος (or Latin *purus*) and might have misread ἀπουρία, with privative ἀ- affixed to Latin *purus*. The folk etymology would reflect the idea that "the offspring of unequal marriage or what is begotten from a female slave or male slave" was an "impurity" (ἀ + ποῦρ(ο)- + -ία "impurity" from *purus* "pure"). A TLG search of ποῦρος shows that it is not attested before the ninth century A.D., that it is infrequent, and that most of its occurrences come from the *Basilica* code of law. Thus, ποῦρος appears not to have been sufficiently established in Greek for the formation of ἀπουρία from ἀ + ποῦρος to be plausible.

If I am right that ἀπουρία is a manuscript corruption of σπουρία, given the alphabetical order followed by the *Suda* we must conclude that it had already taken place in the *Suda*'s source before ἀπουρία was placed among lemmata beginning with ἀπουρ-. If the change occurred in the Latin script, the source for

this lemma was likely a Latin one; and if this script was the Roman cursive of the second century A.D., this would furnish a *terminus ante quem* for the source. The corrupt lemma was transcribed into Greek no earlier than the second century and eventually found its way into the *Suda* and the Λέξεις.

Although the seventeenth-century *Burney* 124 is the only witness to σπουρία in the Λέξεις, the adjective σπούριος is attested in later Greek texts from the thirteenth century onwards.[13]

1.2. The entry on δηναδίπτρα/δωνάτιβα

Suda δ 479 reads:

Δηναδίπτρα: κατὰ Ῥωμαίους δωρεὰ βασιλικὴ στρατιώταις.

Δηναδίπτρα: among the Romans, (it is) a royal gift to the soldiers.

As Adler points out in her apparatus of sources, the Λέξεις have the lemma δωνάτιβα instead. More specifically, *Barocci* 50 (fol. 109ᵛ.28) reads:

δωνάτιβα· δωρεὰ βασιλικὴ στρατιώταις.

δωνάτιβα: a royal gift to the soldiers.

The gloss δωρεὰ βασιλικὴ στρατιώταις seems appropriate for δωνάτιβον (or the plural δωνάτιβα; alternative forms are δωνάτιον or δωνατίουον), immediately borrowed from Latin *donativum* "money given to soldiers as a gratuity from the emperor."[14] δηναδίπτρα, attested only in the *Suda* and Pseudo-Zonaras' lexicon,[15] must be a scribal error for δωνάτιβα (although a palaeographic explanation for the change of δωνάτιβα to δηναδίπτρα is

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[13] See E. Kriaras, *Λεξικό της μεσαιωνικής ελληνικής δημώδους γραμματείας 1100–1669* XX (Thessaloniki 2016) s.v. σπούριος, with references to the texts where the word is attested.

[14] See Dickey, *Latin Loanwords* s.v. δωνατίουον (with further bibliography); *Lex.Byz.Gr.* s.v. δωνατίβαι. Cf. the note by Roth, Hutton, and Whitehead in the *Suda On Line* (https://www.cs.uky.edu/~raphael/sol/sol-entries/delta/479).

[15] This was pointed out by Roth, Hutton, and Whitehead in the *Suda On Line*. A TLG search of δηναδίπτρα yielded only these two results.

hardly obvious).[16] In her edition of the *Suda* Adler seems aware of the reading δωνάτιβα and reports it in *Barocci* 50. But she prints δηναδίπτρα, which appears in alphabetical order among words with δην-. Thus, the corruption must have been already present in its source before the *Suda* alphabetized it. The gloss in the Λέξεις does not include the phrase κατὰ Ῥωμαίους: possibly a scribe or the author of the treatise considered it redundant in light of the ῥωμαῖαι in the title.[17]

The good reading δωνάτιβα transmitted in *Barocci* 50 deserves further thought. One may wonder if it is due to the scribe or to the source for this manuscript. If to the scribe, we would expect a manuscript largely free from such errors as a philologically skilled scribe could correct. But *Barocci* 50 contains a significant number of scribal errors, some of them straightforward; its scribe moreover has not been identified, nor do we know of any other manuscript by him. If we add to this that a correction of δηναδίπτρα to δωνάτιβα is hardly obvious, one may reasonably conclude that *Barocci* 50 got the good reading δωνάτιβα from its source and that it is not a scribal correction. This in turn implies that this source is different from, and predates, the one used by the *Suda*, which already contained the error.

1.3. The entry on προνκομισ(σ)άριος

Both the *Suda* (π 2520) and *Barocci* 50 (fol. 110ʳ.23) include an entry on προνκομισ(σ)άριος (with a single σ in the *Suda* and with two in *Barocci* 50). In the *Suda* the entry reads:

> προνκομισάριος: ὁ ἐκ συναινέσεως δύο μερῶν μεταξὺ ληφθεὶς διαιτητής.

> προνκομισάριος: the arbitrator taken in between [i.e. as a mediator to stand between them] by the consent of two parties.

Barocci 50 (fol. 110ʳ.23) reads:

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[16] δηναδίπτρα is not included as a lemma in *Lex.Byz.Gr.*, nor in Dickey, *Latin Loanwords*.

