

# Imperial Systematization of the Past

Emperor Constantine VII and His Historical Excerpts

Doctoral Thesis

by

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# Contents

<b>Contents</b>	<b>i</b>
<b>List of Figures</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>List of Tables</b>	<b>vi</b>
<b>Abbreviations</b>	<b>vii</b>
<b>Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
Survey of Previous Scholarship . . . . .	6
Structure of the Thesis . . . . .	9
The Quest for Patterns in History . . . . .	11
 <b>I   Constantinian Excerpts</b>	 <b>15</b>
<b>1   The Byzantine Context</b>	<b>17</b>
1.1 Tradition and Innovation . . . . .	18
1.1.1 Citations in Thematic Arrangement . . . . .	20
1.1.2 Summaries: Photios and Abridged Historians . . . . .	23
1.1.3 Innovative Combination of the Traditions . . . . .	27
1.2 Historians in Tenth-century Lexicography . . . . .	31
1.2.1 Par. suppl. gr. 607A . . . . .	32
1.2.2 Haimodein Lexicon . . . . .	33
1.2.3 Suda Lexicon . . . . .	35
1.3 Priorities in Selecting Historians . . . . .	38
1.3.1 Historical Preference in Constantine's Treatises . . . . .	38
1.3.2 Historical Preference Points in the Suda . . . . .	40
1.3.3 Selection of Material for the <i>Constantinian Excerpts</i> . . . . .	43
1.4 The Use of the <i>Constantinian Excerpts</i> ? . . . . .	50
1.4.1 <i>De thematibus</i> and the <i>Constantinian Excerpts</i> . . . . .	51
1.4.2 <i>DAI</i> and the <i>Constantinian Excerpts</i> . . . . .	55
1.5 Selection of the Fifty-Three Subjects . . . . .	65
1.5.1 The Singular Universality of the Number Fifty-three . . . . .	66
Ideological Basis for Using Fifty-Three . . . . .	66
The Mathematical Justification for "Fifty-three" . . . . .	70
Inconsistent Elements . . . . .	71
1.5.2 The Constantinian Subjects . . . . .	72
1.5.3 Hagiography and Church Matters . . . . .	74
1.5.4 Emperors . . . . .	78

1.5.5	Geography and Ethnography . . . . .	81
1.5.6	Leisure Readings . . . . .	83
1.5.7	Embassies . . . . .	83
1.5.8	Military Affairs . . . . .	85
1.5.9	Historical Epigrams in the <i>Palatine Anthology</i> . . . . .	86
1.5.10	Literary Genres . . . . .	91
<b>2</b>	<b>The Material Evidence</b>	<b>93</b>
2.1	Constantine VII's Library Revisited . . . . .	94
2.1.1	The Palace School and the <i>Constantinian Excerpts</i> . . . . .	101
2.2	Tours C 980 ( <b>T</b> ) . . . . .	103
	Study of the Manuscripts . . . . .	103
2.2.1	Description of <b>T</b> . . . . .	106
2.2.2	The Present Structure of Gatherings and Leaves in <b>T</b> . . . . .	109
2.2.3	The Reconstructed Structure of <b>T</b> . . . . .	113
2.2.4	Decoration Structure of <b>T</b> . . . . .	117
2.2.5	The Hand of <b>T</b> . . . . .	120
2.3	ES: Vat. gr. 73 ( <b>V</b> ) . . . . .	127
2.3.1	The Present Structure of Gatherings and Leaves . . . . .	130
2.3.2	Reconstruction of the Tenth-century Layer . . . . .	131
2.4	Later Copies of <i>CE</i> . . . . .	135
2.4.1	ELg-r . . . . .	135
	“False Excerptors” of ELr . . . . .	140
2.4.2	EI . . . . .	141
2.5	Pseudo Collections of <i>CE</i> ? . . . . .	145
2.5.1	Par. suppl. gr. 607 . . . . .	147
	The Present and the Reconstructed Composition ( <b>P</b> ) . . . . .	148
2.5.2	Evidence for a Draft of the Collection “On Sieges” . . . . .	155
2.5.3	Case Study: On Sieges in Par. suppl. gr. 607 ( <b>P</b> ) . . . . .	161
2.5.4	The Hands of <b>P</b> . . . . .	169
2.5.5	Milan: <i>Ambros.</i> B 119 sup. . . . .	172
<b>3</b>	<b>A Data Management System</b>	<b>179</b>
3.1	Prooemium to the <i>Constantinian Excerpts</i> . . . . .	180
3.1.1	Critical Edition of the Prooemium . . . . .	181
3.1.2	Interpretation of the Prooemium . . . . .	187
3.1.3	Dedicatory Poem . . . . .	189
3.1.4	Comparative Analysis of the Prooemium and the Poem . . . . .	192
3.2	The System of Marginal Indices . . . . .	197
3.2.1	Table of Contents and Main Headings . . . . .	199
	Organization of Historians . . . . .	202
	Table of Contents . . . . .	205
3.2.2	Former Paratexts in Secondary Position . . . . .	205
3.2.3	Cross-References . . . . .	207
3.2.4	Editorial Comments in <b>T</b> . . . . .	210
3.2.5	Indices Highlighting the Content . . . . .	214
3.2.6	Scholia . . . . .	225
3.3	Adaptation (οἰκείωσις) . . . . .	228
3.4	Wise Usage of Human Resources . . . . .	235

3.5 Reconstructed Methodology of the Excerptors . . . . .	242
<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>247</b>
 <b>II Appendices</b>	 <b>259</b>
<b>A Editorial Supplements in T</b>	<b>261</b>
A.1 Paratexts from the Exemplars . . . . .	261
A.2 Cross References . . . . .	264
A.3 Scholia . . . . .	266
A.4 Notes: the Excerptors' Working Method . . . . .	267
A.5 Marginal Indices . . . . .	269
A.5.1 Josephus Flavius . . . . .	269
A.5.2 George the Monk . . . . .	273
A.5.3 John Malalas . . . . .	276
A.5.4 John of Antioch . . . . .	277
A.5.5 Diodorus of Sicily . . . . .	281
A.5.6 Nicolas of Damascus . . . . .	290
A.5.7 Herodotus . . . . .	291
A.5.8 Thucydides . . . . .	292
A.5.9 Xenophon . . . . .	293
A.5.10 Dionysius of Halicarnassus . . . . .	293
A.5.11 Polybius . . . . .	294
A.5.12 Appian . . . . .	300
A.5.13 Cassius Dio . . . . .	301
A.6 Critical Marks . . . . .	307
 <b>B The Siege of Tyre</b>	 <b>317</b>
Abbreviations . . . . .	317
 <b>C Glossary of Technical Terms</b>	 <b>327</b>
 <b>III Bibliography</b>	 <b>331</b>
Manuscripts	335
Primary Sources	339
 <b>IV Plates</b>	 <b>377</b>

# List of Figures

2.1	Explanation on the use of codicological reconstructions . . . . .	104
2.2	Ruling types in <b>T</b> . . . . .	106
2.3	<b>T</b> (1) . . . . .	113
2.4	<b>T</b> (2) . . . . .	114
2.5	<b>T</b> (3) . . . . .	115
2.6	<b>T</b> (4) . . . . .	115
2.7	<b>T</b> (5) . . . . .	117
2.8	The hand of the main scribe in <b>T</b> . . . . .	122
2.9	<b>V</b> : unit a . . . . .	131
2.10	<b>V</b> : unit b . . . . .	132
2.11	<b>V</b> : unit c . . . . .	133
2.12	<b>V</b> : unit d . . . . .	133
2.13	<b>V</b> : unit e . . . . .	134
2.14	<b>V</b> : unit f . . . . .	134
2.15	<b>V</b> : unit g . . . . .	134
2.16	Stemma of ELg-r . . . . .	140
2.17	<b>P</b> : ff. 1–7 . . . . .	148
2.18	<b>P</b> : ff. 8–15 . . . . .	148
2.19	<b>P</b> , ff. 16–103 . . . . .	149
2.20	<b>P</b> : ff. 18–80 . . . . .	149
2.21	<b>P</b> : ff. 81–87 . . . . .	150
2.22	<b>P</b> , ff. 88–103 . . . . .	151
2.23	<b>P</b> , ff. 104–129 . . . . .	153
2.24	<b>P</b> , ff. 104–129 . . . . .	154
2.25	Reconstructions of 3b ( <b>P</b> , ff. 81–87) . . . . .	156
2.26	Stemma: <i>De obsidionibus</i> . . . . .	159
2.27	Historical speeches in Ambros. B 119 sup. . . . .	176
3.1	The iambic dedicatory poem in <b>T</b> . . . . .	190
3.2	The End of Eunapios and the beginning of Polybios in <b>V</b> . . . . .	204
3.3	Minuscule cross-references in <b>T</b> . . . . .	209
3.4	Nicolas of Damascus in <b>T</b> . . . . .	211
C.1	Contemporary representations of Constantine VII . . . . .	379
C.2	<b>T</b> , 101r: The title page of Diodorus of Sicily . . . . .	380
C.3	The title page of Appianus ( <b>T</b> , 272r) . . . . .	381
C.4	Leipzig, Univ. Rep. I 17: Headpieces . . . . .	381
C.5	Florence, Plut. 55,4: Headpiece decorations . . . . .	382
C.6	Basil II's Menologion (Vat. gr. 1613, p. 410) . . . . .	383
C.7	Parallel frontispieces to <b>T</b> . . . . .	384

C.8	The iambic poem addressing Constantine VII . . . . .	385
C.9	Constantine VII's preface in Buxellensis 11301–16, f. 2r . . . . .	386
C.10	Constantine VII's preface in Scorialensis R.III.14, f. 1r . . . . .	386
C.11	John of Antioch, title page ( <i>EI</i> : Par. gr. 1666) . . . . .	387
C.12	John of Antioch, title page ( <i>EI</i> : Scorialensis $\Omega$ .I.11) . . . . .	387
C.13	Facsimile of the <i>De obsidionibus</i> . . . . .	388
C.14	The epigram in Par. suppl. gr. 607, f. 91r . . . . .	389
C.15	Cross references in <b>T</b> . . . . .	390
C.16	Editorial notes in <b>T</b> . . . . .	391

# List of Tables

0.1	Historians in <i>CE</i> . . . . .	3
1.1	Parallel passages in works by Constantine VII . . . . .	58
1.2	Sardanapalus in <i>CE</i> and other works . . . . .	60
1.3	Historical anecdotes in <i>DAI</i> and <i>De thematibus</i> . . . . .	63
1.4	Constantine VII's subjects . . . . .	73
1.5	Sardanapalus' epitaph in <b>T</b> . . . . .	88
1.6	Excerpted oracles from Herodotus in the <i>Palatine Anthology</i> . . . . .	90
2.1	The structure of the burnt archetype of ELr-g ( $\Theta$ .I.4) . . . . .	138
2.2	The structure of Scorialensis $\Omega$ .I.11 . . . . .	142
2.3	The sequence of the historians in <i>EI</i> . . . . .	144
2.4	Joint collection of artillery and historical excerpts on sieges . . . . .	160
2.5	Majuscule slips in <b>P</b> (Thucydides) . . . . .	164
2.6	Patterns of omissions in Arrianus in <b>P</b> . . . . .	167
2.7	The structure of Ambros. B 119 sup. . . . .	174
3.1	References in the apparatus to the prooemium and to the iambic poem	183
3.2	Iambic poem and prooemium . . . . .	194
3.3	Table of contents in <b>T</b> (EV 1, 2–3) . . . . .	201
3.4	Headings of historiographers in <b>T</b> . . . . .	201
3.5	Patterns of historiographical categories in EV and EI . . . . .	202
3.6	Two suggestions for the sequence of the historians in <b>V</b> . . . . .	203
3.7	Marginalia highlighting proverbs in Polybius . . . . .	218
3.8	Shared patterns of adaptation in ELr and Suda Lexicon . . . . .	221
3.9	Scholia interpolated in the body text in <b>T</b> . . . . .	226
3.10	Scholium from Josephus Flavius in <b>T</b> . . . . .	227
3.11	The Prokopios excerpt 5 in ELr . . . . .	231
3.12	Coherent gaps in Prokopios excerpts . . . . .	232
3.13	Distribution of excerpts in Prokopios's <i>Wars</i> . . . . .	238
3.14	Distribution of excerpts in Theophylaktos Simokattes . . . . .	238
3.15	Distribution of excerpts in Polybius . . . . .	239



# Abbreviations

## The sigla of the most frequently quoted manuscripts

P	Par. suppl. gr. 607
T	Tours, Municipal Library, C 980
V	Vat. gr. 73

## The abbreviations used in the thesis

BHG	<i>Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca</i> , ed. F. Halkin, 4 vols. Brussels, 1957–69.
CE	<i>Constantinian Excerpts</i> in general (cf. EI, ELg–r, ES, EV)
CPG	<i>Clavis Patrum Graecorum</i>
CPL	<i>Clavis Patrum Latinorum</i>
DAI	<i>De administrando imperio</i> , ed. by MORAVCSIK (1967)
De them.	<i>De thematibus</i> , ed. by PERTUSI (1952)
EI	<i>Excerpta de insidiis</i> , ed. C. de Boor. In: <i>Excerpta Historica...</i> , vol. iii. Berlin: Weidmann, 1905.
ELg	<i>Excerpta de legationibus gentium ad Romanos</i> , ed. C. de Boor. In: <i>Excerpta Historica...</i> , vol. i, part 2. Berlin: Weidmann, 1903.
ELr	<i>Excerpta de legationibus Romanorum ad gentes</i> , ed. C. de Boor. In: <i>Excerpta Historica...</i> , vol. i, part 1. Berlin: Weidmann, 1903.
ES	<i>Excerpta de sententiis</i> , ed. U. Ph. Boissevain. In: <i>Excerpta Historica...</i> , vol. iv. Berlin: Weidmann, 1906.
EV 1–2	<i>Excerpta de virtutibus et vitiis</i> , part 1, ed. Th. Büttner-Wobst, part 2, ed. Theodor Büttner-Wobst and A. G. Roos. In: <i>Excerpta Historica...</i> , vol. ii, Berlin: Weidmann, 1906 (part 1) and 1910 (part 2).
FGrHist	<i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> , ed. F. Jacoby. Berlin: Weidmann, 1923–58.
FHG	<i>Fragmenta historicorum graecorum</i> , 5 vols, ed. C. Müller. Paris: Didot, 1841–1883.
Lake	Lake, K. and S. Lake. <i>Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200</i> , 10 vols. Boston, 1934–1939. Index. Boston, 1945.
LSJ	Liddell H. G., R. Scott, and H. S. Jones. <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> . Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.
PG	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeca</i> , 161 vols, ed. J.-P. Migne. Paris, 1857–66.
RGK 1–3	<i>Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten, 800–1600</i> , ed. E. Gamillscheg and D. Harlfinger. Part. 1. <i>Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Großbritanniens</i> ; part. 2. <i>Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Frankreichs und Nachträge zu den Bibliotheken Großbritanniens</i> ; part. 3. <i>Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Roms mit dem Vatikan</i> . Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981–1997.



Constantine [...] occupied himself also with literature. There exist letters from his hand which demonstrate his education, and logically composed speeches. There are treatises which miss the professional touch of expression but show not the slightest hesitation in applying every rhetorical figure. Rhythms and all sorts of metres had his attention. At any rate, when his wife had died, he honoured her with an iambic poem and he published other similar artful poems. [...] he exercised a great interest in theoretical matters and also had companions at dinner in the same way as Dionysius the tyrant of Sicily had surrounded himself with men who shared his interests...

Psellos, *Historia syntomos*, 102, tr. AERTS (1990), 95

## Introduction

The purpose of this thesis is to explore the innovative and, at the same time, conservative concepts and vehicles by which Byzantine imperial power was manifested in an extraordinary project initiated and overseen by the Byzantine emperor, Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (“born in the purple,” in 905). This project involved the *deconstruction* of a vast corpus of prior historical writings in Greek into small sections and *reconstructing* them in a newly arranged *systematic* order. This intricate editorial endeavour seems to have commenced in the early 940s, was mainly carried out during Constantine’s reign as sole emperor (945–959), accomplished later in the early years of Basil II (976–1025), and resulted in the substantial collections of historical extracts known as the *Constantinian Excerpts* (henceforth, *CE*). This imperially sponsored project, contrasted with traditional methods of preserving and transmitting knowledge, invites attempts at coherent scholarly explanation.

The primary aim of this thesis is to explore the ideological and methodological background of *CE*. As will be demonstrated for the first time, the fact that *CE* were classified into fifty-three subjects is not a coincidence. Fifty-three expressed the historical success of Rome, that is Byzantium, because Rome conquered the Mediterranean world within fifty-three years (220–168 BC), according to the concept emphasized by Polybius in his *Histories*. As Constantinople regarded herself as the heir of Rome, Constantine VII may easily have adopted this concept in his imperial ideology. For a project of systematizing, fifty-three proved useful for a scientific reason as well. By simultaneously being a prime number, which can be divided by

## INTRODUCTION

one and itself, and the sum of five consecutive primes ( $5 + 7 + 11 + 13 + 17$ ), fifty-three successfully expressed the idea of completeness. At the same time, prime numbers were regarded as the indivisible particles of the universe. Thus, the number of the subjects granted success to *CE*, a new tool which seems to have been designed for the purpose of discovering various patterns in the history of mankind by systematically juxtaposing different historical passages of a similar context.

In addition to the ideological purposes, the selection of the fifty-three subjects consciously broke with traditional methods of structuring a historical narrative. These methods included the chronological arrangement of chronicles as practiced by George the Synkellos and Theophanes Confessor in the ninth century; the presentation of particular historical events as modelled by the classicizing historians of the Late Antiquity (Prokopios, Agathias, Menander Protector, and Theophylaktos Simokattes); and the biographical arrangement of either classical pagan or hagiographical traditions. Neither did the new method involve producing summaries of the texts, which was also a traditional solution for abbreviating extensive works, followed by Photios in his *Bibliotheca* a couple of generations earlier. Instead, the new project intended to adopt the solution, which was mainly available in dogmatic florilegia, of arranging *verbatim* citations in the form of excerpts according to the subject of the passages. The innovative aspect of this methodology mainly lies in the attempt to innovatively combine the advantages of the summaries and the arrangement according to the subject. As a borrowing from the tradition of summarizing, the narrative sequence was carefully followed and every passage was intended to be assigned to one or another of the fifty-three subjects which were designed to cover all significant aspects of the universe. It was, thus, the newly established canon of fifty-three subjects that offered a guideline to the emperor's employees to accommodate a vast selection of historiography to an ideologically charged view of history.

To modern observers, the entire project may easily seem bizarre as regards both its scope and its peculiar approach to previous historiography. The ambitious scheme covered the complete works of at least twenty-six historians ranging in date from

Table 0.1.: Historians in *CE*

name	period	works	EV	ES	ELr	ELg	EI
Herodotus	(BC 485–425)	Histories	7			(9)	
Thucydides	(BC 454–399)	His life by Marcellinus, History of Pelop. War	8			(10)	
Xenophon	(BC 428–354)	Cyr., An.	9	a1			
Polybius	(BC 200–118)	Roman History (220–168 BC)	◊	12	b5	5	(1) (7)
Diodorus Siculus	(BC 90–30)	Bibliotheca Historica	◊	5	e1	9	(7) (5)
Dionysius of Hal.	(1st c BC–AD)	Ant. Rom.	◊	11		4	(6)
Nicolas of Damascus	(1st c BC–AD)	Autobiography, Histories, Life of Augustus	*	6			1
Josephus Flavius	(AD 37–100)	AJ, BJ, Ap., De Macchabeis, Vit.	1		8	(2)	
Arrianus	(AD 85/90–131)	Anab. Alexandri, Diadochi, Parthica	10	b3	(10b)	(15)	
Iamblichus	(AD 2nd c)	Babylonian History	*		c2		
Appianus	(AD 115/7–61)	Hann., Hisp., Ill., Mac., Mith., Pun., Sam., Syr.	◊	13	g1		(16)
Cassius Dio	(AD ?–223/4)	Roman History	◊	14	f1	10	(8)
Dexippus	(AD 210–75)	Diadochi, Skhytika, World Chronicle (–270)	*		c1		(4)
Eunapios of Sardis	(AD 346–414)	Histories (270–414)	*		b4		(19)
Sokrates	(AD 379–440)	Church History (305–439)					(5)
Priskos of Panion	(AD 5th c)	Histories	*			12	
Zosimos	(AD 5th c)	Pagan history until 410				7	(3)
Prokopios	(AD 500–65)	Pers., Vand., Goth. Wars			b2	11	(14)
Peter the Patrician	(AD 500–65)	Roman History (44 BC–AD 361)	*		d1	1	(6)
Malalas	(AD 490–570)	World chronicle	◊	3			(18) 3
Malchos of Phil.	(AD 5th–6th c)	Byzantiaka	*			13	(17)
Agathias of Myrina	(AD 532–80)	Histories (552–9)			a2		(11)
Menander Protector	(AD 6th c)	Histories (558–82)	*		a3	14	(12)
Theophylaktos Simoc.	(AD 580s–641)	Histories (582–602)			b1	15	(13)
John of Antioch	(AD 6th–7th c)	World Chronicle	*	4		3	2
George the Monk	(AD 9th c)	World Chronicle		2		2	4

Abbr.	Latin name of collection	English translation
<b>EV</b>	= <i>Excerpta de virtutibus et vitiis</i>	“On virtue and vice”
<b>ES</b>	= <i>Excerpta desententiis</i>	“On gnomic statements”
<b>ELg</b>	= <i>Excerpta de legationibus gentium ad Romanos</i>	“On the embassies of Romans to the barbarians”
<b>ELr</b>	= <i>Excerpta de legationibus Romanorum ad gentes</i>	“On the embassies of barbarians to the Romans”
<b>EI</b>	= <i>Excerpta de insidiis</i>	“On ambushes”

The numbers below the abbreviations of each extant collection show the place of each historian within each collection. In **EV** and **ELr**, the number shows the tenth-century arrangement of the authors. In **ES**, the sequence of groups (a–g) cannot be reconstructed but the arrangement within them (1–5) is ascertained by the careful study of the codex. In **ELg** and **EI**, the tenth-century sequence cannot be reconstructed with precision. In column three, \* shows the texts that have been almost entirely preserved only in *CE* or dependent texts; ◊ indicates that the proportion exclusively preserved in *CE* is significant.

the fifth century BC to the AD ninth century (for a chronological list, see tab. 0.1). As part of the project, the selected historical works were divided into small sections; each section was then, in turn, assigned to one of the fifty-three predefined subjects, while carefully observing the coherent sense of the new excerpts. The principles of systematization behind the assemblage of these concise sections into fifty-three thematic groups reflect what subjects fascinated the close-knit circle around the emperor.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>On intellectuals, scholars, and the imperial circle under Constantine VII, see MARKOPOULOS (1989).

