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GRIEGO-ESPAÑOL



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THE SCHOLIA ON STRABO

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Strabo's *Geography* was not well known in ancient and medieval times. It was never the subject of literary or scientific study. There was no need to write commentaries on it as on the poets, orators, and philosophers. Nevertheless the medieval manuscripts of Strabo do contain meagre scholia, and for one reason or another some of them are valuable. Moreover as a whole they throw light on the history of Greek scholarship in an important but obscure period. It seems desirable therefore to edit them entire,¹ to examine their relationships, and point out their significance.

The scholia occur in the oldest MSS of Strabo and are repeated fairly constantly in the later MSS. Most of the MSS also have recent scholia written by a different hand from that of the text. While they are occasionally of considerable interest, these recent scholia can be examined to best advantage in the study of the individual codices. Here we are investigating the earliest fund of scholia on Strabo and shall deal only with those that appear to derive from ancient archetypes.

The primary MSS of Strabo's *Geography* are as follows:²

- A. Paris. gr. 1397, second half of the 10th cent., Strabo books I-IX. The margins at the beginning and end have been gnawed away by mice, so that most of the scholia on I and VIII-IX are lost. Leaves and whole quires are also missing at various places.³
- F. Vatic. gr. 1329, late 13th cent., Strabo XII 574D - XVII end. The first part of the codex is lost.⁴
- D. Marc. gr. XI 6, Strabo X-XVII, finished in May 6829 (A. D. 1321).
- C. Paris. gr. 1393, late 13th cent., Strabo entire except VIII 337C - IX end, omitted by the scribe.⁵
- B. Athous Vatop. 655, 14th cent., Strabo entire.⁶ = la l'oeuvre

¹ Some of the scholia are included in the critical apparatus on Strabo by G. Kramer, *Strabonis Geographica* (3 vols., 1844-52).

² Kramer, preface; E. Roellig, 'De codd. Strabonianis qui libros I-IX continent,' *Diss. Philol. Halenses* 7 (1886) 275-396; T. W. Allen, 'MSS of Strabo at Paris and Eton,' *Class. Quart.* 9 (1915) 15-26, 86-96; A. Diller, 'Codex B of Strabo,' *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 56 (1935) 97-102; F. Sbordone, 'Eliminatio codicum e recensio del libri VIII e IX della Geografia di Strabone,' *Rendiconti dell' Accad. di Napoli* 24-25 (1951) 289-331. I have changed two of Kramer's sigla in order to provide sigla for primary MSS he did not use. Kramer's B is Laur. 28-5, a late and worthless MS. Kramer's z is Laur. 28-15, my n2.

³ A. Diller, 'Notes on Greek Codices of the Tenth Century,' *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.* 78 (1947) 184-8.

⁴ R. Ullmann, 'Lectiones Strabonianae,' *Symb. Oslo.* 5 (1927) 67-70.

⁵ A. Diller, 'Codices Planudel,' *Byz. Zeitschr.* 37 (1937) 295-301; 'The Oldest MSS of Ptolemaic Maps,' *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.* 71 (1940) 62-7 with plate III.

⁶ A. Diller, 'The Vatopedi MS of Ptolemy and Strabo,' *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 58 (1937) 174-84; *The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers* (1952) 10-4 with plate B.

- v. Ambr. gr. 418, early 15th cent., Strabo entire.⁷
- g. Vatic. gr. 174, written in part and owned by Isidorus Ruthenus (d. 1463),⁸ Strabo entire, copied from A in I-IX.
- z. Marc. gr. 606, Strabo X-XVII, finished 6955 Sept. 8 (A. D. 1446) and signed by a scribe Agallianus.
- x. Laur. 28-19, Strabo X-XVII, by the same hand as the preceding.
- n. Eton College 141, Strabo I-X, and Laur. 28-15, Strabo XI-XVII, derived from A in I-IX, written by the same Agallianus for Ciriaco d'Ancona in Constantinople, Jan. 1447. There are many autograph scholia by Ciriaco in the margins.⁹

A glance at the ambits of the several codices suggests that the tradition of the text was different in different parts of the work, and the inspection of the complete codices CBv reveals this situation more clearly. In these three codices books X-XVII have arguments at the head of each book and marginalia on the text consisting of indices, scholia, and variant readings. In I-VII such externals are lacking and the text is bare.¹⁰ Book VII ends abrupt, and VIII-IX have an abridged, lacunose text, also bare. It is plain that CBv were copied from an older codex composed of three distinct traditions: (1) I-VII bare and abrupt at the end, spliced out in VIII-IX with (2) a different, imperfect, text, and (3) X-XVII full and annotated by a studious reader. This full and annotated tradition would surely have been followed in VIII-IX and even in I-VII if it had been available for those books. The third component of the CBv tradition therefore represents a lone second volume of an entire Strabo. Codices D and gzxv represent the same volume; for they also have the arguments and marginalia and are related closely to CBv in X-XVII by certain line-omissions that occur in all these codices.¹¹ F does not share these omissions and lacks the arguments, but still has the marginalia. Codex A must represent the first volume of the annotated tradition; for it has arguments and marginalia quite similar to those in DCB and F. Let us assume *exempli gratia* that the archetype of X-XVII in DCBvgzxv was the proper complement of A and call it *a*. Then let us designate as Σ the annotated archetype represented by A in I-IX and by *a*F in X-XVII. The traditions of I-VII and VIII-IX in CBv, which we may call β and ϵ respectively, do not concern us here, as they lack the scholia.

⁷ G. Capovilla, 'Studi sul Noricum,' *Misc. Galbati* I (1951) 213-411 with plates V and VI.

⁸ G. Mercati, *Scritti d'Isidoro Ruteno* (Studi e Testi 46, 1926) 67.

⁹ R. Foerster, 'Cyriacus von Ancona zu Strabon,' *Rhein. Mus.* 51 (1896) 481-91; R. Sabbadini, 'Ciriaco d'Ancona e il Peloponneso,' *Classici e Umanisti* (Fontes Ambrosiani 2, 1933) 1-48, esp. 24, 43.

¹⁰ Bk VII alone has a brief argument in CBv, which is repeated in the margin beside the longer argument in A 152r. Sch. 198B *in textu* also occurs in CBv, suggesting that β may have been a denuded derivative of Σ . Cf. also sch. 694C *in textu*. I discussed these two glosses in 'A Note on Strabo XV 694,' *Class. Philol.* 41 (1946) 47f.

¹¹ Kramer (*supra*, note 1) I pp. lxxvii-ix.

It is our ultimate purpose to determine the origin of Σ , which codex A already shows to be as early as the tenth century. There is another important source for the text-history of Strabo which will have a great bearing on the origin of Σ . This is the *Chrestomathy*¹² preserved in codex Palat. gr. 398 in Heidelberg. The codex is of the ninth century (see below). The *Chrestomathy* is an ample series of excerpts from the seventeen books of Strabo. Occasionally the excerptor interpolated somewhat from other sources or made a remark of his own, and these slight data often show a connection with the scholia in A and aF, as we will point out in detail below. Evidently the *Chrestomathy* and the scholia had, in part at least, a common origin, which the former now shows to be as early as the ninth century.

For our purposes the Palatine *Chrestomathy* is a great boon in other ways than the one just stated. The codex in which it is preserved belongs to a distinguished family and has some aristocratic relations. It is one of a group of nearly a dozen venerable Greek codices written mostly by the same hand in primitive minuscule. They are as follows:

Paris. gr. 1807, Plato *Tetralogies VIII-IX, Definitions, Spuria*, with scholia. There was doubtless a complementary codex containing *Tetr. I-VII*, now lost but represented by codd. T and W of Plato. TW have scholia similar to those in A (Paris. 1807) and certainly of the same origin. This magnificent codex is well known and may justly be said to be one of the finest Greek codices in existence.¹³

Palat. gr. 398, Minor Geographers, *Chrestomathy* from Strabo, Mythographers, Paradoxographers, Epistolographers. See Diller, *Tradition* (above, note 6) 3-10.

Paris. gr. 1962, works of Maximus of Tyre (ed. Hobein, Teubner 1910). Laur. 80-9 + Vatic. gr. 2197, Proclus on Plato's *Republic* (ed. Kroll, Teubner 1899-1901).

Paris. suppl. gr. 921, 11 leaves palimpsest, Proclus on Plato's *Timaeus* (ed. Diehl, Teubner 1903-1906). See D. Serruys, 'Un ms. palimpseste du Commentaire de Proclus au Timée de Platon,' *Revue de Philologie* 38 (1914) 290f.

Marc. gr. 196, Olympiodorus on Plato's *Gorgias, Alcibiades I, Phaedo, Philebus* (ed. Norvin, Teubner 1913, 1936).

Marc. gr. 226, Simplicius on Arist. *Physics V-VIII* (ed. Diels, *Comm. in Arist. graeca X*, 1895).

Marc. gr. 236, Philoponus *Contra Proclum de aeternitate mundi* (ed. Rabe, Teubner 1899).

Marc. gr. 246, Damascius on Plato's *Parmenides* (ed. Ruelle 1889).

Marc. gr. 258, Alexander Aphrod. *Problemata ethica, physica, etc.* (ed. Bruns, *Suppl. Aristotelicum II* 1887-1892).

¹² Kramer III 453-582; C. Müller, *Geographi graeci minores II* (1861) 529-636. On the MSS of Chr. see Diller, *Tradition* (supra, note 6) 3, 11, 30.

¹³ H. Omont, *Platonis codex Parisinus A. Fac-similé en phototypie* (1908); H. Alline, *Histoire du texte de Platon* (1915); L. A. Post, *The Vatican Plato and its Relations* (1934); W. C. Greene, *Scholia Platonica* (1938).

Some of the Marcian mss. are doubtful. 246 seems certain and all except 258 are 33-line codices like most of the others, but the hands are somewhat different. The group needs to be studied intensively, especially in view of its cultural significance. Our first concern is the age of the codices. Paris. 1807 is commonly attributed to the ninth century, and Palat. 398 to the tenth, but always in ignorance of the identity of the hands! The character of the script seems to indicate the ninth century beyond doubt. It is stiff, formal, and regular in the extreme. There is almost no variation in the forms of the letters. This suggests a new, undeveloped script. It need not be the earliest minuscule, but it is surely the beginning of a new type. The earliest dated minuscule comes from the monastery of Studius and is less calligraphic and more similar to pre-minuscule cursive than is the Paris Plato.¹⁴ The Bodleian Euclid, written for Arethas of Patrae in 888, resembles the Paris Plato somewhat, but appears to be a little later.¹⁵ The Paris Plato group probably belongs to the third quarter of the ninth century,¹⁶ and its contents, in contrast with those of the Studite group, indicate that it was not of monastic origin.

