

Harpocraton and the *Συναγωγή*

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1. *The Problem*

The only surviving work of Valerius Harpocraton, Alexandrian *ῥήτωρ*¹ or *γραμματικός*² of the later second century,³ is the *Λεξικὸν τῶν δέκα ῥητόρων*, an alphabetical elucidation of words and phrases and especially names of persons and places in the canonical Attic orators.⁴ The full form of this text seems not to have been known in Byzantium till the thirteenth century.⁵ But an epitome, perhaps made in late antiquity, was available. It is independently extant in three manuscripts: **E** of the thirteenth century, **D** of 1496, and **T** (a copy of **E**) of *ca* 1540.⁶ Much earlier than any of these was the copy or copies used by one or more expanders of the *Συναγωγή λέξεων χρησίμων*.

This protean *Συναγωγή* (hereafter *Σ*) cannot be ascribed to any one compiler or to an exact period, but it belongs to the revival of interest in scholarly matters commonly known as the first Byzantine renaissance, *i.e.*, to the very end of the eighth or the first half of the ninth century.⁷ The *terminus ante quem* is the date of the lexicon of Photius, but that is by no means certain; 830 to 850 are the probable limits.⁸ *Σ* began as an expanded version of the lexicon of Cyril, an elementary compilation of glosses on the Bible, Homer, Euripides, and other well-known texts, probably by the fifth-century archbishop of Alexandria.⁹ In this form it exists in *Paris Coisl.gr.* 347 (**A**, 9th or

¹ *Suda* A 4014.

² Heading in mss. **D** and **E** (see *infra*).

³ E. G. Turner, *JEA* 38 (1952) 92; B. Hemmerdinger, *REG* 72 (1959) 107–09.

⁴ Edited by I. Bekker (Berlin 1833) and by W. Dindorf (Oxford 1853); citations are as is customary by Dindorf's page and line, but the text and apparatus of both editions have been utilised. An edition was planned by Georg Wentzel, whose material was available for the *RE* article by H. Schultz (VII.2 [1912] 2412–16).

⁵ J. J. Keaney, *TAPA* 100 (1961) 201–07.

⁶ The variations from the full text can be seen in Dindorf's first apparatus. The substantial agreement of all the sources in selection of glosses, wording of abridgements, and textual details shows that one epitome is in question.

⁷ Cf. P. Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantin* (Paris 1971).

⁸ For a convenient summary of the evidence and literature see K. Alpers, *Das attizistische Lexikon des Oros* (Berlin 1981) 72 and n.23.

⁹ Unpublished. Cf. A. B. Drachmann, *Die Überlieferung des Cyrillglossars* (Copenhagen 1936), with edition of the sections βα, θα–θε, λα–λε. A version of this lexicon was incorporated into Hesychius; much information is given in K. Latte, ed., *Hesychii*

10th cent.) and, apart from the letter α and a few additions elsewhere, in *Paris Coisl.gr.* 345 (**B**, 10th cent.), and also with later interpolations in *Berlin gr.qu.* 13 (**C**, 15th cent.; now in Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellonska).¹⁰ It later underwent great expansion in several stages, by which glosses from the following sources were incorporated: Apollonius' *Lexicon Homericum*, fuller versions of the rhetorical lexica printed as the fourth and fifth items in Bekker's *Anecdota graeca* I,¹¹ glosses on Plato from Timaeus and elsewhere, Atticistic lexica (Aelius Dionysius, Pausanias, Phrynichus, the Antiatticist, perhaps Orus), Diogenianus, and Harpocration. It is not to be supposed that the original ancient works were utilised, but rather as with Harpocration epitomes, extracts, and compilations, and these probably gathered in only a few manuscripts.¹² Each of our three sources for this "erweiterte Σ " (as Wentzel called it)—**B**,¹³ the *Suda*¹⁴ and Photius¹⁵—has a different selection of these additions: the principal groupings are **B** *Suda* Phot., *Suda* Phot., and **B** Phot. The most economical explanation of this is that there were three stages of expansion, Σ' , Σ'' , and Σ''' , the two latter being based on the first; *Suda* used Σ'' , **B** used Σ''' , and Phot. used both. This is clearer in the diagram at the top of page 207.¹⁶

The much smaller number of coincidences between **B** and *Suda* are to be explained by omission in Photius, either by Photius himself or (more likely) in the course of the transmission of his lexicon, as the

Alexandrini Lexicon (Copenhagen 1953–). An edition of Cyril was being prepared by the late Mark Naoumides.

¹⁰ α is printed from **A** by C. BOYSEN, *Lexici Segueriani Συναγωγή λέξεων χρησίμων inscripti pars prima* (Marburg 1891–92, reprinted in *Lexica graeca minora* [Hildesheim 1965] 12–60 [hereafter 'Boysen']), the remainder from **B** by L. BACHMANN, *Anecdota graeca* I (Leipzig 1828 [hereafter 'Bach.']) 178–422.

¹¹ Berlin 1814. These are entitled, respectively, *Δικῶν ὀνόματα* [hereafter 'Bekk. IV'] and *Λέξεις ῥητορικαί* ['Bekk. v'].

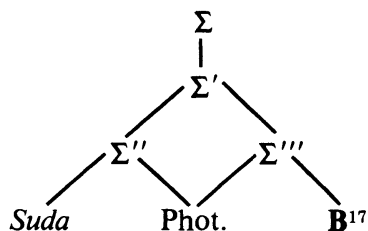
¹² Such as a precursor of **B**, which contains, in addition to Σ , Apollonius, Phrynichus, Timaeus, the Antiatticist, and Bekker IV and v.

¹³ α in the manuscript **B**.

¹⁴ *Suidae lexicon*, A. Adler, ed. (Leipzig 1928–38).

¹⁵ *Photii patriarchae lexicon*, C. Theodoridis, ed. (Berlin 1982–).

¹⁶ This is a very brief summary of a complex matter, intended only as essential background. Less important manifestations of Σ , as in *Paris Suppl.gr.* 1243 and the scholia on Plato and Lucian, and controversial ones, such as the *ῥητορικόν* used in the *Etymologicum genuinum*, are ignored. For further details see G. Wentzel, reviewing Boysen's edition, *GGA* 155 (1893) 27–46, and "Beiträge zur Geschichte der griechischen Lexikographie," *SitzBerlin* 1895, 477–87 (reprinted in *Lexica graeca minora* 1–11); R. Reitzenstein, *Der Anfang des Lexikons des Photios* (Leipzig 1907) xxix–liii; K. Latte, *Hermes* 50 (1915) 376; A. Adler, *RE* IV A.1 (1931) 675–717 s.v. "Suidas"; H. Erbse, *Untersuchungen zu den attizistischen Lexika* (Berlin 1950) 22–34; K. Alpers (*supra* n.8) 56–79; Theodoridis (*supra* n.15) I xxxv–lx, lxxii–lxxvi, and *GGA* 235 (1983) 189–209.



manuscripts are relatively late and have been subjected to abbreviation.¹⁸ The possibility that glosses that now appear only in one of them came from one or other forms of Σ and were omitted in the rest of the tradition is frequently present but can rarely be proved. All three also had other sources.