## INTRODUCTION

To accomplish this idiosyncratic plan in a relatively short time, Constantine VII had to employ a considerable number of learned men and make a huge financial commitment. The enormous cost can be illustrated by the probably not overestimated figure of more than 10,000 sheep that had to be slaughtered and skinned to provide a sufficient amount of parchment needed to carry through the various steps of the project, always assuming the project was actually brought to the end.<sup>2</sup> It is worth noting that the single still extant manuscript of the final volumes of *CE*, nowadays in Tours (see below, *Codex Peirescianus*, ch. 2.2, p. 103 and app. 2.2, p. 103), does not have a single leaf exhibiting any holes or damage, which would have been present from the beginning. Any damage to the parchments such as cut and removed parchment strips in the lower margins occurred in later periods. The quality of the parchment in itself is a persuasive sign of luxury and affluence in addition to the decorative features, which are restricted to simple yet attentively executed headpieces. Besides the material support, the employment of skilled men as scribes, decorators and binders (though some of these functions may have been combined in the same individual) must also have cost a considerable amount of money. Until the excerpted texts were written down in their final copies, that is, the codices designed for the imperial library, many learned men had to spend considerable effort and time to copy, read through, amend, and annotate the exemplars. They worked in a manner that was particularly careful and, at the same time, seems considerably different from what they were accustomed to judging by the traditional techniques of excerpting exercised in the ninth-tenth centuries (see ch. 1 on p. 18).

The ambition of collecting artefacts, books and extracting their essence by summarizing and reorganizing the rich variety of their content seems to have charac-

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<sup>2</sup>The single extant copy, the first volume of the collection “On virtue and vice”, contained forty-six *quaternios* or more; each made of at least one sheepskin. This collection consisted of two volumes (ca. 90 sheep) and there were fifty-three collections (ca. 4800 sheep). As I will demonstrate later, there must have been draft copies (ca. 9600 sheep). Some collections might have been shorter than estimated, but copying the exemplars of the drafts carrying the excerpts, which also required parchment, justifies—if not increases—this huge number, and some collections may have been more extensive than the one “On virtue and vice”.

terized Constantine VII's reign.<sup>3</sup> In this field, literary and textual production has received much less attention than it deserves.<sup>4</sup> One of the main characteristics of the texts produced in the age of Constantine VII in Constantinople was that earlier texts were structured in a manner that might be interpreted as “encyclopaedic”.<sup>5</sup> From this huge variety of accumulated data, the scrutiny of scholars has focused on the elements regarded by them as valuable for scholarly studies, especially those originating from the “dark ages” and testifying to otherwise unknown events,<sup>6</sup> rather than on the tenth-century mentality which shaped the collected data in its own particular way. Thus, the content of *CE* overshadowed the tasks of Constantine VII's court, an undertaking which, nevertheless, left its traces on these valuable remnants of the past. A core aim of this thesis is to recognize definitive patterns in these traces and interpret these patterns in a way that allows the reader to better understand the tenth-century mindset directing the movements of the hands that shaped these excerpted historical texts.

In addition to the underlying financial commitment, a special and well defined “data management system” was invented to serve as the basis for the collaboration of the educated men who collected the excerpts, reorganized them through annotations, copied, and decorated them in the final volumes. The emperor employed a number of learned men, operating as a team, who hid anonymously behind the authority of their patron and ruler. This system permitted an enormous amount of data to be managed with a remarkable accuracy within a short time, necessitating

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<sup>3</sup>CUTLER (1999), 693–699. Constantine's curiosity concerning artefacts is described by Theophanes Continuatus vi. 15, 22–28, in BEKKER (1838), 477,1–4; 450,12–452,19. See also the famous preface to Theophanes Continuatus, ed. by BEKKER (1838), 3.15–4.1 and commented on by ŠEVČENKO (1998).

<sup>4</sup>See the few studies emphasizing the significance of the transmission of classical texts without going into detail: DAIN (1954), 33–47; WILSON (1983), 136–145 and GAUL (2010), 73–76 with bibliography. See the recent overviews on the textual transmission from the angle of historiography by MARKOPOULOS (2006, 2009).

<sup>5</sup>See the interpretations by BÜTTNER-WOBST (1906) and LEMERLE (1971), 287–288.

<sup>6</sup>E.g. Hellenistic period, late Roman and early Byzantine historiography that cover the interaction of quite a few Mediterranean states such as the Roman Empire, the heir states (*diadochoi*) of the conquest by Alexander the Great with their neighbouring territories encompassing a large geographical scope. In the Near East, a major emphasis was put on the history of the Persian empire.

substantial human resources which would even challenge modern technologies such as computer databases to achieve the same results. In the mid-tenth century, about a hundred years after the elevation of the Greek minuscule to the status of book-script, the Constantinian method of restructuring the historical texts seems to have been modelled from the means of functionally juxtaposing majuscule and minuscule scripts, as well as hierarchizing them spatially between the main body of the text and the margins (see ch. 3.2). After summarizing the various scholarly approaches to *CE* and the structure of this thesis, I will demonstrate the innovative character of the excerptors' methods.

## Survey of Previous Scholarship

The fragmentary remains of Emperor Constantine VII's ambitious project of restructuring historical texts are highly esteemed even now, especially among scholars and students of the Hellenistic, late Roman, and early Byzantine periods, but not for the same reasons that made Emperor Constantine VII and his inner circle seem to have felt rewarded in producing and presumably also in reading them. Any scholar who now scrutinizes the history of the Mediterranean and the Near East in the period covered by Constantine's collections cannot avoid using *CE* because most of their disjointed historical record has not come down to us in any parallel transmission (marked with asterisks in tab.0.1). The gratitude of the scholar, for this reason, is usually accompanied by disappointment. Countless studies have tried to puzzle out and revitalize the now fragmented works of these historians, seeing them as soulless, and, in a sense, striving to reverse Constantine's procedures. However, the textual scholars' rather inflexible criticism of their tenth-century Byzantine colleagues, equally shared by Byzantinists, has often hindered ambitious attempts to re-join the dislocated passages of many classical and Byzantine historians into their original form; to give one example: Paul Lemerle expresses his opinion in the most thorough handbook on ninth- and tenth century Byzantine scholarship as follows:



...the ambitious and somewhat vague intentions stated in the preface to *a work which lacks originality, would lead to great disappointment*, were there not the consolation of possessing so many precious texts which would otherwise have been lost.<sup>7</sup>

From the late sixteenth century onward, more and more pieces of *CE* became available to a broad circle of readers who showed interest primarily in the unique fragments of otherwise lost Greek historians included in them. Their editors limited themselves to short notes on Constantine VII and his excerpting activity. These bits of information were incorporated in various handbooks and thus available for learned readers.<sup>8</sup> Angelo Mai's edition of the fragments of the Vatican palimpsest (Vat. gr. 73) was a milestone in the study of Greek historical excerpts.<sup>9</sup> The modern exploration of *CE*, however, started in Germany and spread very rapidly in the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>10</sup> This expansion was a side effect of the huge project of publishing Greek historical fragments.<sup>11</sup>

As a result of some studies, scholars became convinced that *CE* had enough merit in their peculiar arrangement to be published as they were. Anyone now investigating the *CE* owes a debt of gratitude to Carl de Boor, Theodor Büttner-Wobst, Ursul Philip Boissevain, and Anton Gerard Roos, who edited the extant collections of *CE*, not allowing themselves to be discouraged by their compilatory character.<sup>12</sup> The value of their editions has been emphasized by their recent reprints.<sup>13</sup> The approach

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<sup>7</sup>Lemerle's opinion, disseminated in his widely quoted book (*Le premier humanisme byzantin: Notes et remarques sur enseignement et culture à Byzance des origines au Xe siècle*), published first in a French edition in 1971 as a basic handbook for studying ninth-tenth century Byzantine literature, demonstrates the ambivalent approach to Constantine's project that also persists in Byzantine studies. LEMERLE (1971), 288; the quotation is taken from the English translation by Helen Lindsay and Ann Moffatt in LEMERLE (1986), 332.

<sup>8</sup>See the list of earlier editions in the Bibliography: ORSINI 1582, HOESCHEL 1603, 1648 (this was republished in CSHB 19, Bonn, 1829 and later in PG 113), VALOIS 1634. See also CRAMER (1839)'s edition of the excerpts of the work by John of Antioch taken from Par. gr. 1666.

<sup>9</sup>MAI (1827), vol. 2, 1–295, 352–461.

<sup>10</sup>SCHULZE (1866), WOLLENBERG (1861, 1871, 1882);

<sup>11</sup>Carl Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1841–1883), 5 vols. Ludwig Dindorf, ed., *Historici Graeci Minores* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1870–1871), 2 vols.

<sup>12</sup>ELR, ELG, EV 1–2, EI, and ES.

<sup>13</sup>Hildesheim: Olms, 2003. However, both neglected the majority of the tenth-century marginal notes of the codex and did not indicate inconsistent features such as erroneous punctuation, accen-

of these editors to *CE* was surprisingly pioneering, compared to general tastes in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century philology. These scholars aimed at reconstructing Constantine's collections as a whole rather than for each historian separately, as editors before and after them preferred. As a consequence, the basic studies of these scholars on *CE* provide conclusive results concerning their editorial work, unsurpassed by later attempts.<sup>14</sup> The idea of “encyclopaedism”, advanced in the 1950s and 1960s,<sup>15</sup> and has been disseminated through various handbooks on the Byzantine culture,<sup>16</sup> could not improve on the understanding of *CE* that had been achieved by 1920. The concept of “encyclopaedism” as an appropriate label to describing ninth-tenth-century Byzantine text production challenged by Paolo Odorico who suggested the concept of *sylloge* (συλλογή = collection) to describe more accurately the Byzantine phenomenon of accumulating various types of knowledge.<sup>17</sup>

Jean Irigoin's and Peter Schreiner's special studies of Constantine's manuscripts and, generally, the more sympathetic approach of scholars in recent decades towards works of compilation, especially the studies by Bernard Flusin, improved on

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tuation, and spelling irregularities if these oddities did not harm understanding and reconstructing the text. Furthermore—because of the disordered sequence of leaves—, it was not specified from which leaf the edited text was taken despite the editorial purpose of publishing the text as it appears in **T**. The inaccessibility of this information still forms the main obstacle to a careful analysis of the marginal entries and the scribal customs in this manuscript.

<sup>14</sup>E.g., See DE BOOR (1884, 1885, 1886, 1899, 1902, 1912, 1914–19) and also his edition ELR–G (Berlin: Weidmann, 1903) and EI (Berlin: Weidmann, 1905) as well as his edition of Theophylaktos Simokattes' *Histories* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1887) and that of George the Monk's *Chronicle* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1904). See also BÜTTNER-WOBST (1893, 1901, 1906)

<sup>15</sup>Büttner-Wobst developed the concept of *historische Encyclopädie* and employed this term throughout his article BÜTTNER-WOBST (1906). See also the term *encyclopédie... anti-historique* and *morale* in DAIN (1953) and LEMERLE (1971), 287–288. Flusin also reflects on the term in his analysis of *CE* by giving the title *Les Excerpta Constantinien: Logique d'une anti-histoire* to his study: FLUSIN (2002).

<sup>16</sup>Lemerle's concept of “encyclopaedism” was disseminated through handbooks such as HUNGER (1978), vol. 1, 244 and 360–367; HANNICK (1986); KARPOZILOS (2002), 696–697; KAZHDAN (1991); KAZHDAN & ANGELIDI (2006), 311–336.

<sup>17</sup>See ODORICO (1990). It was concluded at the symposium “Encyclopaedic Trends in Byzantium” held at Catholic University of Leuven in May, 2009 that the concept “encyclopedism” cannot successfully describe the intellectual development of ninth- and tenth-century Byzantium. However, no alternative label could be suggested instead. I express my gratitude to Nadejda Miladinova who summarized the general ideas that were concluded at the conference in Leuven.

some of de Boor's and Büttner-Wobst's achievements.<sup>18</sup> Some authors excerpted in *CE* have been the subjects of special studies. These authors include Polybius,<sup>19</sup> Appian,<sup>20</sup> Cassius Dio,<sup>21</sup> John of Antioch,<sup>22</sup> Zosimos,<sup>23</sup> Eunapios,<sup>24</sup> Dirodorus of Sicily,<sup>25</sup> Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Nicolas of Damascus,<sup>26</sup> and John Malalas.<sup>27</sup>

## Structure of the Thesis

My goal within this thesis is primarily to re-study the manuscripts and analyze the tenth-century editorial additions of the excerptors. These marginal notations are mostly unpublished, although they have been transmitted in the lone tenth-century copy of *CE* (codex Tours C 980: hereafter: **T**). As I will demonstrate in the thesis using a fair number of examples from collections other than “On virtue and vice” (preserved in **T**) and from several independent authors, the conclusions obtained from the study of these marginal notes in **T** seem hold true for the other collections as well.

Chapter One will explore the historical and intellectual context in which *CE* were produced. (1) First, the innovative combination of more traditional methods of compilation is specified and analyzed. (2) The significance of the marginal indices will be highlighted by examples of how Byzantine lexicography took advantage of the innovative system of annotations in the manuscripts of *CE*. (3) The *selection*

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<sup>18</sup>On manuscript transmission, see IRIGOIN (1959), 177–181, IRIGOIN (1977a), 237–245, SCHREINER (1987), 1–29; FLUSIN (2002) gives a general overview of *CE*.

<sup>19</sup>MOORE (1965), 126–167.

<sup>20</sup>PITTIA (2006).

<sup>21</sup>MAZZUCCHI (1979) and MOLIN (2004).

<sup>22</sup>ROBERTO (2001), ROBERTO (2005a), xxxi–xlv, MARIEV (2006), and MARIEV (2008), 17–25.

<sup>23</sup>FORCINA (1987), 99–102 and OCHOA (1990).

<sup>24</sup>SMIRNOVA (2005).

<sup>25</sup>MILETA (1996), GOUKOWSKY (2006), x–xxix.

<sup>26</sup>PARMENTIER-MORIN (2002).

<sup>27</sup>FLUSIN (2004).

## INTRODUCTION

(ἐκλογή) of historians and the preferred historical periods shows the ideologically charged imperial view of history, which guided the procedure of systematization. (4) In addition, some examples support the hypothesis that *CE* served as a model for compiling some passages in Constantine VII's writings in order to enhance their style. (5) The selection of fifty-three subjects constituted an universal system and reflected the taste of the narrow imperial circle. At the same time, the selection of the subjects displays a close relationship with other writings compiled in Constantine's circle. Because of this close relationship, *CE* are interpreted as a "database" in the service of Constantine VII's other projects.

The analytic presentation of the manuscripts of *CE* in Chapter Two serves as the material basis of my analysis of the methods employed by Constantine's team. The manuscripts transmitting *CE* seem to originate from the imperial court. It is argued that Basil Lekapenos the *parakoimomenos*, half brother to Helen, Constantine VII's wife was involved in the project of *CE* and he is likely to have been responsible for some final copies produced in the early years (976–986) of Emperor Basil II. In addition to the most important manuscripts **T** and **V**, my survey also introduces the transmission of the sixteenth-century copies of their lost archetypes (ELr–g and EI). As follows from the presentation, the various data of these manuscripts, neglected and often omitted in the editions of the excerpted historical texts, provide new valuable data for analyzing the tenth-century methods of producing *CE*. The *Mynas codex* (**P**) is included among the manuscripts comprising *CE* as unique evidence for the preparatory material for *CE* having been used, as argued in chs. 2.5.1 on p. 147 and 2.5.3 on p. 161. The relationship between these excerpts and *CE* will be demonstrated by a comparative edition of a passage from Arrian's account on the siege of Tyre (see in App. B, on p. 317). The historical excerpts in this codex support the hypothesis that military collections were circulated among learned officers of the Byzantine army. In these collections, treatises on military techniques were supplied with historical excerpts which seem to have been selected from Constantine's collections. The disproportionate emphasis given this chapter in

the thesis is related to a need to correct the shortcomings of previous studies in this field.

Chapter Three scrutinizes the excerpting method by contrasting the prescriptive prooemium preceding each Constantinian collection with the the tenth-century surviving manuscripts of *CE*. After introducing the innovative character of the project based on the prooemium and the iambic poem in **T** (see ch. 3.1, p. 180), some problems are identified which invite further scholarly scrutiny. More attention is devoted to three aspects in particular of *CE* in order to illustrate the tenth-century courtly editorial techniques. First, my survey classifies the tenth-century marginal entries and editorial supplements of **T**, most of which have not been published or studied so far. The publication of these marginal entries from **T** (see app. A, p. 261) constitutes a significant contribution to the discussion on the excerpting method. Second, my analysis specifies the functions and the value of the marginal entries and, on this basis, to reconstructs the method followed by Constantine VII's scholars (ch. 3.2). Third, the passages of the selected historians will be analyzed to see how they were adapted to fit the Constantinian subjects (οἰκειώσεις) using a few examples from Prokopios (ch. 3.3). In addition, I argue in favour of viewing the methodological characteristics of *CE* not only in connection with the codicological attributes of **T** and the palimpsest codex (**V**). Rather, I propose to identify some characteristics that seem distinctive of codices preserving *CE* from the second half of the tenth century in general.

## The Quest for Patterns in History

Judgement concerning the treatises, produced in Constantine VII's circle, has changed considerably during over last decades. This changing evaluation is a phenomenon parallel to the increasingly sympathetic recent cultural-historical approaches to compilations of various sorts. Such works belong to the group of treatises which *CE* might have influenced as *De administrando imperio* (hereafter: *DAI*), *De themati-*

*bus* (hereafter: *De them.*), and *De cerimoniis*, all comprising invaluable data for the history of the Balkan peninsula and early Byzantium. The continuation of Theophanes' *Chronicle* was compiled at Constantine's order, and in hagiography both the *Synaxarium* of Constantinople<sup>28</sup> and the Metaphrastian collection of saints' lives seem to have taken their roots in the activity of Constantine's team.

Up to the 1980s, the attempts to reconstruct the "authentic Constantinian version" of the treatises, ascribed to the emperor, resulted in disappointment although imperial authorship and initiative were emphasized in the prefaces that preceded each of these compendia.<sup>29</sup> Step by step, the authorship of the emperor as regards almost all writings attributed to him, came into question.<sup>30</sup> Finally, the incongruous features in terms of structure, chronology, switching from describing situations in the tenth century to referring to sources that originate from the age of the emperors Justinian (527–565) and Heraclius (610–641), encouraged scholars to suggest alternative explanations for the inconsistent arrangement of the passages and merely accept Constantine's final touch upon these treatises.<sup>31</sup>

P. Speck described Constantine's compilation method as a "dossier technique" based on his analysis of Constantine VII's three treatises on imperial military expeditions. These treatises reflect the development of the same composition by rephrasing,

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<sup>28</sup>LUZZI (1989), 139–186; LUZZI (1991), 113–124.

<sup>29</sup>For the structure of *De cerimoniis*, see BURY (1907) and the table by MCCORMICK (1991), 596–597, and MOFFATT (1995). For the arrangement of the *DAI*, see BURY (1906) (especially 517–520), JENKINS (1962), 1–8, SODE (1994) (especially 149–153), and most recently by HOWARD-JOHNSTON (2001) who provided the most comprehensive view of *DAI* as a single and finalized work. For the coherence of the chapters of *De thematibus*, see PERTUSI (1952), OSTROGORSKY (1953), and PRATSCH (1994). When dating *De thematibus*, OSTROGORSKY (1953) applies the single author and text model, as so do LOUNGHIS (1973) and AHRWEILER (1981). It was PRATSCH (1994) who approached the problem of dating from the angle of the emperor's compilation-technique.