[17] See also section 4, on the absence of the phrase παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις in *Barocci* 50 or its source.

προνκομισσάριος·[18] ὁ ἐκ συναινέσεως δύο μερῶν μεταξὺ
ληφθεὶς διαιτητής.

προνκομισσάριος: the arbitrator taken in between [i.e. as a medi-
ator to stand between them] by the consent of two parties.

προνκομισ(σ)άριος is otherwise attested only in the scholia to the
Basilica, dated to the eleventh to twelfth centuries (specifically
προκομισσαρίου at 22.5.30.6). This form is thus not well attested.
There are good reasons for thinking that the intended lemma
was κομπρομισσάριος (a rare word from Latin *compromissarius*).[19]
κομπρομισσάριος is well attested and its meaning suits the gloss
for προνκομισ(σ)άριος in *Suda* π 2520 and *Barocci* 50. If so, προνκο-
μισ(σ)άριος could be a scribal error: perhaps at some point -προμ-
was omitted, then added above the line, and finally replaced
before κομ-, at which point the μ of προμ- was changed to the
nasal ν before κο-. If this theory is right, that the *Suda* and *Barocci*
50 both present προνκομισ(σ)άριος in alphabetical order implies
that the corruption was already present in their sources. As
regards the spelling of προνκομισ(σ)άριος, leaving aside the mis-
spelling πρωνκομισσάριος in *Barocci* 50, it is worth noting that this
same manuscript respects the two sigmas of the uncompounded
κομισσάριος.[20] The *Suda*, on the other hand, has only one sigma.
While one cannot preclude that the two sigmas are a scribal

[18] I print προνκομισσάριος instead of the transmitted πρωνκομισσάριος, and
συναινέσεως (a marginal reading of *Burney* 124 preceded by ἴσ[ως]) instead of
the transmitted συνέσεως. For these good marginal readings of *Burney* 124 see
section 7 below.

[19] See Dickey, *Latin Loanwords* s.v. κομπρομισ(σ)άριος, with further bibli-
ography; cf. *Lex.Byz.Gr.* s.v. κομπρομισσάριος.

[20] The spelling with two sigmas must be correct, whether κομισσάριος is a
borrowing of an unattested *comissarius* (for which see H. Hofmann, *Die
lateinischen Wörter im Griechischen bis 600 n. Chr.* [diss. Erlangen-Nürnberg 1989]
190), or it comes from the Latin verb *committo* ("entrust"), *commissus* (so White-
head and Roth in the *Suda On Line* http://www.cs.uky.edu/~raphael/sol/sol-
entries/pi/2520), or κομισσάριος is only attested in the sixth century as a
variant form for κομπρομισσάριος in Just. *Nov.* 113.1.1 (for which see Dickey,
Latin Loanwords s.v. κομισσάριος).

error, it is more likely that this spelling has been taken over from its source. Probably προνκομισ(σ)άριος was understood as a borrowing of an unattested Latin *procomissarius* (by analogy with κομισσάριος from an unattested *comissarius*). But in that case it is hard to see how the ν between προ and κομισσάριος came about.

2. *Entries that do not occur in other lexicographical sources*

Barocci 50 contains two entries which are not attested in other lexicographical sources: θονγραμμασίγγελον and λεγίτιμος. The former is not attested anywhere else and is problematic. Both probably go back to an earlier source, unknown to us.

2.1. The entry on θονγραμμασίγγελον

θονγραμμασίγγελον, nowhere else attested apart from the two manuscripts which transmit the Λέξεις (*Barocci* 50 fol. 110ᵛ.4, *Burney* 124 fol. 122ᵛ.7), is the lemma of the following entry:

Θονγραμμασίγγελον: τὸν δρόμον τῶν κτηνῶν τὸν δημόσιον.

Θονγραμμασίγγελον: the public pathway of herds.

This dubious word might even be a scribal error. Taking the gloss as a guide, one wonders whether αμμασιγγ ελο could conceal *animalium uia(m)*.[21] The corruption could have occurred by misreading Roman pen-written cursive of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. To be specific, *animalium* could have been misread as αμμασιγγ by confusing -*nim*- with -μμ- (the ligature of -*ni*- resembling the Greek -μ-, and the -*m*- a μ),[22] *l* with a Greek lunate sigma, *u* with a Greek γ, and *m* also with γ; *via(m)* could

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[21] I am grateful to David Langslow for this suggestion, which he made on the basis of letter shapes in tenth-century manuscripts. The letter shapes in Thompson, *An Introduction* 337, show that similar confusion was already possible in the fourth and fifth centuries. In fact, the earlier date is more likely because, as I will show in section 3, further corruption probably happened in the Greek cursive script of the sixth and seventh centuries. At that time, therefore, the lemmata were no longer in the Latin script.