It is obvious that only in α , where **B** is available, can this process be proved. Elsewhere Σ'' and Σ''' can be separated only by analogical extension of the results obtained for α .

Different views have been held as to the stage(s) at which Harpocration was added to Σ . Wentzel, writing before most of α in Photius was known, included Harpocration among the common additions.¹⁹ Reitzenstein, the first to have a clear view of the stages of expansion in Σ , likewise included Harpocration in Σ' .²⁰ This was, however, denied by Adler;²¹ in order to explain why Harpocration glosses sometimes break the alphabetical sequence in Photius, and why they do not often appear in combination with other glosses, she supposed that Harpocration was used directly by the *Suda* and Photius (one must suppose also by **B**, though she does not say so). Erbse follows this without discussion.²² Alpers suggests a compromise: Harpocration may have been added to Σ' but also used directly by the *Suda* and Photius.²³ Theodoridis in his marginal notes to Photius implicitly follows Wentzel.

To endeavour to settle this matter is the aim of this paper. It seems that the best chance of doing so is by a detailed examination of the glosses in α , where we have the benefit of three sources.

¹⁷ This is the traditional view, formulated by Reitzenstein and elaborated by Erbse. Alpers, *BZ* 64 (1971) 80, argued that Erbse does not prove the existence of Σ' ; this may be so for the Atticistic glosses, with which Erbse is concerned, but cannot be maintained in general; what is needed is an explanation of the numerous glosses that appear in **B** *Suda* Phot., but not in **A** (**C**).

¹⁸ Theodoridis (*supra* n.15) I lxi–lxxi.

¹⁹ *GGA* 155 (1893) 28; *SitzBerlin* 1895, 480.

²⁰ *Supra* n.16: xxxiv–xxxix.

²¹ *GGA* 185 (1923) 28; *RE* (*supra* n.16) 692f.

²² *Supra* n.16: 24 n.3.

²³ *Supra* n.16: 73 n.25.

2. *Data: Distribution of Glosses*

The glosses of Harp. appear in **B Suda Phot.** almost in their entirety. For α there are 285 glosses in Dindorf's edition, but of these 14 are totally omitted in the epitome,²⁴ and hence in **B Suda Phot.** (with two exceptions, *ἀγνέεται* and *ἀργυρίτις γῆ*). Of the remaining 271 only 6 do not appear in any of them:

- ἀκινάκης* (18.12) (Σ' has another gloss, Bach.54.11, *Suda*α882, Phot.α754)
- ἀμβλωθρίδιον* (25.13) (Σ has another gloss, Boysen XIa.18, Bach.79.2, *Suda*α1524, Phot.α1161)
- ἀμώσγεπως* (29.10) (Σ has another gloss, Boysen XIIIb.21, Bach.82.5, *Suda*α1645, Phot.α1391)
- ἀνατί* (33.12) (Σ' has another gloss, Bach.85.19, *Suda*α2102, Phot.α1691)²⁵
- ἀνήκει* (37.3) (Σ' has another gloss, Bach.96.25, *Suda*α2405, Phot.α1917)
- ἄοικος* (38.10)

It is noteworthy that in five of these cases a gloss from a different source is in Σ ; although in general two or more glosses on the same word are seldom avoided in Byzantine lexica, this does occasionally happen,²⁶ and may be operative here. *ἄοικος* is grossly out of place (presumably whoever first positioned it either read or was thinking of *ἄνοικος*), and from this an explanation of its omission may be found: it was to be restored to its proper alphabetical place but was overlooked at that point.

There remain 265. 162 of these are in all three of **B Suda Phot.** A total of 20 appear in only one of the sources, while 83 appear in only two. Before these are considered, it is necessary to note that in **B** the section from $\text{A}\mu$ to $\text{A}\nu\delta$ (middle) does not contain any addition from Σ' or Σ''' .²⁷ Glosses from that area in *Suda* and/or Phot. are there-

²⁴ These are 34.13 *ἀνδραποδιστής*, 40.16 *Ἀντιφῶν*, 40.18 *Ἀντίπατρος*, 44.10 *ἀπίλ-λειν*, 46.15 *ἀποικία* (omitted by **D** but not by **E**), 47.9 *ἀπόληξις*, 48.13 *Ἀπόλλων πατρῶος*, 49.3 *ἀπό μισθωμάτων*, 56.4 *ἀργυρίτις γῆ*, 56.7 *Ἀργινούσαι*, 56.12 *Ἀργαῖος*, 56.15 *Ἄρριβαρζάνης* (omitted by **E** according to Bekker, who does not give a full report of **D**; Dindorf is silent), 57.12 *Ἀρίστυλλα*, 68.18 *Ἄφαρεύς*. For a possible explanation of some of these omissions see J. J. Keaney, *GRBS* 14 (1973) 418.

²⁵ The addition in Phot., which resembles Harp., is most likely from Diogenianus; cf. Hesychius α4636.

²⁶ I am not aware of any general discussion of this, and I have not myself collected examples. One simple case that has come to my attention is this: the Σ gloss *ἐμπίς·κῶνωψ* (Bach.218.5) is not in *Suda*, unlike the vast majority of Σ glosses. Instead *Suda* ε1020 has *ἐμπίς·κῶνωψι παραπλήσιον* from an Aristophanic scholium.

²⁷ Reitzenstein (*supra* n.16) xxxiii.

fore not significant; this reduces the number to 12 in one source and 49 in two.