<sup>30</sup>The model of the "dossier-technique" implies that the same work was continuously expanded in the hands of independent compilers by multiple authors over a span of several decades or even longer. See also the detailed studies of ŠEVČENKO (1992).

<sup>31</sup>There is a increasing tendency now to accept Constantine VII as the author of the "final" versions of the treatises ascribed to him. As HOWARD-JOHNSTON (2001), 308 says about *DAI*: "There can be no question of attributing such slipshod work to anyone but Constantine. For no imperial secretary or bureaucrat would have dared to carry out the task of gathering and editing material so incompetently, if charged to do so by a coemperor or emperor."

insertion of new material as well as deletion of old material.<sup>32</sup> Other scholars also tried to clarify the emperor's compilation-technique by applying modern scholarly solutions for data management. For example, Moffatt uses the metaphor of the "bottom drawer of the master of ceremonies" in order to explain the tricky association of chapters and the unfinished state of the book of ceremonies. When analyzing the structure of *De them.*, Pratch used Speck's model of the "dossier-technique" in order to explain inconsistencies in this treatise.

The illustrative description of the method reflects how scholars operated before personal computers gained prominence. According to Speck, Constantine's scholars used slips of parchment (*Zettel* in German) for taking notes. The model of taking notes in a manner that can easily lead to their becoming separately used does not mean that these notes were copied on separate pieces of parchment. In this model, the "notes copied on slips" can be understood as marginal notes as well.<sup>33</sup> However, McCabe admits that various excerpts on horse medicine were "copied onto separate slips of parchment, or even cut apart or reshuffled rather than being copied out in blocks" when the Berlin volume of *Hippiatrica* (Phillipps 1538), a book originating from Constantine VII's circle, was being produced.<sup>34</sup> A careful study of *CE* may help explain how the "dossier technique" was carried out in practice.

In order to clarify the practical essence of Constantine's excerpting method, I would add another model to these illustrative explanations by comparing the excerpts to a textual "data management system," which can be used for a variety of purposes. The marginal indices might be viewed as hypertexts, blocks of texts imposed upon another text, to help the reader easily scan a vast textual corpus. In addition, the manuscripts comprising *CE* can be viewed as a database supplied with triple sets of searchable indices, namely the fifty-three subject matters (labeled with numbers), the historians being excerpted (also labeled with numbers within each

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<sup>32</sup>SPECK (1991), 270, n. 4. The three text was edited and analyzed in details by HALDON (1990). The core of the compilation was Leo Katakylas' treatise from the reign of Leo VI. The idea of a dossier comes from SPECK (1981), 79–82 and MANGO (1978).

<sup>33</sup>PRATSCH (1994), 59, n. 76.

<sup>34</sup>MCCABE (2007), 271.

## INTRODUCTION

volume), and the historical and geographical names that were copied in the margin next to almost every excerpt. Previous textual arrangements, either complete works or reorganized short citations, were only provided with two criteria for searching in a given volume: the name of the author and marginal indices of every kind.

In this context, the method applied in *CE* seems to be a real practical improvement. Each of these three sets of organizational criteria could be combined when a scholar intended to find, for example, a certain geographical name, attested in a certain historical work from the age of Justinian, in a definite context, as attested in *De them.*, ii. 5–12. The idea itself, which might have been applied to collections of excerpts other than the writings of historians,<sup>35</sup> assisted imperial employees in assembling various groups of data. Of course, this concept entailed the principle of discontinuous, i. e. nonlinear reading of *CE*. However, it is multilinear reading that make the historical contents accessible to a broader variety of purposes compared to linear reading. Constantine's purpose was to preserve the entire historical text by attributing the excerpts to one or another of the fifty-three subjects, which provided a possibility to correlate historical data, phenomena, ideas, and events as well as to discover the patterns behind them which linear reading would hardly have allowed. Constantine seems to have believed that patterns observed in historical writings can teach lessons to the wise as he says in the transition between the third and fourth parts of *DAI* (46. 146–149) by citing Thucydides (i. 22. 2):

But what of events which have taken place at various times between the Romans and different nations? For it is worth while, my dearest son, that record of these things also should not escape you, in order that, should the same things come about on similar occasions, you may by foreknowledge find a ready remedy.<sup>36</sup>

For such a purpose, the volumes of *CE* supplied the interested reader with an ample and infinite material.

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<sup>35</sup>There are other collections that were compiled at the order of Constantine VII such as the *Hippiatrica* (Phillipps 1538), studied by MCCABE (2007), the agricultural compendium *Geoponica*, edited by BECKH (1895), excerpts on animals (*Excerpta de natura animalium*), ed. by LAMBROS (1885).

<sup>36</sup>The passage here [46. 146–149, ed. by MORAVCSIK (1967), 223], was translated by R. Jenkins.



# Part I.

## Constantinian Excerpts



Since historical writing rejoices in enriching the narration with diverging stories and impressing the readers' emotions through style, it is worth reporting what evolved between the Frankish king and Soldanus, the African one ...

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πολλάκις ἡ ἱστορία φιλεῖ καὶ ταῖς κατὰ παρέχθαι διηγήσεσι τὸν λόγον ποικίλλειν καὶ τὰς τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων ψυχαγωγεῖν ἀκοάς, ἐπεξηγητέον καὶ ὅσα μεταξὺ τοῦ ῥηγὸς Φραγγίας καὶ Σολδάνου τοῦ Ἀφρικῆς ...

Constantine VII, *Vita Basilii*, 56 (294,3–6)

# 1

## The Byzantine Context of the *Constantinian Excerpts*

This chapter strives to map the tenth-century Byzantine mentality that shaped the collections of *CE* in the peculiar format they took and the various circumstances where *CE* were possibly used in practice. Contrary to commonly held scholarly views and sharing Lemerle's judgement,<sup>37</sup> I will argue that the method of compiling *CE* was indeed innovative compared to traditional excerpting techniques. At the same time, the inclusion and omission of certain historians display a deliberate pattern of ideological priorities with regard to certain periods, peoples, and historiographical genres. Moreover, the choice of the number fifty-three for the subjects which came to

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<sup>37</sup>LEMERLE (1971), 288 [LEMERLE (1986), 332] regarded *CE* as a “work lacking originality”. His view became widely accepted through basic handbooks.

## 1. *The Byzantine Context*

constitute the main organizing principle of this imperial project, reflects ideological, historical, and mathematical points of reasoning. The subjects themselves reflect an ideologically charged vision of history which parallel other works ascribed to Constantine VII and his circle.

Not only do the subjects in *CE* seem to have been deliberately chosen and ordered but equally the number labeling each collection indicated its position in the hierarchical arrangement of these fifty-three subjects. The meticulous assemblage of *CE*—both in terms of the methods used and their purpose—may create an expectation that such a huge effort would have been rewarded with pragmatic use. Thus, for the first time, my thesis will present evidence which, as opposed to current scholarly opinion, may indicate that *CE* were indeed being used in practice, especially for the purpose of stylistically enhancing newly composed narratives. First, however, it seems necessary to delineate the various methods of excerpting classical and Byzantine historical texts prior to Constantine VII's major enterprise. This outline is meant to help the reader identify the innovative features of Constantine's excerpting principle in terms of the way the traditional excerpting techniques were combined and improved.

### 1.1. Tradition and Innovation

When the project of systematizing a huge corpus of earlier historical writings was initiated under Constantine VII, there were two major alternatives to fulfill the purpose of the project: (1) summarizing or (2) rearranging the material following thematic principles. As far as the purpose is concerned, the growing number and variety of historical accounts,<sup>38</sup> which were accessible in the first half of the tenth

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<sup>38</sup>The ambition of collecting books, extracting their essence by reading, abridging, shortening, summarizing, and reorganizing the rich variety of writings started to remarkably grow after mid-ninth century. MANGO (1975) stressed that in the period 750–850 books were very rare and expensive. To this rapid development of collecting, excerpting and rearranging texts, the elevation of the minuscules to the level of a bookscript even before the early ninth century provided the technical background. The minuscule script has a number of advantages against the majuscule. As it was more compact, it required less parchment. Since the scribe did not have to lift up his pen after each letter, the minuscule was quicker to write with. At the same time, the process

century, helped the initiator, probably Constantine VII himself,<sup>39</sup> to recognize that they comprised a richer repertory of instructive examples than what was available in the chronological arrangement of various chronicles.<sup>40</sup> However, the intricate narrative structure and the extensive length of these historical writings made the task of the reader rather difficult. Thus, the initiator's purpose was to mediate the lesson of various kinds between the intricate web of the historical writings and the interested reader. By opposing the term *σύνοψις* (summarizing) with *οἰκειώσεις* (assigning a passage to an appropriate subject),<sup>41</sup> the prooemium to *CE* makes it clear that the mastermind of Constantine VII's project was aware of the distinction between the two alternatives and regarded summarizing as a solution not to be followed. The method labeled by the term *οἰκειώσεις* entailed a rearrangement following thematic principles and the aim at preserving the formulation of the historical passages.

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of transliteration required a more careful study of the texts and a new design was necessary for housing the text in a different text–page ratio. MANGO (2002), 218–219, GAUL (2010), 76–78. On the transliteration, see RONCONI (2003). On the ambition of collecting books in the early tenth-century in Byzantium, see the famous library assembled by Aretas of Caesarea in the first half of the tenth century.

<sup>39</sup>In the *prooemium* once copied in all volumes of *CE*, Constantine VII was positioned as the initiator of the project. It is impossible to decide whether the emperor was the mastermind or someone else in his circle, for example, Basil Lekapenos the *parakoimomenos*.

<sup>40</sup>As will be argued below, the majority of the historical writings selected for *CE* are not chronicles.

<sup>41</sup>“Nothing contained in the texts would escape this distribution into subject categories; by following the sequence of the narrative nothing would be omitted in virtue of this division according to subject category. Rather would it preserve the coherence of the whole, not by providing the usual summary for each of the subject categories, but rather, to describe the process more accurately, by assigning each of them a proper classification.” οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν τῶν ἐγχειμένων, ὃ διαφεύξεται τὴν τοιαύτην τῶν ὑποθέσεων ἀπαρίθμησιν οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἀφαιρουμένης τῆς τοῦ λόγου ἀκολουθίας τῇ διαίρεσει τῶν ἐννοιῶν, ἀλλὰ σύσσωμον σωζούσης, καὶ ἐκάστη ὑποθέσει προσαρμοζομένης τῆς τηλικαύτης οὐ συνόψεως, ἀληθέστερον δ' εἰπεῖν οἰκειώσεως. ELr 2, ed. by C. de Boor.

Lemerle did not notice the opposition between *oikeiosis* and *synopsis* when translating the sentence: “à chaque thème s'appliquera une tele vue d'ensemble *synopsis* ou, pour employer un terme plus exact, appropriation (*οἰκειώσεις*).” The English translation of Lemerle's interpretation says “To each theme will be applied an overall view (*σύνοψις*) or, to use a more precise term, ordering (*οἰκειώσεις*).” LEMERLE (1971), 282 (LEMERLE (1986), 326). Flusin's interpretation emphasises the opposition between the two terms: “...la division des notions (*διαίρεσις τῶν ἐννοιῶν*), cette «appropriation» (*οἰκειώσεις*) – car il ne s'agit pas à proprement parler d'une *σύνοψις*.” FLUSIN (2002), 539.

## 1. The Byzantine Context

### 1.1.1. Citations in Thematic Arrangement

Juxtaposing *verbatim* citations in an arrangement based on the subject matter was a traditional method of excerpting which seems to have been taken into account when Constantine VII launched the project of *CE*. In such traditional collections, the citations were always concise—never so extensive as some of those included in *CE*. In addition, the subjects did follow an established set of categories such as the liturgical calendar,<sup>42</sup> the passages of the Scripture,<sup>43</sup> philosophical or theological problems,<sup>44</sup> personality of the author,<sup>45</sup> not a newly selected, complex scheme as in Constantine’s undertaking. Moreover, the relationship between the anthologies and the writings that were excerpted is uncertain. In the principle of arranging the excerpts according to traditional categories, there was no attempt to define a new understanding of comprehensiveness. Unlike *CE*, these anthologies did not aim to engage complete works and did not specify a new set of subject matters in order to embrace seemingly all important phenomena in the universe. At the same time, there was not a genre of authors specified whose works were to be selected for the excerpts like historiography was chosen for *CE*.

As an example of this sort of extracts and organization, John Stobaeus (second half of the AD fifth century) compiled four didactic books. The original collection is

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<sup>42</sup>An early example of rearranging extracts of a narrative following a traditional classifying criterion is the selection of the readings of the Gospel (*evangeliarion*) according to the liturgical calendar (*evangelistarion*). From Early Christianity, both types of arrangement were followed when the books of the gospel were copied. In the traditional arrangement, marginal indices assisted liturgical use.

<sup>43</sup>The *catenae* (“chains”), collections of excerpts from Biblical commentators may be viewed as exegetical anthologies where the citations are juxtaposed according to the passages of the Bible.

<sup>44</sup>Stobaeus’ headings followed philosophical problems. There are dogmatic and ascetical *florilegia* comprising excerpts from the Church Fathers. In both cases the principle of arrangement is determined by theological problems. See EHRHARD (1901), 394–415 and RICHARD (1962), 475–512.

<sup>45</sup>The collections of *chreia* (maxims or stories illustrating a human character) and *gnomai* were used as tools in rhetoric from classical Antiquity. These short examples were open to be rearranged and modified according the present needs. HOCK & O’NEIL (1986, 2002). Biographies strongly relied on these collections and occasionally display thematic arrangement of the sayings of a certain person. See a short summary on Greek gnomologies with recent literature by MORGAN (2011) (forthcoming). Biographers collected citations ascribed to a certain person from various sources. For example, Diogenes Laertius collected citation from a large group of philosophers. The collection of the sayings of the desert Fathers (*Apophthegmata Patrum*) also assembled the wise sentences and edifying stories according the Fathers. GUY (1962).

known only from Photios' account (*Bibliotheca*, cod. 167: Ἐκλογῶν ἀποφθεγμάτων ὑποθηκῶν βιβλία τέσσαρα); his *florilegium* only partially survives. As Photios says, Stobaeus compiled his collection of excerpts in order to help his son, Septimius in his studies. Stobaeus included short literary extracts from altogether some 385 authors in a thematic arrangement: physics, virtues and vices, general ethical and political subjects. When quoting authorities beneath his numerous subject headings, Stobaeus started with poets, historians, and continued with orators, philosophers, and physicians. He always assigned a precise reference to each extract.<sup>46</sup> The purpose of the rearrangement can be explained by the idea that regrouping the narrative by subject matter "gives efficacy to the discourse".<sup>47</sup>

Short pieces of literature such as poems,<sup>48</sup> fables, and epistles were copied in an arrangement either by author or a defined set of subjects. The first such collections of pseudonymous letters appear in the manuscripts of the ninth and tenth centuries.<sup>49</sup> This is the first time that anthologies were assembled according to fictitious authors such as Themistocles, Brutus, Hippocrates, Phalaris, etc.<sup>50</sup> The standard collection of the "Sayings of the Desert Fathers" (*Apophthegmata Patrum*) was arranged according to the first letter of the name of the Fathers with the purpose of

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<sup>46</sup>See the edition of Stobaeus by MEINEKE (1855–1857) and the studies by WACHSMUTH (1882), 55–79, HENSE (1916), and LURIA (1929). Stobaeus' anthology was copied in the second half of the tenth century as demonstrated by the ms Vienna, phil. gr. 67.

<sup>47</sup>"Le regroupement des réits autour d'un thème va donner une plus grande efficacité au discours." PETITMENGIN (1997), 503.

<sup>48</sup>For the collection of epigrams and Anacreontic poetry, see the mid- or late tenth-century manuscript of the famous *Palatine Anthology* (Pal. gr. 23 and Par. suppl. gr. 384), ed. by BECKBY (1957–58). The manuscript itself was edited in a facsimile edition by PREISENDANZ (1911). The Anacreontic poems survive in the same manuscript (Par. suppl. gr. 384, ff. 675–690) ed. by WEST (1993) and presented by CAMERON (1993), 251. For a less ambitious collection of poetry from the mid-tenth century, see Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocci 50, studied by RONCONI (2004).

<sup>49</sup>On Ambrosianus 81, see LAOURDAS (1951). On the letter collections in Pal. gr. 398, ff. 262r–332r, see MUSSO (1976). However, the genre of an anthology of fictitious letters of historical persons existed in Antiquity as a papyrus from the first century BC demonstrates. P. Hamb. 129 (Inv. 605), ed. by MERKELBACH (1954) contains nine such historical letters but not in a thematic arrangement.

<sup>50</sup>The creation of various pseudonymous letter collections were discussed by MALHERBE (1977), 6–34, MÜSELER & SICHERL (1994), vol. 1, 75–91, and HINZ (2001), 129–141.

## 1. The Byzantine Context

providing a comprehensive idea of the thoughts of the individual Father. In addition, a thematic arrangement of the sayings in 21 groups was also used.<sup>51</sup>

Historiography and lexicography inherited a set of reference points to be followed. Chroniclers such as George Synkellos, Theophanes Confessor arranged their historical sources, directly cited or somewhat modified, year by year according to various chronological systems. Lexicographers used the Greek alphabet, a set of reference that every educated knew.<sup>52</sup>

The Christian literature took up the tradition of organizing huge corpus of written material on thematic basis. The *Doctrina patrum*, compiled between 685 and 726, used 93 different authors or Church documents.<sup>53</sup> This doctrinal florilegium arranged the short citation with precise references under headings (κεφάλαιον) specifying a theological question such as Trinity, various questions concerning the dual nature of Christ, the human free will, the teachings of Gregory of Nazianzus, etc. Ch. 33 gives a collection of definitions by the Church Fathers in alphabetic order,<sup>54</sup> while ch. 34 contains a catalogue of 80 heresies, this time not in alphabetical order but following the structure of the work (*Panarion*, also called “Against Haeresies”) by St Epiphanius of Salamis (c. 310–405).<sup>55</sup> The lexicographical aspect of handling theological questions manifests itself in ch. 38 by providing a list with the 187 Biblical names of Jesus Christ, the 54 names of virgin Mary, and the 24 names of St John the Baptist.<sup>56</sup>

Another ancient Christian florilegium of passages from the Bible and the Church Fathers, called Τὰ ἁγία (“Sacred things”), were divided in three books on thematic

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<sup>51</sup>GUY (1962), 119.

<sup>52</sup>In classical antiquity, students learned reading and writing by mastering the routine of writing the shape of twenty-four letters of the Greek alphabet and vocalizing them in a set order. CRIBIORE (1996), 31, 37–38, 139–152. The alphabetic arrangement of a large number of items seems to have first been applied in Alexandrian scholarship, especially in glossography and lexicography, in arranging plays and Aesopus’ fables. DALY (1967), 27–50.

<sup>53</sup>DIEKAMP (1907), xlv–lxvi (list of cited authors), lxvi–lxxviii (on the use of *Doctrina Patrum*), lxxix–lxxx (date).

<sup>54</sup>DIEKAMP (1907), 249–266.

<sup>55</sup>DIEKAMP (1907), 266–270

<sup>56</sup>DIEKAMP (1907), 286–292.



principle (God, Man, and virtues and vices). Later the theological subjects of the collection were rearranged in alphabetical order by St John Damascene (c.676–749). The anthology is referred to as *Sacra Paralella*, because the virtue and vice are regularly juxtaposed in Book 3, similarly to the Constantinian collection of EV where the virtuous and wicked aspects of the excerpts are often mentioned in the marginal indices.<sup>57</sup> The *Sacra Paralella* were especially popular in the tenth century.<sup>58</sup> The alphabetic arrangement was also observed in legal collections such as the *Basilica* of Leo VI.

### 1.1.2. Summaries: Photios and Abridged Historians

The other possible solution that Constantine VII refused is the somewhat different approach manifested in the compilations which aimed to provide the reader with brief summaries (σύνοψις) of a high number of ample writings. These collections of summaries included only short *verbatim* extracts and follow the structure of the abridged writings. The production of the largest scale of this kind in Byzantium was Photios' (c.810–c.893) *Bibliotheca*.<sup>59</sup>

This collection of reviews, summaries, and extracts of 279 works was compiled by the famous scholar and later Patriarch Photios purportedly before his embassy to the Abassid court, which took place either in 838, 845 or 855, although it was certainly revised at a later date.<sup>60</sup> Formally, Photios sent the extensive list of reviews to his brother Tarasius in order to provide him with a, more or less, detailed account of the

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<sup>57</sup>On the *Sacra Paralella*, see DALY (1967), 62–63, EHRHARD (1901), ODORICO (1990).

<sup>58</sup>RICHARD (1962), 476–486. From among its various revisions, more such as the *Florilegium Coislinianum* date to the tenth century. Tomas Fernandez is writing his PhD thesis on some texts from this collection at the Catholic University of Leuven. See the edition of a recension by Migne in PG 95, 1040–1586; PG 96, 9–544. In addition, John Chrysostom's extensive corpus of writings was also excerpted and rearranged following thematic principles in the tenth century. HAIFACHER (1902).