[22] On the resemblance of -*m*- with Greek μ see Thompson, *An Introduction* 337 (for Roman cursive) and 193 (for Greek cursive), and van Hoesen, *Roman Cursive Writing* 235.

have been misread as ελο by confusing *u* (*v*) with a Greek ε, *i* with a λ, and *a* with a Greek o (the final *m* of *via(m)*, perhaps indicated by a horizontal stroke above the preceding letter, may have been finally omitted). *Figure* 2 shows in ink first *animalium uia(m)* in Roman cursive of the fourth or fifth century and then αμμασιγγ ελο in the Greek cursive of a similar date:[23]
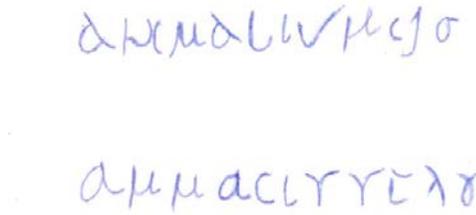
Figure 2

There is a striking similarity between the first letters of the transmitted lemma, θονγ, and the letters *bovu* in the Roman pen-written cursive of the fourth and fifth centuries: the Latin *b* resembles a θ, and *-vu-* the Greek *-νγ-*. *Figure* 3 first shows *bovu*, then θονγ in the respective cursive styles:
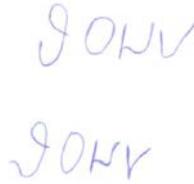
Figure 3

Perhaps then the word *bovu(m)* ("of the cattle"?) might have been intended (if so, the final *m* of *bovu(m)* could have been indicated by a horizontal stroke above the preceding letter that was eventually left out). Although the transmitted gloss does not include a specific Greek term for *bovu(m)*, given the reconstructed *animalium* and the word κτηνῶν, we can reasonably assume that "cattle" was mentioned in this context. Given the likelihood of multiple corruptions, uncovering the original reading is hard if not impossible.

[23] Drawings after Thompson, *An Introduction* 337 and 193.

2.2. The entry on λεγίτιμος

A lemma in *Barocci* 50 (fol. 110ʳ.14) absent in other lexico-graphical sources is λεγίτιμος, a direct loan from Latin *legitimus*:[24]

λεγίτιμος:[25] ὁ νόμιμος κουράτωρ κατὰ[26] νόμους διδόμενος.

λεγίτιμος: the lawful curator established according to the laws.

The adjective λεγίτιμος ("based on law/statutory") derives from Latin *legitimus* "of the law."[27] In this entry, however, it is not an adjective but a noun glossed by κουράτωρ "curator," itself borrowed from Latin *curator*.[28] As a legal term *curator* referred specifically to the "guardian appointed to administer the property of minors (*pupilli*), women, and insane persons."[29] The adjective "based on law" ended up being used as a noun specifically denoting the person to whom the office of curator was assigned by law. In other words, λεγίτιμος stood for λεγίτιμος κουράτωρ ("lawful curator"). Nowhere else is λεγίτιμος glossed by κουράτωρ. In a small number of legal texts which include the *Basilica*, Michael Attaliates' *Πόνημα νομικὸν ἤτοι σύνοψις πραγματική* (25.10–12), the *Prochiron Auctum* (36.15.1–3), and Konstantinos Harmenopoulos' *Ἑξάβιβλος* or *Πρόχειρον νόμων* (5.12.3.3–5), λεγίτιμος pertains to the noun ἐπίτροπος ("guardian, protector"). κουράτωρ in our passage could be seen as a synonym for ἐπίτροπος. The passages from Michael Attaliates and the *Prochiron Auctum* contain the phrase ὁ παρὰ τοῦ νόμου διδόμενος ("the one given by law"), which is close to κατὰ νόμους διδόμενος ("established according to the laws"). In Konstantinos Harmenopoulos we find the similar παρὰ τοῦ νόμου δοθείς ("given by the law"),

[24] See Dickey, *Latin Loanwords* s.v. λεγίτιμος, with further bibliography; cf. *Lex.Byz.Gr.* s.v. λεγίτιμος.

[25] The diplomatic transcription of this entry is λεγήτιμος ὁ νόμιμος κουράτωρ κατα νόμους διδόμενος. For λεγήτιμος I print λεγίτιμος.

[26] I have supplied the accent missing in the MS.

[27] See Dickey, *Latin Loanwords* s.v. λεγίτιμος; cf. *Lex.Byz.Gr.* s.v. λεγίτιμος.

[28] See Dickey, *Latin Loanwords* s.v. κουράτωρ, with further bibliography.

[29] *OLD* s.v. *curator* 3.

while in the *Basilica* (2.2.213.12–13) we read παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ νόμου καλούμενος καὶ προχειριζόμενος ("called and assigned by the law itself"). Judging from the occurrence of κουράτωρ in our text rather than ἐπίτροπος, as in the above-mentioned texts, one may think that our treatise got its material for this entry from a different source. And yet the phraseological nearness of κατὰ νόμους διδόμενος to its corresponding parallels should not be discounted, even if διδόμενος and δοθείς are to be expected for "given/established" by, or according to, the law.

3. *Entries with different glosses*

In this section I discuss four entries whose glosses in the Λέξεις are different from the ones in the *Suda* (and in Hesychius, Photius, and the Συναγωγή λέξεων χρησίμων where these too are available). Their lemmata are: ῥελατορίαι/ῥελατορία, κυαίστωρ/κοιαίστωρ, κεντυρίων, κώδιξ/κώδικα. Their implication is that our treatise followed a different source.