- B:** Ἀπατούρια (42.18; Bach.113.5)
 Ἄρθμος (57.10; Bach.143.3)
 αὖ (67.6; Bach.162.25)
- Suda:* ἀδύνατοι (11.12; *Suda*α540; Bach.32.13, Phot.α393 from Bekk. v)
 ἀεί (12.6; *Suda*α605; Bach.33.25, Phot.α405 from Phryn.)
 Ἀνθήνη (38.4; *Suda*α2513)
 ἀντιγραφὴ (39.10; *Suda*α2661)²⁸
 ἄξονι (41.17; *Suda*α2833)²⁹
 ἀποδεκταί (46.4; *Suda*α3281; Bach.124.2, Phot.α2480 from Bekk. v)
 ἀποστολεῖς (51.5; *Suda*α3559; Bach.133.16, Phot.α2660 from Bekk. v)
 ἀργυρίτις γῆ (56.4, not in epitome; *Suda*α3792)
 ἀτίμητος ἀγών (64.1; *Suda*α4364; Bach.160.3, Phot.α3094 from Bekk. v)
- Suda Phot.:* ἄβιος (3.1; *Suda*α47, Phot.α38; Bach.6.3, Phot.α37 from ?)
 ἀγαθῆς τύχης νεώς (3.6; *Suda*α111, Phot.α69)
 ἀγνωμόνως (6.3; *Suda*α284, Phot.α218; Boysen VIIIb.2, Bach.13.21, *Suda*α284, Phot.α217 from Cyr. +)
 ἀγοράσαι (6.11; *Suda*α304, Phot.α230)
 ἀδήφαγοι τριήρεις (10.12; *Suda*α469, Phot.α343; Bach. 30.10, Phot.α342 from Bekk. v)
 ἀειεστώ (13.4; *Suda*α618, α103, Phot.α422)
 ἀειλογία (13.2; *Suda*α628, Phot.α423)
 ἀετός (14.3; *Suda*α576, Phot.α426; Bach.35.10, Phot.α426 from Bekk. v)
 ἀζήτητον (15.1; *Suda*α598, Phot.α437; Bach.35.18 from ?)
 αἰγίδες (16.3; *Suda*αι60, Phot.α523)
 Αἰγυλιεύς (16.6; *Suda*αι47, Phot.α524)
 ἄλογοι ἐρανισταί (23.11; *Suda*α1315, Phot.α1039; Bach. 71.16, Phot.α1027 from Bekk. v)
 Ἀλόνησος (24.4; *Suda*α1327, Phot.α1041)
 ἀπεσχοινισμένος (44.3; *Suda*α3079, Phot.α2375)
 ἀπόταξις (51.9; *Suda*α3581, Phot.α2675)
 ἀρχὴ ἄνδρα δείκνυσι (60.16; *Suda*α4096, Phot.α2929)
 ἀρχὴν ἰᾶσθαι (61.3; *Suda*α4098, Phot.α2930)

²⁸ Perhaps to be removed. Phot.α2090 may be an abbreviated version of the Harp. gloss, while Bach.104.26 may be a contamination of it and Bekk. v.

²⁹ This may belong below: Bach.108.15, Phot.α2183 are from Bekk. v, but Bach. seems to be contaminated with Harp.

- αὐθέντης* (66.5; *Suda*α4426, Phot.α3161; Bach.163.18, Phot.α3160 from Ael.Dion.α194)
αὐλειος (66.8; *Suda*α4443, Phot.α3176)
Αὐτοκλείδης (67.3; *Suda*α4498, Phot.α3324)
ἄφεις τὴν ὑπέραν . . . (69.9; *Suda*α4599, Phot.α3320)
ἄφ' Ἐστίας μνεῖσθαι (69.13; *Suda*α4590, Phot.α3322)
- B Phot.:** *ἀγνεύεται* (5.7; Bach.24.1, Phot.α205)
ἀδέητος (9.8; Bach.27.9, Phot.α329; *Suda*α435 from Bekk. iv)
Ἀλέξανδρος (21.3; Bach.66.6, Phot.α916)
Ἄλκιβιάδης (22.13; Bach.69.19, Phot.α985)
Ἄντιγενίδας (39.3; Bach.104.19, Phot.α2082)
- B Suda:** *ἀγραφίου* (6.12; Bach.15.24, *Suda*α343; Phot.α253 from Bekk. v)
ἀδελφίζειν (9.9; Bach.27.29, *Suda*α441; Phot.α333 from ?)
ἀδημονούσης (10.1; Bach.27.31, *Suda*α459; Bach.27.11, Phot.α334 from ?)
**Ἄνδρων* (35.5; Bach.86.23, *Suda*α2193)
Ἄνεμύτας (36.5; Bach.90.31, *Suda*α2267)
Ἀξίοχος (41.15; Bach.108.6, *Suda*α2822)
ἀπαθῆ (42.13; Bach.109.29, *Suda*α2873)
ἀπαρτιλογία (42.16; Bach.111.29, *Suda*α2929)
ἀπογραφῆ (45.11; Bach.122.25, *Suda*α3273)
ἀποστασίον (50.10; Bach.132.6, *Suda*α3546; Bach.132.12, [*Suda*α3546], Phot.α2640 from Bekk. iv)
ἀπροστασίον (53.12; Bach.138.28, *Suda*α3703)
ἀπρότων (53.16; Bach.139.1, *Suda*α3704)
**Ἀραφήνιος* (54.4; Bach.140.5, *Suda*α3746)
ἀργάς (54.6; Bach.141.14, *Suda*α3760; Phot.α2768 from Bekk. v)
**Ἀργουσα* (55.9; Bach.142.6, *Suda*α3784)
ἀρμοσταί (58.16; Bach.145.2, *Suda*α3979; Bach.145.4, Phot.α2838 from Bekk. v)
ἄρρη(νο)φορεῖν (59.1; Bach.145.23, *Suda*α3848; Bach.146.3, Phot.α2876 from ?)
**Ἀρτεμίσιον* (59.13; Bach.147.21, *Suda*α4031)
ἀρχαι(ρε)σιάζειν (60.3; Bach.149.11, *Suda*α4079; Bach.149.13, Phot.α2923 from Diogenianus)
**Ἀρχιδάμειος πόλεμος* (61.6; Bach.149.18, *Suda*α4108)
ἀστράβη (62.18; Bach.154.16, *Suda*α4248; *Suda*α4248, Phot.α3017 from ?)
ἀχαριστεῖν (70.7; Bach.174.13, *Suda*α4675; *Suda*α4674, Phot.α3428 from Timaeus)

Here again there are a fair number of double glosses from other sources.

Harp. in B

It is well known that the Σ' and Σ''' series in **B** are in general distinguishable.³⁰ The Harp. glosses for the most part appear in the Σ' series; there are a few short runs:

- Bach.27.29–28.8 ἀδελφίζειν, ἀδημονούσης, (ἀδόνητον Cyt.), ἀδι-
άστατον, ἀδικίον, ἀδοκίμαστος
Bach.37.14–16 ἀθεώρητος, Ἀθηνόδωρος, Ἀθμονεύς
Bach.65.31–66.6 ἀλαβαστόθηκος, Ἀλαιεύς, Ἀλέας, Ἀλέξανδρος
Bach.69.17–22 Ἀλκέτας, Ἀλκιβιάδης, Ἀλκίμαχος
Bach.72.26–73.3 Ἀλώα, Ἀλωπεκῆθεν, Ἀλωπεκόννησος
Bach.97.18–23 Ἀνθεια, Ἀνθεμόκριτος, Ἀνθεστηρίων
Bach.135.8–27 ἀπόταφος, ἀποτιμᾶν, ἀποτειχίσαι, (ἀποτίμησιν Σ),
ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος
Bach.138.24–139.1 ἀπρόσκλητον, ἀπροβούλευτον, ἀπροστασίον,
ἀπρότων
Bach.141.23–142.6 ἀργυρίς θήκη, ἀργυροκοπεῖον, ἀργυρόποδα δί-
φρον, (ἀργυρίου δίκη Bekk. v), Ἀργουσα
Bach.161.17–22 ἄττα, ἄττης, Ἀττικοῖς γράμμασιν

and one long one:

- Bach.103.24–105.16 Ἀντιοχίς, (ἀντιχορδᾶς Σ'), Ἄντρωνες, (ἀν-
τωμοσία Tim.), ἀντωμοσία, (ἀντωμοσία Σ'), Ἀντιάτας, ἀντι-
βληθέντας, Ἀντιγενίδας, ἀντιγραφεύς, ἀντιγραφῆ, (ἀντίθετον
Phryn.), ἀντιθέσις, (ἀντίθετον ?), Ἀντικύρα, Ἄντισσα.

