

# Pollux and Xenophon

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**Abstract** This paper explores the reception of Xenophon within the *Onomasticon*, aiming to analyse Pollux's methods and his conception of language while defining his expanded Atticism and Xenophon's role in it. While prior research has emphasised criticisms from strict Atticist lexicographers towards Xenophon, this paper investigates Pollux's distinct approach, which includes an interest in rare terms, adaptation of language to linguistic registers, and willingness to incorporate dialectal expressions. Despite concerns about linguistic accuracy, Pollux maintains a moderate Atticist stance and relies on Xenophon as an undisputed authority, with hidden quotations emerging.

**Keywords** Pollux. Xenophon. Lexicography. Onomasticon. Atticism.

**Sommario** 1 Introduction. – 2 Xenophon and Pollux, a *status quaestionis*. – 3 Atticistic Concerns. – 4 Pollux's Rejection of Xenophontic Words. – 5 Loanwords and Dialectalisms. – 6 Clarifying *interpretamenta*. – 7 Poetisms. – 8 Closing Remarks.



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## 1 Introduction

“A huge compendium of knowledge”,<sup>1</sup> “one of the paradigm cases of archival thinking under the empire”,<sup>2</sup> “un grand livre d’images qui reflète l’ordre du monde et nous donne en même temps les clefs d’un discours sur le monde”,<sup>3</sup> “an encyclopaedic panorama of Greek cultural experience”:<sup>4</sup> these are only a few of the definitions that show how scholarly efforts have successfully highlighted the encyclopaedic ambitions of Pollux’s *Onomasticon*.<sup>5</sup>

Lexicographic works emerging from Atticism differ significantly from the *Onomasticon* in terms of their perspective as they are characterised by a rigorous purism that confines their scope.<sup>6</sup> Instead, Pollux, guided by the onomastic structure, embraced a more open and descriptive approach.<sup>7</sup> Consequently, the objectives of the *Onomasticon* extend beyond mere linguistic correctness. The lexicographer aspired indeed to provide his distinguished recipient, Emperor Commodus, with a language capable of expressing the multifaceted aspects of reality.

This broad perspective in the *Onomasticon* aptly corresponds to the recurring presence of Xenophon, a polygraph author known for the diverse range of interests showcased in his writings. Pollux’s use of Xenophon transcends thus his search for mere linguistic accuracy, reflecting instead his extensive cultural curiosity. Despite the wide-ranging nature of his wordbook, Pollux, however, reassures that it includes only selected entries derived from approved classical authors.<sup>8</sup> The origins of his sources remain obscure though. While the lexicographer is believed to have incorporated direct quotes from classical texts, it has been noted that he also drew from pre-existing

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1 Strobel 2005, 144; see also Strobel 2009, 104 where the *Onomasticon* is defined as “a guide to the Second Sophistic, as the topics dealt with shed light on the thematic preferences of those days, and in fact the whole layout reflects the way of thinking of his time”.

2 König, Whitmarsh 2007, 31-2, and particularly 34: “Pollux’ work, then, is not simply a collection of miscellaneous synonyms: it provides an idealised map of society, a vision of les *mots* et les *choses* that performs and manipulates the paradigmatic relationships at the heart of Romano-Greek society. This lexicon is thus an archive in action: here you learn through words about the world, its deep structures and unspoken orders, its hierarchies, equivalences, symbolic parataxeis, and – not least – its subtle equivocations”.

3 Chiron 2013, 47.

4 König 2016, 298; see also pp. 299-304 devoted to Pollux’s encyclopaedism.

5 On encyclopaedism in Antiquity see also König, Woolf 2013a.

6 Strobel 2009, 104: “He promotes Atticism, of course, but this is only part of his purpose. Phrynichus and Moeris write only to promote Atticism, whereas Pollux manages to achieve a more rounded work of lexicographical scholarship”. See also Strobel 2005, 151.

7 Tosi 1999.

8 Poll. 3.1.

materials found in other lexica and manuals.<sup>9</sup> Regarding Xenophon, for instance, in the 10th prefatory letter, Pollux stated that he had made use of a commentary on Xenophon's treatise *On horsemanship*.<sup>10</sup> Deciphering whether these quotations originate from either of these sources is not, from our viewpoint, conclusive. Regardless of their origins, they attest to a genuine fascination with Xenophon during the second century CE, highlighting his influence on the concept of language as conveyed by Pollux. On the other hand, there is an undeniable limit concerning subsequent interpolations and epitomisations to Pollux's text: as a lexicon and scholastic tool it has been considered for centuries as a text open to reductions as well as new additions and contributions.<sup>11</sup> Therefore, what we read today is, indeed, the result of E. Bethe's philological work on the four families of manuscripts derived from Arethas' interpolated version of the *Onomasticon*.<sup>12</sup>

However, while considering this caution, some quantitative data will help in determining the extent of Xenophon's presence in the *Onomasticon*. According to the text established by E. Bethe, the name of Xenophon is mentioned 150 times, which would make of him the third most quoted author, the first two being Aristophanes (mentioned 370 times) and Plato (219). These numbers do not however correspond to the actual number of authorial *loci* used by Pollux. Indeed following the mention of the author, there might be multiple *loci classici*,<sup>13</sup> furthermore, we must also account for instances of misattributions where the lexicographer references one author but is actually quoting another. Finally, we should acknowledge cases of hidden quotations unaccompanied by the author's name.<sup>14</sup>

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**9** Tosi 1999, 51-3: "Pollux used extremely disparate sources: in addition to the colossal lexicon of Pamphilus, they include the *Onomastiká* of Gorgias and Eratosthenes (used above all in bk. 10, where Pollux defends himself against the attacks by Phrynichus concerning the description of various instruments), also Xenophon (Pollux in the section of bk. 5 on hunting), Aristophanes of Byzantium (several times, e.g. in bk. 2 on the terms for the ages of man, in bk. 3 on familiar and political onomatology, and in bk. 9 on children's jokes), perhaps Juba (in bk. 4), Rufus of Ephesus (in a section of bk. 2 dealing with parts of the body) and Epaphroditus". On text reuse in the *Onomasticon* cf. Chronopoulos 2016, 33-4.

**10** For the mention made by Pollux in the 10th prefatory letter about an anonymous commentary on Xenophon, see Tribulato 2019.

**11** Conti Bizzarro 2018, 6 and fn. 3 for bibliography on texts of instrumental use; see also Amaraschi 2015, 167-8.

**12** Bethe 1900, VII: "Quattuor ex Arethae exemplo codices sunt derivati. Sed ne unus quidem ex bisce scribis quae archetypos exhibuerat accurate repetivit"; see also Nesselrath 1990 on the thorny question on Pollux's epitomisation; new insights on the mss have now been provided by Cavarzeran 2022.

**13** e.g. Poll. 1.80, 2.56 and 200, 3.75, 5.86.2.

**14** Tosi 1988, 101-2, has examined the source of errors in Xenophonic quotations, whether stemming directly from Pollux himself or his sources, or from the transmission of the *Onomasticon*.

The 2nd and the 7th books of the *Onomasticon* contain the highest number of mentions of Xenophon. The majority of references to Xenophon in these books are taken from the *Cyropaedia*,<sup>15</sup> which is also the most frequently quoted work of Xenophon throughout the *Onomasticon*.<sup>16</sup>

The 5th book, which is actually a rewriting of the *Cynegeticus*, hence devoted to hunting, contains several references to Xenophon. However, having the nature of a massive re-elaboration, the Xenophontic *loci* discussed here appear to be far more than the number of explicit mentions of Xenophon's name.

The topics for which Xenophon is called into question are extremely varied; Pollux has drawn from his writings especially regarding hunting and horsemanship (1st and 5th books), parts of the human body (2nd book), the lexicon concerning the symposium (6th book) and Persian *Realien*.

## 2 Xenophon and Pollux, a *status quaestionis*

Considering the significant focus of scholars on the critiques received by Xenophon in the Atticist lexicography, it is curious how the imposing presence of Xenophon in the *Onomasticon* as a whole has not attracted equal attention. Sometimes, the massive presence of Xenophon seems to have even caused embarrassment prompting the necessity to justify the abundance of Xenophontic references in contrast to the relatively fewer citations of other eminent authors. This applies to Landucci, who has attempted to justify why Xenophon is cited in the *Onomasticon* more frequently than Herodotus and Thucydides.<sup>17</sup>

As regarding the question of the sources used by Pollux, scholarship has aptly underscored the presence of Xenophon's *Cynegeticus* in the 5th book of the *Onomasticon*.<sup>18</sup> However, the influence of Xenophon is noticeable in many other themes and places throughout the *Onomasticon*, which seem to have attracted less scholarly attention.

If C.A. Lobeck had already pointed out criticism of Atticist lexicography towards Xenophon,<sup>19</sup> scholarship showed interest for Xenophon's reception in Pollux at the end of nineteenth century. Althaus

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<sup>15</sup> From the *Cyropaedia*, 17 *loci* are found in the 2nd book regarding the lexicon of the human body, 16 in the 7th book mostly regarding the lexicon of clothing, craftsmanship, materials and tools.

<sup>16</sup> At least 60 references to the *Cyropaedia* are to be found in the *Onomasticon*.

<sup>17</sup> Landucci 2011, 155: "È da notare che tra gli storici emergono i nomi dei tre grandi dell'età classica (Erodoto 72 citazioni), Tucidide (78 citazioni) e Senofonte (138, grazie, però, alla sua attività di poligrafo)".

<sup>18</sup> Bethe 1917, 778; Tosi 1999, 52; Strobel 2009, 103.