3.1. The entry on ῥελατορίαι/ῥελατορία

In *Barocci* 50 (fol. 110ʳ.27) we find the lemma δαιλατογίαι, a scribal error. With the help of the transmitted gloss and the marginal note ἴσ[ως] ῥαίλατ- in *Burney* 124, I have restored ῥελατορίαι ("receipts brought back after delivery"), a rare word derived from Latin *relatoria* ("receipt") or *relator* ("one who registers") + -ία:[30]

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[30] See Dickey, *Latin Loanwords* s.v. ῥελατωρία, ῥελατορία, with further bibliography; cf. *Lex.Byz.Gr.* s.v. ῥελατορία. P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (Paris 1999) s.v. ῥελατωρία, derives the word from the Latin *relator* "one who registers"; R. Beekes, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek* (Leiden 2010) s.v. ῥελατωρία, also writes that the word is borrowed from *relator* "registrator." The confusion between the ε of ῥελατορίαι and the αι of the transmitted ῥαίλατ- is easily explained, since from the Roman period onwards both ε and αι were pronounced [e]. See e.g. F. T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I (Milan 1976) 191–193, and G. Horrocks, *Greek: A History of the Language and its Speakers* (Chichester 2014) 144–147 and 154. For the notion that ε and αι had already fallen together in pronunciation by the mid-second century B.C. see Horrocks 167.

ῥελατορίαι·[31] τῆς ἀποκαταστάσεως τοῦ δημοσίου φόρου αἱ ἀποδείξεις.

ῥελατορίαι: the proofs of the restoration of public payment.

The corruption of the opening *r* to *d* (i.e. from *relatoriae* to *delatoriae*) likely happened in the Latin script, e.g. in the Roman cursive of the first century A.D. *Figure* 4 shows first *d* and then *r* in Roman pen-written cursive of this period:[32]

Figure 4

The corruption of ρ to γ (i.e. from δαιλατορίαι[33] to δαιλατογίαι) likely happened in the Greek script, e.g. in Greek cursive of the sixth and seventh centuries. *Figure* 5 shows first γ, then ρ in Greek pen-written cursive of this period:[34]

Figure 5

Two pieces of evidence support the conjecture ῥαίλατ- in the margin of *Burney* 124: (i) the transmitted gloss, which suits the meaning of ῥελατορία/*relatoria* ("receipt"); and (ii) the palaeo-graphical elucidation of the scribal error in *Barocci* 50 and subsequently in *Burney* 124.

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[31] I print ῥελατορίαι, an emendation based on the reading ῥαίλατ- (Burney 124 *in margine*). See further section 7 below.

[32] See e.g. the Latin cursive alphabet in Thompson, *An Introduction* 336; drawings after Thompson.

[33] It is more economical to include the corruption of ε into αι already at this stage, although δελατορίαι may have preceded δαιλατορίαι.

[34] See e.g. the Greek cursive alphabet in Thompson, *An Introduction* 194; drawings after Thompson.

The lemma ῥελατορία is attested in Photius (ρ 80), the Συναγωγὴ λέξεων χρησίμων (*versio antiqua*, ρ 24), and the *Suda* (ρ 96), but the entry, differently glossed, must go back to another source:

ῥελατορία· ἀναφορά.

ῥελατορία: carrying back.

3.2. The entry on κυαίστωρ/κοιαίστωρ

Both the *Suda* and the Λέξεις include an entry on κυαίστωρ, a direct loan from Latin *quaestor*,[35] but their glosses are different. *Barocci* 50 (fol. 110ʳ.12) glosses κυαίστωρ with ταμίας alone:

κυαίστωρ· ταμίας.

κυαίστωρ: holding the office of quaestor.

The *Suda* (κ 2533) in turn has the alternative spelling κοιαίστωρ and includes a more extensive gloss without the term ταμίας:[36]

Κοιαίστωρ. τὴν τοῦ κοιαίστωρος διέπων ἀρχήν, ἣν οἶμαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀναζητεῖν ὧδε λελέχθαι παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις.

Κοιαίστωρ. Managing the office of quaestor, which I think derives from the fact that this was the word for "investigate" among the Romans.

Despite the brevity of the gloss ταμίας in our treatise, one can safely conclude that its source is other than the *Suda*'s. The *Suda*'s source is the sixth-century historian Menander Protector, *De legationibus Romanorum ad gentes* 11.1–4:

ὅτι δὴ στέλλεται κατὰ τὴν Περσῶν χώραν πρεσβευτὴς Τραϊανὸς ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις πατράσι τελῶν καὶ τὴν λεγομένην τοῦ κοιαίστορος διέπων ἀρχήν, ἣν οἶμαι ἐκ τοῦ ἀναζητεῖν ὧδε

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[35] See Dickey, *Latin Loanwords* s.v. κυαίστωρ, with further bibliography; cf. *Lex.Byz.Gr.* s.v. κυαίστωρ.

[36] That the word is transmitted with the spellings κυ- and κοι- is not surprising, for both υ and οι were pronounced [y] (this sound has not yet lost its lip rounding to become [i]). For the distinction between [y] and [i] until almost the beginning of the late medieval Greek period see D. Holton, G. Horrocks, M. Janssen, T. Lendari, I. Manolessou, N. Toufexis, *The Cambridge Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek* I (Cambridge 2019) 11.