As we proceed with the examination of the scholia on Strabo we shall have to refer often to the Paris Plato and its scholia and possibly to other members of the group. In fact we shall try to show that Σ itself probably belonged to the Paris Plato group, and we may begin now by pointing out certain palaeographical features in codex A of Strabo that are reminiscent of the Paris Plato and its peers. Probably the most peculiar is the lavish use of horizontal strokes in the left margin to mark full stops in the text. This

¹⁴ The basic codices of the Studite group are Leningrad 219 (*Gospels, an.* 835), Moscow 117 (Basil. Caes., 880), Vatic. 1660 (*Menologium*, 916) and Vatic. 1671 (*Menologium*, undated). See the reproductions in Lake and Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule MSS* (10 vols. and indices, 1934-45); also Lefort and Cochez, *Album palaeographicum codicum graecorum* (1932).

¹⁵ Bodleian MS 17179 (D'Orville 301), Lake and Lake II pl. 94, 104, *et al.* See W. W. Waddell, *The Parmenides of Plato* (1894) xcix. The majuscule script in the margins of the Paris Plato group is very similar to that in cod. Vatic. 1594 of Ptolemy's *Almagest*. See the reproductions in J. L. Heiberg, *Claudii Ptolemaei opera* II (Teubner 1907), and E. B. Knobel, *Ptolemy's Catalogue of Stars* (Washington 1915) pl. IV. This codex bears the name of the astronomer Leo (Heiberg p. xxxii), who was a slightly older contemporary of Photius, but the minuscule script looks more recent to me than the Paris Plato minuscule. On Leo see Theoph. cont. 185-92, 197, 232, and E. E. Lipshits, 'The Byzantine Savant Leo Mathematicus' (in Russian), *Viz. Vrem.* 27 (n.s. 2, 1949) 106-49.

¹⁶ T. W. Allen, 'A Group of Ninth-Century Greek MSS,' *Journ. of Philol.* 21 (1893) 48-55, in spite of his title, says (p. 50) the age of these codices 'may be set down as the end of the IXth or the beginning of the Xth century.' In *Class. Quart.* 22 (1928) 75 he is still more positive and says the Paris Plato may be no older than the Bodleian (*an.* 895) or the Vatican Plato. Actually the Vatican Plato was copied in part from the Paris Plato (Post [*supra*, note 13] 12f.).

feature runs all through the Paris Plato group and codex A of Strabo, but is rare elsewhere.¹⁷ The stroke is really the *obelus* listed in ancient accounts of the critical signs used by the Alexandrian editors and their successors,¹⁸ although it was there usually a sign of *athetesis*. Other ancient critical signs occur in the Paris Plato group, often with new meanings. The *diplê* is used to mark quotations in the group and in A of Strabo and often elsewhere in Byzantine MSS. At major stops Palat. 398 uses the *keraiunion* and A of Strabo the *lemniscus* or dotted *obelus*. Codices A and T of Plato have a dotted *chi* in a few places,¹⁹ and A of Strabo in two places (64^r at 112B and 117^v at 218C) has a *chi* plus an *obelus* with six dots. Palat. 398 uses a small undotted *chi* to mark peculiar words in the text,²⁰ but Paris. 1962²¹ and A of Strabo simply repeat the words in the margin. The *hyphen* in its ancient form occurs throughout the group and in A of Strabo. The use of these signs throughout the Paris Plato group and in codex A of Strabo shows that it was original in the group and that the antigraph of A of Strabo belonged to the group. The signs were part of the apparatus of the *metacharacterismos* that took place necessarily at the transition from majuscule to minuscule in the ninth century. This operation became 'un véritable travail philologique'²² which extended itself from accentuation and punctuation to annotation with critical signs and scholia.

The marginalia of Σ consist, as I have said, of indices, scholia, and variant readings. The variants, often marked by $\gamma\rho$, raise special problems regarding the history and constitution of the text of Strabo which need not be discussed here. There are about a hundred variants in α , much fewer in A. The indices are phrases of various forms (*σημείωσαι, περί, ότι, τί, πῶς, ιστορία, αἴτια, etc.*) indicating the contents of the text opposite. They are the major part of the marginalia and are fairly ample, often several on a page of the codex. We shall of course not edit them here except when they are contaminated with scholia or are otherwise noteworthy. The scholia proper, in which information from outside sources is brought to bear on the text of Strabo, are usually quite distinct from the indices and are much less frequent. They are edited in full herewith, each preceded by the citation of the passage of Strabo²³ to which it refers and followed by the sigla of the codices in which

¹⁷ Also in T of Plato; see the plate in Waddell (*supra*, note 15) cxxii. Also in Laur. 70-3 of Herodotus, which also has the 33 lines characteristic of the Paris Plato group; see Wattenbach and von Velsen, *Exempla codicum graecorum* (1878) pl. 31.

¹⁸ V. Gardthausen, *Griech. Palaeographie* (21913) II 410-5.

¹⁹ Alline (*supra* note 13) 187f.

²⁰ Diller, *Tradition* (*supra* note 6) 6 n. 25.

²¹ H. Hobeln, *Maximi Tyrrii philosophumena* (1910) xxviii f.

²² A. Dain, *Les manuscrits* (1949) 114.

²³ There are two current methods of citing Strabo — by the pages of Casaubon's second

it is found. Those given by Kramer are also marked K. For the sake of economy the scholia in A are given *literatim* without correction, and the scholia in α in an eclectic text without noting the wide variation of the later MSS, especially Agallianus' MSS zxn.



I 14D $\delta\tau\iota$ τοῦ μεγάλου πολέμου (sic) προγενέστερός ἐστὶν ὁ συγγραφεύς, ἀλλ' οὐ (sic) Μαρίνου τοῦ Τυρίου· οὐ γὰρ μέμνηται αὐτῶν. A fol. 8^r, K. Ptolemy's *Geography* is cited three times in *Chr.* (2.26, 7.50, 17.50) and drawn on to supplement Strabo in many other passages. It is also cited in Sch. Plat. Ion 533D and Rep. 519C (both times Πτολεμαῖος ὁ μέγας, as above) and in Palat 398. (Diller, *Tradition* [above, note 6] 114). Marinus of Tyre is known only from Ptolemy's criticism of him. As Ptolemy's *Geography* was not well known in middle Byzantine times, these citations tend to draw Σ and *Chr.* together and into the Paris Plato milieu.

I 22B $\bar{\alpha}$. Ὅμηρος ὅσα εἶπεν, ἱστορικῶς αὐτὰ δεῖ ἀκούειν πάντα. $\bar{\beta}$. Ὅμηρον τὰ μὲν ἱστορικῶς, τὰ δὲ μυθικῶς δεῖ ἀκούειν. $\bar{\gamma}$. Ὅμηρος ὅσα εἶπεν, μυθικῶς αὐτὰ δεῖ ἀκούειν πάντα· οὕτως Ἐρατοσθένης. A 12^v. The scholiast applies formal logic to Strabo's polemic against Eratosthenes. This is frequent in the Paris Plato group. Somewhat similar are the frequent enumerations in the margins corresponding to itemizations in the text, e.g. in Strabo 285D-286A (codex A 150^r) and Plato *Timaeus* 24AB.

I 54C $\delta\tau\iota$ Δημήτριος πρὸ Νέ<ρων>ος τὸν Ἴσθμὸν τὸν Πελοποννησιακὸν διεχείρησε διακόπτειν. A 30^v. Nero's operation at the Isthmus of Corinth is related by Dio Cassius 62(63).16, and is mentioned several times by Philostratus.

I 65C Κολυττός καὶ Μελίτη δήμοι Ἀθηναίων. A 36^v. An alphabetical list of geographical names, especially Attic demes, was used in the scholia on Plato, e.g. Parm. 126C. See L. Cohn in *Jahrb. für class. Philol., Suppl.* 13 (1883) 853-6, and Greene (above, note 13) xxxf.

II 67D-72A The arguments of Eratosthenes and Hipparchus are illustrated by three parallelograms in A 37^v, 40^r, 40^v, and *Chr.* 2.24 has a similar parallelogram in the margin (Palat. 398 fol. 67^v). In the figures in A the top is north, in *Chr.* south. Cf. also *Chr.* 2.19 and sch. 265D etc.

II 92D Θερμαῖος κόλπος ὁ πρὸς Θεσσαλονίκη. A 52^v. Cf. Str. VII 323C and fr. 13.

II 99C διακωδωνίζοντα δοκιμάζοντα ἢ κρίνοντα ἢ διαφημίζοντα, ὡς νῦν, ἢ διαπαίζοντά τινας. A 56^v. So Hsch., *Suda* (Phot. deest).

II 124A (Ταίναρον) δ νῦν Μονοβασίαν λέγουσι. A 71^r, K. The scholiast confuses Taenarum with Malea. The spelling *Monobasia* is genuine: Theophanes an. 6238 (422.30 De Boor), cod. Palat. 44 colophon an. 6405 (Lake and Lake

edition of 1620 and by the chapters and sections introduced progressively by Bréquigny (1763), Tzschucke (1798), and Kramer (1852). The latter method is cumbersome and not precise (the sections are often too long). The former may be improved by using the letters ABCD provided in the edition of 1620 to divide the pages into four parts. Müller has used these letters in his edition of *Chr.* (*supra*, note 12), and a similar method is of course well known for Plato and other texts.

[above, note 14] VII pl. 460), *Vita S. Willibaldi* (MGH, SS XV 1, p. 93) 'ad urbem Manafasiam in Sclawinia terrae.'

III 144B (κόκκος πολλή) θηλυκῶς. A 75^v. Cf. sch. 159B, also remarks on gender in *Chr.* 3.19, 7.87. 11.21, 14.35.

III 154C (τελαμῶσι) δχανα. A 82^r. Herodotus (I 171) distinguishes δχανα (handles) from τελαμῶνες (straps) of shields.

III 155A ζύθος· οἶνος ἀπὸ κριθῶν ἀρτητός. οὕτω καὶ τὸ Σκλαυηνῶν ἔθνος τὰ περὶ τὸν οἶνον χρῶνται. A 82^v, K. Hsch., Phot., *Suda* ζύθος· οἶνος ἀπὸ κριθῆς γινόμενος. On the Slavs cf. sch. 449C and see p. 48f.

III 159B ση. ὅτι τὸ γάρον φησὶ οὐδετέρως. A 85^r. *Chr.* 3.19 has the same remark on the same passage. Cf. sch. 144B.

III 161C Καίσαρ θεὸς σός, νῦν διάτροφε Στράβων. A 86^v. Also *verbatim* in the margin at *Chr.* 4.18 (Palat. 398 fol. 75^r). Cf. sch. 760-762. The two occurrences of the same scholium cannot be fortuitous. Either the same hand put it in both places or else it was copied from Σ into *Chr.* In either case there was some connection between Σ and *Chr.*, but the former alternative is more probable since Σ has the scholium at 161C and *Chr.* at 200B. If so, our scholiast is probably the author of *Chr.*; for who else would read both Strabo and *Chr.*?

III 162A (πέρραι) ἔμπολαί. A 86^v. Hsch. περρεῖν· ἔμπωλῶν.