<sup>19</sup> Lobeck 1820, 89-90; see *infra* § 5.

has discussed Pollux's modes of quotations analysing some Xenophontic *loci*,<sup>20</sup> beside the reuse of Xenophontic works on hunting and horsemanship in the *Onomasticon*.<sup>21</sup> The study of this material, which Pollux *quasi plena manu* draws from, was the focus of R. Michaelis' dissertation.<sup>22</sup> Here, moreover, the matters addressed concern the origin of the quotations (direct or drawn from other lexica?), expressions or uses peculiar to Xenophon, *loci* presenting problems of transcription and misattributions (the name of Xenophon seems to have been often confused with the one of Antiphon).<sup>23</sup> Sometimes words for which Xenophon is called into question have nothing extraordinary. In these cases Pollux would have resorted to Xenophon and other *praeclara nomina* to bring prestige to his *Onomasticon*.<sup>24</sup> At the end of his study, R. Michaelis provides a comprehensive list of Xenophontic *loci* in the *Onomasticon*, including some hidden quotations.<sup>25</sup> This work has certainly been a precious resource for E. Bethe: the apparatus of his edition of Pollux's *Onomasticon* includes indeed suggestions made by R. Michaelis.

The different attitudes of Pollux and Phrynichus towards Xenophon – and Menander – have been used by M. Naechster to argue the case of the rivalry between the two lexicographers.<sup>26</sup> On the other hand, W.A. Falbe's interest in Pollux's quotations to the *Cynegeticus* and *De re equestri* was oriented to possibly emendate and enhance Xenophon's text.<sup>27</sup>

The study of A. Persson acknowledged the importance of Xenophon throughout Pollux's work.<sup>28</sup> He anticipated some important issues towards Pollux's modes of quotation – his answers to these questions, though, are not often convincing –<sup>29</sup> and discussed a wide range of Xenophontic *loci* present in the *Onomasticon*. However, the perspective he adopted still aimed at using Pollux with the sole purpose of improving Xenophon and his *restitutio textus*.

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**20** Althaus 1874, 26-8.

**21** Althaus 1874, 23-6.

**22** Michaelis 1877, 13-32.

**23** Michaelis 1877, 3-13.

**24** Michaelis 1877, 10.

**25** I.e. those where Xenophon, the source, is not mentioned: if the name of Xenophon appears 150 times in the *Onomasticon*, Michaelis' list counts 183 Xenophontic *loci*.

**26** Naechster 1908, 27 and 35.

**27** Falbe 1909, 41-8.

**28** Persson 1915, 91: "Offenbar ist, dass Pollux den Xenophon als ἕνα τὸν καλλιφωνότατον der Verfasser (III Einl.) angesehen hat, da dieser uns im Pollux auf Schritt und Tritt begegnet", see 91-102 for discussion towards Pollux.

**29** For instance, in order to explain the presence in the *Onomasticon* of quotations falsely attributed to Xenophon, he assumes that Pollux does not know Xenophon's writings directly but through other sources cf. Persson 1915, 92-4.

In his inquiry on the language of Xenophon, L. Gautier turned to Pollux to analyse the origin of some expressions, but when considering the interest in Xenophon shown by second-century schools, the issue is promptly resolved with this assertion: “Avec leur mentalité plus scolastique que scientifique les pointilleux Atticistes ne se préoccupaient guère de faire une différence entre poétismes et dialectismes”.<sup>30</sup> However, as it will be discussed later, this cannot be stated for Pollux, who has demonstrated an interest in certain poetic or dialectal usages derived from Xenophon.<sup>31</sup>

In his fundamental *Xenophon in der griechisch-römischen Literatur*, K. Münscher has for the first time taken a broader view on the status of Xenophon in Atticist lexicography, offering concrete examples of the different approaches towards Xenophon.<sup>32</sup> Regarding Pollux, while he acknowledged the frequent occurrence of Xenophon’s expressions in the *Onomasticon*, he appears to have not attributed much significance to them. The majority of these *Glossen* are not considered ‘authentic’ but rather derived from other lexica, thus holding minimal importance. Moreover, reusing A. Persson’s argument, he argued that instances where Pollux erroneously attributes expressions to Xenophon serve as evidence that the lexicographer does not directly draw from Xenophon’s work.<sup>33</sup> On the other hand, in his opinion, Pollux’s knowledge of the *scripta minora* on hunting and horsemanship would be direct.

In 2000 F. Roscalla has reopened the question of Xenophon’s ancient reception and acknowledged “quanto l’atticismo nel caso particolare di Senofonte abbia alterato la tradizione del testo, condizionando anche i giudizi che si sono formulati sulla prosa dell’autore”.<sup>34</sup> L. Huitink and T. Rood have recently delved into this line of assessment. They challenge the longstanding perspective, originating from Helladius, as far as we know, that implies that Xenophon, as a result of his extended periods away from Attica, might have lost his command of pure Attic speech: his lexical choices would rather be more complex than most scholars have previously allowed. Xenophon’s language with its external influences would rather better understood in terms of “innovative Attic”<sup>35</sup> and as “international and expanded version of Attic adopted by Thucydides”.<sup>36</sup>

**30** Gautier 1911, 17.

**31** See *infra* §§ 5 and 7.

**32** Münscher 1921, 167-75.

**33** Münscher 1921, 168: “Dass Pollux die meisten dieser Glossen nicht den X.-Schriften selbst, sondern seinen lexikalischen Vorlagen entnahm, lehren recht deutlich die zahlreichen falschen X.-Zitate”.

**34** Roscalla 2000, 126. See also Dover 1997, 110 for a different view on Xenophon’s prose.

**35** Huitink, Rood 2019, 28.

**36** Huitink, Rood 2019, 31.

The study conducted by A. Sgobbi has thoroughly examined evidence of ancient criticism concerning Xenophon's language. However, it appears that Pollux's dossier was handled with less thoroughness. Specifically, two Xenophontic *loci* of the *Onomasticon* are presented to only show Pollux's milder approach towards Xenophon against Phrynichus'.<sup>37</sup> Regarding recent literature concerning Atticist lexicography, it is notable that, for instance, in C. Strobel's examination of the lexicography of the Second Sophistic, the name of Xenophon is entirely absent from the "Authorities" section.<sup>38</sup> Among the recent studies focused on Pollux, it is relevant to recall S. Chronopoulos' discussion on the reuse of Xenophon's *On Horsemanship* in the section of the *Onomasticon* devoted to the ἵππικὰ ὀνόματα,<sup>39</sup> along with F. Conti Bizzarro's contributions, which have brought to light evidence of the influence of Xenophon in the sections devoted to the lexical sphere of a healthy land (*On.* 5.108-9),<sup>40</sup> among other instances that we will discuss later.<sup>41</sup>

To sum up, research on Pollux's treatment of Xenophon has predominantly centred on the lemmas that have been examined by other lexicographers, particularly by Phrynichus. These analyses have revealed contrasting perspectives between the two lexicographers and, eventually, their rivalry, emphasising Xenophon's alleged misuse of language. Particular attention has been devoted to Pollux's quotations of the *Cynegeticus* and the *De re equestri*.<sup>42</sup> However, the research perspective has generally intended to investigate the transmission of Xenophon's text. Scholarship has been deeply intrigued indeed by Pollux's attribution to Xenophon of the *Constitution of the Athenians*<sup>43</sup> along with the different book division of the *Cyropædia* used in the *Onomasticon*.<sup>44</sup> However, studies specifically examining the *Onomasticon* for its intrinsic value – rather than from an 'external' perspective, such as inquiries into *Realien* or citations of lost works – remain scarce.<sup>45</sup> Nevertheless, a new wave of research

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<sup>37</sup> Sgobbi 2004, 248.

<sup>38</sup> Strobel 2005, 146-7.

<sup>39</sup> Poll. 1.180-221; Chronopoulos 2016, 40-3.

<sup>40</sup> Conti Bizzarro 2013, 26-40.

<sup>41</sup> Conti Bizzarro 2018, see *infra*.

<sup>42</sup> See e.g. Brodersen 2018, 164-99 who has translated into German some *excerpta* from the 5th book of the *Onomasticon*.

<sup>43</sup> Canfora 1980; Lapini 1989-90; Serra 2018; Tosi 2021a, 211-12. See also Tribulato 2019 for the mention made by Pollux in the 10th prefatory letter about of an anonymous commentary on Xenophon.

<sup>44</sup> Münscher 1921, 168.

<sup>45</sup> This phenomenon has already been noticed, see e.g. Radici Colace 2000, 277: "L'abitudine, sarei per dire tra guadagnina e saccheggioria, con cui si entra in un'opera/magazzino, si prende qualcosa che può esserci utile e si lascia tutto il resto nell'ombra

on Pollux aims to refocus on the *Onomasticon's* purpose and Pollux's own authorial voice, countering this trend.<sup>46</sup>

In this paper I will examine a number of cases of Xenophon's reception within the *Onomasticon*: the aim is to explore Pollux's methods along with his idea of language while better defining his enlarged Atticism as well as Xenophon's contribution to it. While previous scholarship has effectively underscored the criticisms by strict Atticist lexicographers towards Xenophon, the diverse references derived from Xenophon render Pollux's *Onomasticon* a promising and largely unexplored area for research on his influence. Precisely because Xenophon has received criticism by others, his reception in the *Onomasticon* will provide an unexplored view, different to those – already long discussed – of the strict Atticists.

### 3 Atticistic Concerns

Even if “Atticism was only part of his purpose”,<sup>47</sup> a number of *loci* of the *Onomasticon* reveal Pollux's concern towards the correct usage of language. Pollux has bestowed upon several non-accepted expressions that can be characterised as ‘stigmatising markers’ that have received significant scholarly attention.<sup>48</sup> In the case of Xenophon, these markers have had consequential effects: the limited selection of criticised terms extracted from Xenophon has disproportionately overshadowed the substantial volume of expressions of Xenophon origin that Pollux deemed acceptable and included in his work.

The stigmatising markers are primarily employed for the purpose of critiquing or rejecting an entry. Conversely, approval is typically conveyed implicitly, as when Pollux references ‘accepted’ words, he mostly enumerates them directly without appending any specific evaluative commentary.