λελέχθαι Ῥωμαίοις.

that Trajan is sent as an ambassador to the country of the Persians, being a member of the noble patricians and managing the so-called office of quaestor, which I think derives from the fact that this was the word for "investigate" in Rome.

As Roth and Whitehead point out in the *Suda On Line*,[37] for ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀναζητεῖν to make sense one needs to convert the Greek ἀναζητέω into the Latin *quaero*.

3.3. The entry on κεντυρίων

The Λέξεις include a lemma κεντυρίων directly borrowed from Latin *centurio*,[38] also attested in Hesychius, Photius, the Συναγωγὴ λέξεων χρησίμων, and the *Suda*. The gloss in *Barocci* 50 differs slightly from the one in the other lexicographical sources. In the *Suda* (κ 1345) (and in Hesychius κ 2235, Photius κ 572, and the Συναγωγὴ λέξεων χρησίμων, *versio antiqua* κ 274) the lemma reads:

κεντυρίων· ἑκατόνταρχος.

centurion: commander of a hundred (soldiers).

In *Barocci* 50 (fol. 110ʳ.9) the corresponding lemma is:

κεντυρίων· ρ̄ στρατιωτῶν ἄρχων.[39]

centurion: commander of a hundred soldiers.

Instead of the single ἑκατόνταρχος *Barocci* 50 transmits a periphrasis. This gloss, not attested elsewhere, most probably comes from a different, unknown source.

3.4. The entry on κώδιξ/κόδικα

Hesychius and the *Suda* share a lemma κώδιξ (accented thus with an acute, not a circumflex), a direct loan from the Latin *codex*/*caudex*,[40] whereas in *Barocci* 50 we find the lemma κόδικα

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[37] https://www.cs.uky.edu/~raphael/sol/sol-entries/kappa/2533.

[38] See Dickey, *Latin Loanwords* s.v. κεντ(ο)υρίων, with further bibliography.

[39] I print ἄρχων instead of the transmitted ἄρχω. The diplomatic transcription of this entry is: κεντυρίων. ρ̄ στρατιωτῶν ἄρχω.

[40] See Dickey, *Latin Loanwords* s.v. κῶδιξ, with further bibliography; cf. *Lex.Byz.Gr.* s.v. κῶδιξ.

(sic).[41] Hesychius κ 4780 reads:

Κώδιξ· βιβλίον νόμιμον.

Codex: a law book.

The *Suda* κ 2215 includes the lemma κώδιξ and its genitive without a gloss:

Κώδιξ, κώδικος

The corresponding entry in *Barocci* 50 (fol. 110r.12) reads:

κώδικα·[42] βίβλος περιέχουσα νόμους.

codex (is) a book containing laws.

The lemma κόδικα requires a brief discussion. Leaving aside the orthographical error of omicron for omega, that the gloss begins with the nominative βίβλος raises the possibility that κόδικα is intended as nominative rather than accusative singular. *Barocci* 50 once again provides a periphrasis, περιέχουσα νόμους as opposed to the single νόμιμον in Hesychius. This implies different sources for the material.

4. *Absence of the phrase παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις in Barocci 50 or its source*

Some entries in *Barocci* 50 and the *Suda* share the gloss except that the former does not contain the phrase παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ("among the Romans"). Probably a scribe or the author of the treatise left it out judging it redundant in light of the ῥωμαῖαι in the title of our treatise. The entries on φελλαγωγία, ἀντιμίσσιον, ληγατάρις, and πριμοπειλάριος furnish instances.

4.1. The entry on φελλαγωγία

The *Suda* φ 187 contains the following entry on φελλαγωγία:

Φελλαγωγία: πανήγυρις ἐπιτελουμένη παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις, ἐν ᾗ διέβαλλον ἑαυτούς.

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[41] The confusion between ω and ο is common throughout the Roman and Byzantine periods given the loss of vowel length. See e.g. Gignac, *Grammar of the Greek Papyri* I 275–277. For the notion that ω and ο had already fallen together in pronunciation by the mid-second century B.C. see Horrocks, *Greek: A History of the Language and its Speakers* 118, 167.

[42] I print κώδικα instead of the transmitted reading κόδικα.

Φελλαγωγία: a festival celebrated among the Romans, in which they used to slander themselves.

In *Barocci* 50 (fol. 110ᵛ.9) the corresponding lemma reads:

φελλαγωγία· πανήγυρις ἐπιτελουμένη εἰς Συρίαν ⟨ἐν⟩[43] ᾗ δια-βάλλουσιν ἑαυτούς.

φελλαγωγία: a festival celebrated in Syria, in which they slander themselves.