<sup>59</sup>Relying on the analogy of the *Readers' digest* which was invented with the idea of gathering and rewriting popular articles in a new magazine for a broad audience, BRUNT (1980), 483 calls *CE* a *Readers' Historical Digest*.

<sup>60</sup>On the date of *Bibliotheca*, which is rather debated, see TREADGOLD (1983), 12–13, MARKOPOULOS (1987), and KAZHDAN & ANGELIDI (2006), 11. On the topos of travels to Baghdad and transfer of knowledge, see MAGDALINO (1998).

## 1. The Byzantine Context

books the patriarch had read but his brother, Tarasius had not. Thus, his purpose was similar to that of Stobaeus, unlike the solution by choosing the summary. Among the books Photios knew and read, he deliberately omitted those books “whose study and perusal commonly constitute the arts and sciences”, that is school books.<sup>61</sup> Thus, this seems the main reason he did not include poetry, philosophy and basic works such as those by Homer, Hesiod or Xenophon and Thucydides whom he certainly knew of and had read.

The interest in rare books,<sup>62</sup> the aim to preserve knowledge and make it available in a concise form, the purpose of helping memory and remembrance appear in the preface of *CE* as well. Despite the similarities between Photios’ work and *CE*, the differences seem to prevail. In addition to the separate treatment of historiography in Constantine VII’s project, the way of summarizing the works is one of the major differences between the two. Photios did not want to attain a detailed rendering of a complete book he was presenting but provided a rather unbalanced account with regard to some sections. In the second part of his work (cod. 234–280), he provided direct citations of the passages he was interested in because of their phrasing or curiosity in content. In addition, at several points Photios gave his judgements as regards the style, content and, in the ecclesiastical works, orthodoxy of the writings he was summarizing. Quite often, he provided an outline of the biography of the author he was reviewing.<sup>63</sup> Such critical remarks are entirely absent from *CE*.

Photios’ selection is extremely broad from Herodotus up to his own age, Sergius Confessor’s *Church history* (ninth century). He did not focus on a certain genre such as historiography. He described 239 Christian and Jewish works compared to 147 secular or pagan ones. However, the bulk of the secular works was more massive: fifty-seven percent described secular and pagan works, while forty-three percent

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<sup>61</sup>In the postface appended to the work, he says (545.13–14): ...ὥν ἡ σπουδὴ καὶ μελέτη τέχνας φιλεῖ καὶ ἐπιστήμας ἐργάζεσθαι...

<sup>62</sup>See examples in TREADGOLD (1983), 9.

<sup>63</sup>Photius employed the epitome of Hesychius’ *Onomatologos* compiled in the sixth century. The compilers of the Suda lexicon relied on this source in the biographical entries. On this problem, see TREADGOLD (1983), 52–66.

Jewish and Christian ones.<sup>64</sup> There seems a shift in favour of secular literature in the *Bibliotheca*. The 280 works Photius described can be divided in two parts: (1) 1–233 and (2) 234–280.<sup>65</sup> Part two contains extracts from works expanded with biographical information rather than summaries as part one. Treadgold explains this difference by viewing the second part as a later addition based on the patriarch's notes dictated to a secretary. Considering proportion of the secular bulk of the entire *Bibliotheca* (fifty-seven percent), it is worth noting the difference between the two parts: in part one only forty-eight percent of the works is secular while in part two this figure reaches sixty-seven percent.<sup>66</sup> The difference shows that Photios's curiosity in secular works including secular historiography was continuously expanding.

In spite of the similarities, there are some differences in the selection of the historians. Constantine VII seems to have focused on secular and not chronographical historiography. Within this restriction, the Constantinian selection proves broader than that of Photios who did not include Menander Protector, Priskos or Agathias in his *Bibliotheca*.<sup>67</sup> Among the titles of secular histories in *Bibliotheca*, there are multivolume compilations such as Appian, Cassius Dio, Diodorus of Sicily, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus. However, Photios seems to have only been interested in some historical problems as can be observed from his critical remarks and the varying lengths of his summaries of different historical periods. Like the chroniclers of the period, Photios did not show interest in the continuous history of the Roman Republic, only paid more attention on the conquest of the Eastern Mediterranean and their relationship with Rome. The history of the Greek city-states are also neg-

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<sup>64</sup>TREADGOLD (1983), 7–8.

<sup>65</sup>TREADGOLD (1983), 37–51: second part (cod. 234–280) the entries usually do not begin with ἀνεγνώσθη ἐκ... but ἐκλογή; the descriptions are much longer (average 4.3 times). The excerpts are more abundant in the later part, which seem to have been chosen not for the content but for the style HÄGG (1975), 30–31. The ὅτι is not an indication of a new excerpt.

<sup>66</sup>TREADGOLD (1983), 99.

<sup>67</sup>TREADGOLD (1983), 62 refutes KLINKENBERG (1913)'s idea (40–42) that the sentence from Agathias (4.27) in cod. 63, 21b–22a (Prokopios) would imply that Photios read Agathias and dropped him out later.

## 1. The Byzantine Context

lected.<sup>68</sup> Interestingly enough, Photios showed no interest in the history of Roman Empire from Augustus to Constantine the Great. He elaborated, however, detailed summaries on the encounter of Greece with the Persian Empire.<sup>69</sup> Compared to Photios' *Bibliotheca*, *CE* did not embrace such a variety of writings but proved much more comprehensive within the selected field, historiography by the attempt to include entire works in a balanced manner.

In addition to Photios, the method of summarizing was followed in other projects of the ninth and tenth centuries as well, which aimed to provide a balanced summary of an entire work. Abridged versions of extensive works belongs to this group and include Strabo's abridged geography in the ninth-century Pal. gr. 398, ff. 60r–156r; the *Excerpta antiqua* of Polybius (book vi–xviii), compiled before 1000; Cassius Dio's extensive corpus abridged by Zonaras and Xiphilinos in the eleventh century.<sup>70</sup> Other historical texts such as the chronicle of John of Antioch, the histories by Diodorus of Sicily, and the *Antiquities* by Dionysius of Halicarnassus may also have been available in abridged form in the tenth century.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>68</sup>In cod. 83–84, Photios summarized five books by Dionysius of Halicarnassus in a few sentences. He dedicates one sentence to the Republican period. In cod. 70, he gave only the scope of the 40 books by Diodorus of Sicily. MENDELS (1986), 198–199, 200–203 (especially n. 9).

<sup>69</sup>MENDELS (1986), 200–.

<sup>70</sup>The structure of Pal. gr. 398 was analyzed by DILLER (1952), 3–10. The excerpts from Polybius were analyzed by MOORE (1965), 55–73, (esp. 73 with the *stemma*). On the abridged Cassius Dio, see MAZZUCCHI (1979), 134–135 and MOLIN (2004), 209–210.

<sup>71</sup>The earliest example of a summary of historiography is from the AD second century (*Papyrus Hauninesis* 6) according to BERTRAC (2002), xviii–xix. The practice of epitomizing historians had become widespread by the time of Justinian: Stephanus of Byzantium refers to such epitomized historical works. SAUTEL (2000), 91. The *excerpta Hoescheliana* comprise summaries of Diodorus of Sicily (books xxi–xxxvi), published by the German scholar, David Hoeschel as an appendix to the publication of ELr–g in Augsburg, 1603. On this collection, see CHAMOIX (1993), cxxxvii–cxxxviii, and BERTRAC (2002), xii–xxix, who suggest a dating in Late Antiquity. The collection of the *Excerpta Salmasiana*, named after the French scholar Claude Saumaïse, comprises summaries from the chronicle by John of Antioch. The earliest manuscript is from the mid-twelfth century (Vat. gr. 96) according to WILSON (1977), 235–237, but the collection may be earlier. SOTIROUDIS (1989b), 5–13, 186–196, ROBERTO (2005a), liii–lxxvi, and ROBERTO (2005b). On two fifteenth-century epitomes from Dionysius of Halicarnassus, comprising a version from the tenth century or earlier, see SAUTEL (2000), especially 88–92, who suggests a dating in Late Antiquity or the ninth or the tenth centuries; and PITTIA (2002a), 105–142.

### 1.1.3. Innovative Combination of the Traditions

The initiator of the project of *CE* had to choose from the various alternatives of the two major solutions of transforming original texts. On the one hand, the traditional method of arranging according to subjects and grouping them according to the alphabet had the advantage of making the material easily accessible. This option was followed, as was shown above, in similarly large scale in dogmatic florilegia. However, this arrangement entailed the disadvantage of being incomprehensive and disturbing the original narrative structure. On the other hand, summarizing had the advantage of abbreviating lengthy texts but destroyed the formulation of the text and did not help to make the material accessible according to the content of the passages. In order to minimize the disadvantages of each tradition, there were some attempts to combine the two.

It is reasonable to assume that the techniques of compiling military collections mediated between the traditional excerpting methods and that of Constantine VII's project. For practical reasons, new military collections were created by combining summarizing and thematic arrangements. This method was followed probably from the mid-ninth century by those restructuring the military experience of the past.<sup>72</sup> Polyænus' (AD second century) eight books, summarizing the military aspects of historical figures grouped according by their names, were rearranged in the form of short summaries on the basis of fifty-eight military subjects.<sup>73</sup> A thematic arrangement was also applied by a probably tenth-century anonymous author who assembled summaries from historians exclusively on sieges of towns.<sup>74</sup> Because the frameworks of traditional genres were seemingly no longer strictly observed, the methodology for creating new collections and the particular approach to earlier writ-

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<sup>72</sup>E. g., *Strategemata Ambrosiana, Parecbolae*, ed. by FOUCAULT (1949), 15–66, 69–120. Foucault dated both collections to the mid-ninth century.

<sup>73</sup>WÖFLIN & MELBER (1901), xix–xx, 429–504. Leo VI's *Strategemata*, ed. by WÖFLIN & MELBER (1901), 507–540, also followed this principle.

<sup>74</sup>*Anonymus de obsidione toleranda*, ed. and comm. by VAN DEN BERG (1947).

## 1. The Byzantine Context

ings, if such methodologies can be distinguished, seem the decisive criteria needed to identify and evaluate excerpting projects rather than the data they contain.<sup>75</sup>

When initiating the project of *CE*, Constantine VII seems to have continued the programme his father Leo VI had already started. Photios became the teacher of Basil I's son, the later emperor Leo VI (886–912). In this way, the master could easily have influenced his student's ambition to collect, update various sort of writings of the sixth and early seventh centuries such as the Justinian law code by his “not-only-juridical legislation”,<sup>76</sup> former military treatises, especially Maurice's *Strategicon* in his *Tactica*,<sup>77</sup> and to produce the various “dossiers” embedded in the treatises that are fully ascribed to his son, emperor Constantine VII (*DAI*<sup>78</sup> and *De cerimoniis*<sup>79</sup>), and initiate and oversee projects of assembling epigrams (Constantin Kephalas).<sup>80</sup>

It is likely that Constantine VII reflected his father's projects in the selection of his fifty-three subject matters.<sup>81</sup> He continued involving military subjects but

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<sup>75</sup>Three different solutions for excerpting Arrian's *Anabasis* from the tenth century may suffice here. As will be demonstrated below, it is likely that the historical excerpts in Par.suppl.gr.607 originate in the preparatory work of *CE* on methodological grounds (see below in ch.2.5.3, on p.161). The excerpting method differs from that of the work entitled *Anonymus de obsidione toleranda*, ed. by VAN DEN BERG (1947). Another excerpt from Arrian's *Anabasis* seems to be a summary based on an excerpt using Constantine's method and very similar to Par.suppl.gr.607, ff.94v–97r. See the relevant passage of the epitome, surviving as archival support material, recycled in the first half of the sixteenth century, in BRAVI (2006), 48. The fragment was studied by BRAVI (2005, 2006), with the relevant passage on p.19–26. The manuscript seems to have been produced in the same circle as the final manuscripts of *CE*, with an Ephraim-type script. BRAVI (2006), 14–18.

<sup>76</sup>The broad understanding of “non-juridical legislation”, which goes beyond Leo VI's legal collections such as *Eisagoge*, the *Procheiron*, the *Basilika* and the *Novels*, is discussed in details by MAGDALINO (1997). The impact of Leo's legislation on the so called “encyclopaedism” has been emphasized by Magdalino in two conferences, first in St Andrews in June, 2007 and later in Leuven in May, 2009.

<sup>77</sup>MORAVCSIK (1952) and with detailed literature in FOUCAULT (1967), 353–363.

<sup>78</sup>According to HOWARD-JOHNSTON (2001), 321–327, the Italian, Balkan, Northern and Transcaucasian dossiers in *DAI* were finished by the early 910s and compiled under Leo VI.

<sup>79</sup>In the collection of the *De cerimoniis*, the following sources originate from Leo VI's reign. See the method of complementing the military treatise by Leo Katakylas, ed. by HALDON (1990) and analyzed by SPECK (1991). By comparing the various redactions of these imperial military treatises with *DAI*, SODE (1994), 187 concludes that some parts of the *prooemium* to *DAI* had been ready by the time of Leo VI. See also the *Kletorologion* by Philotheos, ed. by OIKONOMIDES (1972).

<sup>80</sup>CAMERON (1993) and MAGDALINO (1997), 169–170.

<sup>81</sup>In terms of selecting sources, the treatises ascribed to Constantine VII show preference for two periods. The layer of texts from Leo VI was listed above. The other layer embraces several

distinguished more carefully between the separate branches of warfare by creating separate subjects within this field. For example, it seems that naval warfare was selected separately. The distinction of naval warfare in collecting historical excerpts coincided with frequent naval battles with the Arab navy and the date of the manuscript that comprises a separate collection of naval warfare.<sup>82</sup>

The number of literary genres selected for excerpting was also increased. In addition to the epigrams, embedded letters and *ekphraseis* were collected separately. As a novelty, pagan literature—especially historiography—became the predominant model and source of inspiration under Constantine VII. This newly re-discovered and huge corpus complemented the legal, chronographic, military, political, and poetic material, already assembled and updated under Leo VI, with geographic and historical subjects.<sup>83</sup> As a parallel phenomenon, Constantine VII successfully systematized the hagiographical literature and created an authoritative collection of saints' lives (the *synaxarion* of the Hagia Sophia and the *menologion* by Symeon Metaphrastes following Constantine's death) with the purpose of circulating it more widely. Both in historiography and in the attempt to revise old hagiographical literature, biography became the favoured principle of organizing written material. Pagan historians and biographers were followed for this purpose.

Other traditional organizing principles such as chronology and alphabetization seem to have been intentionally avoided in Constantine's project to systematize *CE*. Instead, it was probably Constantine VII himself who created a new universal scheme of fifty-three subjects covering seemingly every aspect of the universe, significant to the emperor and his circle. In this selection, aspects of the emperors' lives and individual human points of view in general became separate subject matters equal

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writings from the sixth and seventh centuries. Extensive excerpts from Petros Patrikios (i. 84–85) and Epiphanius of Cyprus (ii. 54) were also used in *De cerimoniis*. John Lydos was also extensively employed. On intellectual activities of antiquarian interest under Justinian I, somewhat similar to the time of Constantine VII, see MAAS (2005), 17–20 and PAZDERNIK (2005), 185–212.

<sup>82</sup>See the long coherent section of the manuscript (Ambr. B 119 sup., ff. 323r–342v) that belonged Basil Lekapenos the *parakoimomenos*, ed. by DAIN (1943).

<sup>83</sup>On how Stephanus of Byzantium was first used extensively in Constantine VII's circle, see DILLER (1938), 333–334, DILLER (1950), 242–243, and NAWOTKA (1994), 323–324.

## 1. The Byzantine Context

to the subjects inherited from the times of Leo VI such as warfare, geography, and various literary genres embedded in historical writings. The new selection of fifty-three subjects is deeply rooted in the age of Constantine VII, which may be the main reason why the Constantinian selection of subjects did not find an appreciative audience in later generations.

As a methodological innovation, in addition to the absolutely new selection of subjects, Constantine VII combined the advantages of two traditional methods: (1) that of the short *verbatim* extracts within an overall thematic arrangement and (2) the attempt to preserve the entire text without abbreviating it while-re-arranging it. Moreover, the traditional methods of copying and excerpting texts seem to have been improved by the imperial excerptors who selected and rearranged the historical passages. In the final copies of *CE*, the number of marginal notes was reduced to proportions of almost one marginal entry next to each excerpt. Therefore, the marginal entries may be viewed and used as indices. Through this innovative solution, and as mentioned in the introduction, the spacial arrangement of the text provides a possibility of “triple indexing”, (1) the index of the fifty-three subjects, (2) the names of the historians, and (3) the group of the marginal indices which mainly comprise proper names or geographical names.

Parallel to the system of indices, a new textual level was introduced which differed from the marginal notes, the main text body and the titles. These are the editorial notes, copied in majuscules, which may cross the border between the text body and the margin (see more details in ch. 3.2 on p. 197). It is difficult to decide whether these annotations were left in the final copies accidentally or on purpose. However, they seem to have played a crucial role in the process of editing. The sequence of the original narrative was carefully observed. This should also to be viewed as an innovation when it was not applied together with abbreviating the excerpted narrative. There is good reason to suppose that the subjects intended as the main organizing principle were selected by the emperor himself and the entire set of collections was given imperial authority. Nevertheless, the main innovation of



Constantine VII seems to have been the distinction of historiography as a separate genre represented by a broad selection of authors in the excerpting program.

The real achievement in the “triple indexing” lies in the expansion of research possibilities as demonstrated by the fact that each of two traditional textual arrangements was only supplied with the possibility of double indexing. In complete narratives and their abbreviated summaries, on the one hand, only the author and the marginal index could help the reader. In thematically arranged short verbatim citations and lexicography, on the other hand, the traditional functions were replaced with each other. The former marginal entries became the classifying principle as an entry while the author appears as a secondary datum either in the margin or underneath a subject heading. However, neither of the two indices types allowed for the possibility of triple indexing in the same way as the final copies of *CE*. These indices also proved useful for compiling lexicographical collections.

## 1.2. Historians in Tenth-century Lexicography

The majority of historians whose writings were selected for *CE* were not read after the eleventh century. In this sense, Constantine’s purpose of transmitting the value of the historical works to the learned readership obviously failed, as shown in my survey of his library below (ch. 2.1 on p. 94). However, it was in the form of biographic and historical entries that *CE* survived the Macedonian dynasty. The Suda lexicon, which managed to unify the various lexicographical genres at the highest level, was copied and read later.<sup>84</sup> Thus, it is the Suda lexicon that provided the main channel through which snippets from the Constantinian historical collections reached future generations of learned Byzantine readers.

Among the three Constantinian principles of classification, namely (1) the subject matter, (2) the historians, and (3) the indices on the individual aspects discussed

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<sup>84</sup>On the textual transmission of the Suda lexicon and its use in the Byzantine period, see BIDEZ (1912), ADLER (1928), viii–xi, ADLER (1932), 675–676 and its reception in Byzantium in ADLER (1928), xiv–xvi and ADLER (1932), 714–717.

## 1. The Byzantine Context

in each excerpt, the main principle, the subject matter (1) proved worthless for readers after the Macedonian dynasty. However, the indices which will be presented in the third chapter continued to be seen as valuable. The fact that the marginal indices frequently coincide with the entries of the Suda lexicon support the conjecture that the compilers of the Suda lexicon took advantage of the indexing system of *CE*. From this probable connection, it is possible to postulate that various lists were created by virtue of the marginal indices in the excerpts as a side product of the teamwork at the imperial court.

One of the main innovations of the Suda Lexicon lies in the way different genres of various word lists such as unusual words, biographic, and geographic entries are combined. Its systematic structure follows an alphabetic arrangement (*antistoichia* following the phonetic value of the sound in the words), which broke with the different orders of the various collections combined in the Suda. There is some evidence that the Suda was not the first to unify various traditional lexicographic types.<sup>85</sup> However, none of its predecessors managed to impose a single systematic principle of arrangement as may be found in the Suda. Two such examples from the period of the Macedonian dynasty are worth presenting here.

### 1.2.1. Par. suppl. gr. 607A

The codex with the shelfmark Par. suppl. gr. 607A, contains a selection of entries from various glossaries and shares the learning method of Constantine VII's various works by combining the patterns of the past and prophecies in a single "lexicon".<sup>86</sup> The small format (190×128 mm) of the volume implies that the manuscript once represented a private selection and was copied in the very beginning of the tenth

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<sup>85</sup>On the lexicographical collections of the ninth-tenth centuries, see REITZENSTEIN (1897), TOLKIEHN (1925), ALPERS (1984), 55–68, THEODORIDIS (1992).