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di una soffitta polverosa, pronto per un altro saccheggio altrettanto parziale ed interessante, ha fatto sì che autori enciclopedici, quali Ateneo e Polluce, utili, abbondanti fin che si vuole e pieni di notizie, letti a pezzetti e solo per la parte che interessa, non sono mai stati fatti oggetto di una osservazione sganciata dall'interesse utilitaristico per la notizia contenuta: di essi grandissima parte dei frenetici compulsatori ignora sovente la collocazione storica, le motivazioni dell'opera, la personalità, le fonti stesse, ed anche il grado di cultura e di informazione con cui è stata affrontata l'utilizzazione dei modelli”.

<sup>46</sup> For bibliography on works adopting this approach see Tribulato 2018, 247-8.

<sup>47</sup> Strobel 2005, 151.

<sup>48</sup> Called “marcatori di stile” in Bussès 2011; see also Conti Bizzarro 2018, 5: “Si tratta di parole di cattiva qualità (μοχθηρά), aspre all'ascolto (σκληρά), ruvide (τραχέα), comuni (εὐτελή), dappoco (φαῦλα), da profani (ἰδιοτικά), violente (βίαια), volgari (φορτικά), sopportabili e insopportabili (ἀνεκτά / οὐκ ἀνεκτά), difficili all'ascolto (δυσχερῆ πρὸς τὴν ἀκοήν), consentite e non consentite (ἐρεῖς / οὐκ ἐρεῖς), sgradite (οὐ μοι ἀρέσκει), non più in uso (οὐκέτι ἐν χρήσει), quindi giudicate (οἱ in autori giudicati)”.



To suggest the use of a word sometimes we encounter expressions such as ἐρεῖς and εἴποι ἄν τις. When seeking testimonial evidence from a specific author – Xenophon in our case – we read formulas such as ὡς Ξενοφῶν; Ξενοφῶν εἶρηκε; παρὰ Ξενοφῶντι; κατὰ δὲ Ξενοφῶντα. In his prefatory letters, Pollux clarifies the reasons behind the inclusion of direct quotations from authoritative sources:<sup>49</sup> “Pollux’s quotations are primarily introduced to anchor his discourse in the literature of the prestigious past: they are cited to exemplify lexical points, not for their content”.<sup>50</sup>

He envisions two distinct scenarios: firstly, when dealing with infrequently employed words, he selects quotations within his canon of approved authors, choosing ὁ καλλιφωνότατος;<sup>51</sup> secondly, in the case of suspicious words (ἀμφίβολα), he resorts to quotations to elucidate which authors have employed them.<sup>52</sup>

In instances where a non-receivable word is preceded by a straightforward enumeration of terms, it is plausible to infer that this catalog includes by way of contrast approved expressions.<sup>53</sup> In other cases, the endorsement of a term becomes evident through its clear juxtaposition with a non-acceptable expression. That is the case for the adverb καθαρείως, in Poll. 6.27: regarding the expressions used for complimenting the host of a banquet, after mentioning the expression καθαριότητα χαίρων, ‘enjoying the elegance’, Pollux makes an aside:

ὁ γὰρ καθάρειος ιδιωτικόν, καίτοι τὸ καθαρείως παρὰ Ξενοφῶντι (Cyr. 1.3.8) εἴρηται.

In contrast to the adjective form καθάρειος, which bears the stigmatising marker ιδιωτικόν ‘commonplace’, the corresponding adverb καθαρείως, as Conti Bizzarro has pointed out, is accepted because it was used by Xenophon.<sup>54</sup>

**49** On the features of quotations in Pollux see Tosi 1988, 87-113; Tribulato 2018, 261: “Si ha qui una conferma del fatto che – vicissitudini dell’epitomazione e della sua trasmissione a parte – l’alternanza tra mere liste di parole e passi più discorsivi, provvisori anche di citazioni dirette, deve essere stata una caratteristica originale dell’*Onomasticon*”. For a comprehensive analysis of the prefatory letters in the *Onomasticon* see Tribulato 2018.

**50** König, Whitmarsh 2007, 34.

**51** Poll. 3.1.

**52** Poll. 6.1.

**53** E.g. Poll. 2.82 ὑπήκοοι, κατήκοοι, εὐήκοοι, δυσήκοοι, ἀνήκοοι, ὀξυήκοοι, βαρυήκοοι, αὐτήκοοι, ἀξιάκουστον, ἀνηκουστῆν, ἀνήκουστον ὡς Ξενοφῶν (Cyr. 3.8), ἀνηκόως, ἀνηκουστία, ἀκουσμα· Αἰσχίνης δ’ ὁ ῥήτωρ (3.241) καὶ ἀκρόαμα εἶπεν, ὡς περ καὶ Ξενοφῶν (Smp. 3.2, Hier. 1.14). φαῦλον δ’ ὁ Μενάνδρου (III fr. 988 Ko) ἀκουστής ἀντί τοῦ ἀκροατῆς and 3.154 τὰ δὲ χωρία τῆς ἀσκήσεως ἀποδυτήριον, γυμνάσιον, παλαίστρα, κονίστρα. καὶ ὁ ἐφεστῆκώς παιδοτριβῆς τε καὶ γυμναστής, ἀφ’ οὗ καὶ συγγυμναστής παρὰ Πλάτωνι (Soph. 218 B) καὶ παρὰ Ξενοφῶντι (Lac. 9.4) προγυμναστής· ὁ δ’ ἀλείπτῆς ἀδόκιμον.

**54** On this entry see Conti Bizzarro 2018, 69: “con l’aggiunta per inciso di un giudizio [...] in base al quale la forma avverbale è accettabile perché è adoperata da Senofonte”.

In Poll. 3.99, within the lexical domain of pain, Pollux's acceptance of the adverb ἀχθεινῶς “unwillingly” becomes evident through explicit contrast with the rejected form βαρυθύμως “with heavy spirit”, “sullenly”: οὐ γὰρ ἂν καὶ βαρυθύμως εἴποις, ἀχθεινῶς δὲ καὶ ἀσηρῶς. Pollux does not mention his source for ἀχθεινῶς, however, it is highly probable a passage from Xenophon's *Hellenica*,<sup>55</sup> as the other extant occurrence for this entry is found later in Joseph.<sup>56</sup>

In other instances, the recognition of a Xenophontic term by Pollux has been observed through comparative analysis with eventual assessments made by other lexicographers. For instance, Pollux's attitude significantly diverges from that of Phrynichus concerning the words ἀρτοκόπος ‘baker’, and ἐργοδότης ‘one who farms out work’. These instances were incorporated by M. Naechster into the section *De glossis Pollucis a Phrynicho castigatis* within his work<sup>57</sup> to corroborate his thesis on the rivalry between the two lexicographers:<sup>58</sup>

Pollux	Phrynichus
<p>On. 7.21 ἀρτοπῶλαι ἀρτοπῶλιδες, ἀρτοπῶλεῖν, ἀρτοπῶλεῖον, σιτουργοί, [ἀρτοποιοί] ἀρτοπόποι. Ξενοφῶν (<i>An.</i> 4.4.21) δὲ καὶ ἀρτοκόπους εἶφη.<sup>1</sup></p>	<p><i>Ecl.</i> 193 Ἄρτοκόπος ἀδόκιμον· χρὴ δὲ ἀρτοπόπος ἢ ἀρτοποιὸς λέγειν.</p>
<p>On. 7.182 ἐργολάβους δὲ καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐργολαβοῦντας τι ἔργον ἔστιν εἰπεῖν, ὡς τοὺς ἐναντίους, τοὺς ἐκδιδόντας, ἐργοδότας εἶρηκε Ξενοφῶν (<i>Cyr.</i> 8.2.5).</p>	<p><i>Ecl.</i> 322 Ἐργοδότης οὐ κεῖται, τὸ δὲ ἐργοδοτεῖν παρὰ τινι τῶν νεωτέρων κωμῶδῶν (<i>Apollod.</i> fr. 20 K.), οἷς καὶ αὐτοῖς οὐ πειστέον.</p>
<p><b>i</b> The word appears also in Poll. 6.32.</p>	

**55** Xen. *HG* 4.8.27 ὥστε οὐκ ἀχθεινῶς ἑώρα ὁ τῶν Βυζαντιῶν δῆμος Ἀθηναίους ὅτι πλείστους παρόντας ἐν τῇ πόλει “so that commons of Byzantium were not sorry to see the greatest possible number of Athenians present in their city”.

**56** *AJ*, 18, 218; cf. Conti Bizzarro 2018, 97.

**57** Sgobbi 2004, 248 and fn. 123. Naechster 1908, 27 fns 40 and 45; Münscher 1921, 171.

**58** See Tosi 2013 on the entries discussed by Pollux in answer to Phrynichus' criticism.

If Phrynichus labelled ἄρτοκόπος as ἀδόκιμον<sup>59</sup> and used for ἐργοδότης the formula οὐ κεῖται, Pollux, in contrast, appears to deem these words acceptable based on Xenophon's usage (Ξενοφῶν... ἔφη | εἶρηκε Ξενοφῶν). Furthermore, although evidence for ἄρτοκόπος was available from Herodotus and Plato,<sup>60</sup> Pollux seems to have accorded particular significance to the testimony of Xenophon for this lemma.<sup>61</sup>

#### 4 Pollux's Rejection of Xenophontic Words

Prominent authors too are sometimes criticised by Pollux, as well as by Phrynichus, for using bad forms.<sup>62</sup> Direct critique of Xenophon appears in the *Onomasticon* on a mere three occasions. The entries that have faced rejection have been specifically designated with the labels φορτικόν 'vulgar', ἴδιον 'unusual' and σκληρότερον 'harsh'. Following the enumeration of words within the semantic domain of danger, Pollux blamed as φορτικόν the word λειουργός 'reckless' (3.134):

Κίνδυνος, κινδυνῶδες, ἐπικίνδυνον, δεινόν, ἐκπληκτικόν, φοβερόν, ἐπιδεές, σφαλερόν, ἐπισφαλές. καὶ φιλοκίνδυνος, ῥιψοκίνδυνος, θρασύς, τολμηρός, πάντολμος, παρακινδυνευτικός, ἐθε-λοκίνδυνος, ῥαδιουργός, θερμουργός, ἰταμός, ἀπονενοημένος, παραβεβλημένος· τὸ γὰρ λειουργὸς παρὰ Ξενοφῶντι (*Mem.* 1.3.9) φορτικόν. ἀλλὰ πρόχειρος εἰς τὰ δεινά, ἔτοιμος εἰς τὰ σφαλερά, προπετής, τολμητής. 'κὰν εἰς πῦρ ἄλοιτο, κὰν εἰς μαχαίρας κυβιστήσαι.