To my knowledge, φελλαγωγία is attested only in the *Suda*, *Barocci* 50, and *Burney* 124. If this is the intended term, what might be the first member of the compound? A scholion to Aristophanes *Nub.* 71 in the 1498 Aldine edition (Ἀριστοφάνους κωμῳδίαι ἐννέα μετὰ σχολίων πολλῶν παλαιῶν καὶ ὠφελίμων = *Aristophanis comoediae novem cum commentariis antiquiis admodum utilibus*), probably by Marcus Musurus, observes that the Athenians have a festival called Φέλλος and that there is a place in Attica called Φελλεύς:

ἐκ τοῦ Φελλέως: τόπος οὕτω καλούμενος ἐν Ἀττικῇ· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσόν ἐστί τις ἑορτὴ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις Φέλλος καλουμένη, ἥτις τῶν Διονυσίων ἄρχεται. Λουκιανὸς δὲ ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῆς συρίης θεοῦ "φαλλούς," φησίν, "Ἕλληνες τῷ Διονύσῳ ἐγείρουσιν· ἐπὶ τῶν καὶ τοιόνδε τι φέρουσιν, ἄνδρας μικροὺς ἐκ ξύλου πεποιημένους μεγάλα αἰδοῖα ἔχοντας. καλέεται δὲ τάδε νευρόσπαστα." καὶ παρακατιὼν δέ "ἐν τοῖς προπυλαίοις τοῦ συρίης θεοῦ ναοῦ φαλλοὶ ἑστᾶσιν, οὓς Διόνυσος ἐστήσατο."

ἐκ τοῦ Φελλέως: a place so called in Attica; but the Athenians also have a festival connected with Dionysus called Φέλλος, which begins the Dionysia. Lucian in his *On the Syrian Goddess* says "the Greeks erect phalli for Dionysus; on which they carry something such as this, small men made of wood and having large private parts. And these are called puppets" and going further down "in the entrance to the temple of the Syrian goddess stand the phalli which Dionysus set up."

Whitehead points out in the *Suda On Line*[44] that φελλαγωγία could

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[43] I supply the missing ἐν. The diplomatic transcription of this entry is: Φελλαγωγία. πανήγυρις ἐπιτελουμένη εἰς συρίαν ᾗ διαβάλλουσιν ἑαυτούς.

[44] https://www.cs.uky.edu/~raphael/sol/sol-entries/phi/187.

be a mistake for φαλλαγωγία ("carrying of the phallus") or φαλλαγώγια (phallic festival). The mention of φαλλός by Aristophanes (*Ach.* 243, 260) and Lucian (*Syr.D.* 16) supports this proposal. Whatever the original reading, whether φελλαγωγία, φαλλαγωγία, or φαλλαγώγια, none of these appear to derive from Latin. The absence of παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις from *Barocci* 50 is probably motivated by εἰς Συρίαν and not by any sense of redundancy.

4.2. The entry on ἀντιμίσ(σ)ιον

Both the Λέξεις and the *Suda* (α 2685) contain an entry on ἀντιμίσ(σ)ιον. The gloss in these sources is unlike the one in *Lex.Byz.Gr.* s.v. ἀντιμίνσιον, "portable altar, altar cloth" (see also the *Suda On Line*,[45] where Whitehead and Roth note that the altar cloth contained relics of saints and substituted for a portable altar). The entry in *Barocci* 50 (fol. 109ᵛ.20) reads:

> ἀντιμίσσιον· τράπεζα πρὸ τοῦ δικαστοῦ κειμένη.[46]
>
> ἀντιμίσσιον: a table placed before the judge.

Suda α 2685 glosses the lemma ἀντιμίσιον thus:

> Ἀντιμίσιον: παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις τράπεζα πρὸ τοῦ δικαστηρίου κειμένη.
>
> Ἀντιμίσιον: among Romans (it is) the table placed before the court of law.

Barocci 50 differs from the *Suda* in that the phrase παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις is missing and it says πρὸ τοῦ δικαστοῦ instead of πρὸ τοῦ δικαστηρίου. A table lying "before a court of justice" makes no sense if the court is indoors or if the table lies outside. Probably the author of our treatise or a scribe found the gloss incomprehensible and replaced δικαστηρίου with δικαστοῦ. As the *lectio difficilior* πρὸ τοῦ δικαστηρίου is the more likely original reading. Its sense must be "in front of the people of the court," rather than in front of the court itself.

This lemma is not attested in Hesychius, Photius, the Συναγωγὴ

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[45] https://www.cs.uky.edu/~raphael/sol/sol-entries/alpha/2685.

[46] The diplomatic transcription of this entry is: ἀντιμίσσιον· τράπεζα προ του δικαστοῦ κειμενη.

λέξεων χρησίμων, or the *Etymologicum Genuinum* (the *Suda*'s main sources).[47] We are probably dealing here with an unknown, possibly lost source. δικαστοῦ in turn is also best attributed not to the scribe of *Barocci* 50 but to an unidentified source.[48]

4.3. The entry on ληγατάριος/ληγατάρις

Suda λ 403 includes the following on ληγατάριος (borrowed from Latin *legatarius* and sometimes spelled λεγατάριος):[49]

Ληγατάριος· εἶδος ἄρχοντος παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις.

Ληγατάριος: a kind of official among the Romans.

Barocci 50 (fol. 110ʳ.15) ends the lemma in -άρις[50] and glosses it without the phrase παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις:[51]

Ληγατάρις· εἶδος ἄρχοντος.

Ληγατάρις: a kind of official.