III 167A τήβεννα τὸ σάγιον ὃ φοροῦσιν οἱ ἐν τέλει Ῥωμαίων καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς. A 89^v. Phot., *Etyim.* τήβεννα· ἱμάτιον ἢ χλαμὺς ὃ φοροῦσιν τύραννοι. σάγιον is a rare diminutive of σάγος (Lat. *sagum*); see G. Meyer, 'Neugriechische Studien III,' *Sitzb. Akad. Wien, Phil.-hist. Cl.* 132 (1895), III. Abh. p. 57.

III 171A (τὴν Στυλίδα) Στυλάριον καὶ νῦν τοῦτο καλοῦσιν. A 92^r, K. This scholium would have been more in place at 265D. Στυλάριον, apparently a proper name here, is a rare word.

IV 176C (Κελτική) ἢ νῦν Γαλλία. A 95^v. Strabo avoids the Latin form except in 195B Γαλλικόν τε καὶ Γαλατικόν and 130A, 566D Γαλλογραικία in Phrygia. Cf. *Chr.* 4.14 and argument IV.

IV 196C Βέλγοι (sic) οἱ νῦν Φράγγοι. A 104^r, K. True geographically, not ethnologically. The Byzantines had a vague idea of the ethnology of western Europe. Procopius says the Franks were Germans, John of Antioch says they were Celts.

IV 196D (μαιρις sic) οὕτως Κελτοὶ φασὶ τὸ ἀκόντιον· ὥσπερ καὶ παρὰ Πέρσαις ἢ Μακεδόσιν ἢ σάρισα καὶ παρ' Ἑλλήσι τὸ πάλτον. A 104^r. The only other occurrence of this foreign word is in Hsch. μαδάρις, which the scholiast probably did not connect with this passage. *sarisa* is commonly said to be Macedonian, but never Persian.

IV 197A (ἀγραυλοῦσι) ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ ἢ ἐρημίᾳ διαιτῶνται. A 104^v. Hsch. ἀγραυλον· ὑπαιθρον καὶ ἐρημον.

IV 198B (ἱλασκομένης) ἐξιλεομένης. ACBv in *textu*, K. Hsch., *Suda* ἱλάσκεσθαι ἐξιλεοῦσθαι. *Chr.* 4.15 substitutes the gloss. See above, note 10.

IV 198D (φαιστά) ἄλφита ἐλαίῳ καὶ οἴνῳ δεδευμένα ἀπερ ἐπεθυμίουν τοῖς θεοῖς, εἰρημένα παρὰ τῆς τοῦ μύλου πέψεως. A 105^v. Hsch., *Suda* (Phot. *deest*), also sch. *Antig. Hist. Mirab.* 173 in Palat. 398 (O. Keller, *Rerum naturalium script. graeci minores* I [Teubner 1877] 41.19).

IV 199A Κορινθιοῦργές κιονόκρανον τὸ ἔχον ὥσπερ φύλλα κομάρου κεφαλὴν ἀποχάλωμένα. A 105^v, K. Vitruvius (IV 1) says *acanthus* was the model for Corinthian capitals.

V 214C (ἐυλίτων πίθων) ἀ βουτία καλοῦσιν ἢ βούταιμβας (sic). A 115^v. See Meyer (above, on sch. 167A) 17f.

V 218B (γαύσαποι) γαύνακοι· οἱ δὲ καννάκαι· ἔστι στρώματα ἢ ἐπιβόλαια· ἕτεροι δὲ μαλλοῦς ἐξακούουσιν. A 177^v, K. Hsch. καννάκαι· στρώματα ἢ ἐπιβόλαια ἕτερομαλλῆ. Latin glossaries have *gaupaca*: *gausara*.

V 224A πλαταμώνας φασὶ τὰς λειοπετρίας ἢ τὰς ὀλισθηρὰς καὶ ὑποπλάκους πέτρας ἀφ' ὧν ἔστι καὶ πλάκας ἀποσχίσαι. A 121^r. See sch. 538D.

V 224B ἀποστεγγίσματα τὰ ἀποξόματα λέγεται· στλεγγίς γὰρ ἡ ξύστρα καλεῖται. A 121^r. So Hsch., Phot., *Suda*, Sch. Plat. Charm. 161E, Hipp. min. 368C, sch. Diog. Epist. in Palat. 398 fol. 305^r (ed. Boissonade, *Notices ei Extraits* 10 2 [1818] 122-298).

V 249A (Ὀθενουεντόν) Βενεβεντόν. A 127^r, K. Cf. sch. 256B, 289B. Latin *v* is often *β* even in the text of Strabo, as in *Vesuvius*, *Aventinus*, *Ravenna*, etc.

VI 256B (Ὀδιβῶναν Ὀθαλεντίαν) τὴν νῦν Βιβῶναν λεγομένην. A 132^v. K. Scarcely needed. The town and name have continued from ancient times to the present day. The scholiast has more than common knowledge of this part of Italy, see sch. 171A, 249A, 258C, 259C, 263B.

VI 258C ση. δτι τὸ 'Ρήγιον καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλείου χρηματῖσαι κέκληται· ἔγγες γὰρ οἱ βασιλεῖς Λατίνων φωνῆ. A 133^v. There are some poor attempts at Latin or Italian in *Chr.* 5.37, 39.

VI 259C ('Εσῶπιω) ἡ νῦν 'Αγία Κυριακή. A 134^r. Now *Gerace*. Christopher, bishop of 'Αγία Κυριακή, attended the second council of Nicaea, A.D. 787 (*Mansi* 12 [1766] 994D, etc.). The place is mentioned in *Const. Porph. Them.* II 10. See Oldfather in *RE* 26 (1927) 1343f.

VI 260D (εἰκόνα) ἐφ' ἧς καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τοῦτο: Ἐθνομον ὦπολλον σὸ μὲν οἰσθὰ με πῶς πότε νικῶ Σπάρταν ὁ Λοκρὸς ἐγώ, καὶ ἐξῆς. A 135^r, K. *Anth. Pal.* IX 584, *Anth. Plan.* Our text agrees with *Pal.* against *Plan.* Cf. sch. 672A, 791D.

VI 263B (Σύβαρις) ταύτην νῦν Σιμερην νῦν Συμερην καλοῦσιν. A 136^v. A rash identification. Sybaris, north of La Sila, and Simeri, south of it, near Catanzaro, are sixty miles apart. *In castro Symari* occurs in the tithes of 1310 and 1324. See D. Vendola, *Rationes decimarum Italiae: Apulia, Lucania, Calabria* (*Studi e Testi* 84, 1939) 219, 221.

VI 265D A 138^r has a diagram of Sicily in the form of an inverted isosceles triangle with *Σικελία* inside, *Πάχυνος*, *Λιλύβατον*, *Πελωριάς* (bottom) at the three angles, and *μεσημβρία* - *Λιβύη* (top), <δύσις> - *μείζων πλευρά* στάθ *αψ'*, *ἄρκτος* - ὁ πρὸς 'Ιταλίαν πορθμός, ἀνατολή - ἐλαχίστη σταδ *αργ'* round about. Cf. the diagrams, variously oriented, in sch. 689A, 786A, 801B, 825A.

VI 270C Διόδωρος ὁ ἱστορικὸς τετράπολιν φησὶ Συκαρούσσας ἐν οἷς ἀφομοιοῖ 'Αντιόχειαν τὴν πρὸς τῷ 'Ορέντη ταῖς Συρακούσσαις. A 141^r, K. *Diod. XXVI fr.* 19 *Dindorf* (1855). Cf. *Diod. XX 47* (XXI fr. 1.6 *Dind.*), *Diod. ap. Euagr. Hist. eccl.* I 20 (*om. Dind.*), *Strabo* 750A, and see G. Downey in *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.* 72 (1941) 94. There are traces of Diodorus in sch. 272C and *Chr.* 6.26 and 5.13 (*ἐπὶ Φρουρίου, Diod. XIV 117*).

VI 272C (οἱ περὶ Ἐθνον δραπεταί) κατὰ τὸν δουλικὸν κληθέντα πόλεμον. A 142^r. Cf. *Chr.* 6.26 *ἐπὶ Ἐθνον τοῦ τὸν δουλικὸν ἐξάφαντος πόλεμον*. The Sicilian Slave War of 140-132 B.C. was scarcely known to the Byzantines, as *Plutarch* and *Dio Cassius* omit it. *Diodorus XXXIV* gave a full and harrowing account of it, which was excerpted at length by *Photius (Bibl. 244)* and was certainly known to our scholiast (cf. sch. 270C).

VI 277C Αἰγίμουρος ἡ νῦν Πατελλαρέα. A 145^r. *Pantelleria* is the ancient *Cosura*, not *Aegimurus* (now *Zembra*). *Pantalarea* appears in *Anon. Ravenn.* 407.10 and *Einhard, Annales an* 807. (*MGI*, *SS* I, p. 194). Cf. sch. 834C.

VI 278C (ὁ Ἡρακλῆς Λυσίππου) δὲ νῦν ἐν τῷ Ἱπποδρομίῳ τοῦ Βυζαντίου ἀνάκειται. A. 145^v, K. See Lippold in RE 27 (1928) 51.

VII 289B (τοῦ μυχοῦ τοῦ Ἀδριατικοῦ) τῆς νῦν λεγομένης Βενετίας. A 152^r. Cf. argument V and sch. 249A.

VII 294A (καρπασίνας ἐφαπτίδας) ἀγροικικὰ ὑποδήματα μονόδεγμα· καρπασίνας δὲ φησι καρπασίον λίνου δ' ἀνάλατον ἐστὶ πυρί. A 155^r. Hsch. καρπάτινον· ἀγροικικὸν ὑπόδημα μονόδεγμον. The scholiast confuses καρπάσινος with Καρπάσιος; see sch. 446C.

VII 295C συνεξακουστέον τὸ δοκεῖ with γερνοὶ το δταν φῆ. A 156^r, K. The scholiast, struggling with the corrupt text of Strabo, attempts to construe δοκεῖ with both infinitives εἰκάζειν and κατονομάζειν. Cf. sch. 651D, 784B, 785B.

VII 296B τοὺς πιλοφόρους Γέτας, ὡς ἄλλοι τε φασὶ ἢ (sic) Κρίτων ἐν τοῖς Γετικοῖς. A 156^v, K. FGrHist 200 F 3. Crito, a rare historian, is cited in Sch. Lucian. p. 104.25 Rabe and five times in Suda.

VII 299A ὅτι μεταγενέστερος Ὁμήρου Ἡσίοδος· δ μὴ βούλεται Νικόλαος δ Δαμασκηνὸς ἐν τῇ ἀρχαιολογίᾳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῦτα ἰσόχροτος ὢν τοῦ παρόντος γεωγράφου Στράβωνος. A 157^v, K. FGrHist 90 F 83. Nicolaus was contemporary with Strabo, who cites him 719C, but *Archaeology* was the title, not of Nicolaus of Damascus, but of Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Josephus. Nicolaus' *Histories* were extant in the tenth century. Cf. sch. Plut. Brut. in cod. Conv. Suppr. 206 (Hermes 5 [1871] 120): τὸν Δαμασκηνὸν λέγει Νικόλαον τὸν Ἡρώδου τοῦ βασιλεύοντος Ἰουδαίων ἐς ἔθνῶν πρῶτον συνήθη.