The word λειουργός must have been judged vulgar because of his Doric patina. However, it is noteworthy that the Doric form λειουργός is conspicuously absent from the entirety of Xenophon's literary corpus. Instead, within Xenophon's works, we encounter the Attic form λειωργότατον:

Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, οὐ σὺ Κριτόβουλον ἐνόμιζες εἶναι τῶν σωφρονικῶν ἀνθρώπων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν θρασέων καὶ τῶν προνοητικῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ἀνοήτων τε καὶ ῥιψοκινδύνων; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν. Νῦν τοίνυν νόμιζε αὐτὸν θερμουργότατον εἶναι καὶ λειωργότατον· οὗτος κὰν εἰς μαχαίρας κυβιστήσειε κὰν εἰς πῦρ ἄλοιτο.

<sup>59</sup> In the *Philetairos* ἄρτοκόπος is not accepted either: [Hdn.] *Philet.* 177 Ἄρτοπόπος, οὐχὶ ἄρτοκόπος· ἔγκειται γὰρ τὸ πέπτειν, οὐχὶ ὁ κόπος.

<sup>60</sup> Hdt. 1.51, 9.82 and Pl. *Grg.* 518b 6.

<sup>61</sup> Xenophon used ἄρτοκόπος also in *HG* 7.1.38.

<sup>62</sup> See e.g. criticism of Euripides in Valente 2020.

‘Tell me, Xenophon, did you not suppose Critobulus to be a sober person and by no means rash; prudent, and not thoughtless or adventurous?’ ‘Certainly, said Xenophon’. ‘Then you are to look on him henceforth as utterly hot-headed and reckless: the man would do a somersault into a ring of knives; he would jump into fire’.<sup>63</sup>

It is reasonable to assume that Pollux or his source may not have relied upon an accurate edition of the *Memorabilia* in this particular instance.<sup>64</sup> Nevertheless, a memory lapse of the lexicographer is a plausible explanation as well.<sup>65</sup>

Furthermore, it should be noted that also Orus (fifth century CE) quoted this Xenophontic line employing the Attic form:

λεωργόν· ἐν τῷ ὦ καὶ Ἀττικοὶ καὶ Ἴωνες· καὶ Ξενοφῶν  
θερμουργότατον καὶ λεωργότατον. Δωριεῖς δὲ διὰ τοῦ ου, λεουργόν.<sup>66</sup>

In summary, it appears that when composing this list of terms related to audacity, Pollux had the entire passage from the *Memorabilia* in mind. While Pollux rejected a form attributed to Xenophon, he did not refrain from providing a complete quotation of the passage (Poll. κὰν εἰς πῦρ ἄλοιτο, κὰν εἰς μαχαίρας κυβιστήσαι / Xen. οὔτος κὰν εἰς μαχαίρας κυβιστήσειε κὰν εἰς πῦρ ἄλοιτο) which seamlessly aligns with the theme of danger. Notably, he deliberately incorporated into his list the adjectives ῥιψοκίνδυνος ‘adventurous’, θρασύς ‘rash’, θερμουργός ‘hot-headed’, all of which were employed by Xenophon within the same passage. The extensive utilisation of Xenophon by Pollux is thus manifest not only through explicit references but also via subtle echoes of Xenophon’s words.

In the section περὶ τὰ δικαστήρια of the 8th book, Pollux enumerates a set of nouns stemming from the root κοιν-, which can find application within the field of justice (εἶη δ’ ἂν ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὰ δικαστήρια κοινωνοί, κοινωνία, κοινωνικὰ χρήματα παρὰ Δημοσθένει);<sup>67</sup> a clarification follows: οἱ γὰρ κοινῶνες Ξενοφῶντος ἴδιον. The word κοινῶν is a very rare equivalent for κοινωνός ‘partner’, which is much more

<sup>63</sup> Xen. *Mem.* 1.3.9 (transl. Marchant).

<sup>64</sup> Conti Bizzarro 2018, 83-4. See Phrynichus’ *Ecl.* 62 ὁσμῆ, a similar case which also suggests the circulation of a less atticised text of Xenophon: Roscalla 2000, 125-6 and Sgobbi, 230-1, fns 51-2.

<sup>65</sup> Tosi 1988, 100-1 discusses cases in which an error within a quotation can not be attributed to the transmission of the *Onomasticon*.

<sup>66</sup> Phot. λ 237 Theodoridis = Orus fr. 90 Alpers; cf also Hsch. λ 791 Latte-Cunningham.

<sup>67</sup> Poll. 8.134.

frequent,<sup>68</sup> however, it has a special place in the *Cyropaedia* where it appears exclusively and is employed on eight occasions.<sup>69</sup> Pollux displayed a keen awareness of the uniqueness of this word, likely designating it as ἴδιον to underscore its distinctiveness despite sharing a common root with the previously mentioned words.

Pollux refers twice to the verb γελωτοποιεῖν ‘to make laughter’. In Poll. 7.90, while discussing the semantic domain of occupations associated with comedy and buffoonery, Xenophon’s name is introduced as a literary source for the family of words related to the verb γελωτοποιεῖν:

τοὺς δὲ μηχανοποιούς (Aristoph. *Pax* 174) καὶ σκηνοποιούς ἢ παλαιὰ κωμῳδία (III p 417. 98 Ko) ὠνόμαζεν. γελωτοποιὸς καὶ γελωτοποιεῖν, καὶ γελωτοποιοῦντες ὡς Ξενοφῶν (*Mem.* 3.9.9).<sup>70</sup>

Pollux revisits the term γελωτοποιεῖν in 9.148, specifically in the context of κωμῳδεῖν, laughter. However, in this instance, the lemma is characterised as σκληρότερον:

κωμῳδεῖν διακωμῳδεῖν, διασύρειν, σκώπτειν διασκώπτειν, χλευάζειν, φαυλίξειν, τωθάξειν, γέλωτα τίθεσθαι· σκληρότερον γὰρ τὸ γελωτοποιεῖν, καὶ εὐτελέστερον τὸ γελοιάζειν, καὶ φορτικώτερον τὸ γλοιάζειν, καὶ ποιητικώτερον τὸ σιλλαίνειν καὶ σιλλοῦν καὶ διασιλλοῦν.

The marker σκληρότερον is not directly attributed to Xenophon’s use of γελωτοποιεῖν. However, it is evident that the cluster of words within this semantic sphere has engendered substantial discourse. This is exemplified by the Atticist lexicographer Moeris, who, although not referencing γελωτοποιεῖν, opted for δημούμενον<sup>71</sup> over γελοιάζειν, thus indicating the extent of the debate surrounding these terms.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>68</sup> Pind. *P.* 3.28 and see also Suda κ 2561 Adler reporting the testimony of one *locus* of Xenophon’s *Cyropaedia* for this word: Κοινωνας· κοινωνούς· Ξενοφῶν· ἀκροθίνια τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τεμένη ὁ Κύρος ἐκέλευσεν ἐξελεῖν, οὐσπερ κοινωνας ἐνομιζέτο τῶν καταπεπραγμένων. καὶ αὐθις· τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἄξειν, καὶ ὅσοι κοινωνας αὐτῷ τῆς φυγῆς ἐγένοντο. Cf. Hsch. κ 3261; a papyrological attestation of this word is in the C3-BCE revenue laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus (ed. B.P. Grenfell, Oxford 1896), 10.10. (*PRev.Laws* 10.10, al. (III B.C.))

<sup>69</sup> *Cyr.* 2.2.25, 7.5.35 and 36, 8.1.16, 25, 26, 36 and 40.

<sup>70</sup> Xen. *Mem.* 3.9.9 Σχολὴν δὲ σκοπῶν, τί εἴη, ποιῶντας μὲν τι τοὺς πλείστους εὐρίσκειν ἔφη· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς πετεῦοντας καὶ τοὺς γελωτοποιοῦντας ποιεῖν τι· πάντας δὲ τούτους ἔφη σχολάζειν· “Even dice players and jesters do something, but all these are at leisure” (transl. Marchant). Xenophon employs this word also in *Smp.* 3.11; cf. also Pl. *Resp.* 452d and 606c.

<sup>71</sup> The expression is drawn from Pl. *Theaet.* 161e.

<sup>72</sup> Moer. Δ 35 Hansen δημούμενον Ἀττικῶι· γελοιάζοντα Ἕλληνας. On this entry in Pollux, see Conti Bizzarro 2018, 57-8.

F. Conti Bizzarro's examination of the critical terminology employed by Pollux has identified additional lemmas that likely trace their origins back to the works of Xenophon. These entries, however, face contention when evaluated by Pollux himself. The term ἀνδρειότης 'manliness' thus – his only classical occurrence is found in the *Anabasis* –<sup>73</sup> is judged σκληρόν.<sup>74</sup> The marker εὐτελής 'of little value', on the other hand, is the label given by Pollux to the adverb μωρῶς 'foolishly'.<sup>75</sup> Before being used in Christian and Byzantine texts, the word is attested only in the *Anabasis*.<sup>76</sup> In the semantic domain of drinking, the compound μετριοπότης 'moderate in drinking' is qualified as εὐτελής.<sup>77</sup> A few lines further into the text, we find the opposite word οἰνόφλυξ,<sup>78</sup> which seems to be approved by the lexicographer. Both terms in Xenophon appear as a pair in *Ap.* 19,<sup>79</sup> the first being a hapax before Pollux. It is worthwhile to fully cite Xenophon's words:

σὺ δὲ εἰπέε εἴ τινα οἴσθα ὑπ' ἐμοῦ γεγενημένον ἢ ἐξ εὐσεβοῦς ἀνόσιον ἢ ἐκ σώφρονος ὑβριστὴν ἢ ἐξ εὐδίαιτου πολυδάπανον ἢ [ὠς] ἐκ μετριοπότης οἰνόφλυγα ἢ ἐκ φιλοπόνου μαλακὸν ἢ ἄλλης πονηρᾶς ἡδονῆς ἡττημένον.<sup>80</sup>

The utility of such a text for a lexicographic work is readily apparent, as it seems perfectly suited for the onomastic research and antonymic comparison work conducted by Pollux. It is worth highlighting that, within the *Onomasticon*, the adjective εὐδίαιτος has been drawn from this passage as well, indeed it was a hapax in Xenophon prior to its utilisation by Pollux, who employed it on three occasions.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>73</sup> *An.* 6.5.14.