<sup>86</sup>In *DAI*, ch. 16. 1–5 the horoscope of the Saracens by Stephen of Alexandria (first half of the seventh century) on the Arabic invasion is included as a historical source, excerpted probably from a chronicle, cf. BURY (1906), 533–537 and SODE (1994), 241–252. On the role of astrologers in Byzantium, see MAGDALINO (2007), 122–136. On the collection of prophecies ascribed to Leo VI, see MANGO (1960).

century in pure and neat minuscule hand.<sup>87</sup> The selection of entries in this Paris manuscript does not reflect the genre of a lexicon in the classical sense. It contains a fragment of short notes on the statues in Constantinople from “Brief historical notes” (*Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai*) (letters A–B). The principle of alphabetic arrangement is combined with the thematic grouping of the subsequent entries.<sup>88</sup>

What makes this manuscript especially interesting for our analysis is the selection of the excerpted authors and that of the subject matters. On the one hand, among the cited authors, a surprising number of historians occur such as Prokopios, Cassius Dio, Appian, Herodotus, and John Lydus in this sequence. All of them are frequently cited and extensively used in Constantine’s treatises and with the exemption of John Lydus, all have been selected for *CE*. On the other hand, the entries also reflect the antiquarian interest in historical figures, in Roman history, in geographical, astronomical subjects which formed the principle of organization in the compilations produced under the reigns of Leo VI and Constantine VII.

### 1.2.2. Haimodein Lexicon

There is other evidence showing that a group of historians such as Prokopios, Agathias, Menander Protector, and Theophylaktos Simokattes were glossed with regards to the unusual and difficult words they employed. Together, these historians narrate Byzantine history of the period from Justinian (527–565) to Heraklios (610–641). Beyond the coverage of this period, the fact that Constantine’s other treatises used these historians and all of them were included in *CE* would suggest that they had

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<sup>87</sup>The entire content of this manuscript was edited by TREU (1880), 1–56. The editor provides a brief analysis (57–58). See also PREGER (1895), 53–55. GOUKOWSKY (1995), 63, n. 1: dates this manuscript to around 950. However, the script of the manuscript rather supports a dating in the late ninth or the early tenth century.

<sup>88</sup>AMERIO (1999), 37–40 demonstrates how thematic units and the alphabetic order were combined in Par. suppl. gr. 607A. The leaves ff. 1r–29v contain entries from the letter A (under the heading ἀγάλματα a list of statues from *Parastaseis syntomoi* breaking with the alphabetic order), ff. 29v–47r comprises entries from letter B; ff. 42v–47r contain miraculous events from Julius Caesar to Domitian. There are five prodigious events on Octavian’s birth, numbered (α’ – ζ’), Lydia’s dream before the birth of Augustus; ff. 47v–55v contains two excerpts on Cyrus and Romulus and Remus; ff. 55v–57r: on the fortune-telling of the Arabs; ff. 57r–62v: excerpts from John Lydus’ work *De mensibus*; ff. 62v–72r: geographic and ethnographic excerpts. ff. 72v–75v: Diogenes Periergetes; ff. 75v–84v: a selection from the scholia to Aratus’ *Phaenomena*;

## 1. The Byzantine Context

been canonized by the time when their historical works were selected for each of the two projects. This lexicographic collection of the unusual words used by these four historians formed the basis of the so-called *Haimodein Lexicon* and were expanded with other etymological and lexicographic collections later.<sup>89</sup> Without manuscripts being preserved from the tenth century, only internal evidence may help in the dating of the collection. Dyck, the editor of the *Haimodein Lexicon* suggests a date between Photios' lexicon and the end of the tenth century (994).<sup>90</sup>

Some tendencies in the the core of the *Haimodein Lexicon* may well be explained by a close connection with *CE*. The *lemmata* are organized by their initial letter. However, their arrangement does not follow the alphabet within each letter. First, the sequence of Prokopios, Agathias, Menander Protector, and Theophylaktos Simokattes is kept roughly the same within each letter of the alphabet. Instead of the alphabetic order of the letters being observed after the first letter of the word, in addition, the lexicon tends to follow the sequence of each historical narrative. The phenomenon that the composition of the *Haimodein Lexicon* preserved the basic structure of the original historical narrative within each letter of the alphabet reflects exactly the basic principle of *CE*, which support the hypothesis of a close connection between the two. Moreover, the sequence of the historical works by Agathias, Menander Protector, and Theophylaktos Simokattes, in the chronological sequence of their narration, is the same in both collections *ELr* and *ES*, as the same arrangement can be traced in the original tenth-century composition: in *ELr*, by means of the table of contents; in *ES*, the arrangement of the palimpsest leaves permits for this solution (see below on p. 203).<sup>91</sup> A reference in *De them.*, ii. 5–12 provides the identical sequence of Prokopios, Agathias, and Menander Protector.

As will be demonstrated in the third chapter (ch. 3.2.5 on p. 217), the fact that a small group of marginal annotations highlighted the rare words and *hapax legomena*

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<sup>89</sup>DE STEFANI (1910), 434–444.

<sup>90</sup>DYCK (1995), 862–864.

<sup>91</sup>This solution was chosen by the editor Boissevain, although it was rejected using mistaken arguments by FLUSIN (2002), 551 who misinterpreted an editorial slip from the introduction to Boissevain's edition (*ES*, xxv and 104, 1).

increases the possibility of a direct link between the *Haimondein Lexicon* and *CE*. Because the number of such marginal annotations is relatively small in the single extant tenth-century manuscript of *CE* (Tours C980 = **T**), they seem to have been deliberately eliminated in the final copies of *CE*. These instances support the hypothesis that lexicographic collections were compiled in parallel with the process of rearranging the historical texts and these lexicographic compendia were used to supply other lexicographic material. The dating of **T** to the early years of Basil II (see p. 94) and roughly the same date assigned to the *Suda* demonstrate that the study of *CE* went on for a couple of decades after Constantine VII's death. If this is the case, word lists similar to the historical core of the *Haimodein lexicon* may have mediated between *CE* and a great number of non-biographic entries in the *Suda* lexicon.

### 1.2.3. *Suda* Lexicon

Similarly to *CE*, the *Suda* lexicon is also a team product, as the first sentence preceding the lexical entries famously implies: “the present book is the *Suda*, and was compiled by wise men...”.<sup>92</sup> The date of the compilation is difficult to specify. The *Suda* was certainly compiled after *CE* were put together and before the mid-eleventh century. Two entries help to assign a more precise date. On the one hand, the chronological division of history in the entry Ἀδάμ (A 425) provides a periodisation of up to the time of Emperor John I Tzimiskes (r. 969–976). On the other hand, the heading Κωνσταντινούπολις (K 2287) mentions Basil II and Constantine VIII (r. 1025–1028). Therefore a more precise dating depends on whether the references to Basil II and Constantine VIII are later interpolations or not. Scholars commonly regard the citations taken from Symeon Metaphrastes' *menologion* and from Michael Psellos (†1081) to be later interpolations in the *Suda*.

It was Carl de Boor who first observed that the citations from historical works, which the *Suda* lexicon contains, reflect the alterations which Constantine's team

<sup>92</sup>τὸ δὲ παρὸν βιβλίον Σοῦδα, οἱ δὲ συνταξάμενοι τοῦτο ἄνδρες σοφοί... , ed. by ADLER (1928), 1.

## 1. The Byzantine Context

made when compiling *CE* (see a few examples from Prokopios in fig. 3.8, on p. 221). Later, he analyzed all citations taken from historians and concluded that except for a few historical writings, a group of the Constantinian collections were used instead of the complete texts of the historians.<sup>93</sup> According to de Boor, the collections “On virtues and vices”, “On embassies”, “On heroic deeds”, “On the command of the army”, “On defeats”, “On sieges”, “On the preparation for war” provided the source material for the *Suda*.<sup>94</sup> Although there are some scholars who debate whether all historiographical citations originated from *CE*,<sup>95</sup> in most cases the direct connection between the two compilations is generally accepted. P. Schreiner used this idea when trying to reconstruct some lost Constantinian collections by classifying the citations from Theophylaktos Simokattes featuring in the *Suda*. He suggested adding some new titles to the list of those collections of *CE* which the team compiling the *Suda* may have used such as “On the deaths of the emperors,” “On magistrates,” “On punishments,” “On festivals,” “On the reasons for wars,” “On dangerous events,” “On natural phenomena”.<sup>96</sup>

The compilers of the *Suda* employed *CE* for two types of entries. First, in most cases, the entries define the meaning of special words such as technical terms, names of functionaries etc., and explain the meaning and grammatical use of rare words attested in the works of historians by illustrative citations. The *Haimodein Lexicon* (see above on p. 33) may provide some evidence to support the hypothesis that word lists were compiled during the preparation of *CE*. This activity resulted in various classifications such as geographical, grammatical or lexical and mediated between

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<sup>93</sup>DE BOOR (1886), DE BOOR (1912), BECKER (1915), DE BOOR (1914–19), ADLER (1928), ix–xxi.

<sup>94</sup>DE BOOR (1914–19), 126–127, BÜTTNER-WOBST (1906), 119–120, ROBERTO (2005a), lxxix–. De Boor believed that the collections EI and ES were not used by the editors of the *Suda*.

<sup>95</sup>See the overview of ADLER (1932), 701–706. On separate authors such as Prokopios, John of Antioch, and Theophylaktos Simokattes, see WIRTH (1964), 163–167, SCHREINER (1987), CAMERON (1963a), CAMERON (1963b), and ROBERTO (2005a).

<sup>96</sup>SCHREINER (1987), 21–23.

*CE* and the *Suda*.<sup>97</sup> Second, a remarkable number of entries taken from *CE* provide biographical sketches of Biblical and historical figures.

As de Boor and Roberto have argued, the collection “On the virtues and vices” belongs to the group which provided material that was cited in the *Suda*. Interestingly enough, there is a clear connection between the marginal indices in **T** and the biographic entries in the *Suda*. It is reasonable to assume that it was through the marginal indices of *CE* that the compilers of the *Suda* supplemented the biographical data contained in classical handbooks such as the epitome of the *Onomatologos* of Hesychios of Miletus (6th c.),<sup>98</sup> Diogenes Laertius on the philosophers, Athenaeus’ *Deipnosophistae*, and other grammatical handbooks.<sup>99</sup> The third level of footnotes (c) in the Appendix demonstrates that the majority of the indices in the margin next to the excerpts from two historians such as George the Monk and John of Antioch as well from Appian coincided with the entries comprising quoted texts from *CE*.<sup>100</sup> The same holds true for one third of the indices featuring in the margin next to the excerpts from Polybius.<sup>101</sup> As regards the types of historical entries, John of

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<sup>97</sup>The attempt by Constantine’s team to create word lists while excerpting various writings may be illustrated by the lexical *scholia* on names of fruits being inserted in the *Geoponica*, compiled at the command of Constantine VII. KOUTAVA-DELIVORIAS (2002), 379–380.

<sup>98</sup>On Hesychius of Miletus as used in the *Suda*, see DAUB (1882). The combination of entries from *CE* with the data selected from biographical handbooks was analyzed by PRANDI (1999), 11–14 and 26–28 (the table shows the various means the two were combined).

<sup>99</sup>ADLER (1928), xxi–xxii.

<sup>100</sup>Next to the excerpts from George the Monk, there are forty-one personal names that appear as marginal indices. Of this number, twenty-four are identical to the entries of the *Suda*. Two of the marginal entries do not highlight the main figure in the excerpt and neither were used in the *Suda*. Leaving out these cases, the proportion becomes twenty-four to thirty-nine. There is only one occasion when a biographical entry in the *Suda*, while being attested in **T**, is not highlighted in the margin by an index. This sentence was taken probably from another Constantinian collection.

Next to the excerpts from John of Antioch, there are sixty-six personal names as marginal indices. Of these, forty-six are identical with the entries in the *Suda*, eight marginal entries do not highlight the main figure in the excerpt nor were they used in the *Suda*. Without counting these cases, the proportion becomes forty-six to fifty-eight. There are only four occasions when a biographical entry in the *Suda* does not follow the index in **T**. These instances may originate from other Constantinian collections. The list of biographical entries from John of Antioch in the *Suda* was collected by ROBERTO (2005a), lxxxix–ci.

Next to the excerpts from Appian, there are fifteen personal names appearing as marginal indices. Among these, seven are identical with entries in the *Suda*,

<sup>101</sup>Next to the excerpts from Polybius, there are 113 personal names. Of this number, thirty-eight are identical with entries in the *Suda*.

## 1. The Byzantine Context

Antioch and George the Monk provided material for biographies of biblical heroes, Roman kings and emperors.<sup>102</sup> Interestingly enough, the majority of the biographical entries from Appian and Polybius do not provide biographies of Roman heroes from the Republican period but the—mainly royal—adversarial figures to Rome, the Carthaginians and the rival Greek kingdoms fighting Rome as she conquered the Mediterranean world. In addition, the excerpts from Polybius also provided material to supply the available collections of proverbs. Of the six indices “proverb” (παροιμία), four occur as entries in the Suda (see in fig. 3.7 on p. 218). These examples illustrate that the marginal indices of *CE* played a major role in helping to compose the biographical entries on historical figures in the Suda.

### 1.3. Priorities in Selecting Historians

The twenty-six historians whose works were selected for Constantine’s project (see fig. 0.1 on p. 3) demonstrate that the emperor’s selection from the broader stock of his library was conscious and, more or less, followed the priorities of earlier Byzantine world histories.<sup>103</sup> In addition to Roman imperial history, *CE* embrace the Roman Republican period preceding Julius Caesar and the early history of the Greek city states, historical periods which had been neglected in Byzantine world histories.

#### 1.3.1. Historical Preference in Constantine’s Treatises

The preference for certain historical periods in Constantine’s treatises may be explained by the quest for historical paradigms in imperial propaganda.<sup>104</sup> The period

<sup>102</sup>On the *somatopsychogrammata* (detailed descriptions of some mythological and historical personages, especially the minute depiction of emperors) by the Byzantine chroniclers, see LJUBARSKIJ (1992), 178–183 (especially 180 and n. 29–30). There are fifty-six entries such as emperors’s names, which are taken from John of Antioch, Cassius Dio, and George the Monk. ZECCHINI (1999b), 87.

<sup>103</sup>Malalas and John of Antioch did not show much of interest in the history of the Greek city-states and the Roman Republic as events from these periods are missing from their chronicles. For a detailed discussion of their attitudes, see JEFFREYS (1979), 215–228 and 230. On *CE*, see ŠEVČENKO (1992), 180.

<sup>104</sup>On a similar phenomenon, the assimilation of emperors (Basil I, Leo VI, and Constantine VII) with Biblical figures such as Salamon and David in imperial propaganda, see MAGDALINO (1987),



from Justinian I to Heraklios, preferred already by Leo VI,<sup>105</sup> is the time most frequently referred to.<sup>106</sup> From earlier periods, Constantine the Great was often used as the major point of reference.<sup>107</sup> However, the repertory of models seems to have been somewhat expanded with figures from earlier historical periods such as Julius Caesar<sup>108</sup> and Augustus.<sup>109</sup>

From among the “Greek” historical figures, Alexander the Great was selected to be followed as a positive paradigm.<sup>110</sup> Constantine’s ideological attitude toward Alexander the Great may explain why the excerptors classified the embassies sent to Alexander the Great as if “to the Romans.”<sup>111</sup> The fact that a version of *The Life of Alexander the Great* was included in the collection of *De cerimoniis* (ii. 56) as

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53–54, 58, MAGDALINO (1988); on Leo VI, see MANGO (1960), IRMSCHER (1978), ODORICO (1983), TOUGHER (1994), TOUGHER (1997), 110–132. On the ideologies in Leo VI’s homilies, see ANTONOPOULOU (1997), 72–80. On the propaganda value of imitating Abgar in the context of the translation of the Holy Mandylion from Edessa to Constantinople in 944, see WEITZMANN (1960).

<sup>105</sup>Leo VI is frequently mentioned in the *De them.*, ix. 3–6; xii. 1–2; xii. 6–8, 14–15; 10. 35.

<sup>106</sup>For Justinian, see MAGDALINO (1997). Justinian is quoted eight times in the *De them.*: i. 29–31, 50–52; ii. 12; v. 17–20; xii. 28–36. In *DAI*, his name is cited nine times: 21. 48; 22. 9, 29, 34; 27. 73; 47. 6, 10; 48. 11. In the surviving collections of *CE*, Justinian I’s name is mentioned 118 times (EL: 95, EI: 22, and ES: 1).

As for Heraklios, see three references to him in the *De them.*, preface, 20–29 (cited above), and ii. 3–5. In *DAI*, his name is mentioned twenty-one times.

<sup>107</sup>For Constantine the Great, see HALDON (1990), 42, MARKOPOULOS (1994a), 164–170, and MARKOPOULOS (2006), 286–289. In *De them.*, praef. 12–13 (see above), 1. 3, 17–19; 9. 4–5, 23–39.

<sup>108</sup>Treatise C of military expeditions, ascribed to Constantine VII, mentions Julius Caesar (l. 80–82), ed. HALDON (1990), 86–87. SPECK (1991), 276–277 regards this sentence an interpolation. A longer passage is dedicated to him in the *De them.*, xi. 3–11: Τὸ δὲ τῆς πόλεως ὄνομα ἐκ τοῦ σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος Ἰουλίου προσεῖληψε, τοῦ τὴν Καίσαρος ἀρχὴν πρώτου κρατυναμένου καὶ μοναρχίαν τὴν πολυαρχίαν κατασκευάσαντος. Καῖσαρ δὲ ἐπεκλήθη οὐκ ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας, ἀλλὰ ἐκ τῆς ἀνατομῆς τῆς γαστρὸς μητέρος αὐτοῦ. Τελευτησάσης γὰρ αὐτῆς, ἔσπαιρε τὸ βρέφος καὶ ἀπελάκτιζε· καὶ διατηθείσης τῆς γαστρὸς αὐτῆς, ἐξῆλθε βρυχώμενος, ὥσπερ τις σκύμνος λέοντος· τὴν δὲ ἀνατομὴν τζαῖσαι καλοῦσιν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι. Ὅθεν καὶ Τζαῖσαρ ἐπωνομάσθη διὰ τὴν ἀνατομὴν ὥσπερ εἵπομεν... αἱ πόλεις αἱ καλούμεναι Καισάρειαι ἐκ τοῦδε τοῦ φιλτάτου Καίσαρος τὴν προσωυμίαν ἐσχέχασιν. See also his mentioning in the *De them.*, ii. 60. Interestingly enough, Theophanes Continuatus does not mention at all Julius Caesar. See Augustus in *De them.*, ii. 51:

<sup>109</sup>*De them.*, i. 11; ii. 51; 8. 3, 15–16.

<sup>110</sup>TRAHULIA (1997), 21–25 quotes examples from the *Vita Basilii*, which illustrate that Constantine viewed Alexander the Great as a positive paradigm. In the *De them.*, Alexander seems to be a deliberately chosen reference point. In this context, see the river Granikos (iv. 15–17) and the town of Issos, which lent its name to the famous battle (xiii. 6–8). See also xiii. 6–8 and xv. 12. For a rough summary of the reception of Alexander’s image in Byzantium, see GLEIXNER (1961), 25–51, who does not mention Constantine VII and his excerpts and treatises.

<sup>111</sup>FLUSIN (2002), 553, n. 56.

## 1. The Byzantine Context

an appendix<sup>112</sup> would support the hypothesis that Alexander the Great was indeed viewed as a historical hero and an ideal worthy of emperors. This may explain why the biographical works on Alexander, such as his biography by Nicolas of Damascus and the historical account of his wars by Arrian, were included among *CE*.<sup>113</sup> A clearer view emerges concerning the priorities of historical periods through an analysis of how frequently they are represented in the entries of the *Suda*, which strongly relied on *CE*.

### 1.3.2. Historical Preference Points in the *Suda*

In terms of interest, the age of Constantine VII showed some preferences to certain historical periods. Since the majority of the biographic entries of historical figures in the *Suda* lexicon, except for the history of Greece, derive from *CE*, the pattern of priorities concerning certain historical periods found within it would, to some extent, be informative about the preference exhibited in the selection of historians and the passages from their work that was to be excerpted. The proposition that some priorities can be attributed to the compilers of the *Suda* rather than to the compilers of *CE* is weakened by the fact that the compilers of the lexicon do not seem to have deliberately changed what they found in their sources. Under the entries for important geographical and personal names, constructed by the compilers of the *Suda*, only a few accidental sentences are cited, often from *CE*, without intending to provide a comprehensive overview of the personal or geographical name highlighted by the entry.<sup>114</sup> In addition, the *Suda* does not seem to have been systematic in

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<sup>112</sup>Only the title is known of this text from the table of contents (f. 175r: *νς' Βίος Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνης: καθιστορίαν ἔξων φάκτα 98*). The back of the Leipzig manuscript of *De cerimoniis* (University Library, Rep. I 17) with the *Life of Alexander* was lost. Based on the number of chapters, this text may be identified with the Greek original of which archpriest, Leo of Naples, prepared a Latin translation between 951 and 969. He could have brought his *Life of Alexander* from Constantinople during his embassy to the court of Constantine VII and Romanus II. FEATHERSTONE (2004a), 115 and PFISTER (1960), 204–205.

<sup>113</sup>In the same circle with *CE*, the continuator of Theophanes may have used Plutarch's "Life of Alexander" as argued by JENKINS (1954), 17.

<sup>114</sup>E.g., the heading *Βυζάντιον* (B 588) has citations from Cassius Dio, 74.14.5–6 and John of Antioch, fr.127 on constructing the city with a cross reference to Severus (I 500). Under the

terms of mentioning significant persons, whom a modern editor would not leave out from such a lexicon.<sup>115</sup> Therefore, proportional differences may also be viewed as informative concerning *CE*, which were one of the main sources of the Suda.