VII 303A ὅτι Ἀναχάρσιδος εὐρέματα τὰ ζώπυρα, ἥτοι οἱ χαλκίοι ἀσκοί, καὶ ὁ κεραμεικὸς τρόχος. A 160^r, K. Hsch., Phot., Suda ζώπυρα φουσητήρες ὄθεν οἱ χαλκεῖς τὸ πῦρ φουῶσιν.

VII 306B (Ὀδῆγοι) Ὀδῆγοι νῦν· οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ καὶ Τούρκοι λέγονται. A 162^r, K. According to the data collected by Moravcsik, *Byzantino-Turcica* II (1943) 194, 270, the Hungarians appear in Byzantine literature in the tenth century, at first, under Leo VI (d. 912), as *Turci*, and later as *Ungri*. Moravcsik (I p. 286) gives an obsolete date (12th cent.) for our codex A (Paris. 1397) and this scholium. Skylitzes and Zonaras repeatedly identify *Ungri* and *Turci*. Our scholiast is too bold when he finds them in Strabo.

VII 307A (σκηναὶ πιλωταί) δὲ ἐν τῇ συνηθείᾳ κέντουκλίνας φασί. A 162^v, K. Suda πῖλος· τὸ κέντουκλον. Sch. Diod. Sic. III 3 in cod. Vatic. 130 (Gött. Nachr., Phil.-hist. Kl. 1906 p. 323 n.) πῖλον τὸ κοινῶς κέντουκλον. κέντουκλον is the Latin *centunculus*, but πῖλος (felt) is *coactile* rather than *centunculus*. κέντουκλον occurs as early as the second century (Apollodorus *Polioretica*), but κεντούκλιναι is unique. See Meyer (above, on sch. 167A) p. 30.

VII 308C Χερρόνησος Ταυρικὴ ἢ νῦν Χερσῶν καλουμένη. A 163^r. At Chr. 7.26 also ἢ νῦν Χερσῶν καλεῖται is written in the margin.

VII 311B (ταριχῆαι) τοῦ Βερζιτικοῦ καλουμένου ταρίχους. A 165^r. Βερζιτικά are mentioned by Const. Porph. *Adm. imp.* 181.2, *Caerim.* 464.4, and Tzetzes *Hist.* 466 (*Chil.* 13.91). See Max Vasmer, *Die Slaven in Griechenland* (*Abh. Preuss. Akad., Phil.-hist. Kl.* 1941, Nr 12) p. 85f., and Moravcsik (above, on sch. 306B) II 88.

VII 323D ὅτι ἀπὸ Σουνίου μέχρι Πελοποννήσου τὸ Μυρτώον ἐστὶ πέλαγος πρὸς ἀνατολάς τῆς πόλεως· πρὸς ἄρκτον δὲ τοῦ πελάγους τὸ Κρητικὸν καὶ Λιβυκόν, καὶ πρὸς δύσιν τῆς Πελοποννήσου τὸ Σικελικὸν ἦτοι ὁ Ἀδρίας. A 172^v, K. The scholiast attempts to improve on a slovenly statement in Strabo. πόλεως and πελάγους are probably corrupt for πελοποννήσου, and ἄρκτον is probably a slip for νότον (cf. Kramer on Strabo II 75C).

VIII 335B Ζάκυνθος· Κεφαλληνία· Ἰθάκη· Ἐχινάδες αἱ νῦν Ὀξεΐαι· Δουλίχιον νῆσοι. A 174^v. See sch. 458A.

VIII 335D Ἐθνος ποταμός Λουσίτζα νῦν λέγεται. A 175^r. Probably an error. *Phidaris*, the modern name of the Euenus, occurs as early as the tenth century (Liutprand of Cremona, *Legatio* 59 [MGH, SS III, p. 360]). *Lusitza* is unknown. There is a *Luzitsa* near Berroia in Macedonia (Vasmer [above, on sch. 311B] 207).

VIII 337A Δύμη δ νῦν Μορέας. A 175^v. This scholium is over a century earlier, at least, than the earliest occurrence of the name *Morea* cited previously, in cod. Br. Mus. add. 28816 (dated A.D. 1111) fol. 143^r: ἐκ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας Ὁλένης τοῦ Μοραίου. See A. Ch. Chatzes, 'Μορεάς-Ἰχθύς,' *Byz.-Neugriech. Jahrb.* 9 (1931) 65-91, esp. 71 n. 1. Dyme was only forty stades from Olenus (Strabo 386A).

VIII 339C (τὸ Σκόλλιον) Σκόλλος ὄρος πετρῶδες. A 177^r. 340B Ὁλενίη πέτρα ἢ νῦν Σκόλλη λεγομένη. A 177^v. The first scholium is scarcely more than an anticipation of the second, which in turn anticipates Strabo 341C (387D): πέτρην δ' Ὁλενίην εἰκάζουσι τὴν νῦν Σκόλλιν. Cf. St. Byz. Σκόλις· Ἀχαΐας πόλις, ὁ πολίτης Σκολιεύς, ὡς Ῥιανὸς ἐν δ' Ἀχαικῶν. See Geyer in RE 5A (1927) 566. Are *Scollion*, *Scollas*, *Scollé*, *Scollis*, and *Scolis* all the same?

VIII 346D (θινώδης ὁ τόπος) νῦν τοῦ Ἁγίου Χριστοφόρου μοναστηρίου τοῦτο φασί. A 181^r, K. Strabo is describing what is now the lagoon of Kaiapha, but I cannot find any other mention of a monastery of St. Christopher nearby. Sch. Lucian. p. 255.15 Rabe mentions a Martyrium of St. Christopher at Lebadela in Boeotia.

The rest of the scholia in codex A, on Strabo 347-444, have been lost. We turn now to the scholia on books X-XVII preserved in *a* (D, CBv, gzxh).

X 446C τὴν Καρυστιαν λίθον ἀφ' ἧς ὑφάσματα γίνονται. τοῦτο λίνον φασίν ἄλλοι Καρπάσιον, φύσσαι δὲ ἐπὶ πέτρας βάθος ὅσον παλαιστή. ἐν τοῖς τοῦτον λίνοις ἐργάζεται ὑφάσματα ἃ καὶ ἡμεῖς εἶδομεν ἀνάλωτα περὶ. CBv^gzxh, K. Cf. sch. 294A. See Paus. I 26.7 (the only other place where *Καρπάσιον λίνον* is mentioned), Apollonius *Hist. mirab.* 36 with index in cod. Palat. 398 (Keller [above, on sch. 198D] p. 52.1), also Plin. *NH* 19.19, Plut. *Mor.* 434A, Steph. Byz. *Βραχμάνας*, Diosc. V 155.

X 449B (Ἀρεθοῦσης) οὐ τῆς ἐν Συρακούσσαις ἀλλὰ τῆς Χαλκιδικῆς. CBv^gzn. Cf. Strabo 58A, 270f.

X 449C (Κράθιν) περὶ Πατρῶν τῆς Πελοποννήσου. περὶ τὸ Ἀχαικὸν Ῥήγιον δ νῦν Βελβίσκον Σκλαβίνοι καλοῦσιν. CBv^g. An interesting but problematical scholium. The first phrase looks like an index instead of a scholium, but *Patrae* is not mentioned here in the text of Strabo. In the tenth century *Patrae* in the Peloponnesus had to be distinguished from New *Patrae* in Thessaly, the ancient *Hypata* (H. Gelzer, *Georgii Cyprii descriptio orbis Romani* [1890] 1144, 1162, 1635, 1770; Const. Porph. *Them.* II 2; Theoph. cont. 226.12). Achaean *Rhegium* is probably *Rhium*²⁴ assimilated to *Rhegium* in Italy (sch. 258C) and then distinguished from it by the adjective. *Velviscon* is probably

²⁴ Dr. Ernest Honigmann, of Brussels, suggested this identification to me by letter in 1939. 'Le γ, comme le ḡ turc, n'est pas prononcé; cf. Anna Comnène, *Alexiade*, éd. Reifferscheid, t. II p. 287.32, *Τυράγιον* = *Τυράιον*, aujourd'hui *Turagon*.'

Velvitsi, a place between Rhium and Patrae (RE 6 [1899] 2115f., *Μεγ. Ἑλλ. Ἐγκυκλ.* 6 [1928] 903, Vasmer [above, on sch. 311B] 129). But the river Crathis in Achaëa was at Aegae, nearly forty miles east of Rhium (Hdt. I 145, Strabo 386C, Paus. *passim*). Moreover Strabo is speaking here of the Crathis at Sybaris in Italy (cf. 263D), so the scholiast is in a double error. On the Slavs see below, p. 48f.

X 451A οἶμαι τὸν μὲν Ταφίασον τὸ νῦν λεγόμενον Ὀζον ὄρος, Χαλκίδα δὲ τὴν ἀρτίως Βαράσαβαν, ὅφ' ἦν καὶ πολίχθιον ἐστὶν Ἀντίπατραι καλούμενον καθότι καὶ τὰς Πάτρας ἔχει ἀπεναντίον. Cvgzxn, K. Chalcis and Taphiassus are now Varasova and Klokova; see Wm. J. Woodhouse, *Aetolia* (1897) 107, 327, and *Μεγ. Ἑλλ. Ἐγκυκλ.* 6 (1928) 669, 14 (1930) 589. The names are Slavic; Vasmer (above, on sch. 311B) omits Varasova, has Klokova (pp. 71, 135). Although the scholiast says Ὀζον ὄρος is a living name, he may have learned it from Antigonus *Hist. mirab.* 117 in codex Palat. 398 (cf. on sch. 198D, 446C); see Oldfather in RE 25 (1926) 1163; 8A (1932) 2255; 36,1 (1942) 2051. Antipatrae is unknown, but Antirrhium was well known in ancient times.

X 456D (Κράνιοι τε καὶ Παλεῖς) αὕτη νῦν ἡ οἰκουμένη Κεφαλληνίας πόλις. Cv. Cephallenia was a tetrapolis in ancient times, but the individual towns disappear after the third century. In the ninth and tenth centuries Cephallenia was the seat of a theme. See Büchner in RE 21 (1921) 214f. and A. Pertusi, *Costantino Porfirogenito de thematibus* (1952) 174f. Unfortunately the scholiast does not give the site of the town clearly, but he probably means what is now Argostoll.

X 458A Ἐχινάδες νῆσοι αἱ νῦν Ὀξείαι. Cvzxn. Cf. sch. 335B. Strabo, in 351A and here, counts the Oxæae as only part of the Echinades, but in 459A he seems to regard them as separate, as does Pliny (*NH* 4.53). See E. Kirsten in RE 36,1 (1942) 2003f.