<sup>74</sup> Poll. 3.121 ἢ γὰρ φιλοπονία εὐτελής, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ ἄοκνία, ἀγρυπνία. εὐρωστία δὲ καὶ ἀνδρία καὶ ἀνδρισμός· ἢ γὰρ ἀνδρειότης σκληρόν. Conti Bizzarro 2018, 48; see also Luc. *Par.* 54.

<sup>75</sup> Poll. 5.121 καὶ τὰ ἐπιρρήματα εὐήθως, ἀνοήτως, ἀφρόνως, ἐμπλήκτως, ἀποπλήκτως, ἐκφρόνως, ἀσυνέτως· τὸ γὰρ μωρῶς λίαν εὐτελής. Conti Bizzarro 2018, 49-50.

<sup>76</sup> *An.* 7.6.21. The accent in the text of Xenophon is μώρως (Dindorf), some manuscripts though present the form μωρῶς.

<sup>77</sup> Poll. 6.20 ἀπὸ τοῦ πιεῖν συμπιεῖν ἐκπιεῖν ἀκρατοποτεῖν ὕδροποτεῖν κλεψιποτεῖν. μετριοποτίστατος· τὸ γὰρ ἀπλοῦν ὁ μετριοπότης εὐτελής

<sup>78</sup> Poll. 6.21 καὶ φωνόμενοι ὡς Κρατῖνος (fr. 432) δύσοινος, καὶ οἰνόφλυξ οἰνοφλυγεῖν, καὶ οἰνομάχλη.

<sup>79</sup> Conti Bizzarro 2018, 52.

<sup>80</sup> *Ap.* 19: "So you tell us whether you know of any one who under my influence has fallen from piety into impiety, or from self-control to wantonness, or from moderation into extravagance, or from temperate drinking into sottishness, or from strenuousness into effeminacy, or has been overcome by any other pleasure" (transl. Todd).

<sup>81</sup> Poll. 6.27, 9.24 and 162.

Furthermore, the adjective φιλόπονος, which held particular importance in the writings of Xenophon,<sup>82</sup> has also been incorporated into Pollux's work.<sup>83</sup>

## 5 Loanwords and Dialectalisms

There is one passage in the 9th book, in the section περὶ νομισμάτων, containing a telling declaration made by Pollux, when he momentarily departs from his compilation of entries pertaining to units of measurement (βαλάντιον λίτρο κεδεκάλιτρος στατήρ, ἑξάντιόν τε καὶ πεντόγκιον) to say:

ἔχει μὲν δὴ τι καὶ φιλόκαλον ἢ τούτων γνῶσις· ἴσως δὲ οὐδὲ ἡ χρῆσις ἄτοπος, εἰ μὴδὲ τοὺς σίγλους ὁ Ξενοφῶν ὄνομα βαρβαρικοῦ νομίσματος εἶπεῖν ἐφυλάξατο.<sup>84</sup>

This brief passage acknowledges a variety of facts. Firstly, it highlights the *Onomasticon's* inclination towards encyclopaedism, with a particular focus on Pollux's fascination with ethnographic glosses. However, the lexicographer's endeavors extend further than mere linguistic exercise: knowing this sphere of words is not just an exercise in eloquence, εὐγλωττία,<sup>85</sup> but it has also something φιλόκαλον (ἔχει μὲν δὴ τι καὶ φιλόκαλον ἢ τούτων γνῶσις). Demonstrating his profound enthusiasm for these subjects, Pollux may also be imparting a message to his readers, urging them to embark on a journey of knowledge, γνῶσις. However, Pollux isn't solely advocating for knowledge of νομίσματα, but he also underscores the importance of their χρῆσις. Furthermore, when confronted with the potential foreign origin of a word, Pollux dismisses concerns: Xenophon, who has employed, *inter multa alia*, the word σίγλος,<sup>86</sup> a type of coin used by

<sup>82</sup> HG 6.1.6, Mem. 3.4.9 and 4.1.3, Smp. 4.15, Ap. 19, Cyr. 2.2.31, 6.2.5, 7.5.47, 8.8.12, Ages. 9.3, Cyn. 6.8.

<sup>83</sup> Poll. 1.178, 3.120, 3.18 and 60.

<sup>84</sup> Poll. 9.82.

<sup>85</sup> cf. On. 1.1; on the concept of εὐγλωττία cf. Tribulato 2018.

<sup>86</sup> Loanword from Semitic cf. Hebr. šekel; see Caccamo, Radici Colace 1986 and Caccamo, Radici Colace 1990, 267; cf. also Beeke 2010, 1328 σίγλος.

the Lydians,<sup>87</sup> ensures the possibility to use βαρβαρικά ὀνόματα.<sup>88</sup> In book IV, Pollux had already hinted at the same passage of the *Anabasis* where σίγλος is found: here the troops of Cyrus pay at the Lydian market four σίγλοι for a καπίθη of wheat flour or barley meal.<sup>89</sup> The entry exemplified is καπίθη, another foreign word for the sphere of weights and measures.

Two distinctive aspects of Xenophon's reception are thus revealed in these lines of the 9th book. Firstly, they underscore Xenophon's high standing and authority within Pollux's canon of approved authors. Secondly, they highlight Pollux's endorsement of a significant characteristic of Xenophon's writing: its linguistic receptivity to foreign influences.

In other instances concerning non-Greek words, Xenophon is variously involved, such as when Pollux affirms his tolerance towards another βαρβαρικὸν ὄνομα, the entry παράδεισος, in 9.13:

οἱ δὲ παράδεισοι, βαρβαρικὸν εἶναι δοκοῦν τοῦνομα ἥκει κατὰ συνήθειαν εἰς χρῆσιν Ἑλληνικὴν, ὡς καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ τῶν Περσικῶν.

The latent classical authority for this word is undoubtedly Xenophon, where παράδεισος is found sixteen times.<sup>90</sup> However, Pollux declares that the entry, like many other Persian words, complies with Attic<sup>91</sup> κατὰ συνήθειαν, because of its habitual use in language.<sup>92</sup>

Furthermore, with regard to matters of warfare and weaponry, following a comprehensive list of customary Greek armaments, which attests to Pollux's *curiositas*, the lexicographer asserts:

προσαριθμητέον τούτοις καὶ τὰ βαρβαρικά, σάρισσαν Μακεδονικὴν τὸ δόρυ, καὶ παλτὸν Μηδικὸν τὸ ἀκόντιον, καὶ ἀκινάκην Περσικὸν Ξιφιδίον τι, τῷ μηρῷ προσηρτημένον, καὶ σαγάρεις Σκυθικάς.

<sup>87</sup> Xen. *An.* 1.5.6 τὸ δὲ στράτευμα ὁ σίτος ἐπέλιπε, καὶ πρίασθαι οὐκ ἔστιν εἰ μὴ ἐν τῇ Λυδίᾳ ἀγορᾷ τῷ Κύρου βαρβαρικῷ, τὴν καπίθην ἀλεύρων ἢ ἀλίπτων τεττάρων σίγλων "As for the troops, their supply of grain gave out, and it was not possible to buy any except in the Lydian market attached to the barbarian army of Cyrus, at the price of four *sigli* for a *capithé* of wheat flour or barley meal" (transl. Brownson).

<sup>88</sup> On the treatment of foreign words by Pollux and other Atticist lexicographers see Valente 2013, 153-5; cf. also Rochette 1996.

<sup>89</sup> Poll. 4.168; Xen. *An.* 1.5.6 explains: ὁ δὲ σίγλος δύναται ἑπτὰ ὀβολοὺς καὶ ἡμιῶβελιον Ἀττικῶς· ἡ δὲ καπίθη δύο χοίνικας Ἀττικὰς ἐχώρει "The *siglus* is worth seven and one-half Attic obols, and the *capithé* had the capacity of two Attic choenices"; cf. Hsch. κ 713 καπίθη Latte· ἀγγεῖον, χωροῦν Ἀττικὰς κοτύλας δύο.

<sup>90</sup> *HG* 4.1.15 and 33, *Oec.* 4.13-14 and 2, *An.* 1.2.7 (x2) and 9, 1.4.10, 2.4.14 and 17, *Cyr.* 1.3.14, 1.4.5 and 11, 8.1.38 and 8.6.12.

<sup>91</sup> On usage and language correctness see Pagani 2015, 839-44.

<sup>92</sup> For other attestations of παράδεισος see Valente 2013, 153 fn. 42.



Pollux shows in no uncertain terms that nouns having a barbaric origin are fully entitled to become part of his *Onomasticon* (προσαριθμητέον τούτοις καὶ τὰ βαρβαρικά). In particular, it is highly probable that the term παλτὸν Μηδικὸν finds its origins in Pollux's own reading of Xenophon's works, or possibly in his sources', as Xenophon serves as a primary classical reference for this type of Persian spear.<sup>93</sup> At least two other entries in the *Onomasticon* which are accompanied by the name of Xenophon are ethnographic glosses and loanwords: βῆκος 'jar', 'vase with handles'<sup>94</sup> and κασσῆς 'horse-cloth' (written κασσῆς in Xenophon).<sup>95</sup>

In 9.35 Pollux addresses the lexicon associated with urban topography, encompassing both the areas external to and contained within the city walls. Without explicitly endorsing or critiquing the term, Pollux alludes to the utilisation of the term ἀγυιά, narrow street, in the literary works of Homer and Xenophon.<sup>96</sup>

τὰ δ' ἔνδον ἀγυιαί μὲν κατὰ Ξενοφῶντα (Cyr. 2.4.3) καὶ καθ' Ὅμηρον (E 642 s), ἀφ' ὧν ἡ εὐρύαγυια Ὅμηρῳ (Δ 52) πεποιήται, καὶ Ἀπόλλων ἀγυιεύς.