While the exchange of -ιος and -ις is common and could have been effected by the scribe, different sources cannot be precluded.

4.4. The entry on πριμοπιλάριος/πριμοπειλάριος

Suda π 2288 says the following on πριμοπιλάριος (an alternative form of πριμιπιλάριος and a direct loan from Latin *primipilaris/primipilarius/primopilaris*):[52]

πριμοπιλάριος· ὁ τὸ μεῖζον ἀξίωμα τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἔχων παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις.

πριμοπιλάριος: among the Romans the one who has the higher rank among the soldiers.

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[47] For the sources for the *Suda* see e.g. Adler, *Suidae lexicon* I v–vi.

[48] On the scribe of *Barocci* 50 see section 2 above.

[49] See Dickey, *Latin Loanwords* s.v. ληγατάριος, with further bibliography; cf. *Lex.Byz.Gr.* s.v. λεγατάριος.

[50] For the pattern of alternation seen in ληγατάριος ~ ληγατάρις see Gignac, *Grammar of the Greek Papyri* II 25–29.

[51] Already pointed out by Adler.

[52] See Dickey, *Latin Loanwords* s.v. πριμιπιλάριος, with further bibliography, and *Lex.Byz.Gr.* s.v. πριμιπιλάριος.

Once again *Barocci* 50 (fol. 110ʳ.21) omits παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις and spells the lemma differently:[53]

> πριμοπειλάριος · ὁ τὸ[54] μεῖζον ἀξίωμα τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἔχων.
>
> πριμοπειλάριος: the one who has the higher rank among the soldiers.

Both spellings are equally acceptable.[55]

5. *Same gloss but different lemma*

We now consider entries in the *Suda* and the Λέξεις that transmit the same gloss under different lemmata. *Suda* π 802 reads:

> πατρωικὸν δίκαιον · τὸ ἐκ προστάτου δίκαιον.
>
> πατρωικὸν δίκαιον: the right of a patron.

Adler notes the omission of δίκαιον in the corresponding lemma of the Λέξεις (*Barocci* 50 fol. 110ʳ.19):

> πατρωνικόν ·[56] τὸ ἐκ προστάτου δίκαιον.
>
> πατρωνικόν (is) the right of a patron.

Here πατρωνικόν (a derivative of *patronus* via πάτρων + -ικος) is used as a noun, while the *Suda* uses the adjective πατρωικόν with δίκαιον. πατρωικόν is nowhere else attested.[57] Roth and Whitehead suggest that this entry came from a commentary on Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* (1134b8–9), where we find:

> τὸ δὲ δεσποτικὸν δίκαιον καὶ τὸ πατρικὸν οὐ ταὐτὸν τούτοις ἀλλ' ὅμοιον.

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[53] Adler already notes the omission.

[54] I have supplied the missing accent.

[55] Iotacism makes the exchange of ει and ι common during the Roman and Byzantine periods: Gignac, *Grammar of the Greek Papyri* I 189–191, and Horrocks, *Greek: A History of the Language* 167–168.

[56] I have accented the word as πατρωνικόν instead of πατρώνικον as transmitted. On its meaning see Dickey, *Latin Loanwords* s.v. πατρωνικός, with further bibliography, and *Lex.Byz.Gr.* s.v. πατρωνικόν.

[57] Already noted by Roth and Whitehead, in the *Suda On Line* (https://www.cs.uky.edu/~raphael/sol/sol-entries/pi/802). A TLG search confirmed this.

Justice between master and slave and between father and child is not the same as absolute and political justice, but only analogous to them.[58]

I do not believe that the wording sufficiently supports dependence on Aristotle, since neither the *Suda* nor *Barocci* 50 mentions δεσποτικὸν δίκαιον or includes the word πατρικόν.

The *Lex.Byz.Gr.* includes an entry πατρωνικόν in the sense of "*jus patronatus.*" πατρωνικός ("of or for a patron") is attested in documents of the second and third centuries A.D. (*SB* 12533.6, *P.Oxy.* IX 1205.6, *PSI* IX 1040.17)[59] and in sixth-century literary sources like Justinian's *Novels*. Thus, the lemma in *Barocci* 50 was in use eight centuries before the date of the manuscript. On the other hand, the 'ghost form' πατρωικόν in the *Suda* could be due to the conflation of πατρωνικόν and πατρικόν or to a scribal omission of -ν-.

6. *Different spelling of the same lemma*

Suda σ 966 includes an entry on σπόρτουλλα, the plural of σπόρτουλον (usually spelled with one lambda[60] and a direct loan from the Latin word *sportula*):

Σπόρτουλλα· δῶρα ἐπὶ πάντων διδόμενα παρρησίᾳ. οἶδας δέ, ὅτι καὶ σπόρτουλλα ἡμῖν χρεωστεῖς· ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως τῶν πτωχῶν ἕνεκεν εἰς τοῦτό σοι διαλυόμεθα.

Σπόρτουλλα: gifts given lavishly on all occasions. And you know that you also owe us gifts; nevertheless, on account of the poor we absolve you in this regard .