X 459D αὗται αἱ λίμναι καταντικρὺ Πατρῶν δυτικώτερον ἑαρινῇ δύσει διαρμα ἔχουσι θαλάσσης ἑκατάδεκα μιλίων, ἀφ' ὧν πολλῆ καὶ ἀγαθὴ ἄργα ληθύον κομίζονται ὄσα ἡμέραι ταῖς Πάτραις. Cvzn, K. 460B (πρὸς τῇ Καλυδῶνι λίμνῃ) τὴν νῦν Μάλαιναν (sic) καλοῦμένην. Cvn, K. Woodhouse (above, on sch. 451A) 163-8, 102-6, discusses the difficulties of identifying these lakes. Strabo also mentions commercial fishing in them conducted from Patrae.

X 477D (Μακέτιδος) Μακεδόσσης, λέγεται γὰρ καὶ οὕτως. CBvgzn, K. *Μακέδοσσα* Genesis *Regna* p. 107.19 ed. Bonn.; *Μακεδόνησσα* Stratis fr. 32 Koch. Byzantine *literati* fancied such strange and false forms.

XI 495D καμάρας ληστρικά πλοῖα. CBvgzxn. An index rather than a scholium. Cf. Phot. *Bibl.* 250 (Agatharchides) ch. 62 (Müller, *Geogr. gr. min.* I 154): ὅτι κέρχεται ὁ συγγραφεύς, Ἀττικιστῆς καίτοι ὦν, τῇ τῆς καμάρας λέξει.

XI 504B (σαγάρι καὶ πέλιτη) πελέκιον ἡμιστομον ἢ φαρέτρα· πέλιτη δὲ λόγχη ἢ τετράγωνος ἀσπίς. CBvgzn. Hsch. *σάγαρις· πελέκιον μονόστομον, φαρέτρα, ἄροτρον*. Phot., *Suda* πέλιται· λόγχαι καὶ ἀσπίδια τετράγωνα. Cf. Sch. Plat. *Amat.* 135E.

XII 537D (Μάζακα) ἡ νῦν Καισάρεια Καππαδοκία. Cvgzxn. So also *Chr.* 12.8. Arethas (see below, p. 44) was archbishop of Caesarea.

XII 538D (πλαταμῶνες) τόποι πλατεῖς καὶ μεγάλοι ἐπὶ θαλάσση, ἢ λεωπετρία ἢ δλισθηραὶ πέτραι. vg. So Hsch. Cf. sch. 224A.

XII 555D περὶ Πυθοδωρίδος τῆς τοῦ Στρέβωνος συγγενοῦς ... Cvgzxn. An index, but with a curious error; Strabo was not related by blood to Pythodoris, although some have thought he was in her service (see Honigmann in RE 7A [1931] 83). The indices regularly note passages that give personal information on Strabo.

XII 569C (τριάκοντα) ἐν ἐτέρῳ πετηέντα C, γρ. πεντηεντα B. This is the only variant that mentions another copy of the text.

XII 576B Μέγιστος ποταμός ὁ νῦν Μέγιστος. CBvzn. Cf. Sch. Ap. Rh. I 1165 Ῥυνδακός ποταμός Φρυγίας ὁ νῦν Μέγιστος. Elsewhere only Polyb. V 77.9 *Megistos*, Plin. V 142 *Macesos*, *Magistos*.

XII 578C (δρος Κάδμος) οἶμαι περὶ τῶν Χωνῶν λέγει. vgzx. Chonae, a fortress on the north side of Mt. Cadmus, superseded Colossae, in the plain below it, during the eighth century. Dositheus (or Theodosius), bishop of Chonae, attended the second council of Nicaea, A.D. 787 (Mansi 12 [1766] 998C etc.). See Wm. Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia I* (1895) 213-6, and V. Schultze, *Altchristliche Städte und Landschaften II 1* (1922) 449.

XIII 629D (δρυφάκτωμα) ξύλινοι διάφραγμα. Bvgn. Hsch., *Suda*, *Etym.*, (Phot. *deest*) δρυφάκται· ξύλινοι θώρακες, τὰ διαφράγματα.

XIV 638A (Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα) οὔτος Ἄμασις ἦν. FCvvgzx. See Hdt. III 39-43, 125. Cf. sch. 746A.

XIV 651D μήποτε οὐ ταύτην δεῖ γράφειν. DCBg. An unnecessary conjecture (cf. sch. 295C), which is accepted in correction in *Chr.* 14.17.

XIV 672A τὸ δλον ἐπίγραμμα· ἐδ εἰδὼς ὅτι θνητὸς ἔφους τὸν θυμὸν ἄεξε | τερόμενος θαλίνοι· θανόντι τοι οὕτως ὄνησις. | καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ σποδὸς εἰμι Νίνου μεγάλης βασιλεύσας. | τοῦτ' ἔχω ὄσσο' ἔφαγον καὶ ἀφύβρισα καὶ μετ' ἔρωτος | τέρπν' ἔπαθον, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα κείνα λέλειπται. | ἦδε σοφὴ βίβλιος παραλυσίς ἀνθρώποιον. CBvvgzx, K. Cf. sch. 260D. Most authors quote only two of these verses (4f.); see Preger, *Inscr. gr. metr.* (1891) num. 232. The long form is given in Diodorus II 23 (codex D only) and Tzetzes *Hist.* 95 (*Chil.* III 450-7) (five verses), and Athen. 336A and Sch. Arist. *Aves* 1021 (seven verses). It is also found in three places in the handwriting of Maximus Planudes: codex Monac. 430 fol. A^r as in Tzetzes, Laur. 32-16 fol. 6^v as in sch. Str., Marc. 481 (*Anth. Plan.* XVI 27 Dübner) as in sch. Str. and *Anth. Pal.* VII 325f. (two verses). Codex C of Strabo belonged to Planudes (above, note 5).

XV 687A περὶ Ναβοδοροσόρου τοῦ παρ' Ἑβραίοις Ναβουχοδοσοόρου. CBvzn. περὶ Ναβοδοροσόρου ὃν ἡ γραφὴ ἡμῶν Ναβουχοδοσοόρα καλεῖ. F, K. *Nebuchadrezar* and *Nebuchadnezar* both occur in the Hebrew Old Testament, but *Ναβουχοδόνοσορ* prevails in the Septuagint. Cf. sch. 737C, 755B, 760D.

XV 689A (δρομοειδὲς σχῆμα) DBvvgzx, K, also the epitome E (cod. Vat. 482 fol. 181^r), have a diagram of India in the form of a lozenge with the sides marked ἔφον, νότιον, δυτικόν - Ἰνδὸς ποταμός, βόρειον - Ταύρον ἔσχατα, oriented northeast. *Chr.* 15.1 (Palat. 398 fol. 141^r) has a somewhat different diagram in the margin, less faithful to the words of Strabo, with the sides marked δύσις - Ἰνδὸς ποταμός, βορρᾶς (top) - Καύκασος δρος, νότος, ἀνατολή - Ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα. A still different diagram is found in the old scholia and in Eustathius' commentary on Dion. Perieg. 1131 (Müller, *Geogr. gr. min.* II 456, 401). Cf. sch. 265D and 734C.

XV 693D (σάγγην) τὸ λεγόμενον ἐνίδριον. Cvg.

XV 693D τίς ἢ τῷ ὄντι βύσσοις. FCvvgzx. The scholiast is justly annoyed. *byssos* is still claimed as flax and as cotton, and in this place seems to be silk. See Olck in RE 5 (1897) 1114, Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece III* (1898) 470-2, and G. Richter, 'Silk in Greece,' *Am. Journ. of Arch.* 33 (1929) 27-33. In ancient times there was a large industry based on the cultivation of *byssos* in Elis and the manufacture of textiles from it in Patrae (Pausanias *passim*).

XV 694C μεγαλολεπίσματα πούσις in *textu* FCDBvgz. *λεπίσματα* is a gloss on *λόπωνις*. Hsch. *λόπος*· *λέπισμα*. See above, note 10.

XV 720D ταῦτα καὶ Ἀγαθαρχίδης περὶ τούτων τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης λόγοις ἱστορεῖ. FCvgn. See Phot. *Bibl.* 250 ch. 30 (Müller, *Geogr. gr. min.* I 129). Cf. sch. 770A.

XV 726A (Ἰχθυοφάγοις) φάργιος ἰχθὺς καὶ εἶδος νεῶς. Bg. Apparently a unique gloss on a misunderstood text.

XV 728B (γάζα) ταμεῖα ἢ πλοῦτος. CBv. Hsch. γάζα ... τὰ τίμια. γάζαν· πλοῦτον.

XV 729D (κειμένων) κειμήλια. Bvg.

XV 733B ἀκριβέστερον τὰ Περσικὰ ἔθη Μένανδρος ὁ Προτίκτωρ ἐν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἱστορίᾳ παρέθετο. CBvg. Menander Protector wrote a history of the years 558-582, continuing Agathias and continued by Theophylactus. See Müller, *Frag. hist. gr.* IV 200-69. This scholium, lacking in Müller, is almost the only citation outside the historical excerpts of Const. Porph. and *Suda*.

XV 733D (φόφω χαλκοῦ) κώδωνος ἡχῆς. Fv. Hsch. φόφος· ἡχος, κτύπος.

XV 734B (σαύνια) τὰ ἀκόντια & νῦν ρικτάρια καλοῦσιν. FBvgn. Hsch., Phot. σαύιον· ἀκόντιον βαρβαρικόν. *ricitaria* or *ripitaria* occurs often in Leo *Tactica*.

XV 734C (γέρρη ῥομβοειδεῖ) ἀσπίδι τετραγώνῳ, οὐκ ὀρθογωνίῳ δέ, ἀλλὰ τὰς δύο δεξείας ἔχοντι τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς ἀμβλείας τὰς ἀπεναντίας ἀλλήλαις· τοιοῦτο γὰρ ὁ ῥόμβος, τετραγώνων οὐσαλευμένων. CBvgzn. *rhombo* in the geometrical sense is rather rare. Euclid defines it as equilateral but not rectangular, and *rhomboeides* as neither equilateral nor rectangular, but with opposite sides and angles equal. Eustathius on Dion. Per. 1131 quotes this scholium as from Strabo. The Vatican epitome (E) has it among the excerpts from Strabo 733 (Kramer III p. 445). Cf. sch. 689A and the old scholium on Dion. Per. 1131.

XVI 737A (Ἀμανοῦ) τοῦτο νῦν Μαῦρον ὄρος φασί. DCBvgzn, K. See Honigmann in RE 28 (1930) 2395 and add Theophanes 355.7 De Boor.

XVI 737C (Νίνος) περὶ τῆς Νινευῆς πόλεως. FCBxn. The scholiast prefers the Biblical form, interpolated also in Ptol. *Geogr.* VI 1. Cf. sch. 687A.

XVI 737D κομύδριον Ἀρβηλα. FBvg, K. Strabo says Gaugamela, not Arbela, was a κώμιον ἐντελές.