The entry seems to be a poetism, having indeed a number of attestations in the high literature of the archaic and classical period.<sup>97</sup> However other sources unveil the dialectal origin of the word, which does not have a proper Attic pedigree. An *interpretamentum* attested in Phot. α 276 Th. = *Suda* α 382 A. discusses the entry using the same tone of the Atticist debate, as follows:

Ἀγυιάν: τὸν στενωπὸν Ξενοφῶν. καὶ ὅλως πολλὰ τὰ γλωσσηματικὰ παρ' αὐτῷ.<sup>98</sup>

Pausanias confirms the glossematic origin of the expression by affirming its usage in Elis, thus establishing its provenance in the

<sup>93</sup> Chiron 2013, 44 on this passage. παλτόν occurs 23 times in Xenophon, e.g. Cyr. 4.3.9 and 6.2.16.

<sup>94</sup> Poll. 6.14 and An. 1.9.25 Κύρος γὰρ ἔπεμπε βίκους οἴνου ἡμιδεῖς πολλάκις ὅποτε πάνυ ἡδὺν λάβοι "For example, when Cyrus got some particularly good wine, he would often send the half-emptied jar to a friend"; see also Hdt. 1.194; see Beekes 2010, 215 s.v. "βῆκος".

<sup>95</sup> Poll. 7.68 and Cyr. 8.3.6 κασσῆς δὲ τούσδε τοὺς ἐφιππίους τοῖς τῶν ἰππέων ἡγεμόσι δός. "give these cavalry mantles here to the commanders of the horse".

<sup>96</sup> Xen. Cyr. 2.4.3 τὴν ἀγυιάν τὴν πρὸς τὸ βασιλεῖον φέρουσαν "street leading to the king's headquarters".

<sup>97</sup> e.g. Thuc. 3.104.4; Eur. Ba. 87, HF 783, Or. 761, Ion 460; Soph. Ant. 1136, OC 715; Aristoph. Eq. 1320, Av. 1233.

<sup>98</sup> On the meaning of γλωσσηματικός see Valente 2009, 69-70 and discussion on the entry ἀγυια.

Doric dialect.<sup>99</sup> If generally this kind of words in literature are interpreted as poetisms, for Xenophon the question has been the subject of scholarly discussions throughout the nineteenth century.<sup>100</sup> It is worth mentioning here C.A. Lobeck's point of view: "poetica autem et glossematica vocabula in nullo plura notata quam in Xenophonte, scriptore maxime pedestre, et quotidiano".<sup>101</sup> In support of this statement the scholar quoted Galen (18/1 414s. K.), who draws a parallel between Xenophon's linguistic style and that of Hippocrates:<sup>102</sup>

Τροπικοῖς ὀνόμασι καὶ γλωσσηματικοῖς εἴωθεν ὁ Ἱπποκράτης ἐνοιῶν χρῆσθαι, καίτοι πολιτικὴν ἐρμηνείων ἐρμηνείαν, ὁμοίον τι τούτῳ πεπονθῶς ὁ Ξενοφῶν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος εἶπερ τις καὶ ἄλλος ἐρμηνείων πολιτικῶς, ὅμως παρεμβάλλει πολλάκις ὀνόματα γλωσσηματικά καὶ τροπικά.

In the passage of the *Cyropaedia*, the context suggests though that Xenophon is not using ἀγυῖα as a poetism. An alternative explanation lies in the possibility of dialectalism. Nevertheless, the presence of this term in the works of Demosthenes<sup>103</sup> attests to its familiarity within Attic prose. This strongly suggests that the language employed by Xenophon, as acknowledged by Pollux, agrees with the concept of that 'innovative Attic' gradually assimilating during the fourth century external linguistic influences, or γλωσσηματικά, into the Attic tradition.<sup>104</sup>

In 2.217 Pollux had acknowledged yet another Doric entry stemming from the writings of Xenophon:

ὄνομα δ' ἀπ' αὐτῆς εὐκάρδιος, καὶ καρδιώτειν· οὕτω δ' οἱ Δωριεῖς τὸ παρὰ Ξενοφῶντι (*An.* 4.5.7) βουλιμιᾶν καλοῦσιν.

Pollux offers insight into the Doric word used in the *Anabasis* when, while enduring the arduous march through the snow of Armenia,

**99** Paus. 5.15.2 τοὺς γὰρ δὴ ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων καλουμένους στενωποὺς ἀγυῖας ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ Ἠλεῖοι "For the Eleians call streets what the Athenians call lanes" (transl. Jones-Ormerod).

**100** See references in Gautier 1911, 12 and 13: "Il se pose donc à propos de Xénophon cette question préalable: les nombreuses expressions et les formes à première vue poétiques de sa langue doivent-elles être attribuées chez lui à l'influence de la poésie ou à celle des dialectes?"; see also Roscalla 2000, 126-7.

**101** Lobeck 1820, 89-90.

**102** See also Valente 2009, 69-70 fn. 43.

**103** Dem. *Meid.* 51-2.

**104** For this analysis of Xenophon's language see Huitink, Rood 2019, 26-31.

many of the men ἐβουλιμιάσαν,<sup>105</sup> fell ill for βουλιμία ‘ravenous hunger’.<sup>106</sup> A synonymous verb, according to the lexicographer, is καρδιώττειν. Bussès has drawn attention to Pollux’s inclination towards Doric expressions,<sup>107</sup> a tendency that aligns with the remarks made by M. Naechster concerning Pollux and Xenophon: “Xenophonte praeterea tanti aestimat, ut multa voces Dorica admittat, quod Xenophon adeo barbaram vocem quandam scripserit”.<sup>108</sup>

The entry on φάσκωλο, ‘leathern bag’, and other expressions with in the same lexical family denoting various names for bags in 7.79, prompt considerations on multiple fronts:

καὶ φασκώλους δὲ ἔλεγον οἱ παλαιοὶ τὰ τῶν ἱματίων ἀγγεῖα καὶ  
θυλάκους. Ξενοφῶν (An. 4.3.11) δὲ καὶ μαρσίπους ἱματίων εἶπεν.

Firstly, Xenophon is called into question for the expression μαρσίπους ἱματίων ‘bags of clothes’.<sup>109</sup> Likewise, in treating the lemma μάρσιππος, *Suda* quotes the same passage from Xenophon.<sup>110</sup> There are indeed no other classical examples: after Xenophon, μάρσιππος is attested in the *Septuaginta*. Going back to the first line of Pollux’s text, it is curious that, to illustrate the meaning of the entry φασκώλους – the use of which is guaranteed by οἱ παλαιοί – the lexicographer employed in his *interpretamentum* the terms ἀγγεῖα καὶ θυλάκους ‘vessels and bags’, an endyadic couple forged by Pollux by drawing upon Xenophon.<sup>111</sup> Besides the fact that this most probably is a hidden quotation of An. 6.4.23, two questions immediately come

**105** An. 4.5.7 ἐντεῦθεν δὲ τὴν ἐπιουῶσαν ἡμέραν ὄλην ἐπορεύοντο διὰ χιόνος, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐβουλιμιάσαν “From there they marched all the following day through snow, and many of the men fell ill with hunger-faintness”.

**106** Βουλιμιάω is also found in Sicilian Greek, cf. Epich. 202 K.-A.

**107** Bussès 2011, 44: “In generale, il suo atteggiamento nei confronti dei vocaboli ionici non sembra essere dei più positivi, a differenza di quanto avviene per le parole doriche. In due casi si nota addirittura il tentativo, citando passi opportuni, di individuare l’uso di parole doriche negli attici”. On Pollux’s attitude towards dialects see Bussès 2011, 43-5 and Chiron 2013, 52.

**108** Naechster 1908, 17; see also Valente 2013, 153 fn. 45.

**109** The entry appears also in Poll. 10.138 καὶ θολίαν δὲ κίστην εἶναι λέγουσιν ἔχουσαν θολοειδὲς τὸ πῶμα. Ξενοφῶν δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀναβάσει (4.3.11) ἔφη καὶ μαρσίπους ἱματίων. The word μάρσιππος is most probably Pre-Greek see Beeke 2010, 908 s.v. “μάρσιππος”; cf. Xen. An. 4.3.11 γέροντά τε καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ παιδίσκας ὥσπερ μαρσίπους ἱματίων κατατιθεμένους ἐν πέτρᾳ ἀνθρώδει “an old man and a woman and some little girls putting away what looked like bags of clothes in a cavernous rock” (transl. Brownson).

**110** *Suda* μ 226 Adler Μάρσιππος: σάκκος, θυλάκιον, σακέλλιον. εἶδόν τινας ἐν πέτραις μαρσιπίους ἱματίων κατατιθεμένους. Ξενοφῶν.

**111** Xen. An. 6.4.23 ἐξέρχονται δὴ σὺν δορατοῖς καὶ ἀσκοῖς καὶ θυλάκοις καὶ ἄλλοις ἀγγεῖοις εἰς δισχιλίους ἀνθρώπους “There set out accordingly, with poles, wine-skins, bags and other vessels, about two thousand men” (transl. Brownson). On the endyadic couple see Bossi, Tosi 1979-80, 15-16.

to the forefront: the first being whether Pollux utilised ἀγγεῖα καὶ θυλάκους to exemplify a Koine Greek use and the second pertains to the presence of a potential contrast between οἱ παλαιοί and Xenophon. Indeed, it seems that his words have served as the *interpretamentum* of an entry representative of the language of οἱ παλαιοί.