This last comes between the Σ (some Σ') *αντ-* series and the Σ''' one. Apart from these most of the Harp. glosses are not grouped in any significant way. There are, however, a handful that appear in distinctly Σ''' contexts:

- ἀγνέεται (Bach.24.1) in its correct alphabetic place in the long
(about 75 glosses with scarcely an interruption) Σ''' *αγ-* series
Ἄριστεύς (Bach.143.8) in a small group of four glosses
ἀρρηφορεῖν (Bach.145.24) near the beginning of nine *αρρ-* glosses
mostly from Σ'''
Ἄρχιδάμειος πόλεμος (Bach.149.18) in a run of about the same
length
ἀσταθμητότατον, ἄστικτον χωρίον, ἀστυνόμοι (Bach.155.16, 19,
23) near the beginning of a group of a dozen.

Of these *ἀγνέεται* is in Phot. but not in *Suda* or in the epitome of Harp.; *Ἄριστεύς* is in Phot. but not in *Suda*; *ἀρρηφορεῖν* and *Ἄρχιδάμειος πόλεμος* are in *Suda* but not in Phot.; and the other three are in both *Suda* and Phot.

³⁰ Reitzenstein (*supra* n.16) xxxiii–xlii.

Order in Phot.

The breaking of alphabetical order by Harp. glosses in Phot. was, as already noted, one of Adler's reasons for thinking that they were added directly by Phot. Reitzenstein remarked briefly on the alphabetical order that "kein Verständiger wird darauf verzichten, aus der Stellung bei ihm ab und an auf den Ursprung der Glossen Schlüsse zu machen—immerhin aber so, dass eine nur von ihm ausgehende Untersuchung nie zu klaren Ergebnissen kommen kann."³¹ The analysis begun by him (xlii–xlv) can now be extended.

While Phot. is much closer to being fully alphabetized than for example **B**, it is (in contrast with *Suda*) far from completely so. Of the two-letter sequences in α , only the brief $\alpha\alpha$ - (17 glosses) and $\alpha\eta$ - (11) have no irregularities. A very common reason for minor breaches of order is that inflectional endings and the like in words from the same root are not taken into account; particularly extensive examples are $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\nu\alpha\kappa\tau$ - 100–03, $\alpha\iota\rho$ - 639–53 (649 inserted), $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\upsilon$ - 802–21, $\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\chi$ - 1149–57, and $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi$ - 1974–89. Unamalgamated sequences can be seen in $\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\alpha$ - 346f/348–53/354/355–59; $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota$ - 404–16/420–23 (*cf.* below); $\alpha\iota\rho$ - $\alpha\iota\sigma$ - $\alpha\iota\tau$ - 637–73/686–98; $\acute{\alpha}\mu\upsilon$ - 1258–84/1285/1286–90; $\acute{\alpha}\xi$ - 2172–76/2179–82; $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\lambda$ - 2535–49/2550–59. Some out-of-place runs can be recognised as being from Σ''' : 102–17, 147–51, 211–15, 355–59, 471–75, 505–19, 617–34, 755–58, 822–30, and 3313–18. Single glosses or small groups that are distinctly out of place are 93–97, 486, 558, 615, 649, 654, 655f, 660, 684, 685, 799f, 917, 982, 984–86, 1039–42, 1136–43, 1225–32, 1347f, 1471, 1644–47, 1683–85, 1798, 1800–02, 1941, 1973, 2051–66, 2112f, 2125–29, 2135f, 2162, 2276, 2296, 2298, 2301, 2303–07, 2365f, 2521, 2527, 2561, 2650–58, 2659–65, 2708, 2745f, 2775–77, 2780–82, 2866–69, 2871f, 2873f, 2990f, 3210–12, 3216–19, and 3248. There are many smaller irregularities.

Of the Harp. glosses that disturb the alphabetical order many come into the category of words from the same root:

73 Ἀγάθαρχος, 69 ἀγαθῆς τύχης νεώς, 226 ἀγοράς, 230 ἀγοράσαι, 260 ἀγρίους, 279 ἀγυῖας, 318 ἀγωνιᾶν, -ῶντες, 521 Αἰγείον, 522 Αἰγείδαι, 534 αἰδέσασθαι, 587 αἰκίας, 716 ἀκάρ, 1090 Ἄλωπεκῆθεν, 1091 Ἄλωπεκόννησος, 1400 ἀναβάλλειν, 1472 ἀναθέσθαι (1473 is a later insertion), 1493 ἀναίνεσθαι, 2089 ἀντιγραφεύς, 2422 ἀπήχεια, 2570 ἀπόμισθοι, 2608 ἀποπομπαῖοι, 2790 ἀργυροκοπεῖον, 2815 Ἀριστεύς, 2825 ἀρκτηῦσαι (or 2824 may be out of place), 2929 ἀρχῆ ἄνδρα δείκνυσι, 2953 ἀσήμαντα, 3094

³¹ *Supra* n.16: xxxi.

ἀτίμητος ἀγών, 3136 Ἀττικοῖς γράμμασιν, 3176 αὔλειος, 3378 ἀφορμή, and 3428 ἀχαριστεῖν.

Others, despite initial appearances, do not in reality disturb the order:

223 ἄγοι (221f have been added), 269 Ἀγροιλῆθεν (267f are out of place), 1098f Ἀμάδοκος, Ἀμαζόνιον (1097 is out of place), 2082 Ἀντιγενίδας (2083–85 are out of place), 2196 ἄοπτα (2195 is out of place), 2350 ἀπεργασάμενος (2349 is out of place), 2675 ἀπόταξις (2674 is out of place) and 3234 αὐτομαχεῖν (3233 is out of place).