In the Suda, two entries manifest the Byzantine view of history as a set of translations of power between subsequent empires, such as from the Assyrians to the Persians, thence to the Macedonians, and finally to the Romans.<sup>116</sup> The concept of the translation of power originates from the Bible, from the interpretation of the dream of the Babylonian king by the prophet Daniel (Dan 2:37–44). This passage was excerpted from *The Jewish Antiquities* of Josephus Flavius into Constantine's first, thus most important, collection "On the inaugurations of the emperors" (περὶ βασιλέων ἀναγορεύσεως).<sup>117</sup>

The majority of the numerous entries on the various periods of Greek history seems to derive from sources other than *CE*.<sup>118</sup> However, the entries for the historical figures from Roman history mainly originate from *CE*. Zecchini found 650 entries, 191 biographical ones among them, which refer to Roman history starting from the foundation of Rome up to Emperor Justinian I (r. 527–565). Of this figure, 268 entries comment on the Republican period with sixty-six biographical entries among them. Altogether 326 entries including sixty-nine biographical entries refer to the Imperial period.<sup>119</sup> In addition to the imbalance between the numbers of Republican

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heading *Mediolanon*, only its capture by the Huns is mentioned. Some entries are multiplied as *Καῖσαρ* (K 1196, 1199).

<sup>115</sup>HUNGER (1991), 143–144 has a long list of terms and names that he misses from the Suda. Church fathers except for Gregory of Nazianzus are almost absent from the Suda. The most extensive chroniclers of the ninth century, Theophanes Confessor and George the Synkellos were not cited at all as their chronicles were not included in *CE* either. HUNGER (1991), 141. Under the entry *εἰκόν* there is nothing on Iconoclasm. On Church matters and Iconoclasm, the citations are taken from George the Monk. HUNGER (1991), 146–147

<sup>116</sup>Ἀσσύριοι (A 4289) and Ῥωμαίων ἀρχή, (P 246). BEARZOT (1999), 36.

<sup>117</sup>This is the only passage which can be assigned with certainty to the first collection of *CE*. The attribution is based on a cross-reference in *T* (f. 39r) where the passage comprising Daniel's interpretation with the concept of the translation of power (10. 207–210) is missing from the passage of *The Jewish Antiquities* as excerpted in *EV*.

<sup>118</sup>BEARZOT (1999) analyzed the entries on Greek history in the Suda. For the archaic and classical periods, see GIANGIULIO (1999).

<sup>119</sup>ZECCHINI (1999b), 77–84.

## 1. The Byzantine Context

and Imperial period entries, there is a similar dichotomy between the Principate and the subsequent Roman Imperial period. From Julius Caesar to Diocletian, there are 108 entries with thirteen biographical entries. The somewhat surprisingly disproportional emphasis on Trajan's Dacian war, namely thirty percent of the entries embracing the period from the AD first to the third centuries, may be explained by the proposition that the *Suda* was produced during the reign of Basil II, when this territory became important in the war with the Bulgars who are presented in a surprisingly detailed entry: Βουλγαροί (B 423).<sup>120</sup> At the same time, more emphasis was placed on the period from Constantine the Great to Justinian I as the 218 entries including fifty-six biographical ones show; forty-seven of the biographical entries of these refer to the period after Theodosius the Great (347–395).

As far as the period preceding Julius Caesar is concerned, in the *Suda* there is a surprising emphasis on the origins of Rome and on the Punic wars.<sup>121</sup> On the period of the Roman civil war of the late second and first centuries BC, perhaps the most thoroughly explored and studied period of the entire Roman history today, there are only a few entries, mainly taken from John of Antioch and Arrian's *Parthica*. From the AD fourth century AD, however, the main source of entries are the historians from *CE*; and the majority of these entries are not biographical.<sup>122</sup> Interestingly enough, of the twenty-six historians whose texts were selected for *CE* twelve come from the time after Theodosius the Great. Five of these historians are contemporary with Justinian I. Perhaps it is not an overstatement to say that this period was the main concern for Constantine VII and his team. However, the emperor's interest seems to have wandered far beyond this historical framework.

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<sup>120</sup>ZECCHINI (1999b), 82.

<sup>121</sup>On the large number of citations from Polybius, see DE BOOR (1912), 387. From this period, Carthage, Hannibal, Scipio Africanus are proportionally emphasized through entries taken from Polybius and Cassius Dio. The origin of the entry on Scipio Africanus (Σ 577) cannot be decided. ZECCHINI (1999b), 84.

<sup>122</sup>There are 162 non-biographical entries in the *Suda* from Eunapios, Priskos, Malchos, Prokopios, and Agathias, Menander Protektor, and Theophylaktos Simokattes. ZECCHINI (1999b), 84–85.

### 1.3.3. Selection of Material for the *Constantinian Excerpts*

In order to show the historical interest in certain periods and indifference to others, modern periodisation and classifications of history are applied for the analysis as reference points which were foreign for the compilers of *CE*. In the comparison of *CE* with Byzantine chronicles, these reference points may illustrate how the production of *CE* broadened the Byzantine horizon of viewing history in the tenth-century. The majority of the historians selected for Constantine's project narrated Roman Imperial history, including what we call Byzantine history, the history of the East, especially that of Persia, Greek mythical history, and the historical background of the Bible. However, the inclusion of the *Roman Antiquities* by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and the works of Polybius and Cassius Dio shows an interest in the royal and Republican periods in Roman history. Moreover, the insertion of the extensive historical account of Diodorus of Sicily may indicate a more inclusive approach to "post-mythological" Greek history than what previous Byzantine world histories represent. Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon's *Anabasis* and *Cyropaedia* seem to have been selected primarily because of their stylistic merits.

As far as Roman imperial history, the main preference of *CE*, is concerned, several factors in the choice of historians show that Constantine VII's excerptors worked with a fairly comprehensive selection of imperial historiography, one even broader than that in Photios' *Bibliotheca* a few generations earlier, which had not included authors such as Menander Protector, Priskos, and Agathias. Among those historians whom both Photios and Constantine VII included in their projects, the greater part of the writings of Nicolas of Damascus, Iamblichus' *Babyloniaca*, John of Antioch, Malchos of Philadelphia, Peter the Patrician, and several books of Cassius Dio would have been lost to us without *CE*.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>123</sup>Ideological omission can only be noted for Prokopios' *Secret History* which seems to have been known at the end of the tenth century. The omission of Prokopios' *Secret History* has two alternative explanations. (1) It could have been transmitted in the lost parts of *CE* as a basis for the fragments featuring in the *Suda*. (2) It could equally have been intentionally avoided because of its malicious approach to the imperial couple, Justinian and Theodora, as indicated in the *Suda*, Π 2479, s. v. Προκόπιος: ὅτι τὸ βιβλίον Προκοπίου τὸ καλούμενον Ἀνέκδοτα φόγους καὶ κωμωδίαν

## 1. The Byzantine Context

Apart from the preferences for certain historical periods, a difference in proportions can also be seen between the genres the excerpted historians represent. As opposed to the chronicles and world histories, the accounts of events, which are contemporary or close to it with the historian, seem to have been preferred in the classical sense of the term *historiae*. However, Constantine VII's compilers did not consistently distinguish the term “chronography” from “history”.<sup>124</sup> For example, the introduction to the continuation of Theophanes' *Chronicle* calls this biographically arranged historical account a *χρονογραφία* (“chronography”).<sup>125</sup> In *Vita Basilii*, Constantine VII calls his writing a “historical narration” about his grandfather (ἱστορικὴ διήγησις... ).<sup>126</sup> At the same time, Theophanes' chronicle is twice referred to as *χρονικόν* (“chronicle”, *DAI*, chs. 17, 21); Theophanes the author as *χρονογράφος* (“chronographer” in ch. 22) although once his work is cited as *ἱστορία* (“history” in ch. 25).

Similar inaccuracies appear in the paratexts, texts labeling and structuring the body text in *CE*. In the table of contents of the collection “On virtue and vice” (EV) in **T**, each historical work assembled in the volume is called *χρονικόν*. However, the work by John of Antioch is called *χρονικὴ ἱστορία* (“historical chronicle”) similarly to the marginal heading on the title page of George the Monk (**T**, f. 64r). At the same time, the marginal headings and the closing references at the end of the excerpts from each historian label chronicles as *ἱστορία*.<sup>127</sup> In brief, it seems likely that Constantine's circle paid no attention to the terminological differences between history

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Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως περιέχει καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ γυναικὸς Θεοδώρας, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ αὐτοῦ Βελισαρίου καὶ τῆς γαμετῆς αὐτοῦ. On this problem, see BECKER (1915), 31–32. DE BOOR (1914–19), 50–54, 121 suggested that the citations in the Suda originate from the lost second volume of the collection “On virtues and vices.” ADLER (1932), 703.

<sup>124</sup>See a detailed account on the use of *διήγησις* and *ἱστορία* and other words with the same root employed in various works of Constantine VII's circle in ANAGNOSTAKIS (1999), 99–109, 126–133, especially 130, n. 56.

<sup>125</sup>Theophanes Continuatus, ed. BEKKER (1838), 3: *Χρονογραφία συγγραφεῖσα ἐκ προστάξεως Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ φιλοχρίστου καὶ πορφυρογεννήτου δεσπότης...*

<sup>126</sup>Constantine VII, *Vita Basilii*, 1, ed. BEKKER (1838), 211. See also ŠEVČENKO (1978), 101.

<sup>127</sup>In the closing note of George the Monk (**T**, f. 79v) and the marginal heading and the closing marginal note of Malalas (**T**, f. 79v and f. 83r), and John of Antioch (**T**, f. 83r and f. 100v) each call these works *ἱστορία*.

and chronography. However, the proportional difference between the two in terms of their selection to *CE* demonstrates the priority of the contemporary histories.

In addition to the valuable historical record the excerpts encompass, the classifying style as a model for compositions also played an important role in the selection of the historical narratives. One of the excerpts from John of Antioch, for instance, gives insight in the excerptor's response to the occasion when he found a text already excerpted from another corpus. The excerptor omitted passages that he had already transcribed from Cassius Dio. This reaction seems to suggest that the excerptor distinguished between a primary text and its secondary use by a chronicler.<sup>128</sup> This intention conformed to the emperor's wish, expressed in the *prooemium*, to preserve the literary quality of the text together with its content. The preferential treatment given to primary texts rather than texts used secondarily may explain why chronicles were less often excerpted. A minor group of chronicles and world histories, however, were selected and include the chronicles of Dexippos, John of Antioch,<sup>129</sup> Malalas,<sup>130</sup> and George the Monk<sup>131</sup>. This group is certainly smaller than what would actually have been available in Constantine VII's circle.

The question emerges why the chroniclers Dexippos, Malalas, John of Antioch, and George the Monk were selected for *CE* and why Patriarch Nikephoros'

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<sup>128</sup>Find below my arguments that this sentence should be attributed to the excerptors instead of John of Antioch (cf. 3.2.4 p. 213). The reference is on f. 91v in **T** in majuscules (John of Antioch, exc. 26 in EV 1, 184, 17–18).

<sup>129</sup>On the use of John of Antioch in *CE*, see ROBERTO (2005a), xxxi–xlv and MARIEV (2006), MARIEV (2008), 17–20.

<sup>130</sup>On the use of Malalas in *CE*, see FLUSIN (2004).

<sup>131</sup>George the Monk recorded the events from the creation of the world up to 843. The continuation of the chronicle by George the Monk and its relation to Genesios and Theophanes Continuatus is discussed by SOTIROUDIS (1989a), CODOÑER (1995), xiv–xxi and MARKOPOULOS (2009), 140–142, esp. n. 30 with bibliography.

## 1. The Byzantine Context

*Breviarum historicum*,<sup>132</sup> George the Synkellos<sup>133</sup> and Theophanes Confessor<sup>134</sup> were not. In addition to his world chronicle, Dexippos composed an account on the the followers of Alexander the Great (*diadochoi*) and another one “On the Schytians” (*Scythica*). With one exception (ES 107), all excerpts of his corpus originate from these two accounts and not from his chronicle. The selection of Malalas is difficult to explain. His impersonal depictions of his historical heroes were not likely to have been attractive in the tenth-century. Perhaps his simple language was inviting for Constantine and his circle. There was some effort to use a simpler form of the Greek in various compilations produced in this circle.<sup>135</sup> It was probably because of their narrative techniques that chronicles by John of Antioch and George the Monks were selected for *CE*. Both were good story tellers, and enhanced their chronicles with vivid descriptions and anecdotes that characterize the historical figures.<sup>136</sup> This may be why the writings of George the Monk became much more popular in the tenth century than the more monotonous chronicles by George the Synkellos and Theophanes Confessor.

The use of Theophanes’s chronicle, either of its complete or abridged form,<sup>137</sup> is well attested in *DAI*, chs. 17, 21, 22, 25. At the same time, among the historians to be excerpted his chronicle was not selected. In any case, no such evidence exists in the huge but fragmentary corpus of *CE*. This omission seems even more surprising

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<sup>132</sup>See its edition and English translation by MANGO (1990). The earliest text of Nikephoros’ *Breviarum historicum* (1st quarter of 10th c.) is bound together with the single Byzantine manuscript of Theophylaktos Simokattes (Vat. gr. 977, ff. 185r–209v). SCHREINER (1987), 7–9.

<sup>133</sup>In his chronicle, George the Synkellos recorded the events from the creation of the world to Diocletian (284). See the edition by MOSSHAMMER (1984) and its English translation with commentary by ADLER & TUFFIN (2002).

<sup>134</sup>Theophanes Confessor continued George Synkellos’ work for the period from 284 to 813. See the edition by DE BOOR (1883–1885) and the English translation with thorough commentary by MANGO & SCOTT (1997). Theophanes’ Chronicle was extensively used in Constantine’s circle.

<sup>135</sup>Constantine VII repeated this attempt to use plain prose Greek in *De cerimoniis*, book 1, introduction (ed. Vogt, 5. 2–4) and in *DAI*, 1. 8–13 as well.

<sup>136</sup>In his chronicle, George the Monk concentrates on the story of Biblical and historical figures with colourful and characterizing depictions. His favourite topics are founding cities, invention of tools and instruments, struggles against magic and astrology or vivid descriptions of the riot. KAZHDAN & ANGELIDI (2006), 45–49 and LJUBARSKIJ (1992), 180, and LJUBARSKIJ (1994).

<sup>137</sup>See the discourse in YANNOPOULOS (1987), 158–166 and YANNOPOULOS (2005), 362–363, n. 3.



if we consider Constantine VII's claim to be a relative of the blessed Theophanes Confessor,<sup>138</sup> who was claimed to be Constantine's uncle on his mother, Zoe Karbonopsina's side (μητρόθειος).<sup>139</sup> The unknown continuator of Theophanes' chronicle says that Constantine VII was Theophanes' grandson (υιωνός) on his mother's side; a third source (Theodoros the *protoasekretis*) also confirms the relation between them without specifying its nature. According to Yannopoulos, Constantine VII wanted to use this blood relationship in imperial propaganda. In this context, it seems worth mentioning that Constantine voted for a different manner of structuring historical narration when he decided to support the continuation of his purported ancestor's work. Books 1–4 of the work called *Theophanes Continuatus*, dedicated to Constantine VII and compiled at his order (ἐκ προστάξεως Κωνσταντίνου...), arrange the historical account around biographies of the emperors, those of Leo V (813–820), Michael II (820–829), Theophilos (829–842), and Michael III (842–867), instead of Theophanes Confessor's order according to subsequent years.

The genre of biography, the most popular genre in Constantine's circle, was not selected for *CE* even though it was extensively represented in courtly historiography by Genesios, the collection *Theophanes Continuatus*, and Constantine VII's *Vita Basilii*.<sup>140</sup> The only exception among the extensive but fragmentary corpus of *CE* is the *Life of Augustus* by Nicolas of Damascus—it might better be called an *encomium* (“praise”) to Augustus—, which probably influenced the structure of Con-

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<sup>138</sup>SPECK (1994), 431–488 believes that there was another Theophanes in addition to the historiographer whom Constantine VII mentions. The majority of scholars, however, accept that Constantine VII meant the historian Theophanes.

<sup>139</sup>DAI, 22, 77–82. YANNOPOULOS (2005), 362–372.

<sup>140</sup>ALEXANDER (1940), JENKINS (1954), LJUBARSKIJ (1992), 184–186, MARKOPOULOS (2006), 289, and MARKOPOULOS (2009). The chronicle of Symeon Logothetes, ed. and comm. by WAHLGREN (2006), discusses events from the creation of the world to the death of Romanos I Lekapenos (948). Although starting from Julius Caesar, the emperors' names function as the organizing principle of the events. The presentation reflects the genre of chronography. Instead of older histories, it mainly relies on ninth-century chronicles (e.g., George Synkellos, Theophanes Confessor, Patriarch Nikephoros, and George the Monk). The Logothetes Chronicle was continued after 948, ed. by BEKKER (1838), 753–760. On the continuation, see the study and the edition of Vat. gr. 613, ff. 58v–61r by MARKOPOULOS (1979).

## 1. The Byzantine Context

stantine VII's Life of his grandfather, Basil I,<sup>141</sup> and the self-biography of Josephus Flavius. The inclusion of these biographical works may be explained by their coincident transmission in the same volume with other texts, which were not biographies. The treatment of Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* well demonstrates this attitude. His text was only used to complete some missing chapters in Cassius Dio's narrative, without an explicit mention of this editorial intervention.<sup>142</sup> The omission of Plutarch's *Lives* from *CE* may be explained by their favourable arrangement, which did not require restructuring because their order coincided with the literary tastes at Constantine's court.<sup>143</sup> The preface of book V (*Vita Basilii*), ascribed to Constantine VII, explains the favouring of biography by describing history as an account of the deeds of individuals.<sup>144</sup>

Ἦν μοι προθυμία καὶ ἔφρεσις ἐκ πολλοῦ  
ἐμπειρίαν πραγμάτων καὶ γνῶσιν ταῖς τῶν  
σπουδαιοτέρων ἐμφυτεύσαι διανοίαις διὰ τοῦ  
ἀειμνήστου καὶ ἀθανάτου τῆς ἱστορίας στό-  
ματος, καὶ ἐβουλόμην, ἂν ἄρα οἶός τε ὦ,  
τοῦ σύμπαντος τῆς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ Ῥωμαϊκῆς  
ἀρχῆς χρόνου τῶν τε αὐτοκρατόρων καὶ  
τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοὺς ἀρχόντων καὶ στρατηγῶν  
καὶ ὑποστρατῆγων καὶ τῶν καθ' ἕκαστα  
τὰς ἀξιολογωτέρας τῶν πράξεων ἀναγρά-  
ψασθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔδεῖτο τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ χρό-  
νου πολλοῦ καὶ πόνου συχνοῦ καὶ βιβλίων  
ἀφθονίας καὶ σχολῆς τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν πραγ-  
μάτων, ταῦτα δ' ἡμῖν οὐ προσῆν, εἰς τὸν  
δεύτερον ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὑποβέβηκα πλοῦν, καὶ  
τέως ἐνὸς βασιλέως, ἐπὶ μέγα τὸ τῆς βα-  
σιλείας κράτος ὑψώσαντος, ὃς καὶ τῆς βα-  
σιλείας ἐπώνυμος ἦν καὶ μέγα ὄφελος τῇ  
πολιτείᾳ Ῥωμαίων ἐγένετο καὶ τοῖς πράγ-  
μασιν, ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ μέχρις αὐτῆς τελευ-

For a long time my urge and desire had  
been to implant a practical experience  
and knowledge of affairs in the minds of  
the more seriously minded through the  
never-forgetful and immortal mouth of  
history, and I wished, should I perchance  
have been capable thereof, to have re-  
counted some of the deeds of the emper-  
ors, their marshals, generals, and their  
lieutenants throughout the whole period  
of the Roman rule at Byzantium. But  
since this matter demanded not only much  
time and uninterrupted work, but also an  
abundance of books and surcease from  
affairs, and since all those I did not have,  
I was forced to choose the second course,  
namely to narrate, for the time being,  
the deeds and the entire development of  
one emperor (i.e., Basil) etc., so that the  
generations to come would not ignore the

<sup>141</sup>JENKINS (1954), 24–25.

<sup>142</sup>Cassius Dio's excerpts 106–111 in EV 2, 276–278 are taken from Plutarch's "Life of Sulla", chs. 12, 13, 15, 22. The same can be observed in Cassius Dio's excerpts 24–27 in the collection "On the embassies sent by the barbarians" (ELG 416–417) that are taken from Plutarch's *Sulla* chs. 22–24. See Ursul Philip Boissevain, ed., *Cassi Dionis Cocceiani historiarum Romanorum quae supersunt* (Berlin, 1895), vol. 1, cvii–cx, 347 and BÜTTNER-WOBST (1906), 98–99.

<sup>143</sup>On imperial redaction of Plutarch-manuscripts—both *Vitae* and *Moralia*—in the tenth-century, see IRIGOIN (1971), 83–88 and MANFREDINI (2000), 655–663.

<sup>144</sup>See the introduction of Constantine VII's *Vita Basilii*, 1, ed. Bekker, *Theophanes Continuatus*, 212, tr. by ALEXANDER (1940), 195. The introduction is analyzed in detail by ŠEVČENKO (1998).