The diplomatic transcription of *Barocci* 50 fol. 110ᵛ.6 on σπόρτουλα reads as follows:

σπόρτουλα· δῶρα ἐπι πάν διδόμενα παρρησία.

σπόρτουλα: gifts given lavishly on the whole.

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[58] Transl. H. Rackham, *Aristotle Nicomachean Ethics* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1968).

[59] See Dickey, *Latin Loanwords* s.v. πατρωνικός/πατρονικός.

[60] For further variants see *Lex.Byz.Gr.* s.v. σπόρτουλον and Dickey, *Latin Loanwords* s.v. σπόρτουλον.

One might think that πάν here stands for πᾶν, but the parallel passage from the *Suda* suggests that πάντων was intended and that the end -των was simply omitted in error. I therefore propose:

σπόρτουλα· δῶρα ἐπὶ πάντων διδόμενα παρρησίᾳ.

σπόρτουλα: gifts given lavishly on all occasions.

Other than this error, the identical wording of the first sentence points to a common source. The second sentence in the *Suda* comes from John Chrysostom's *Letter* 217 to Valentinus (*PG* 52 731.23), except that σπόρτουλα is spelled there with a single lambda and that ἐκείνων ἕνεκεν replaces τῶν πτωχῶν ἕνεκεν:[61]

Οἶδας γὰρ ὅτι καὶ σπόρτουλα ἡμῖν χρεωστεῖς· ἀλλ' ὅμως καὶ ἐκείνων ἕνεκεν εἰς τοῦτό σοι διαλυόμεθα.

For you know that you also owe us σπόρτουλα; for all that, even on account of those we absolve you in this regard.

Given the spelling of *sportula*,[62] one would expect the *Suda* to transmit the loanword with a single lambda, just as *Barocci* 50 does. Because this is not so, and because the *Suda* alone quotes Chrysostom, we must again assume different sources for the respective entries.

7. *The good readings in Burney 124*

In this study we have come across three good readings preserved in the margin of *Burney* 124. These informed my emendations of ἀπουρία to σπουρία in section 1.1 and of συνέσεως to συναινέσεως in section 1.3, and my restoration of ῥελατορίαι from the corrupt δαιλατογίαι in section 2.1. A brief discussion of the status of these readings is now in order. These marginal notes may be scribal conjectures or they may come from a source other than *Barocci* 50. To affirm with confidence that they are the scribe's own conjectures one would need to establish his possessing commensurate philological skills. Although we do not

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[61] Cf. A. Favuzzi, "False attribuzioni e nuovi riconoscimenti nella Suda," *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, Università degli Studi di Bari "Aldo Moro"* 51 (2008) 60.

[62] See Dickey, *Latin Loanwords* s.v. σπόρτουλον.

know his identity, to judge from the texts included he must have had philological interests. Among other works we find a copy of Choeroboscus' and Theognostus' works on orthography. That all three readings are preceded by the abbreviation ισ. (for ἴσως, "perhaps") supports the view that they are conjectural. Had they come from another source, one would expect γράφεται instead. Even if these readings are not the scribe's own, his knowledge of Greek led him to appreciate their quality and to include them in his manuscript. Despite its late seventeenth-century date, *Burney* 124 has turned out to be a valuable aid for the reconstruction of the text.

8. *Some conclusions*

In section 1.1 I argued that ἀπουρία probably was a scribal error and that the original lemma was σπουρία. This proposal provides an important correction to LSJ and the *DGE*, both of which include ἀπουρία as a lemma. If I am right, ἀπουρία would be a 'ghost word', a scribal error in the manuscript tradition of the *Suda*, Pseudo-Zonaras, and the Λέξεις.

In section 1.2 I argued that the good reading δωνάτιβα, transmitted in *Barocci* 50, was not a scribal emendation but came from a source that was different from, and earlier than, the one available to the *Suda*. Thus, *Barocci* 50 emerges as the oldest witness to this lexicographical entry. This highlights the importance of the treatise Λέξεις ῥωμαῖαι κατὰ στοιχεῖον, which turns out to preserve authentic material from earlier lexicographical sources that would otherwise have been lost.

In section 2.1 I sought to understand the word θονγραμμασίγγελον. Although obscurities remain, if *bovu(m) animalium via(m)* lies behind it, this would suggest an ultimate Latin source from the lemma. The evidence reviewed that points to a Latin source for the Λέξεις, at least for the lemmata transmitted in Latin script, provides valuable information for the layout and languages in which both our treatise and other lexicographical works with Latin loanwords may have circulated. If I am right that θονγραμμασίγγελον resulted from misreading Roman cursive

of the fourth and fifth centuries, we would know approximately when the lemmata of the Λέξεις (perhaps also of other treatises) were transcribed from Latin into Greek.

If we take into account all the corruptions involving scripts, Latin or Greek, we find that misreadings of Roman cursive probably date to the first, second, and fourth or fifth centuries; while misreadings of Greek cursive probably date to the sixth or seventh century. While this may be accidental, when the potential misreading of *bovu(m) animalium via(m)* as θονγραμμα-σίγγελον is added to our consideration, the period from the fourth or fifth century until the sixth or seventh century emerges as a transitional period during which the lemmata of this treatise were gradually transcribed from Latin into Greek script.[63]

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