The following do disturb the order:

130 Ἀγασικλῆς, 285 Ἀγύρριος, 354 ἀδιάστατον (*cf.* above), 374 ἀδοκίμαστος, 422f ἀειεστῶ, ἀειλογία (with 420f a separate Σ'' block), 468 Ἀθμονεύς (467 is the previous Harp. gloss), 605 Αἰνίους, 744 Ἄκη, 893 Ἀλαιεύς, 915 Ἀλέας (916 is the next Harp. gloss), 984–86 Ἀλκέτας, Ἀλκιβιάδης, Ἀλκίμαχος, 1039–42 ἄλογοι ἐραμισταί, ἀλογίαν, Ἀλόνησος, Ἀλόπη, 1171 Ἀμβρακία, 1213 ἄμμποι (*cf.* 1212 ἄμμπον), 1316 ἀμφιδέας (1317 is the next Harp. gloss), 1500 Ἀνακαίασιν (1499 may be a later addition), 1610 ἀναποδιζόμενα, 1879 ἀνεσκευάσαντο, 1946 Ἄνθεια (1947 is the next Harp. gloss), 2135f Ἀντιοχίς, Ἄντισσα, 2150 ἀντωμοσία, 2484 ἀποδιδόμενοι, 2631 ἀποσάξαντα, 2660f ἀποστολεῖς, ἀποστησάμενον (in a confused area), 2687 ἀποτείχισαι (in a confused area), 2703 ἀπόφασις, 2715 ἀποφοράν (in a confused area),³² 2746 ἀπροβούλευτον (*cf.* 2745 ἀπροβουλία), 2795 Ἄρδηττοι (the Bekk. v gloss on the same word is correctly placed), 3130 Ἄττις (in a confused area), and 3322 ἀφ' Ἐστίας.

That is, a maximum of 38 glosses out of 227 are out of place. Given the character of the lexicon that does not appear an excessive number.

Combined glosses

The manner in which similar glosses of different origin are combined is a further means of establishing relationship. The Harp. glosses concerned are these:

ἀγελαῖος/ἀγελαίων. There are four glosses: (1) ἀγελαῖος· ιδιώτης· ἧ ὁ ἐν ἀγέλη διάγων (Σ: Cyr. + Ael. Dionys. α17), (2) ἀγελαίων· ιδιωτῶν . . . (Σ': Cyr. + ?), (3) ἀγελαίων· τῶν πολλῶν καὶ τυχόντων . . . (Harp. 4.10), (4) ἀγελαῖος· ἀντὶ τοῦ ιδιώτης, ῥεμβώδης, καὶ εὐτελής . . . (Σ''': Paus. α12). These are combined as follows: **B** (Bach. 8.25f) (2)/(1) + (3) + (4); *Suda* α187 (1) + (2) (+ Julian) + (3); Phot. α134, 141 (2) + (3)/(4).

³² 2716f appear to be placed according to the antistoechic order used in *Suda*, of which there are traces elsewhere; *cf.* Adler (*supra* n.16) 679.

ἀγορανόμοι. **B** (Bach.14.7) and *Suda*α302 have the Harp. (6.8) gloss by itself, Phot.α229 adds a sentence from Bekk. v.

Αἰνίους. The epitome of Harp. (17.9), by omitting the citation from Demosthenes (23.119) that followed the lemma, produced the rather odd-looking gloss Αἰνίους· Αἶνος πόλις ἐστὶ τῆς Θράκης This is reproduced by **B** (Bach.47.4) and Phot.α605. *Suda* misunderstood it and (combining it with another source) produced (αι224) Αἶνιον καὶ Αἰνίους· πόλεις, (αι225) Αἶνος· πόλις ἐστὶ τῆς Θράκης

ἀκροᾶσθαι. *Suda*α993, Phot.α849 have from Harp. (19.11) ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑπακούειν. οὕτως Ἀντιφῶν (fr.62 Th.). For οὕτως **B** (Bach.56.12) substitutes καὶ ὑποτετάχθαι Πλάτων (*Grg.* 488c) καὶ from Phrynichus (*Praep.Soph.* 38.6).

ἀλάστωρ. There are three glosses: (1) φονικὸς δαίμων, τιμωρῶν καὶ ἀνέλπιστα ποιῶν (Σ), (2) ὁ τοιαῦτα τολμήσας ὧν μὴ ἐστὶν ἐπιλαθέσθαι (Harp.20.9), (3) ὁ ἁμαρτωλός, κατὰ μὲν Χρῦσιππον . . . (Paus.α61). Phot. (α903, 902, 896) has them separate. **B** (Bach.65.7) inserts part of (1) and all of (2) near the beginning and end respectively of (3). *Suda*α1082 has (1) with πικρὸς καὶ inserted from Δ + extract from Polybius + (2).³³

ἀλίπεδον. Two glosses (Σ and Harp.21.18) in Phot.α955f are combined by insertion of δέ in **B** (Bach.67.5) and *Suda*α1240.

ἀνδραποδοκάπηλος. Two glosses (Σ and Harp.34.10) are combined by insertion of καί in Phot.α1746, of οὖν (with an Aristophanic scholium and an excerpt of Procopius) in *Suda*α2155.

Ἀνθεστηρίων. In the gloss from Harp. (38.1), *Suda*α2500, Phot.α1955, there is one etymology of the word: **B** (Bach.97.23) inserts an alternative.

ἀπαγωγή. Two glosses (Σ and Harp.42.8) are grouped in one of the *Suda*'s characteristic paragraphs, preceded by the Σ gloss ἀπαγωγάς and separated by an excerpt from Philostorgius (*Suda*α2869). In Phot.α2208f they are separate, but the former has an addition λέγεται ἀπαγωγή καὶ ἡ αἰχμαλωσία καὶ ἡ τινος κομιδή, οἶον ἡ ἀγωγή. In **B** (Bach.109.20, 24) this is added to the Harp. gloss, whose last sentence is transferred to the other.

ἀπαρτιλογία. Two similar glosses in **B** (Bach.111.23 ὁ ἀπηρτισμένος ἀριθμὸς καὶ λόγος. Ἡρόδοτος ἐβδόμῳ [7.29.2]· λέγει δὲ Ξέρξης . . . ; 111.29 ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπηρτισμένος καὶ πλήρης ἀριθμός. οὕτως Λυσίας [p.334 Th.] καὶ Ἡρόδοτος), the latter from Harp. (42.16), are combined in *Suda*α2929 ἀπηρτισμένος καὶ πλήρης ἀριθμὸς καὶ λόγος. οὕτως Λυσίας. Ἡρόδοτος δὲ ζ'· λέγει δὲ Ξέρξης

³³ I need not consider the vexed question of *Etym.Gen.*; see Alpers (*supra* n.16) 76; Theodoridis (*supra* n.15) xl–xliv.