τῆς τὰς πράξεις καὶ τὴν ὅλην ἀγωγὴν διη-  
 γήσασθαι, ὥς ἂν καὶ τοῖς μετέπειτα μὴ ἀ-  
 γνοῖται βασιλείου στελέχους ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῦ  
 25 χρόνου παρεκταθέντος ἢ πρώτη πηγὴ καὶ  
 ῥίζα, καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις ἐκείνου οἴκοθεν εἴη  
 ἀνεστηκώς ὁ πρὸς ἀρετὴν κανὼν τε καὶ ἀν-  
 δριάς καὶ τὸ ἀρχέτυπον τῆς μιμήσεως. εἰ  
 δὲ ἐπιμετρηθεῖ καὶ χρόνος ἡμῖν ἔτι ζωῆς,  
 καὶ γένηται τις καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν νόσων ἐκε-  
 30 χειρία μικρά, καὶ μηδὲ τῶν ἑξωθεν εἴη τι  
 ἐμποδῶν, ἴσως προσθῶμεν ἐχομένως καὶ  
 τῆς ἄχρις ἡμῶν κατιούσης αὐτοῦ γενεᾶς  
 τὴν ὅλην τῆς ἱστορίας ἀφήγησιν.

primary source and root of royal stem  
 which stretched over a long period. If,  
 then, a further space of time be yet meas-  
 ured unto us, and some slight respite from  
 infirmities, and should no external cir-  
 25R cumstance stand in the way, it may be  
 that we, in unbroken order, shall add the  
 complete chain of the history of this pro-  
 geny which comes down even unto us.

In this atmosphere, the collection of *CE* does not seem to have aimed at embracing all accounts of the past. One may postulate that Constantine VII intended to assemble only those historical works that had a structure that impeded access to the valuable data they contained. Such were histories with arrangements dependent on their authors' individual schemes, and some chronicles, especially those preserving unique data that most chronicles did not contain and those comprising a fair number of anecdotes. Such an interpretation of *CE* as regards their function may explain the exclusion of biographies and such easily accessible chronicles such as those of Theophanes Confessor and George the Synkellos.

The marginal indexing system, moreover, (to be discussed in the third chapter) spotlighted names of individuals in various periods and polities of the history of humanity. With the help of these indices, the readers who consulted *CE* could thus easily find individual examples, "deeds of emperors, their marshals, generals, and their lieutenants", and even beyond Roman history by virtue of the meticulous classification of the fifty-three subjects. Thus, the structure of *CE*, juxtaposing excerpts according to textual contexts which were interesting to Constantine VII and his circle together with the indices highlighting the names of individuals, may have proved very useful for Constantine's project of writing Roman history. Because of these practical values of *CE* in the imperial circle, it does not seem too unreasonable to assume that *CE* reflect the imperial effort to collect data for other ambitious projects such as an account of Roman history arranged on a biographical principle.

## 1. The Byzantine Context

In this sense, the excerpts should not only be seen as the final goal of a project but also, more importantly, as a tool for other later projects.

It would be useful to explore how the authors Theophanes Continuatus and Constantine VII, in his *Vita Basilii*, used and applied *CE*. A few hints such as *verbatim* equivalents on the theory of writing between Theophanes Continuatus and some excerpts from Polybius' *Historiae* in *CE*,<sup>145</sup> and the story of Sardanapalus (see below) support the hypothesis that the continuation of Theophanes' chronicle, composed on the order of Constantine VII, relied in some extent on the same emperor's project of excerpting historians. For studying this problem in more details, a critical edition of the text would be a prerequisite. Thus, the lack of an adequate critical edition of the six books of Theophanes Continuatus<sup>146</sup> and the enormous scope of the material it encompasses would make this investigation extremely difficult, and far beyond the scope of this thesis. However, the following sub-chapters attempt to trace the use of *CE* in treatises ascribed to Constantine VII.

### 1.4. The Use of the *Constantinian Excerpts*?

Assembling the excerpts with the meticulous method as will be described in chapter 3 must have taken a considerable length of time. The excerpts on sieges of various towns, assembled with Constantine's method (Par. suppl. gr. 607. hereafter: **P**), seem to have been copied considerably earlier and in another context than the final copies of *CE* as will be demonstrated in ch.q.2.5.1 (p.147). It seems therefore

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<sup>145</sup> A few examples may suffice: (1) The appraisal of history as the surest and only method of learning in Theophanes Continuatus, ed. BEKKER (1838), 21, 19–21 seems to originate from Polybius, *Historiae*, 1.1.2–4 (ES 104 on the lost page preceding Vat. gr. 73, p. 93). (2) The statements on the values of anecdotes in the historical narrative (as a motto for this chapter) in *Vita Basilii*, ch. 56 derive from Polybius, *Historiae*, 38.4 (ES 214,10–12). (3) The term used for the Constantinian subjects (κεφαλαιώδης υπόθεσις) in a preface for each volume of *CE* (preserved in EV and ELr) resembles the term used in Polybius, *Historiae*, 1.127 (ES 107,5–10). The idea for the number fifty-three may also derive from Polybius' *Historiae* (see below on p. 65).

<sup>146</sup> The edition of *Vita Basilii* by Ihor Ševčenko, which has been promised by Walter de Gruyter at the end of 2010, will soon assist in the careful study of *Vita Basilii* from this point of view. See also the commentary on books 1–3 of Theophanes Continuatus by CODOÑER (1995).

somewhat likely that rearranging historical narratives in this way was well in progress by the time of Constantine VII's ascent to the throne in 945.

### 1.4.1. *De thematibus* and the *Constantinian Excerpts*

When trying to establish a rough temporal frame for *CE*, one has to consider the possible dating of Constantine VII's other compilations which seem to rely, to some extent, on his historical excerpts. In terms of subject matter, the relation between the two is apparent. However, it is very difficult to specify the nature of the relationship. It is possible to view *CE* as a complement to Theophanes Continuatus, as implied in its preface (see above). In some cases, however, it seems equally probable that Constantine's scholars used some passages assembled in *CE* in the imperial treatises.<sup>147</sup>

The date to which some scholars assign the earlier reduction of *De thematibus* is exactly the same period when **P** was copied. According to Pertusi, the editor of the *De them.*, book I was finalized close to its extant form shortly after 934; while book II was finished later. Pertusi's argument dating it after 998 does not seem likely.<sup>148</sup>

The fact that Romanos I Lekapenos (920–944) is mentioned in both books of *De them.* as a ruling emperor suggests that the earliest reduction should be dated to

<sup>147</sup>The idea of postulating a connection between Constantine VII's compilations and his historical excerpts was raised by ŠEVČENKO (1992), 191, n. 60 and PRATSCH (1994), 70–71; the problem has been noted by MARKOPOULOS (2006), 208–209. HOWARD-JOHNSTON (2001), 310 emphasizes the main difference between *DAI* and *CE*, namely the chronological (*DAI*) and thematic arrangement (*CE*).

<sup>148</sup>The dating to shortly after 934 was suggested by RAMBAUD (1870), 164–166 who observed that Melias, the first *strategos* of Lykandos, who participated in the campaign against Melitene in 934, is cited in *De them.*, xii, 10 as being dead (πρὸ μικροῦ τελευτήσαντα, Μελίαν. . .). Thus, the earliest reduction of *De them.* can be dated after 934. As for dating Book 2 after the end of the tenth century, PERTUSI (1952) emphasizes that Dalmatia is mentioned in Book 2, ch. 9, 35 as a region of Italy (ἡ δὲ Δαλματία τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐστὶ χώρα). However, it was only around 998 that it became part of Italy. On the basis of the variant readings, PERTUSI (1952), 49 suggests the stemma of the development of the text of *De them.*. The two branches of the text were divided before the early eleventh century when the first two reductions were unified and the earlier redaction survived in an independent tradition. OSTROGORSKY (1953), 35 refutes this argument with several such or even more obvious disregard of the tenth-century reality by the author(s) of *De them.*. E.g., Sicily is mentioned as a Byzantine *thema* although it was lost to Byzantium in 902. The continuation of the sentence assigning Dalmatia to Italy shows that the description refers to the fourth century (Οὕτω γὰρ ἐμέρισεν ὁ μέγας βασιλεὺς Κωνσταντῖνος τοῖς τρισὶν υἱέσιν. . .).

## 1. The Byzantine Context

a period between 934 and 944.<sup>149</sup> However, there is no doubt there was a second revision, which is likely to have been produced at the very end of Constantine VII's reign or even later. In the list of the Cappadocian Church fathers, there is a note next to the name of Gregory of Nazianzus, saying that he is now in the church of the Holy Apostles.<sup>150</sup> As his relics were translated to Constantinople in 945/946, this sentence could only have been inserted in the treatise after this date. As Pertusi argues, there is a long section on the fight between the Frankish king, Louis II (855–875) and Soldan, the emir of Bari (861–871) in the description of Lombardy (11.18–44). This section is supplemented by another details such as the meeting of the two rulers in the accounts of *DAI* (29.88–116, 116–216) and *Vita Basilii* (289,2–290,23, 294,3–297,23).<sup>151</sup> According to Pertusi, the version of *De them.* unified and

<sup>149</sup> *De them.*, 6.41: ἦν δὲ οὗτος Νικήτας, ὁ κηδεύσας ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ Σοφίᾳ Χριστοφόρον τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ καλοῦ Ῥωμανοῦ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ βασιλέως; xiii,12–14: Ὁ δὲ κύριος Ῥωμανός, ὁ καλός τε καὶ ἀγαθὸς βασιλεύς, ὥσπερ πλάτος μῆκός τε καὶ μέγεθος ἐπιτιθεὶς τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ, στρατηγίδα αὐτὴν ἀπετέλεσε. On the contrary, Emperor Romanos I Lekapenos is mentioned in *DAI*, 13.149–158 in a highly critical tone: Ὁ κύρις Ῥωμανός, ὁ βασιλεύς, ἰδιώτης καὶ ἀγράμματος ἄνθρωπος ἦν, καὶ οὔτε τῶν ἄνωθεν ἐν βασιλείῳ τετραμμένων, οὔτε τῶν παρηκολουθηκότων ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῖς Ῥωμαϊκοῖς ἔθισμοις, οὔτε ἀπὸ γένους βασιλείου καὶ εὐγενοῦς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐθαδέστερον καὶ ἐξουσιαστικώτερον τὰ πολλὰ κατεπράττετο, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οὔτε τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀπαγορευοῦσιν ὑπῆκουσεν, οὔτε τῇ ἐντολῇ καὶ διαταγῇ τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου κατηκολούθησεν, ἀλλ' ἐκ γνώμης αὐθαδέους καὶ αὐτοβούλου καὶ τῶν καλῶν ἀμεινοῦς καὶ μὴ βουλομένης ἔπεσθαι τῷ πρέποντι καὶ καλῷ, μηδὲ ταῖς πατροπαραδότοις στοιχεῖν διατάξεσιν τοῦτο ποιῆσαι τετόλμηκεν... “The lord Romanus, the emperor, was a common, illiterate fellow, and not from among those who have been bred up in the palace, and have followed the Roman national customs from the beginning; nor was he of imperial and noble stock, and for this reason in most of his actions he was too arrogant and despotic, and in this instance he neither heeded the prohibition of the church, nor followed the commandment and ordinance of the great Constantine, but out of a temper arrogant and self-willed and untaught in virtue and refusing to follow what was right and good, or to submit to the ordinances handed down by forefathers, he dared to do this thing.” The translation by R. Jenkins is cited from MORAVCSIK (1967), 73–75. See the argument by OSTROGORSKY (1953), 36–37. Ostrogorsky argues with the four *themata* that appear in *De them.* in addition to the list in the *Kletorologion* by Philotheos (see the edition by OIKONOMIDES (1972)), who compiled his work under emperor Leo VI. Mesopotamia became a *thema* under emperor Leo VI, Lykandos did so under Zoe as regnant in 913, Sebastia did also under Leo VI, and Seleukia is reorganized as a *thema* by emperor Romanos I Lekapenos (*De them.*, xiii,12)). As Ostrogorsky argues, *Taktikon Benešević* (ca. 963–965) mentions these four *themata* and adds Leontokomis (also mentioned in *De cerimoniis*, CSHB edition, 697,7). This is why he dates the text before *Taktikon Benešević*.

<sup>150</sup> See AHRWEILER (1981) who dates *De them.* after 945/946 because of a sentence referring to a date after the translation of Gregory of Nazianzus to the church of the Holy Apostles (ii.85–88: καὶ ὁ Θεολόγος Γρηγόριος, ὁ Ναζιανζοῦ τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν κληρωσάμενος, νυνὶ ἐν τῷ τῶν Ἀποστόλων ναῷ κατατεθεὶς μετὰ τῶν πατριαρχῶν ταύτης τῆς πόλεως ὑπὸ τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς καὶ φιλοχρίστου βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου). In the refusal of this argument, Ostrogorsky considers this sentence as a later interpolation, as cited by AHRWEILER (1981), 5. PRATSCH (1994), 89 also shares Ostrogorsky's opinion.

<sup>151</sup> PERTUSI (1952), 43–47 and BURY (1906), 549.

abbreviated the accounts found in *DAI* and *Vita Basilii*; thus, he suggests to assign a later date to the second redaction of *De them.*<sup>152</sup> Lounghis also uses this argument to date the final redaction of *De them.* after *DAI*, that is 952.<sup>153</sup>

The treatise of the *De them.*, according to what its preface describes, can be viewed as the explanation of the names of the *themata*.<sup>154</sup> The presentation of the *thema Armeniakon* may demonstrate what preconceptions lay behind the compiling of the earliest reduction of the *De them.* “This name (sc. Ἀρμενιακόν) as called now is not an old term and is not mentioned by the historians...”.<sup>155</sup> Among the geographers and historians listed below, appears a string of names including Prokopios, Agathias, and Menander in an identical sequence to that of the *Haimodein Lexicon* (see above, ch.1.2.2, on p.33), and with the order of Agathias and Menander as they appear in ES and ELr. Thus, the author of the treatise tried to find early testimonies for a geographical name Ἀρμενιακόν and provide a historical account based on it. For this purpose, he consulted a surprisingly large number of books but without success. In an abrupt shift without a transitional sentence, this section is followed by a description of Cappadocia.<sup>156</sup>

In the series of explanations on the origin of the geographical names of Cappadocia, Polybius is cited in order to provide an extensive mythological clarification

<sup>152</sup>PERTUSI (1952), 43–47.

<sup>153</sup>LOUNGHIS (1973), 302–303.

<sup>154</sup>*De them.*, preface 1–4: Φιλοπόνημα Κωνσταντίνου βασιλέως υἱοῦ Λέοντος περὶ τῶν θεμάτων τῶν ἀνηκόντων τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων Πόθεν ἔσχον τὰς ὀνομασίας καὶ τί σημαίνουσιν αἱ τούτων προσηγορίαι καὶ ὅτι τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀρχαῖζουσιν τὰ δὲ νέαν ἐκτήσαντο τὴν προσηγορίαν... On this, see MORAVCSIK (1958), 384–385 and PRATSCH (1994), 16.

<sup>155</sup>Τὸ θέμα τὸ καλούμενον Ἀρμενιακὸν οὐ κύριον ἔχει τὸ ὄνομα οὐδὲ ἀρχαία τίς ἐστὶν ἡ τούτου προσηγορία, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμορούντων καὶ συνοίκων Ἀρμενίων τὴν προσηγορίαν ἐκτήσατο. Δοκῶ δὲ εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἐπὶ Ἡρακλείου βασιλέως καὶ τῶν κάτω χρόνων τὴν τοιαύτην προσηγορίαν ἐκληρονόμησεν· οὔτε γὰρ Στράβων ὁ γεωγράφος τῆς τοιαύτης ὀνομασίας ἐμνήσθη, καίτοι Καππαδόκης ὦν τὸ γένος ἐξ Ἀμασείας τῆς πόλεως, οὔτε Μένιππος ὁ τοὺς σταδισμοὺς τῆς ὅλης οἰκουμένης ἀπογραφάμενος, οὔτε μὴν Σκύλαξ ὁ Καρυανδηνός, οὔτε ἄλλος τις τῶν ἱστορίας γεγραφότων, οὔτε αὐτὸς Παυσανίας ὁ Δαμασκηνός. Καὶ φαίνεται νεωτέρα ἡ τοιαύτη ὀνομασία· οὔτε γὰρ Προκόπιος, οὔτε μὴν Ἀγαθίας, οὔτε Μένανδρος, οὔτε Ἡσύχιος ὁ Ἰλίουστριος ἐμνημόνευσαν τοῦ τοιούτου ὀνόματος, οἱ τὰ χρονικὰ συντάξαντες ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλείας. *De thematibus*, ii.5–12, ed. Pertusi, 63. This list suggests the hypothesis that the chronicle of Hesychius of Miletus (AD sixth century), transmitted in the *Patria Constantinopoleos* [the only extant fragment is ed. by PREGER (1901–1907), vol. 1, 1–18], was also included in *CE*.

<sup>156</sup>PRATSCH (1994), 132 calls this phenomenon *Stichwortverfahren*.

## 1. The Byzantine Context

of the derivation of the name *Persikon* from Perses.<sup>157</sup> A similar mythological explanation is cited on the name of *Thrakesion* (iii. 6–31) from the work by Nicolas of Damascus,<sup>158</sup> and on Cyprus (xv. 5–11) and on Thessaloniki (4. 7–9) from geographers.<sup>159</sup> For the same purpose, there are other extensive citations and not only from geographers,<sup>160</sup> but also from historians, as sources for geographical descriptions.<sup>161</sup> Among these names, there are historians whose texts were selected for *CE*,<sup>162</sup> which featured excerpts with geographical content in volume(s) separately from other subjects. In addition to the cross reference *περὶ οἰκισμῶν* (EV 1, 36), the existence of such a collection is supported by the frequent omissions of coherent passages with geographical content.<sup>163</sup>

Applying the model of the “dossier technique”, Pratsch argues that the geographical names played a crucial role in assembling the slips of parchment of which the chapters of the *De them.* are composed.<sup>164</sup> First, if we consider that the process of excerpting historians based on predefined subject matters started before the mid-

<sup>157</sup> A longer excerpt from Polybius’ *Historiae*, fr. 54 (90) (ed. BÜTTNER-WOBST, vol. 4, 521–522) is included in the *De them.*, ii, 23–31, ed. Pertusi, 63–64. The *verbatim* citation finishes by the words *Καὶ τούτων μάρτυς Πολύβιος, ὁ τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἱστορίαν γεγραφώς, ὃς...* [summary] *Ταῦτα δὲ ἱστορεῖ Πολύβιος*. On the insertion of the citation from Polybius, see PRATSCH (1994), 70–71. He admits that this text is not a direct citation but derives from someone working on Polybius’ text (*Bearbeiter des Schrifts des Polybius*).

<sup>158</sup>Nicolas of Damascus, FrGrHist A 90 fr. 71.

<sup>159</sup>On Cyprus, the citation comes from Stephanus of Byzantium and on Thessaloniki from Hierocles. See PERTUSI (1952), 80 and 89.

<sup>160</sup>From Stephanus of Byzantium: Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De them.*, 9.11–14: Philo Byblus, FHG iii 574; 9.14–17: Strabo, viii 316; 10.10–17: Hellanicus, FrGrHist 4 fr. 79a; 10.17–21: Thucydides, 6.2.5. 12.10–13: Strabo, xi 495; 13. 13–16: Phlego Trallensis, FrGrHist B fr. 71.

<sup>161</sup>Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De thematibus*, II. 16–31: Polybius, fr. 54 (90), ed. BÜTTNER-WOBST, vol. 4, 521–522; III. 7–11: Nicolas of Damascus, FrGrHist A 90 fr. 71. Book 2 has more places where historical excerpts were inserted in the text of the *De thematibus*: e. g., 6.8–14: Nicolas of Damascus, FrGrHist A 90 fr. 23 and Dexippos channeled through Stephanus of Byzantium (9.17–20).

<sup>162</sup>Polybius, Nicolas of Damascus, Dexippos are cited directly. In the list of consulted authors, one can find Prokopios, Agathias, and Menandros.

<sup>163</sup>E. g., in Prokopios, the description of Beroea is omitted in ELr 6 (2.7.2) and the short gap in ELr 16 (2.28.4–5) is also of geographical content.

<sup>164</sup>PRATSCH (1994), 61–64 exemplifies the “dossier technique” with the presentation of the *thema Anatolikon* (ch. II). His principle idea is that the narrative of Constantine’s treatises can be divided in sections of various lengths. The origin of some of these passages can be identified, that of others cannot.



940s, it is easier to explain how the author of *De them.* could have checked a certain geographical name in such a substantial corpus of historical writings. Second, if we presume that the marginal indices were added in a systematic manner next to the excerpted passages immediately after transcription, we can explain how the compiler could easily spot the passages he wanted to find. This probable connection supports the hypothesis that Constantine's project of excerpting historiographers had already begun before his ascent to the throne. Moreover, it also seems likely that the two projects may have mutually influence each other.