XVI 738A (385 stades) ἦτοι μίλια $\bar{\nu}\alpha$ στάδια $\bar{\beta}c'$. CBvgzxn. (32 feet) οἱ γίνεται πῆγεις ὀκτώ. CBvgzxn. Cf. sch. 832B. The scholiast singles out the circuits of Babylon and Carthage and passes by without note all the other distances given by Strabo. 7 1/2 was the commonest ratio of mile to stade in Byzantine times, but the scholiast (on 832B) seems to be aware that there were other ratios. Cf. Phot. *στάδιον* and Sch. Plato *Critias* 115D. The cubit was not four feet, but 1 1/2 or 2.

XVI 745D (θώμιγγι) σειρὰ ἐκ φοινίκων. FDBvgx, K. Cf. sch. Hdt. I 199 (θώμιγγος) σπαρτίου λίθου.

XVI 746A (τοὺς ἀρρώστους) τοῦτο καὶ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις Ἡρόδοτος ἱστορεῖ. vgn. On the contrary, Herodotus (I 197) tells it of the Babylonians just as Strabo does, who got it from Herodotus. There are traces of Herodotus in sch. 638A, *Chr.* 3.26 (ἔρηλια, Herodotean for *πλημμυρίς*), *Chr.* 5.12 (*Μηρονία-Λυδία*, Hdt. I 7), *Chr.* 7.44 (17 years, Hdt. IV 144).

XVI 747C (Γαγγίτιν λίθον) ἐν τὸν Γαγάτην φασί. FBvg, K. The stone was found at Gagae in Lycia, but the forms *Γαγγίς* and *Γαγγίτις* are well attested (Nicander *Ther.* 37 with sch.).

XVI 751B (μέχρι δεῦρο) ση. τὸ δεῦρο τοπικῶς εἰρημένον. FCBvgz. *δεῦρο* is quite common τοπικῶς. Cf. sch. 144B.

XVI 752C (δαεῖα) & νῦν κηλώνια φασίν. Bv.

XVI 755B (λίμνη Γεννησαρίτις) λίμνη Γεννησαρέτ. F. The scholiast uses the Biblical form. Cf. sch. 687A.

XVI 760D (*Μωσῆς*) ση. οἶα περὶ τοῦ θεσπεσίου λέγει Μωσέως. DCBvgzxn. Again the Biblical form.

XVI 760D (*ἔφη γάρ*) ὀρθοτάτη διήγησις ὅσον ἐνῆν. F, K. 761A (*ἔπεισεν ἐγγνώμονας ἀνδρας*) σὲ δέ, ἀγνώμον Στράβων καὶ ἄθλιε, οἶ. F. 762A (*παρὰ θεῶν*) στραβὲ Στράβων, παρὰ θεοῦ γράφε καὶ μὴ παρὰ θεῶν· εἰς γὰρ θεός, ᾧ λατρεύομεν ἐν τρισὶ ταῖς ὑποστάσεσι γνωριζόμενος. F, K. 762B (*παρὰ τῆς Πυθίας*) αἰ φλύαρε. F. 762D (*τοιούτος ... ὁ Μωσῆς*) τοιούτος σύ, υἱὲ τῶν ἐξανασκάφων Στράβων. F. These scholia in F alone may not be old, but cf. sch. 161C. *Chr.* 16.37 is less dissatisfied with Strabo's account of Moses. *στραβός* and *ἐξανασκάφος* are post-classical.

XVI 765A *περὶ Ἡρώδου τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων βασιλέως τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ Ἀσκαλωνίτου*. FCBgzxn. Antipater of Ascalon is mentioned several times by Eusebius, citing Julius Africanus, and often by subsequent authors, in particular Photius, *Bibl.* 76 (Josephus) p. 53a15. Strabo and Josephus follow a different tradition of Herod's origin. See E. Schürer, *Gesch. des jüd. Volkes*, 4th ed., I (1901) 292.

XVI 770A (*τοπάζια*) ἀκριβέστερον περὶ τούτου ἱστορήται Ἀγαθαρχίδῃ ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης ὑπομνήματι. FCBvg, K. See Phot. *Bibl.* 250 (Agatharchides) ch. 82 (Müller, *Geogr. gr. min.* I 170) and cf. sch. 720D.

XVI 770D (*Ἀσταβόρα ποταμοῦ*) μέμνηται τοῦ ποταμοῦ τούτου καὶ Ἡλιόδωρος ἐν τοῖς *Αἰθιοπικοῖς* (X 4f.). CBvg. Heliodorus also is noticed in Phot. *Bibl.* 73 *et al.*

XVI 771A (*εὐζώνω*) μὴ ἔχοντι φορτίον ἢ ὄπλοφόρω. Bvg. So Hsch., Phot.

XVI 780A (*Σεβαστὸς Καῖσαρ*) ἦται ὁ Αἰγυπιοστος. F. Strabo does not use the Latin word, but it occurs in *Chr.* 4.26 *et al.*

XVI 784A (*βλαντίσις*) ὑποδήμασιν ἢ σανδαλίσις ἰσχυροῖς. CBvgzxn. So Sch. Plato Symp. 174A, cf. also Hsch., *Suda*.

XVI 784B (*αὐτοὺς τοὺς Σιδονίους*) ἢ τούτους τοὺς Σιδονίους ἢ οὐ τούτους Σιδονίους. CBvgz. Apparently conjectural readings. Cf. sch. 295C.

XVI 785B (*εἰ μὲν*) ἔλλειπτικῶς ἢ φράσις οὐ συνήθως τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ὡς ἔχει καὶ παρ' Ὀμήρω τὸ ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν δώσουσιν Ἀχαιοί (Il. I 135). FCvgzn, K. On the contrary, Kühner-Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik*, 3rd ed., II 2 (1904) 484f. say this construction is especially frequent in Attic.

XVII 786A FDCBvgzxn, K, also the epitome E (codex Vat. gr. 482 fol. 192r), have a diagram of the course of the Nile in the form, not of a *nu*, but of a *zeta* backwards, with ἀνατολή (top), μεσημβρία, δύσις, ἀρκτος round about, and Μερόη at the upper right corner. Cf. sch. 265D.

XVII 790C ση. Ὀμηρὸς καὶ πάντας τοὺς ποταμοὺς διυπετεῖς λέγει παρ' ὅσον τοῖς ὑετίσις ἀφζονται ὕδασι. F, K. The same etymology is common in the scholia on Homer (Il. XVI 174 etc.). See Van Leeuwen on Il. XIV 434.

XVII 791D ἐπίγραμμα· Σάστρατος Κνίδιος Δεξιφάνου θεοῖς σωτήρσιν ὑπὲρ τῶν πλωιζόμενων. DCBvgzxn, K. This inscription is quoted also in Lucian *Hist. conscrib.* 62, Sch. Lucian. p. 103. 16-8 Rabe, and Geo. Sync. p. 516 ed. Bonn. Cf. Posidippus' epigram in *Rhein. Mus.* 35 (1880) 90, and see RE, *Suppl.* 7 (1940) 1222.

XVII 794D (*προλειφθείς*) ἀπὲρ τοῦ ἐγκαταλειφθείς. DCBvgz.

XVII 794D οἶμαι Τιμώνιον ὀνομάσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ μεμονῶσθαι τῶν φίλων. CBvgzn. The scholiast seems to be ignorant of Timon of Athens. *z* alone adds κατὰ Τίμωνα τὸν ἐπικληθέντα μισάνθρωπον. Cf. Plut. *Ant.* 69f., Lucian *Timon*.

XVII 801BC FDBvhzxn, K, also the epitome E (codex Vat. gr. 482 fol. 193v) have a diagram of the mouths of the Nile in the form of the seven-branched candlestick with ἀνατολή, μεσημβρία (top), δύσις and the seven names in order. Cf. sch. 265D.

XVII 806C *περὶ τοῦ καλουμένου βισέκτου φησίν*. CBvgzxn. This scholium would go better at 816D. The extra day of leap year was *VI bis ante Kal. Mart.* Cf. Lydus *Mens.* 41.3, 49.17 Wünsch. For the word in Greek see Meyer (above, on sch. 167A) p. 15. Compare the interpolation in Diod. I 68 Wesseling: ἡ δ' Ὀλυμπιάς πληροῦται κατὰ τέτταρας χρόνους, ἔστι δὲ ὅπερ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι βίσσεκτον. Cf. sch. 307A, 270C.

XVII 812A (*κατήρασε*) ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐνέχεεν. CBvg. Cf. *Chr.* 17.26 *ὅτι κατήρασε λέγει ὁ συγγραφεὺς ἀντὶ τοῦ κατέπιεν, ἐναντίως τῷ ἐξήρασεν.*

XVII 818D *εἰ σοι γένοιτο, Στράβων, κατὰ πολλὰ ὀρθοῦντι τὰς φλυαρίας*. DCBvgz. Cf. sch. Arr. *Anab.* I 12,5 in cod. Vindob. hist. gr. 4 fol. 10^v: *εἰ γέ σοι γένοιτο, Ἀρριανῆ, τῆς ἀληθοῦς κομψότητος*, which J. Klinkenberg, *De Photii bibliothecae codicibus historicis* (1913) 40, attributes to Photius on the grounds that Photius (*Bibl.* 58 and 91-93) particularly admired Arrian and disliked the *κομψότης* of other historians. If this is so, our scholium on Strabo also may be attributed to Photius. Arrian's *Anabasis* is known in *Chr.* and elsewhere in the Paris Plato group (see below, note 43).

XVII 822D *καὶ πῶς ὁ περιγεθεὶς ὄαλος οὐ μᾶλλον ἀναλώσει τὸ σῶμα ἢ φυλάξειε ἄσηπτον*; CBgz. The scholiast has raised a real question. See Mary L. Trowbridge, *Philological Studies in Ancient Glass* (1930) 23-6.

XVII 823C (*συκτικώραξ*) ὁ βύασα ὁ καὶ βούφω. CBvg. *βούφω* is from Latin *bubo*. See Meyer (above, on sch. 167A) 18f., and D. W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds* (1936), s. *uv*. Planudes' excerpt (*supra*, note 5) from this passage reads: *ὅτι βύας λέγεται ὁ βούφος ὁ καὶ ἀσκάλαφος*, quoted by Du Cange and Thompson (p. 65) from Cod. Reg. 1299, now Paris. gr. 1409.

XVII 825A DCBvgn, K, have a diagram of Libya in the form, not of a right, but of an inverted isosceles triangle, with the words *Λιβύης σχῆμα ὀρθογώνιον* inside, *Νεῖλος· Αἰθιοπία· Ὠκεανός* along the short side (top), and *Αἰθιοπία παρ' Ὠκεανῷ· Μαυρουσία* and *Αἴγυπτος· Μαῦραι· Στήλαι* along the legs. The epitome E (cod. Vat. gr. 482 fol. 196^v) has a right triangle with *Νεῖλος· Αἰθιοπία* at the top. Cf. sch. 265D.