- ἀπειπεῖν*. Phot.α2311 has the Harp. (43.7) gloss *ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀποκαμῆν καὶ ἀδυνατῆσαι*. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπαρνήσασθαι. *Suda*α3124 has it with *ἢ ἀπειπεῖν* substituted for *ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ*. In **B** (Bach.116.7) it has the same form as in Phot., but *ἢ καὶ ἀπιστεῖν* is inserted after *ἀδυνατῆσαι* (by confusion with the gloss *Suda*α3116, Phot.α2311 *ἀπειθεῖν ἀπιστεῖν*).
- ἀπεσχοιτισμένος*. **B** (Bach.118.26) has the Σ gloss *ἀπεσχοιτισμένον ἀπεστερημένον, ἀποκεκλεισμένον*. The epitome of Harp. (44.3) has *ἀπεσχοιτισμένος Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἀριστογείτονος* (25.28) *ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀποκεκλεισμένους*. Phot.α2375 seems to be this, with the citation omitted. *Suda*α3079 combines the two: *ἀπεσχοιτισμένος ἀπεστερημένος Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἀριστογείτονος ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀποκεκλεισμένους*.
- ἀπογραφή*. **B** (Bach.122.25) prefixes the Σ (Cyr.) gloss to that of Harp. (45.11). *Suda*α3273 has them in reverse order. Phot.α2468 has only the former.
- ἀποπεφασμένος*. **B** (Bach.130.14) and *Suda*α3475 join the Σ (Cyr.) and Harp. (49.11) glosses with *ἢ*. Phot.α2604 has only the latter.
- ἀποστολεῖς*. *Suda*α3559 has the Harp. (51.5) gloss *οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκπομπῆς τῶν τριήρων ἀποδεδειγμένοι*. Phot.α2660 has the Bekk. v (203.22) gloss *ὁ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἦσαν ἄρχοντες ἐπὶ τῶν ἐκπλεουσῶν τριήρων καὶ τῶν ἀναγομένων στόλων*. *ἀποστολεῖς δὲ παρὰ τὸ ἀποστέλλειν τὰ πλοῖα*. **B** (Bach.133.16) also follows Bekk. v in essence, but inserts material from Harp. with *οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκπομπῆς τῶν πλεουσῶν τριήρων καὶ τῶν ἀναγομένων στόλων ἀποδεδειγμένοι*.
- ἀργάς*. **B** (Bach.141.14) and *Suda*α3760 have the Harp. (54.6) gloss at the end: *Δωριεῖς καὶ μάλιστα Ἀργεῖοι τὸν ὄφιν ἀργὰν ἐκάλουν . . .*. Before this **B** has *ὁ δεινότατος παρ' ἡλικίαν ἀργὰς καλεῖται*. οὕτως ἔλεγον καὶ τὸν Δημοσθένην. ἄλλοι δὲ φασι τοῦτον κακὸν ποιητὴν γεγονέναι (then the inept linking phrase *οἱ δὲ ὅτι κατὰ*). *Suda* has *ὁ δ. παρ' ἡ. ἀ. κ. τούτῳ ἀφομοιοῦσθαι ὑπὸ Αἰσχίνου τὸν Δημοσθένην*. ἄλλοι δὲ τὸν δεινότατον καὶ θηριώδη τὸν τρόπον (omitting *Δωριεῖς*). **B** has clearly incorporated material from the Bekk. v (206.7) gloss in Phot.α2768, *οἱ μὲν φασι τοῦτον κακὸν ποιητὴν γεγονέναι, οἱ δὲ τὸν ἀργὰν ὄφειος εἰδὸς φασι*. The origin of the main insertion is not known.³⁴
- ἀρμοσταί*. As with *ἀποστολεῖς*, *Suda*α3979 has the Harp.(58.16) gloss (*οἱ ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων εἰς τὰς ὑπηκόους πόλεις ἄρχοντες ἐκπεμπόμενοι*), Phot.α2838 the Bekk. v (206.16) gloss (*οἱ φρούραρχοι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, παρὰ τὸ ἀρμόζειν καὶ καθιστᾶν τὰς ὑπ' αὐτῶν φυλαττομένας πόλεις*), and **B** (Bach.

³⁴ Two MSS. of the full Harp. have the same as *Suda*, but omitting *τούτῳ . . . Δημοσθένην* at the end of the gloss: interpolated from *Suda*?

145.2) combines the two (οἱ ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων εἰς τὰς ὑπηκόους πόλεις ἄρχοντες καὶ φρούραρχοι ἐκπεμπόμενοι, παρὰ τὸ ἀρμόζειν κτλ.).

ἀρχαῖος. Here two glosses, ἀρχαῖος· ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐήθης Πλάτων (Hr.Mi. 371b; perhaps from Phrynichus fr.263), and ἀρχαίως· Ἴσοκράτης μὲν . . . (from Harp.60.5), are differently treated. Phot.α2920f has them separate; Sudaα4074f has them separate but in reverse order, with the latter preceded by the Ambrosian ὁ παλαιός. **B** (Bach.148.14) runs the two together. It is to be noted that all three have, explicitly or implicitly, the lemma ἀρχαῖος in Harp., for the original ἀρχαίως.

ἀστράβη. Phot.α3017 has the gloss τὸ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐφίππων ξύλον, ὁ κρατοῦσιν οἱ καθεζόμενοι. καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ νωτοφόρον ὑποζύγιον. οἱ δὲ τὸν σωματηγὸν ἡμίονον ἀστράβην ἐκάλεσαν. Sudaα4248 runs together the Σ gloss ὄνος, the Harp. (62.18) gloss ἡ ἡμίονος, ὡς Δημοσθένης κατὰ Μειδίου (21.133). τάχα δὲ καὶ πᾶν ὑποζύγιον, ἐφ' οὗ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὀχοῦνται, οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο, and the gloss found in Phot., interposing between the two sentences of the latter ἀστραβηλάτης· ὁ ἡνίοχος from the Ambrosian lexicon. **B** (Bach.154.14) joins the gloss in Phot. with Harp.: τὸ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐφίππων ξύλον . . . ὑποζύγιον. καὶ πᾶν ὑποζύγιον ἐφ' οὗ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὀχοῦντο οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο, ὡς καὶ Δημοσθένης κατὰ Μειδίου.

Abbreviated glosses

A few glosses appear in one source or another in an abbreviated form. In **B**:

***Ἄβαρις**. Harp.1.1, Sudaα18, Phot.α29 have a long narration of his history. **B** (Bach.5.15) has only the opening words ὄνομα κύριον.

***Ἄβροκόμας**. **B** (Bach.5.2) again has only ὄνομα κύριον. Harp. epit. and Phot.α54 add σατράπης δ' ἦν Ἄρταξέρξου τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως. The full Harp.3.3 and Sudaα83 have οὗτος σατράπης ἦν κτλ.

***Ἀγάθαρχος**. The final phrase τὸ δὲ γένος Σάμος in Harp.3.4, Sudaα109, Phot.α73 is omitted by **B** (Bach.6.20).

In Phot.:

ἀνεπόπτειτον. Phot.α1862 omits the citations from Philochorus (FGrHist 328F69f) that are given by Harp.36.7, Sudaα2303, and **B** (Bach.91.11).