As regards φάσκωλος, there is no trace of it in Xenophon. Although the word had limited occurrences in classical literature,<sup>112</sup> it seems to have aroused deep interest in ancient lexicography.<sup>113</sup> Interestingly, the Antiatticist has referred to the term while discussing the entry for βαλάντιον ‘wallet’, and has given us a noteworthy piece of information: although Xenophon, in conjunction with Lysias, employed βαλάντιον, other lexicographers<sup>114</sup> dismissed it in favor of φάσκωλος.

βαλάντιον· οὐχί φασί δεῖν λέγειν, ἀλλὰ φάσκωλον. Ξενοφῶν Συμποσίῳ (4.2), Λυσίας ἐν τῇ Πρὸς Κλεῖνίαν διαμαρτυρία (fr. 145 S. = 198 C.).<sup>115</sup>

Xenophon has probably chosen to use a vernacular form here to add realism, to the dialogue in the *Symposium* between Anthisthenes and Callias (“Where do you think men keep their righteousness, Callias, in their souls or in their wallets?”).<sup>116</sup> On the other hand, Pollux and Phrynichus seem to use βαλάντιον without reservations.<sup>117</sup>

## 6 Clarifying *interpretamenta*

Elsewhere the *Onomasticon* reveals Pollux’s willingness to clarify Xenophon’s different use of a word, which does not necessarily imply a negative judgment. These lemmas are therefore followed by more or less developed *interpretamenta*. In these, the formula ἐπὶ τοῦ often introduces the field of application of the lemma. As the lexicographer himself has confirmed in the prefatory letter of book VI, he did not devote, where not necessary, the same degree of attention to all the words, thus preventing an excessive accumulation of information.<sup>118</sup>

<sup>112</sup> Lys. fr. 100 and 198 Carey; Aristoph. fr. 336 K-A.

<sup>113</sup> See references in Valente 2015, 124.

<sup>114</sup> Concerning this type of entries, see Valente 2015, 45: “the subject of φασί is to be identified in other lexicographers and/or Atticists having a more rigorous idea of the literary language”; on this point see also Tosi 2021b.

<sup>115</sup> Antiatticista β 5 Valente.

<sup>116</sup> Xen. *Smp.* 4.2 Οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι, ὧς Καλλία, πότερον ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἢ ἐν τῷ βαλαντίῳ τὸ δίκαιόν σοι δοκοῦσιν ἔχειν; (transl. Todd).

<sup>117</sup> Poll. 3.115 φύλαξ ἀργυρίου, ἄγρυπνος εἰς τὴν φυλακὴν, τῷ βαλαντίῳ προστετηκώς, δανείζων ἔγγραυα δανείσματα...; Phryn. *PS* 53.12 βουλιμιᾶ τὰ βαλάντια (fr. com. ad. 660): κατὰ μεταφορὰν ἐπὶ τῶν μηδὲν ἔχόντων ἔνδον βαλαντίῳ.

<sup>118</sup> Poll. 6.1.

In 3.89 Pollux indicates the causal use in Xenophon of ἐκάθισεν instead of καθίσει ἐποίησεν.<sup>119</sup> He is probably hinting to *Cyr.* 6.1.23 where Cyrus is said to ‘have encamped his army’, ἐκάθισε τὸ στράτευμα, in a place which he thought was most healthful (ἔνθα ᾤετο ὑγιεινότατον εἶναι [...]).<sup>120</sup> A few lines further into the text, while compiling expressions related to illness, Pollux points out that Xenophon applied ἐπὶ δὲ νοσοῦντος, to the sick, the verb ἐπισκοπεῖν ‘inspect’, ‘visit’.<sup>121</sup> Furthermore, Pollux appears to find the term ἐμπολή in need of further explanation: Ξενοφῶν δὲ καὶ τὴν ‘ἐμπολήν’ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀγοράζειν ἔταξεν.<sup>122</sup> The word indeed was not employed in *Cyr.* 6.2.39 with the usual meaning of ‘merchandise’ but as ‘purchase’, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀγοράζειν. This same passage of the *Cyropaedia* came again to Pollux’s mind when, in 9.151, dealing with the lexical family of knowledge, he specifies:

γινώσκων δὲ καὶ γνωστικός· ὁ γὰρ παρὰ Ξενοφῶντι γνωστήρ ἕτερόν τι δηλοῖ.

In this passage, which seems to function as a synonym-differentiating gloss,<sup>123</sup> the term γνωστήρ, hapax before Pollux, carries a specific meaning.<sup>124</sup> During a speech about the preparations for the campaign against Cresus, Cyrus declared that any merchant requiring additional funds for the purchase, ἐμπολή, of provisions, must provide him with guarantors, γνωστήρας, to vouch for their identity and trustworthiness.<sup>125</sup>

As for the adjective ἄμετρος, Pollux mentions two different uses of it: if Xenophon has used it emphatically for stressing the abundance (τοὺς μὲν πολλούς) of darics brought by Gobrias to Cyrus,<sup>126</sup> on the other hand, Plato has used it literally to name all the things ἀνευ

**119** Poll. 3.89 κάθηται, καθίζει, καθέζεται, ἀνακαθιζόμενος ὡς Πλάτων (*Phaedo* 60 B). Ξενοφῶν (*An.* 3.5.17, *Cyr.* 6.1.23) δὲ τὸ ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ τοῦ καθίσει ἐποίησεν.

**120** Even if Pollux has chosen to exemplify this phenomenon through Xenophon, there is abundant evidence of the causal use of καθίζω.

**121** Poll. 3.108 ἐπὶ δὲ νοσοῦντος ἐπισκοπεῖν φησὶν ὁ Ξενοφῶν (*Cyr.* 8.2.25). cf also e.g. *Mem.* 3.1.10 and *Dem.* 59.56.

**122** Poll. 3.127.

**123** Bossi, Tosi 1979-80, 15.

**124** See also cf. Poll. 9.151 and *Moer.* γ 25, γνωστήρας, ὡς Ξενοφῶν (*Cyr.* 6.2.39), τοὺς γνώστας; cf. Favi 2022, 320 fn. 45.

**125** *Xen. Cyr.* 6.2.39 εἰ δὲ τις χρημάτων προσδεῖσθαι νομίζει εἰς ἐμπολήν, γνωστήρας ἔμοι προσαγαγῶν καὶ ἐγγυητᾶς ἢ μὴν πορεύεσθαι σὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ, λαμβανέτω ὧν ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν “And if any merchant thinks he needs more money for the purchase of supplies, let him bring me vouchers for his respectability and identity, and sureties as a pledge that he is really going with the army, and he shall receive a certain amount from the fund we have”.

**126** For another instance see also *An.* 3.2.16.

μέτρον, forming what is known as ‘the incommensurable’.<sup>127</sup>

In 5.9 the *interpretamentum* proposed by Pollux would require a careful examination:

Ξενοφῶν (Cyn. 11.2) δὲ καὶ θηρᾶσθαι ἀντὶ τοῦ θηρᾶν ἔφη, καὶ θηρῶνται ἀντὶ τοῦ θηρώσιν· ἡμεῖς δ’ ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὸ θηρᾶν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν θηρίων τὸ θηρᾶσθαι [...].

The lexicographer clarifies the use Xenophon made of θηρᾶσθαι defining it in opposition to the contemporary use, a category in which Pollux puts himself (ἡμεῖς).<sup>128</sup> In his opinion, Xenophon would have used the middle voice instead of the active; Pollux has probably in mind the expression οἱ θηρώμενοι used by Xenophon to refer to the hunters.<sup>129</sup> As for θηρῶνται, the only passage found in Xenophon is at the end of the *Cynegeticus*, where Xenophon warns to be cautious of the sophists, who are constantly in search of (θηρῶνται) wealthy young individuals.<sup>130</sup> Indeed, there is evidence of scholarly discussion regarding the usage of diathesis with this verb, particularly in relation to the future tense, as noted by Moeris.<sup>131</sup> The lexicographer has highlighted that Xenophon employed the verb differently compared to both the lexicographer and his contemporaries. However, he did not attach any negative descriptor to this usage. On the other hand, in 6.26, a contemporary use is approved thanks to the evidence found in Xenophon, a line of the *Cyropaedia*, which Pollux fully quotes:

ἔπινον δέ, ὡς οἱ νῦν, τὸ συνέπινον καὶ ποτούς ἐποιοῦντο,<sup>132</sup> Ξενοφῶν (Cyr. 4.5.7) ἔφη· ‘οἱ δὲ Μῆδοι καὶ ἔπινον καὶ ἠύλοῦντο’.

If Xenophon employed the verb πίνω with the meaning of συμπίνω ‘drinking together’, Pollux witnesses that his contemporaries still were using this verb in the same way.

Pollux openly displays his erudition when he mentions that Xenophon ascribed a particular meaning to the word περιφορά in the

<sup>127</sup> Poll. 4.167 καὶ τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς ἀμέτρον Ξενοφῶν (Cyr. 5.2.7, An. 3.2.16) κέκληκεν, τὸ δ’ ἄνευ μέτρον ἄμετρον Πλάτων (Leg. 7.820 C).

<sup>128</sup> See Matthaios 2013 who has discussed the categories of anonymous speakers to which Pollux makes reference in the *Onomasticon*.

<sup>129</sup> Xen. Cyn. 9.2; but e.g. *Mem.* 2.1.18 οἱ τὰ θηρία θηρῶντες.

<sup>130</sup> Cyn. 13.9 οἱ μὲν γὰρ σοφισταὶ πλουσίους καὶ νέους θηρῶνται; contrarily in Cyn. 5.25 ὅταν οὖν τῶν τε ὑπαρχόντων ὀλίγους ἐκθηρῶνται καὶ τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων where the subjects of the verb are the hares.

<sup>131</sup> Moer. θ 7 Hansen θηράσεται Ἀπτικοί· θηράσει Ἑλληνας.