XVII 832B (360 stades) *μίλια μῆ, εἰ ζ' σταδίων τὸ μίλιον*. Bvgzn. See sch. 738A.

XVII 834A (*ἀντίπορθμος*) *ὅτι Σικελία νήσος ἀντικρὺ Καρχηδόνας κεῖται κατὰ τὸ βόρειον μέρος· νότιος γὰρ αἴτη*. CBvgzxn. Scarcely needed. Cf. sch. 265D, 323D.

XVII 834C (*Λοπάδουσα*) *Λαμπαδὸς καλεῖται νῦν*. CBvgx. The earlier forms are found in Strabo, Pliny III 92, V 42, Ptol. IV 3, Athen. I 30D, Steph. Byz.; the later in Mart. Cap. VI 648, Hippolytus *Chron.* 153 Helm, *Chron. Pasch.* 53.4, Geo. Sync. 90.10. PsScylax 10104 is corrupt. Cf. sch. 277C.

XVII 835C (*Γαράμαντων*) *Γαρήμας Γαρήμαντας ἢ κλήσις· ὅπου δὲ τούτων τοὺς ἐδ-τελεῖς καὶ δυσμόρφους Γαρήμαντας φησίν*. Cvg. A puzzling scholium. The singular occurs in Greek only in Ap. Rh. IV 1494. The spelling with *η* is false.

* * *

Now that we have collected the old scholia on Strabo and examined them one by one, it is time to see what general conclusions can be drawn from them. The rather frequent modern (*νῦν*) place-names show that the scholiast lived after the Dark Age.²⁵ These names, along with other remarks, show

²⁵ Sch. Str. 124A, 259C, 277C, 306B, 578C, etc. W. Aly in *La Parola del Passato* 5 (1950)

special knowledge of the region of Patrae in Greece and of Calabria in Italy. Arethas of Patrae (ca. 865-935) of course comes to mind, who is well known as a possessor and annotator of codices²⁶ and even quotes Strabo once.²⁷ He would be a likely author for the scholia on 449C, 451A, 459D. But there are other scholia that point definitely elsewhere, to the Paris Plato group and to Photius (see below), so that Arethas can scarcely be the author of all of them. It is not impossible that there were more than one author, that our scholia are an accumulation. Possibly, therefore, Arethas added scholia of his own in Σ after it issued from the Paris Plato milieu. The relation between Arethas' Plato (B) and the Paris Plato (A and TW) is not clear;²⁸ but we do know that Arethas was familiar with Photius' *Bibliotheca* and to this extent was a successor of Photius.²⁹

Probably the most important fact about the scholia on Strabo is the extensive use of lexicographical material now found in Hesychius and in large part also in Photius' *Lexicon*. This is one of the features the scholia on Strabo share with those on Plato and the other works preserved in the Paris Plato group of codices.³⁰ Two of the scholia on Strabo (224B, 784A) are identical with scholia on Plato and two again (198D, 224B) with scholia in Palat. 398. This large lexicographical element not only connects the scholia on Strabo with the Paris Plato group, but also suggests an author for them, that is, the Patriarch Photius (ca. 820-890), author of the famous *Bibliotheca* and reviver of classical scholarship in Constantinople after the Dark Age.³¹ Photius has often been mentioned in discussions of the scholia on Plato because of his own *Lexicon* and his interest in lexicography and grammar shown in *Bibl.* 145-158 and elsewhere. The lexicographical scholia on Plato are usually attributed to Photius' influence, direct or indirect.³² But this argument applies equally to most of the other scholia in the Paris Plato group and also to the scholia on Strabo.

229f. describes our scholia as 'Reste eines Kommentars ... im 6. Jh. entstanden.' There is nothing to indicate a more elaborate commentary than we have now, and the scholia just cited and many others cannot be as early as the sixth century.

²⁶ S. Kugeas, *'Ο Καισαρείας Ἀρέθας* (Athens 1913).

²⁷ Sch. Plat. Soph. 216A, Greene (*supra* note 13) 446.

²⁸ Greene xix-xxv.

²⁹ A. Severyns, *Recherches sur la Chrestomathie de Proclus. Première Partie: Le Codex 239 de Photius. Tome I: Étude paléographique et critique* (1938) 279-95, 339-57.

³⁰ Lexicographical scholia belonging to the Hesychius-Photius complex are found, though sometimes very sparse, in Palat. 398 (see sch. Str. 198D, 224B), in Marc. 196 (given in Norvin's editions of Olympiodorus), in Marc. 246 (in Ruelle's edition of Damascius), in Paris. 1962 (in Hobein's Maximus Tyrius p. xxix), in Laur. 80-9 + Vatic. 2197 (in Kroll's Proclus *In Plat. Rempubl.* II 369-83).

³¹ K. Ziegler in RE 39 (1941) 667-737.

³² Alline 258-80, Greene xxvii-ix.

Aside from this definite but indecisive indication of a Photian origin of the Paris Plato group of codices there is a strong general argument. Who else but Photius in the third quarter of the ninth century would have produced these magnificent codices, so outstanding alike in material, craft, and erudition? As has been stated recently in a different connection, 'De tels *codices* ne courraient pas les rues. Souvent, dans un siècle, un seul personnage est digne de les avoir possédés ou capable de les avoir commandés.'³³ On these considerations I wish to advance the hypothesis that the whole Paris Plato group of codices, including the lost archetype Σ of the scholia on Strabo, was virtually the work of Photius. Not that he wrote them with his own hand and not necessarily that he annotated all the *antigrapha* with his own hand. He had scribes and students.³⁴ Let us compare his role with that of Maximus Planudes in reviving classical scholarship after another eclipse four hundred years later.³⁵ Planudes' work was far more extensive than what he wrote with his own hand. It is not possible, or necessary, I trust, to pursue now the various forms that the directive of a Photius or a Planudes might assume in promoting scholarship and producing codices. We will return to the scholia on Plato and Strabo and look there for further traces of Photius.

A few possible slight traces of Photius have been pointed out in the scholia on Strabo 495D, 765A, 812A, 818D. The most I can do beyond this is to compare the repertoire of authors cited in the scholia with those read in the *Bibliotheca*. Severyns has argued cogently that Sch. Plat. Rep. 394C was taken from Phot. *Bibl.* 239 rather than from Proclus directly,³⁶ but the best explanation of the relation may be that Photius is the author of the scholium also. Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca* occurs in the scholia on Plato and in *Bibl.* 186, but is rare elsewhere.³⁷ So also Agatharchides in sch. Str. 720D, 770A, and *Bibl.* 213, 250, Diodorus in sch. Str. 270C, 272C, and *Bibl.* 70, 244, Heliodorus in sch. Str. 770D and *Bibl.* 73, Herodotus in sch. Str. 638A, 746A, and *Bibl.* 60. As for Menander Protector, cited in sch. Str. 733B, it is strange that he and Agathias are omitted between Procopius and Theophylactus in the series of Byzantine historians in *Bibl.* 63-67; but since Klinkenberg has shown that Photius was nevertheless acquainted with Agathias,³⁸ he pro-

³³ H. Grégoire and M. Lascaris in *Byzantion* 21 (1951) 260.

³⁴ Cf. Ζαχαρίου μητροπολίτου Χαλκηδόνος *περί χρόνων* in cod. Marc. 258 fol. 324^v. This Zacharias was one of the addressees of Photius' letters (PG 102) and probably a former disciple.

³⁵ C. Wendel in RE 40 (1950) 2202-53.

³⁶ Severyns (*supra*, note 29) 261-77.

³⁷ A. Diller, 'The Text-History of the *Bibliotheca* of Pseudo-Apollodorus,' TAPA 66 (1935) 296-313.

³⁸ Klinkenberg (*supra*, on sch. Str. 818D) 40-2. Klinkenberg's theory that a notice of Agathias has fallen out of the *Bibliotheca*, rejected by P. Maas in *Byz. Zeitschr.* 23 (1914)

bably knew Menander as well, however we explain the omission. The *Histories* of Nicolaus of Damascus, cited by the false title *Archaeologia* in sch. Str. 299A, are barely mentioned, by another unique if not false title, *Assyriaca*, at the end of a notice of a minor work of Nicolaus in *Bibl.* 189. Photius does not seem to have read the *Histories* yet at that time. The historian Crito cited in sch. Str. 296B is not mentioned at all in the *Bibliotheca*, and may be another later discovery of Photius. There remain Homer (sch. Str. 785B, 790C) and Ptolemy's *Geography* (sch. 14D), the omission of which in the *Bibliotheca* does not indicate that Photius did not know them (see below). On the whole the interest and the authors show an affinity between Photius and the scholia on Strabo in the field of history just as in the field of lexicography, and this is much more significant in the ninth century, when learning was still limited, than it would be in the later centuries of Byzantine culture.

The theory that Photius is the author of the scholia on Strabo and Plato and that he produced the codices of the Paris Plato group encounters a serious obstacle in the facts that there is no trace of Strabo in any of the works of Photius and that only one³⁹ of the works preserved in the Paris Plato group is noticed in the *Bibliotheca*. Their omission can probably be explained only by assuming that Photius read them after he concluded the *Bibliotheca* in A. D. 855;⁴⁰ for that work seems to be a complete record of what he had read to date, excepting very well known works and perhaps works in special fields: Homer and the other poets, Thucydides, Xenophon, Plato, Aristotle, Euclid, Ptolemy. It seems certain that Strabo and several other works in the Paris Plato group would have been noticed in the *Bibliotheca* if Photius had read them. His later works, the *Amphilochia* etc., are less complete in their coverage, but still show that he continued his studies after ascending the patriarch's throne, in 857 or 858, and engaging in public affairs. There is room, therefore, for the activity represented by the Paris Plato group in the latter part of Photius' life, since the *Bibliotheca* excludes it from the early part.

If the scholia on Strabo are the work of Photius, the same must be true of the *Chrestomathy* also, preserved as it is in Palat. 398, a member of the Paris Plato group, and connected with the scholia by many details that show

265, is excluded by the fact that Photius' statement of the total number of his codices (279) tallies with the present *Bibliotheca* (Ziegler [*supra* note 31] 691-3).

³⁹ Phlegon's *Olympiades* in *Bibl.* 97 and Palat. 398 fol. 234v-236r (FGrHist 257 T 3 + F 12 and F 1), a significant case, as the work was rare by the ninth century. It is noteworthy that Euagrius, the last author to cite Phlegon before Photius, cites Strabo, Phlegon, Diodorus, Arrian all together (Euagr. *Hist. Eccles.* I 20, FGrHist 156 F 174, 257 F 24, *supra* on sch. Str. 270C). It looks as if the library to which Photius had access was already taking shape in the sixth century. Stephanus Byzantius cites Strabo, Phlegon, Arrian, but not Diodorus.