ἀντιγραφεύς. Harp.39.5, Sudaα2661, and **B** (Bach.104.21) have ὁ καθιστάμενος ἐπὶ τῶν καταβαλλόντων τινὰ τῇ πόλει χρήματα, ὥστε ἀντιγράφεσθαι αὐτά. οὕτω Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἄνδροτίωνος (22.70). ἀλλὰ καὶ Αἰσχίνης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος (3.25). δύο δὲ ἦσαν, ὁ μὲν τῆς διοικήσεως, ὁ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς.

Phot.α2089 has only the last sentence, with the addition ὡς φησι Δημοσθένης καὶ Αἰσχίνης.

ἀπεσχοινισμένος. See above (215).

ἀπλάς. Phot.α2435 omits mention of Callistratus from Harp.45.1, Sudaα3223, and **B** (Bach.121.22).

ἀρετή. Harp.57.9, Sudaα3831, and **B** (Bach.142.21) have Ἄνδοκίδης (fr.6) καὶ Θουκυδίδης (1.33.2) ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐδοξία. Phot.α2802 alters this to εὐδοξία. οὕτως Ἄνδοκίδης καὶ Θουκυδίδης.

In *Suda* Phot.:

ἄπαγε. Harp.42.8 and **B** (Bach.109.14) have ἀντὶ τοῦ χρωτῆ ἀπαγωγῆ· οὕτως Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἄνδροτίωνος (22.26). ἔστι δὲ δίκης εἶδος. Sudaα2861, Phot.α2201 omit all after Δημοσθένης.

Textual variations

The relation of the Σ sources to the epitome of Harp., plain from the selection and wording of the glosses, is confirmed by the textual variations.

B *Suda* Phot. Harp.epit.: Harp.plen.

ἀγνιάς (Harp.7.8, Bach.16.8, Sudaα383, Phot.α279) σταλαγμοῦς, βαρβάρους: σταλαγμοῖς, βαρβάρων

Ἄδράστεια (Harp.10.16, Bach.28.15, Sudaα524, Phot.α385) ταύτον: τὴν αὐτήν; αὐτῆ: αὐτήν

ἄερκτον (Harp.14.1, Bach.34.10, Sudaα560, Phot.α424) ὀρώμενον: καθορώμενον

αἰκίας (Harp.17.5, Bach.44.9, Sudaαι169, Phot.α587) πληγαῖς: πληγῆς

Αἰνίους (Harp.17.9, Bach.47.4, Sudaαι225, Phot.α605) ἐπηγάγοντο post Κύμης: post Μιτυλήνης

Αἰξωνῆσιν (Harp.18.1, Bach.47.7, Sudaαι242, Phot.α609) λέγεσθαι: λέγειν

ἄκαρ (Harp.18.11, Bach.53.10, Sudaα800, Phot.α716) ἄκαρῆ vel ἀκαρεῖ

Ἄκτῆ (Harp.19.12, Bach.60.4, Sudaα1036, Phot.α876) ἰδίως: om.; πλείω: πλείω μοῖραν

Ἄκτια (Harp.20.2, Bach.64.11, Sudaα1037, Phot.α877) τῷ περὶ τῶν: ἐν τῷ περὶ

Ἄλέξανδρος (Harp.21.3, Bach.66.6, Phot.α916) καὶ: εἰ

There are, however, a handful of cases where one or more of them agrees with the full version against the other(s) and the epitome.

Phot. Harp.epit.: **B** *Suda* Harp.plen.

Αἰγείδαι (Harp.15.11, Bach.42.10, Sudaαι32, Phot.α522) γνήσιός ἐστιν: γνήσιος

Suda Phot. Harp.epit.: **B** Harp.plen.

ἀντιγραφὴ (Harp.39.10, Bach.104.26, *Suda*α2661, Phot.α2090) lemma om.: hab.; τὰ ante ἐν: ante τῶν; πράγματος: περὶ τοῦ πράγματος³⁵

Ἄρκτουρος (Harp.58.10, Bach.144.20, *Suda*α3961, Phot.α2827) δὲ καὶ: δέ

Ἄφύας (Harp.70.5, Bach.173.25, *Suda*α4659, Phot.α3406) ὀνόματα: ὄνομα

Suda Harp.epit.: **B** Phot. Harp.plen.

ἄστικτον χωρίον (Harp.62.14, Bach.155.19, *Suda*α4226, Phot.α3015) ἄστ . . . : ἄστικτον

There are also cases where they all agree against Harp. (generally both versions):

B *Suda* Phot.: Harp.

Ἀγησίλαος (Harp.5.3, Bach.12.25, *Suda*α229, Phot.α171) δέ: δέ καὶ

ἄγοι (Harp.4.3, Bach.13.23, *Suda*α381, Phot.α223) ἄγοι: ἄγοι τοῦτο

ἀνελοῦσα (Harp.35.9, Bach.90.1, *Suda*α2248, Phot.α1836) αὐτήν: αὐτῇ

Ἄντιγενίδας (Harp.39.3, Bach.104.19, Phot.α2082) Διονύσον: Διονυσίου

ἀντιγραφεὺς (Harp.39.5, Bach.104.21, *Suda*α2661, Phot.α2089) ἦσαν: ἦσαν ἀντιγραφεῖς

ἀντωμοσία (Harp.41.4, Bach.104.1, *Suda*α2759, Phot.α2150) γραψάντων: γράψαντες

ἀνωρθρίαζον (Harp.41.8, Bach.107.3, *Suda*α2598, Phot.α2167) ἀνωρθρίαζον: ἀνωρθίαζον; ὄρθριοι: ὄρθιοι (epit.: ὄρθιον plen.)

ἀπροστασίον (Harp.53.12, Bach.138.28, *Suda*α3703) ἠρνεῖτο: ἠρεῖτο

ἀργυροκοπεῖον (Harp.56.5, Bach.141.27, *Suda*α3796, Phot.α2790) ἡμαντήριον: σημαντήριον

ἀρκεύσαι (Harp.58.4, Bach.143.23, *Suda*α3959, Phot.α2825) παρθένοι: παρθένοι ἄρκτοι

ἄρρηφορεῖν (Harp.59.1, Bach.145.23, *Suda*α3848) ἄρρηνοφορεῖν: ἄρρηφορεῖν

ἀρχαῖος (Harp.60.5, Bach.148.14, *Suda*α4074, Phot.α2921) ἀρχαῖος: ἀρχαίως

Ἄρχιδάμειος πόλεμος (Harp.61.6, Bach.149.18, *Suda*α4108) τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ: om. epit. (hab. plen.)

³⁵ **B** perhaps took these readings from the related gloss Bekk. v 200.9 (Bekk. v and Harp. share a source in the so-called *Onomastikon*: Wentzel, *GGA* 159 (1897) 618).