<sup>132</sup> Here I have slightly modified the text edited by Bethe, where a comma has been placed between ποτούς and ἐποιοῦντο.

context of carrying round dishes at the table (τὸ δὲ περιφέρεισθαι τὰς μερίδας περιφορὰν Ξενοφῶν ὠνόμασεν),<sup>133</sup> used otherwise in the philosophical language and in the general sense of ‘circular motion’. Once more, a word of the *Cyropaedia*, hapax indeed,<sup>134</sup> captures Pollux’s interest and underscores his enthusiasm for rare lexical forms: the lexicographer reveals that instead of the common γεραίρειν ‘to give honour’, Ξενοφῶν δὲ καὶ ἐπιγεραίρειν τὸ γεραίρειν ἔφη.<sup>135</sup>

Pollux is also attentive to the peculiarities of the language of his times: he witnesses that, at his time, the word παστάς used by Xenophon with the meaning of ‘colonnade’<sup>136</sup> has been replaced by the word ἐξέδρα:<sup>137</sup> παστάδας δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἄς οἱ νῦν ἐξέδρας.<sup>138</sup> Similarly, in Poll. 7.149:

καὶ τὸ μὲν καρποῦσθαι κάρπωσιν λέγει Ξενοφῶν (*Cyr.* 4.5.16), ἣν οἱ νῦν καρπεΐαν, αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ καρποῦσθαι καὶ καρπίσασθαι Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ πρὸς Λυσίδημον (fr. 144 T).

The word κάρπωσις ‘profit’, used in classical times only by Xenophon<sup>139</sup> is said to have been abandoned from οἱ νῦν in favour of καρπεΐα, rarely attested in the literary sources only after Polybius:<sup>140</sup> a third option is given by Pollux: τὸ καρποῦσθαι must have been perhaps the most common – or accepted – form.<sup>141</sup>

When classifying the words concerning the parts of the city, Pollux calls attention to the use Xenophon made of τεῖχος:

Ξενοφῶν δὲ καὶ τεῖχος οὐ τὸν περίβολον ἔφη μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ πᾶν.<sup>142</sup>

The lexicographer has noticed the synecdoche that features this use of τεῖχος: this proves Pollux’s concern to the semantic nuances.

<sup>133</sup> Poll. 6.55 and *Cyr.* 2.2.4.

<sup>134</sup> Before Pollux’s mention.

<sup>135</sup> Poll. 6.187 and *Cyr.* 8.6.11.

<sup>136</sup> *Mem.* 3.8.9.

<sup>137</sup> cf. *Sud.* ε 1594 Adler Ἐξέδρα. ὁ δὲ κατῆρχε χωμάτων, τὸ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Βόρειον ἐξέδραν, ἣ μεταξὺ τῶν δύο πυλῶν ἦν. καὶ αὐθις· κατῶκον πλησίον τοῦ μουσείου καὶ τῆς ἐξέδρας.

<sup>138</sup> Poll. 7.139; παστάς appears also in Poll. 6.7 and 9.46.

<sup>139</sup> *Cyr.* 4.5.16.

<sup>140</sup> Polyb. 31.21.8.

<sup>141</sup> Poll. 7.149.

<sup>142</sup> Poll. 9.7 and *Cyr.* 5.4.37 Τί οὖν, ἔφη, ὧ Γαδάτα, οὐχὶ τὰ μὲν τεῖχη φυλακῆ ἔχυρὰ ἐποίησαμεν, ὅπως ἂν σοὶ σῶα ἢ χρῆσθαι ἀσφαλῶς, ὁπότεν εἰς αὐτὰ ἴης.

Captivated by unusual uses of words, in 9.43 Pollux seems to be puzzled by the word *ξυστός* as employed in the *Oeconomicus* by Ischomachus, quoted by the lexicographer:

Ξενοφῶν δὲ καὶ χωρὶς τοῦ δρόμου τῷ ξυστῷ κεχρησθαι δοκεῖ ἐν τῷ Οἰκονομικῷ εἰπὼν ἢ εἰ ἐν τῷ ξυστῷ περιπατοῖν.<sup>143</sup>

The meaning of *ξυστός* seems indeed not to indicate as usual the covered colonnade, along one side of the *δρόμος*, at the *gymnasium*,<sup>144</sup> but rather a “walking-place in the grounds of a private residence”.<sup>145</sup> Ischomachus was expressing to Socrates his preference for making his walk out of doors than around in the arcade, ἐν τῷ ξυστῷ.

Regarding the topic of food and its preparation, in 10.16 Pollux endeavours to explain the meaning of *ἐσκεύασται* as used by Xenophon in *Cyr.* 6.2.28:

τὸ μέντοι ἤψηται ἐσκεύασται ἐν τῷ ἕκτῳ Παιδείας Ξενοφῶν ἔφη· ‘καὶ τὰ ἐφθὰ πάντα μεθ’ ὕδατος τὰ πλεῖστα ἐσκεύασται’.

“And everything boiled is prepared (*ἐσκεύασται*) with water in very liberal quantities”.<sup>146</sup> Xenophon has narrowed the large meaning of *σκευάζω* ‘to prepare’ to the more specific ‘to boil’, equivalent to *ἔψω*.

If, on one hand, the quotation serves the objective of enriching the range of possible applications of a common word by providing a concrete and authoritative example, on the other hand, a reader of the *Cyropaedia* will appreciate Pollux’s great attention to detail – if not pedantry – which improves the exegesis of Xenophon, who perhaps used *ἐσκεύασται* preferring the *variatio* to the repetition, as in the same sentence he had used *ἐφθά* ‘boiled food’, adjective of *ἔψω*.

## 7 Poetisms

In addition to his focus on the accuracy and diversity of lexicon, Pollux frequently demonstrates a keen interest in linguistic register. It has been noted that the adjective ‘poetic’ is employed in a pejorative sense, connoting inappropriateness and grandiloquence, probably not suitable to the specific lexical context Pollux wanted to establish for Commodus.<sup>147</sup>

<sup>143</sup> Xen. *Oec.* 11.15.

<sup>144</sup> See Kennell 2021, 500 where *ξυστός* is defined as “a covered stoa long enough for a full stade race in the event of bad weather”.

<sup>145</sup> Pomeroy 1994, 312 fn. 16.

<sup>146</sup> Transl. Miller.

<sup>147</sup> Bussès 2011, 54.



An instance drawn from Xenophon's works illustrates Pollux's disposition towards poetisms. When examining the terminology related to emotions, a specific expression is remarked to have been employed by Xenophon ποιητικωτέρως, in a very poetic fashion (Poll. 3.99-100):

ἀποθρηνεῖν, οἰκτίζεσθαι, ὀλοφύρεσθαι, κατοδύρεσθαι. Ξενοφῶν δὲ ποιητικωτέρως καὶ γοωμένη που (Cyr. 4.6.9) λέγει.

The term under consideration is γοωμένη, a word with a prestigious career in epic, poetry, and tragedy,<sup>148</sup> but which appears only once in prose. This solitary occurrence is found in the *Cyropaedia*.<sup>149</sup> Commentators express no reservations: the moment of intense *pathos* within the text justifies the use of a poetic word. Xenophon is hence deliberately using a word associated with a higher linguistic register. The narrative backdrop is the following: the Assyrian Gobrias, came as a suppliant to Cyrus asking for help to get his vengeance for his son, killed by the Assyrian king. In the pathetic account of the murder of his beloved son, Gobrias mentions the request of his daughter, who γοωμένη, crying, asked in tears not to be given as wife to her brother's murderer:

νῦν δὲ αὐτὴ τέ με ἡ θυγάτηρ πολλὰ γοωμένη ἰκέτευσε μὴ δοῦναι αὐτὴν τῷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ φονεῖ, ἐγὼ τε ὡσαύτως γιγνώσκω.

But now my daughter herself has besought me with many tears not to give her to her brother's murderer; and I am so resolved myself.<sup>150</sup>

It can be rather astonishing that, considering the numerous glorious authors who could have also illustrated this word, Xenophon stands as the sole example provided for it. One might assume that Pollux's source for this entry would focus solely on the language of prose: this would easily explain the reference to Xenophon. Although one should consider the impact of epitomisation, the substantial volume of entries in the *Onomasticon* originating from Xenophon implies that Pollux held him in high esteem.

**148** Occurrences of γοάω are e.g. 71 in Homeric poems, 43 in Euripides, 23 in Aeschylus, 17 in Sophocles.

**149** Xen. Cyr. 4.6.9.

**150** Xen. Cyr. 4.6.9 (Transl. Miller).

## 8 Closing Remarks

It is remarkable how many words deriving from Xenophon are used, which Pollux sometimes does not hesitate to criticise, although his reasons are not always clear. Some Xenophontic uses are occasionally compared with expressions used by the categories defined as ἡμεῖς / οἱ νῦν / οἱ παλαιοί, but no value judgment is implied. Pollux approaches the words and themes he examines without prejudice, giving rise to the notion of an ‘intertextual pluralism’<sup>151</sup> where each word is evaluated independently.

Pollux’s interest in rare terms and usages, as well as his attention to the adaptation of language to the linguistic register, has emerged. Particularly contrasting with the attitude of other lexicographers is his willingness to include dialectal expressions and words with non-Greek origins.<sup>152</sup> In cases like these, Pollux relies on Xenophon as an undisputed authority. Despite demonstrating concerns about linguistic accuracy, his approach retains a moderate Atticist stance. Furthermore, it is possible to consider aspects related to the citation methodology, with some hidden quotations emerging, especially in close proximity to passages explicitly attributed to Xenophon.

Xenophon’s language, recently reevaluated and characterised as international, open, and innovative fits seamlessly into P. Chiron’s portrayal of Pollux’s idea of language – adaptable, and rooted in both the classical tradition and the contemporary world – making it a vibrant, living linguistic heritage.<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> König, Whitmarsh 2007, 33-4 and Bussès 2011, 31.

<sup>152</sup> For this attitude towards the research of foreign words see e.g. *P.Oxy.* 1802 and Diogenianus-Hesychius.

<sup>153</sup> Chiron 2013, 59.

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