⁴⁰ Ziegler (*supra* note 31) 677.

the same hand at work in both of them.⁴¹ I can find no specific traces of Photius in *Chr.*, but there are traces of Diodorus and Herodotus, who are noticed in the *Bibliotheca* and cited in the scholia,⁴² and the author knows Photius' favorite Arrian quite well.⁴³ But aside from this evidence *Chr.* as a whole is to be compared with the notices in the *Bibliotheca* and with the epitome of Philostorgius ἀπὸ φωνῆς Φωτίου πατριάρχου preserved outside the *Bibliotheca*.⁴⁴ Three works in the *Bibliotheca* (239, 245, 279) are called *χρηστομάθειαι*, a rare word elsewhere, at least in this sense; and many of the notices are in the form of excerpts with *δτι* like *Chr.* The introductory ἀνεγνώσθη κτλ. is of course lacking in *Chr.* as in the epitome of Philostorgius, but this formula was probably special for the *Bibliotheca* and added in editing that work. The *Chrestomathy* from Strabo, then, would fall naturally in place among the works of Photius.

Unlike the epitome E of Strabo preserved in codex Vatic. graec. 482 (13th cent.), the Palatine *Chrestomathy* gives more than mere excerpts from Strabo. The author often inserts something extra, usually without warning, as Photius does in the *Bibliotheca*. *Chr.* is permeated with Homer (cf. sch. Str. 785D, 790C) and Ptolemy's *Geography* (see on sch. Str. 14D). Arrian and Xenophon are also named (*Chr.* 11.22, 37), and, as I have just said, Arrian, Diodorus, and Herodotus are used tacitly. In addition to this and other material already cited in connection with the scholia, the following passages are noteworthy.

- 1.20 Eratosthenes called Beta. Cf. *Suda*, FGrHist 241 T 1.
- 1.32 Magnum Indiae mare. Cf. Str. 765C, Arr. *Anab.* V 5f.
- 1.45 Athens not well governed. Cf. 12.62, where Rome and Sparta are added to Strabo's list of well governed cities (575C). The author seems to be imbued with the philolaconism of Plato and Xenophon.
- 2.7 Zones on the shield of Achilles. Cf. Probus *Comm. in Verg. Georg.* I 233; H. J. Mette, *Sphairopoia* (1935) 188.
- 4.28 Strabo under Nero. A mistake; the 33 years since the conquest of Noricum by Tiberius and Drusus in 15 B.C. (Str. 206D) are counted from the principate of Tiberius, so that Strabo's life is prolonged to the time of Nero. *Chr.* 6.44 and 13.62 and indices on Str. 288D and 618A place Strabo in the time of Tiberius.⁴⁵

⁴¹ See sch. Str. 14D, 159B, 161C, 198B, 270C, 272C, 308C, 537D, 651D, 689A, 780A, 812A.

⁴² See on sch. Str. 270C, 746A.

⁴³ See on sch. Str. 818D. Arrian is cited by name in *Chr.* 11.22 (*Anab.* IV 15.4, VII 13.2), and there are other traces in *Chr.* 11.28 (III 29.2), 12.49 (VII 18.5, V 24.5), 13.24 (I 29.3), 14.32 (I 23.8). Arrian (*Anab.* III 16.8) is quoted in a scholium on Proclus *Comm. in Plat. Tim.* I p. 468 Diehl, which surely came from cod. Paris. Suppl. 921, a member of the Paris Plato group.

⁴⁴ J. Bidez, *Philostorgius Kirchengeschichte* (1913) 4-150.

⁴⁵ Compare *Suda* Στράτων (sic) Ἀμασέως φιλόσοφος· γέγονεν ἐπὶ Τιβερίου Καί-

- 6.37 Magna Graecia named for Pythagoras. Iambl. *Vita Pyth.* 166; Weiss in RE 14 (1912) 1690f.
- 7.68 Pydna now Kitron. See A. Burckhardt, *Hieroclis Synecdemus* (1893) p. 66; H. Gelzer, *Georgii Cyprii descriptio orbis Romani* (1890) p. 67; H. van den Berg, *Anonymus de obsidione toleranda* (1947) pp. 18, 52.
- 7.75f. ὁ Ἄθων, τοῦ Ἄθωρος. An early occurrence of this mediaeval form of the name. The monks of Mt. Athos appear first in A.D. 843, if Genesis p. 82 ed. Bonn. is not an anachronism. See J. B. Bury, *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire* (1912) 150.
- 7.83 The river Riginia formerly the Erigon. A mistake of Erigon for Erginus (Oberhummer in RE 11 [1907] 432, 450); *Riginia* is *Rigina* in *Anon. de Leone Armenio* p. 434 (p. 346 ed. Bonn., after Leo Grammaticus).
- 8.24 Heracles' sack of Pylos.
- 8.33 Erymanthian boar. Calydonian boar in Str. 380C and Steph. Byz. *Κρεμμύων*.
- 10.34 Talthybius in Crete. Sch. V Odys. 19.175.
- 10.35 *τριχάικες*. Sch. V Odys. 19.177. Here are two suggestive testimonia on the scholia on the Odyssey.
- 10.37 Mt. Ida in Crete now Chrysomallus. Unique.
- 11.18 A second, but contemporary, hand adds in the margin *μέμνηται Εὐρυπίδης ἐν Μηδείᾳ*.
- 12.23 Diogenes' counterfeit money. Diog. Laert. VI 20f.
- 12.46, 54 Ethnica *Προουσιεύς, Ἰσανρεύς*. Cf. sch. Max. Tyr. p. 110.4 Hobein and Steph. Byz. *passim*.
- 13.20 Hero and Leander.
- 17.14 Dionysus son of Ptolemaeus Auletes. A mistake, as Auletes himself was *νόος Διόνυσος*.
- 17.15 Pharsalus and Philippi.
- 17.21 The great Plato at Diospolis. Plato is 'the great' like Ptolemy (see on sch. Str. 14D). The author confuses Diospolis (*Chr.* 17.20) with Heliopolis, which Strabo (806C) gives as Plato's abode in Egypt.

There remain for remark the four references to the Slavs in Greece found in sch. Str. 155A, 449C, and *Chr.* 7.47, 8.21. Slavic names occur also in sch. 311B, 335D, 451A, and Slavs are probably intended in *Chr.* 7.37. Several of the scholia have not been published before, and the two given by Kramer (155A, 451A) are of less interest and have not received much attention in the discussions of the Slavs in Greece. The passages in *Chr.* have long been cited in these discussions, but they are always attributed to the tenth instead of the ninth century. The references in *Chr.* use the name Sclavi-Scythae and make the sweeping statement that Slavs now possess all Epirus, Macedonia, Thrace (7.37), Hellas, and Peloponnesus. The Slavic invasion, or

σαρος, και εγραψε γεωγραφίαν ἐν βιβλίοις ζ̄ (sic). This notice may well come from the Photian Paris Plato milieu; for Hesychius' *Onomatologus* was reworked in the middle of the ninth century and was known to Photius and in the Paris Plato. Cf. *Chr.* 1.20 (above) and see Ziegler (*supra* note 31) 715 and H. Schultz in RE 16 (1913) 1323f.

rather infiltration, of Greece began in the last quarter of the sixth century and continued until the middle of the eighth, when Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*Them.* II 6) says the whole Peloponnesus was slavized (*ἔσθλαβώθη*). Imperial authority ceased except in certain cities on the coast. Then with the campaign of the general Stauracius A.D. 783 the Byzantine government began the reconquest of Greece and by the tenth century had brought the whole land under the control of State and Church.⁴⁶ The statement in *Chr.* 7.47 was probably intended ethnically rather than politically, and is probably an exaggeration besides. But in any case it could hardly have been made in the tenth century, when the Slavs in Greece had been subdued and converted. The references in the scholia belong to the scholiast from Patrae, who seems to be a different person from the author of the rest of the scholia and may be Arethas (above, p. 44). They use the name *Slaveni* and attest the Slavs as inhabiting both sides of the gulf of Corinth. They do not refer to them as enemies. These scholia may be somewhat later than *Chr.*

The *Chrestomathy* from Strabo has been of great service in our argument because it occurs in codex Palat. 398, one of the Paris Plato group, in which we have attempted to place the archetype Σ of the scholia on Strabo. The *Chrestomathy* is not the only representative of Strabo in the Palatine codex, however. The codex begins with a corpus of minor Greek geographers, and the first piece in the corpus, now lost from the codex but preserved in the apograph codex B, was a *ὑποτύπωσις γεωγραφίας*, a treatise of some fifteen pages on geography in general.⁴⁷ The treatise is anonymous and does not cite any sources. It has not been studied recently, but its dependence on Ptolemy is obvious and was stated long ago.⁴⁸ More recently Strabo has been found to be a second source.⁴⁹ We cannot do more here than repeat that the last part of the treatise (sec. 46-53) is taken entirely from the *hypotyposis* in Strabo 121B-126C. There are probably other traces of Strabo, and there is also material that is not from either one of the major sources. The treatise is carelessly written with repetitions and inconsistencies. There is no modern (*νῦν*) element, as in *Chr.* Strictly speaking, the date might be any time

⁴⁶ The discussion of the problem of the Slavs in Greece has been voluminous and still continues vigorously. I shall cite only one recent treatment, where the sources are given at length: A. Bon, *Le Péloponnèse byzantin* (1951) 27-70. As a curiosity I may mention the treatment by H. Dodwell, 'Dissertatio de Strabonis epitomatore et aetate qua vixit,' in John Hudson, *Geographiae veteris scriptores graeci minores* II (1703) 168-91.

⁴⁷ Müller (*supra* note 12) II 494-509; Diller, *Tradition* (*supra* note 6) 3, 11, 15. The anonymous *Hypotyposis* was long edited erroneously as a second book of Agathemerus' *Hypotyposis*.

⁴⁸ Lucas Holsten in 1628 (Diller, *Tradition*, 54 243).

⁴⁹ S. F. W. Hoffmann, *Arriani periplus etc.* (1842) p. 1x; Müller 507; Bergstr. in RE 1 (1894) 743.

between Ptolemy and the Palatine codex, but the combination of Strabo and Ptolemy suggests the Paris Plato milieu, where we find the *Chrestomathy* and scholia on Strabo and several citations of Ptolemy's *Geography* (above, on sch. Str. 14D). Perhaps one of Photius' disciples was the author.

We have shown that most of the codices of the Paris Plato group agree not only in format and script but also in scholia, particularly those found also in the lexicons of Hesychius and Photius. This agreement shows the same scholiast at work in all of them and makes him contemporary with the codices themselves, about the third quarter of the ninth century. Scholia on Strabo found in later codices agree in character with those in the Paris Plato group, so that we must suppose that they were copied from a lost codex of Strabo belonging to the Paris Plato group. The Palatine *Chrestomathy* from Strabo has traces of the same scholia and actually occurs in a codex of the Paris Plato group. As an author of all these scholia and of the *Chrestomathy* we have suggested the Patriarch Photius. His lexicon has long suggested this conclusion for the scholia on Plato; several authors cited in the scholia on Strabo are found in Photius' *Bibliotheca* and rarely elsewhere; and finally he is the most probable author for them in the ninth century.

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