ἀφείς καὶ ἀπαλλάξας (Harp.69.1, Bach.170.3, *Suda*α4599, Phot. α3319f) τις: τίς τινα

Errors peculiar to only one of the Σ sources are obviously of no significance here (even less, variations within *Suda* or Phot.). But there are some that occur in two of them.

Suda Phot.: B Harp. (prima facie error in Σ'')

Ἄθμονεύς (Harp.15.7, Bach.37.16, *Suda*α743, Phot.α468) Ἄθμων-:
Ἄθμων-
Ἄκη (Harp.19.1, Bach.53.29, *Suda*α858, Phot.α744) καλουμένην:
νῦν καλουμένην
ἀπόφασις (Harp.52.15, Bach.136.24, *Suda*α3629, Phot.α2703) κα-
λείται . . . ἀπογραφῆ: καλεῖ . . . ἀπογραφῆν
Ἄττης (Harp.65.4, Bach.161.20, *Suda*α4354, Phot.α3130) Ἄττις:
Ἄττης
ἀφορμή (Harp.69.15, Bach.172.30, *Suda*α4638, Phot.α3378) δώσει:
δώση (δῶ Harp.plen.)

B Phot.: *Suda* Harp. (prima facie error in Σ''')

Ἄζημιεύς (Harp.14.6, Bach.35.19, *Suda*α594, Phot.α436) Ἄζηνεύς:
Ἄζημιεύς
Αἰνίους (Harp.17.9, Bach.47.4, *Suda*αι225, Phot.α605) κατώκησαν:
κατώκισαν
ἀπεργασάμενος (Harp.44.1, Bach.117.19, *Suda*α3036, Phot.α2350)
–: ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀπολλόδωρον
ἀπηλοημένος (Harp.44.6, Bach.121.3, *Suda*α3156, Phot.α2408)–:
ἐν τῷ πρὸς Φαίμπιον
ἀργυρὶς θήκη (Harp.55.12, Bach.141.23, *Suda*α3792, Phot.α2786)
τὰ κιβώτια: κιβώτια
αὐτολήκυθοι (Harp.67.7, Bach.166.4, *Suda*α4505, Phot.α3227) ἐτοί-
μους: ἐτοίμως³⁶

B *Suda*: Phot. Harp.

ἀγελαῖος (Harp.4.10, Bach.8.26, *Suda*α187, Phot.α134) ρίβδην: ρύ-
δην
ἀπολελοιπότες (Harp.47.6, Bach.127.19, *Suda*α3383, Phot.α2543)
Σωκράτης: Ἰσοκράτης

3. Conclusions

It should be immediately apparent from the above data that simple solutions will not suffice. If Harpocration had been incorporated in Σ

³⁶ This is not quite the same as the other cases: the correct ἐτοίμους is also in Harp. plen., so that the error is due to Harp.epit. and was taken over by Σ' but corrected by Σ'''.

at only one point, which would have to be Σ', several difficulties arise. The considerable number of glosses in *Suda* Phot. but not in **B** has to be explained; **B** may abbreviate on occasion and combine freely, but cannot be shown to have omitted on any scale. Phot. is different in this respect (*supra* 207 and n.17), so that glosses in **B** *Suda* but not Phot. can be readily explained by omission in the latter. Further, the few glosses in **B** Phot. but not *Suda*—especially those in Σ''' contexts in **B**—call for explanation. Next there is the lack of common combinations noted by Adler: only the simplest are found, in ἀλίπεδον and ἀποπεφασμένον. Finally, there are the textual alterations in **B** *Suda*: Ἴσοκράτης s.v. ἀπολελοιπότες might easily be a conjecture by Photius, but that in ἀγελαῖος is more recalcitrant.

But converse problems are raised by Adler's proposal of independent introduction to the sources. There are considerable overlaps in the glosses included by each, and the errors shared by two of the three are an almost insuperable objection (it will be recalled that Adler fails to mention that Harpocraton is included in **B**). Alpers' suggested compromise of incorporation by Σ', *Suda*, and Phot. independently does not fully meet the facts either: the glosses found only in **B** or **B** Phot. (with a Σ''' context in **B**) and the errors common to **B** Phot. remain unexplained.

There is no conclusive evidence that **B** used Harpocraton.³⁷ Given that Phot. is extant in an abbreviated state, the three glosses found only in **B** may have been in Σ''' and omitted in Phot. The larger number in **B** *Suda* might be explained by independent use of Harp. by each, but in view of the conjunctive errors in **B** *Suda* it is easier again to suppose them to have been in Σ' and omitted in Phot.; or to have been in Σ''', omitted in Phot., and added independently by *Suda*. The handful of cases where **B** (sometimes with *Suda*) has a reading also in the full version of Harpocraton, while Harp.epit. has another, may also be otherwise explained: s.vv. Αἰγεῖδαι, Ἄρκτουῖρος, and Ἄφύας the variations are trivial and may be coincidental, while s.v. ἀντιγραφή **B** may be contaminated with Bekk. v.

Equally it is not clear that Phot. used Harpocraton: Phot. by itself has no glosses outside the αμ- and αν- sections where Σ''' is not represented also by **B**. The reading ῥύδην s.v. ἀγελαῖος is the best evidence.

For *Suda* the case is much stronger: nine glosses not also in **B** or Phot., and one of these, ἀργυρίτις γῆ, not in the epitome of Harp.

³⁷ There is no distinction to be drawn here between **B** itself and any intermediary there may have been between it and Σ'''. The same applies, mutatis mutandis, to what is said below about Phot. and *Suda*.

The glosses that appear in **B** in Σ''' contexts and are also in *Suda* are probably to be regarded likewise as separate additions to the latter. Textual agreements with the full version of Harp. are, as already noted, trivial. When *Suda* agrees with Harpocraton, and **B** Phot. have a variant, the possibility of *Suda* having by direct use of Harpocraton corrected an error of Σ' cannot be excluded; but error by Σ''' is at least equally likely.

Use of Harpocraton by Σ''' is virtually certain from the occurrence of *ἀγνεύεται* only in **B** Phot. and decisively in a Σ''' run in **B**, along with several conjunctive readings. For Σ'' there can be no doubt at all: 22 unique glosses and several conjunctive readings. Equally so for Σ' , with the great majority of Harp. glosses common to all sources, and again with conjunctive readings.

It appears therefore that Harp.epit. was used by Σ' , which incorporated most of its glosses. Many of those omitted (for whatever reason) were added by Σ'' , some others by Σ''' . Consultation by *Suda* (and of a different version) is probable, by **B** and Phot. no more than possible. This complicated picture of the repeated use of the same source at several stages in the development of Σ cannot be regarded as inherently unlikely. It is similar to the process Erbse has depicted for the Atticistic lexica. The historical circumstance to be imagined probably involved several scholars producing their own version of this collection of useful words, all working at roughly the same period in Constantinople and using the same limited number of sources.

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