### 1.4.2. *DAI* and the *Constantinian Excerpts*

As demonstrated above, the author(s) of the treatise *De them.* seems to have employed *CE* at an early stage in order to enhance the repertory of historical explanations of geographical names within certain *themata* such as *Persiakon* in Cappadocia, *Thrakesion*, and the three geographical names on the Peloponnese by inserting extensive *verbatim* citations from Polybius and Nicolas of Damascus. The same can be expected in *DAI*, especially because it was compiled, at least one of its, more or less, finalized version, in 952 for Constantine's son, the fourteen years old Romanos.<sup>165</sup> This is a date by when—as we can postulate—the redistribution of the historical passages had been finished even though the final copies may have not been completed. The extremely complex structure of *DAI* and the unfortunate and coincident loss of the historical sources the compilers of *DAI* used, and the majority of those used for *CE* makes this investigation almost impossible. In addition, it seem

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<sup>165</sup>JENKINS (1962), I, 1 and 5. The dating of *DAI* to the Byzantine year September 951–August 952 depends on the following sentence (ch. 45. 38–42): Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐξ Ἱερουσαλὴμ μετοικήσεως αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν νῦν οἰκουμένην παρ' αὐτῶν χώραν εἰσὶν ἔτη υ' ἢ καὶ φ' μέχρι τῆς σήμερον, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἰνδικτιῶν ι', ἔτος ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου συζ' ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Ῥωμανοῦ, τῶν φιλοχρίστων καὶ πορφυρογεννήτων βασιλέων Ῥωμαίων. “And from their migration from Jerusalem to the country now inhabited by them it is 400 years, or rather 500 up to the present day, which is the 10th indiction, the year from the creation of the world 6460, in the reign of Constantine and Romanos, Christ loving emperors of the Romans, born in the purple.” The translation by R. Jenkins is cited from MORAVCSIK (1967), 207. Because of the malicious statement on Romanos I (*DAI*, 13. 149–158, cited above in n. 149 on p. 52), it seems likely that the composition of *DAI* dates to a time after Romanos I's deposition in 944. BURY (1906), 522–524.

## 1. The Byzantine Context

very likely that after the death of Constantine VII, some glosses and short passages were also inserted in the “original” treatise.<sup>166</sup>

The preface to *DAI* precisely describes the structure of the compilation:<sup>167</sup>

... first, in what each nation has power to advantage the Romans, and in what to hurt, and how and by what other nation each severally may be encountered in arms and subdued [1. 16–13. 11]; then, concerning their ravenous and insatiate temper and the gifts they demand inordinately [13. 12–194]; next, concerning also the difference between other nations, their origins and customs and manner of life, and the position and climate of the land they dwell in, its geographical description and measurement, and moreover concerning events which have occurred at various times between the Romans and different nations [13. 195–48. 21]; and thereafter, what reforms have been introduced from time to time in our state, and also through the Roman empire [48. 22–53. 155].

The historico-diplomatic core of the third largest section of *DAI* (ch. 27–46) presents the history of various nations, this time in chronological order, and follows their geographical distribution in a clockwise direction.<sup>168</sup> The account starts with the Arabs and continues with Spain, Italy, Dalmatia, Pechenegs, Magyars, Chazars, Moravia, and follows the trade route from Thessaloniki to the Caucasus, and finally inserts an account of Cyprus and another one on the arrival of the Slavs to the Peloponnese. Within this section, as Howard-Johnston pointed out, the four major historical dossiers such as the Italian one (ch. 27–29), the Balkan one (ch. 30–36), the Northern one (ch. 37–41), and the Transcaucasian one (ch. 42–46) reflect a historical

<sup>166</sup>Glosses written later than Constantine VII, some after the battle of Manzikert (1071), are mentioned by HOWARD-JOHNSTON (2001), 305, n. 10–12. MORAVCSIK (1967), 33 postulates a redaction after 979 as being the archetype of Par. gr. 2009, the single manuscript of *DAI*, which was copied for Michael VII Doukas (1071–1078). Most recently, the Paris manuscript was analyzed by MONDRAIN (2002). This copy was annotated by the monk Neophytos Prodromenos in the Monastery of St John the Baptist in Petra in Constantinople in 1361–1362. MONDRAIN (2002), 492–497. This monastery had a very rich library and seems to have possessed other manuscripts of imperial origin such as a sixth-century copy of Dioscurides (today in Vienna, ÖNB, med. gr. 1). This manuscript once belonged to Iulia Anicia and was the source of another one copied by the same scholar, Neophytos Prodromenos (Par. gr. 2286). MONDRAIN (2002), 491, 497. On Neophytos Prodromenos, see also MONDRAIN (2000).

<sup>167</sup>*DAI*, pref. 12–24, tr. Jenkins, in MORAVCSIK (1967), 45–47. The *prooemium* received a detailed analysis by SODE (1994), 154–164, and the second prologue 165–178. She emphasizes the close link of the second prologue with the introductory essays to *De cerimoniis* ed by HALDON (1990), which partially originating from the epoch of Leo VI.

<sup>168</sup>HOWARD-JOHNSTON (2001), 304, n. 6. The circular movement in *DAI* was observed by Litavrin.

reality no later in date than the time of Leo VI, by the early 910s.<sup>169</sup> Therefore, it is very likely that Constantine's activity did not go beyond bringing the material of the early tenth-century draft up to date. Most importantly, he added historical, chronological, etymological, and geographical glosses to the texts.<sup>170</sup> In addition, he enriched the bare and plain account of the data with anecdotes that provided historical and casual explanations for various phenomena.<sup>171</sup> As most of these explanations may be viewed as unrealistic anecdotes, their function was perhaps not to provide real or complex explanations but to help in memorizing historical examples with interesting and impressive stories, perhaps to help the young Romanos retain what he was reading. If we take a look at the table (tab.1.1) where the passages which occur in two or three Constantinian treatises are presented, it can be seen that Constantine VII was fond of historical anecdotes.

These instances coincide with the sections which, according to Howard Johnston, were added by Constantine VII himself to the already extant drafts. In terms of the content of these sections, a majority of them describe when a nation is migrating and invading from one territory to another where the nation dwelled in Constantine's time (Arabs in Crete, Lombards in Italy, Arabs in Southern Italy, Slavs in Dalmatia, Magyars in the Carpathian Basin and Great Moravia). Another group of repeated phrases mentions the diplomatic exchange of brides via citations taken from the continuation of the work of George the Monk. One may view these phrases as parallels to the lost Constantinian collection "On marriages" in terms of subject. Among these anecdotes, the adventurous story of Soldan, the emir of Bari, appears in three works ascribed to Constantine VII: in *DAI* and in the *Vita Basilii*; and in a summarized form as well in *De them*.

<sup>169</sup>HOWARD-JOHNSTON (2001), 321–322 (an Italian dossier finished by the end of the ninth century), 322–324 (Balkan dossier finished by the 920s), 324–326 (Northern dossier finished by 900), and 326–327 (Transcaucasian dossier finished by 913). See also SODE (1994) and SPECK (1991), 281–282.

<sup>170</sup>See *DAI*, ch. 38. 66–71 HOWARD-JOHNSTON (2001), 325 and 329 (on geographical glosses); 327, 329–330, n. 86–89 (on the chronological glosses); and 329, n. 87 (on etymological glosses).

<sup>171</sup>HOWARD-JOHNSTON (2001), 309, n. 24–25; 312, n. 32; 315, n. 36–38 and 328.

## 1. The Byzantine Context

Table 1.1.: Parallel passages in works by Constantine VII

Content	<i>DAI</i> MORAVCSIK (1967)	<i>De thematibus</i> PERTUSI (1952)	<i>De cerimoniis</i> Vogt and Reiske	Theoph. Cont. BEKKER (1838)
Prov. 1, 8	1.4		456, 3–4	
simple and high brow Greek	1.8–13		5, 2–4 (I. 2, 15–17)	
Romanus marries his granddaughter to Peter of Bulgaria (Georg. Monach. cont.)	13.147–149			414,1–415,9; 422,10–13
Arabic conquest of Crete	22.40–48			73,13–76
Berta: Romanus' wife (Georg. Monach. cont.)	26.66–72			431,11–19
Narses inviting the Lombards to Italy	27.33–34			74,21–22
<i>mastromiles</i> , linguistic scholion	27.69–70	690,23		
inhabitants of Dalmatia	29.56–69			288,18–289,2
siege of Ragusa, occupation of Bari by the Arabs	29.88–116	11.18–44		289,2–290,23
baptism of Dalmatians	29.70–79			291,1–292,13
Soldan's capture by Louis II and his escape	29.116–216	11.18–44		294,3–297,23
attack of Simeon by the Turks (Georg. Monach. cont.)	40.7–13			358,7–359,16
construction of Sarkel, the stronghold of the Khazars (Theophilos)	42.20–55			122,19–124
Manuel's four sons	50.120–126	31,1–5 (IX.3–6)		

In the account of Soldan, Ihor Ševčenko noticed the direct use of *CE*. When Soldan, the emir of Bari, was captured by Louis II and, despite his disciplined personality, started to laugh, the Frankish king asked why he was laughing. Then, Soldan recited the famous story of “the wheel of fortune” of Sardanapalus (Sesostris), attested in several historical writings. This story appeared in Constantine VII's works probably coming from two independent excerpts of the collection “On embassies” (ELr).<sup>172</sup> Sardanapalus, a wealthy man in Egypt, constructed a golden carriage, yoked captive kings to it, and ordered them to draw his chariot to the marketplace. As Sardanapalus was immoderate in this extravagant behaviour coming from his good fortune, one of the yoked kings started pushing backwards, while watching the

<sup>172</sup>ŠEVČENKO (1992), 191, n. 60. Theophylaktos Simocattes (6.11.10–15) ed. de Boor (242–243) was excerpted in the collection “On the embassies sent by the Romans” exc. 5, ELr 224, 23–225, 17. See *Vita Basilii*, 56 in Theophanes Continuatus, ed. by BEKKER (1838), 294. Menander, fr. 6,1 has only been transmitted in the collection “On the embassies sent by the Romans”, ELr 177, 12–34.

#### 1.4. The Use of the Constantinian Excerpts?

wheels. After Sardanapalus asked the reason for the disobedience, the wise king illustrated the uncertain character of fortune through the inconstant distance of certain parts of the wheels as measured from the ground.

Constantine VII illustrates such changes in fortune by alluding to two versions of this story (with minor differences only in phrasing). In a similar description, *Vita Basilii* refers to Theophylaktos Simokattes' version, relating the story as told to the representative of Chosroe, Chagan of the Sasanian Persia by the Roman ambassador of Emperor Maurice in the early seventh century. *DAI* refers to the same story, but with Menander's wording who presented Peter the Patrician in his historical account as reciting the same tale when negotiating with the Persians in 561. The hypothesis that *CE* served as the basis of these passages is confirmed by the fact that within a few sentences two independent places are cited from *CE*. In addition to the Sardanapalus story, the statement directly preceding this passage in the *Vita Basilii*, 56 emphasizes how digressions improve the style of a historical narration using phrases borrowed from Polybius, *Historiae*, 38.4 (ES 214,10–12) as cited as a motto for this chapter. That is why this anecdote on Soldan seems to have been inserted in the narrative by Constantine VII from *CE* in order to intensify the historical account and to characterize the historical personality. Constantine in these anecdotes often uses direct speech.<sup>173</sup> **T** (f. 64r) has Sardanapalus' name in the margin when the epigram on him is cited in a passage from George the Monk. It is likely that the final version of ELr also had an indexing system which helped Constantine VII or his scholars to apply the same story with different wording based on independent sources.

An account based on Theophanes Confessor's work (ch. 21–22) seems sufficient to illustrate Constantine's method of compiling and the utility of *CE* in understanding some inconsistent features of *DAI*. The Umayyad flight to Spain in 755 (ch. 21. 23–30) is mingled with the conquest of Spain by the Arabs in 711 (ch. 22. 34–40).<sup>174</sup> There is

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<sup>173</sup>HOWARD-JOHNSTON (2001), 312, n. 32.

<sup>174</sup>HOWARD-JOHNSTON (2001), 308; BURY (1906), 527–529.

Table 1.2.: Sardanapalus in *CE* and other works

<i>CE</i>	Constantine VII
Theophylaktos Simokattes 6. 11. 14, tr. by M. and M. Whitby, 177 (exc. 5, ELr 224, 23–225, 17).	<i>Vita Basilii</i> , ch. 56, ed. BEKKER (1838), 294 (my own translation)
I have been marvelling at the movement of the wheels. It has an inconstant motion: now the parts of them in the air come back again to earth, while again the parts on the ground are subsequently exalted. . .	When viewing the chariot and observing its wheels, how their parts in the air comes back again to earth, and the part on the ground is exalted, and relating these things to the image of unstable and unsteady human fortune, I started to laugh. . .
τεθαύμακα τῶν τροχῶν τὰ κινήματα· ἀνώμαλον ἔχει τὴν κίνησιν. τὰ τοίνυν <u>τούτων μέρη μετεωρούμενα</u> αὐθις <u>καταχθόνια γίνεται</u> , καὶ ἔμπαλιν τὰ <u>περιπέζια</u> μετὰ τοῦτο <u>ἀπαιωρίζεται</u> .	ὁ δὲ ᾠμαζάν' φησι 'κατιδὼν καὶ τοὺς ταύτης κατανοήσας τροχοὺς, πῶς καὶ τὸ <u>μετέωρον τούτων ταπεινοῦται</u> καὶ τὸ ταπεινὸν αὐθις <u>μετεωρίζεται</u> , αἱ ὡς εἰκόνα ταῦτα λαβὼν τῆς ἀσταθμότητος καὶ ἀβεβαίου τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐδαιμονίας, ἐγέλασα. . .
Menander, fr. 6.1, tr. BLOCKLEY (1985), 67 (ELr 177, 22–27).	<i>DAI</i> , 29.123–129, tr. R. Jenkins, ed. MORAVCSIK (1967), 129.
Master, I am watching the wheel as it keeps rolling and never stays in the same place, but goes over and over as it carries the chariot. . . and hinting that the affairs of men were like a rolling wheel. . .	I saw a cart and the wheels on it turning round and therefore I laughed because I too was once at the top and am now lowest of all, but God may raise me up again.
ὦ δέσποτα, ὁρῶ τὸν τροχὸν ὡς θαμὰ περιδινόμενος οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς βάσεως μένει ὁδε, ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἄνω κάτω φερόμενος τὴν ἄρματοτροχίαν ἐργάζεται. . . ὡς ὑπαινίττεται τὸ ἀστάθμητόν τε καὶ παλίμβολον τῆς τύχης, καὶ ὡς <u>τροχῷ κυλιόμενῳ</u> ἔοικε τὰ ἀνθρώπεια,	Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· «ᾠμαζαν εἶδον καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ <u>τροχοὺς κυλιόμενους</u> , καὶ τούτου χάριν ἐγέλασα, ὅτι καὶ ἐγὼ ποτε κεφαλὴ ἐγενόμην, καὶ ἄρτίως εἰμὶ ὑποκάτω πάντων, καὶ πάλιν δύναται ὁ Θεὸς ὑψῶσαί με.»

#### 1.4. *The Use of the Constantinian Excerpts?*

an internal contradiction in the sentence following the short account of the Umayyad flight to Spain. The narrator says that there is no Byzantine historical account of the Arab conquest of Spain,<sup>175</sup> though the next chapter (22) is an extensive citation from Theophanes Confessor's chronicle on a subject the author has just noticed as not existent. In the same ch. 21, the first Arab civil war (656–661) (ch. 21. 71–110) is mistakenly placed after the concessions forced by the actions of the Mardaite at the end of Muawiya's caliphate (ch. 21. 3–23).

Within the account of the first Arab civil war, there is an anecdote (ch. 21. 76–106) concerning how the rule was decided between two opponents, Ali and Muawiya. When the Hagarens got tired of Ali and Muawiya fighting each other, they convinced the rivals to hand over their rings, their symbols of power, following the old custom, to two wise elder men, one royal ring to one sage. They asked the sages to decide who should obtain supreme power over the Arabs. Muawiya's sage was wise enough to let Ali's arbitrator give the first answer. After Ali's sage refused to transfer the power to Ali, Muawiya's arbitrator wisely transmitted the power to Muawiya. In *DAI*, Constantine VII provides this explanation of how supreme power was given to the tribe of Muawiya. This anecdote is, of course, absent from Theophanes' chronicle. Its direct source is unrevealed but the story is attested in various versions in Arabic sources.<sup>176</sup>

The anecdote on how power was distributed between Ali and Muawiya is similar in function to the story of Sardanapalus and to the anecdote on how wise Svatopluk, the ruler of Great Moravia, divided power among his three sons in equal parts before he died (ch. 41). He gave each of his sons a bunch of three sticks and asked each of them to break the three sticks together. As none of them managed to do so, he distributed the sticks one by one to his three sons and asked them to crack the sticks separately. They easily could fulfill the request of their father. By this example, Svatopluk wanted to convince his sons to stay in agreement after his death

<sup>175</sup>21. 31: Τοῦτο δὲ παρὰ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἱστορικοῖς οὐ γέγραπται...

<sup>176</sup>LEWIS (1962), 77–78.

## 1. The Byzantine Context

in order to save the kingdom against neighbouring enemies. For this purpose, they should obey the oldest son. His attempt at peace-keeping proved unsuccessful. This anecdote originates from Aesopus' fables (no. 103) and has been transmitted in several versions.<sup>177</sup> The whole chapter is an explanatory note to the account of the way the Magyars attacked Great Moravia after Svatopluk's death. It is an edifying tale on the consequences of disagreements among heirs. The list of such anecdotes could be expanded with the unrealistic anecdote on Berengar's cheating of death after the battle of Fiorenzuola in 926 (ch. 26. 21–28), based on an unrevealed source;<sup>178</sup> the heroic deed of Michael Barkalas (ch. 51. 112–125); the unrealistic story of how Narses invited the Lombards to Italy in an incorrect chronological framework (ch. 27. 14–56);<sup>179</sup> and the relief of Patras by St Andrew's miracle when the town was under the Slavs' attack (ch. 49. 9–38).

These examples support the hypothesis that the anecdotes, inserted later in *DAI*, were transferred here via thematic collections such as *CE*.<sup>180</sup> Regrettably, the basic sources for the majority of these anecdotes are unknown.<sup>181</sup> Viewing *CE* or other similar collections as mediators of data to *DAI* seems to be a plausible explanation for several reasons: (1) The anecdotes may be ascribed to a few subjects, some of which occur among the cross-references featuring in *CE*, such as marriages, occupation of homeland, description of fortresses (*ekphrasis*), embassies, ambushes, sieges, and heroic deeds.<sup>182</sup> (2) The anecdotes are often historically unreliable, and seem

<sup>177</sup>MORAVCSIK (1962), 153 and MORAVCSIK (1967), 180.

<sup>178</sup>On the sources of the battle of Fiorenzuola, see LEWIS (1962), 86. In Liudprand, *Antapodisis*, ii. 62, there is a story on how Adalbert cheated his enemies by changing clothes. However, the anecdote of Berengar who cheated death by hiding under a shield in the battlefield seems rather different and improbable.

<sup>179</sup>HOWARD-JOHNSTON (2001), 309, n. 25, 315, n. 36–38, BURY (1906), 545–547. Constantine VII mistakenly assigned this story to the mid-eighth century.

<sup>180</sup>A collection *περὶ ἐθνῶν* is viewed as the source of these historical anecdotes. The possibility that the source may be identical to the cross-reference of *περὶ ἐθνῶν* used in *CE* has been not raised so far to the best of my knowledge. JENKINS (1962), 2.

<sup>181</sup>The edition by MORAVCSIK (1967) and the commentary to *DAI* (second volume) was consulted for the sources.

<sup>182</sup>See tab.1.3 below in comparison with the list of the identified Constantinian subjects, tab. 1.4 on p. 73.



#### 1.4. The Use of the Constantinian Excerpts?

Anecdote	subject	source	DAI	Other works
Persiakon	origins, mythology	Polybius, fr. 54		<i>De thematibus</i> , ii. 23–31
Thrakesion	origins, mythology	Nicolas of Damascus, FrGrHist A 90 fr. 71		<i>De them.</i> , iii. 6–31
Peloponnese	origins, mythology	Nicolas of Damascus, FrGrHist A 90 fr. 23		<i>De them.</i> , 6. 8–14
distribution of power between Ali and Muawiya (ring)	inauguration of rulers	Arabic sources	21. 74–106	
occupation of Africa, Hispania and Crete by the Arabs	migration	Theophanes Confessor	22	
German invasion (Spain, Africa, Italy)	migration	Prokopios via Theophanes Confessor	25. 3–55	
Berengar's cheating of death	battles, deaths	?	26. 21–38	
Narses invites the Lombards to Italy (wrongly attributed to the mid-eighth century)	migration	?	27. 14–56	
Narses' wise sentence	wise sentences	?	27. 33–34	Theoph. cont., 74,21–22
Venice (becoming inhabited)	migration	?	28	
Ragusians' embassy to the Byzantine emperor	embassies	?	29.70–79	
siege of Ragusa by Soldan	sieges, embassies	?	29. 103–112	Theoph. cont., 289,2–290,23; <i>De them.</i> , 11.18–44
captivity and escape of Soldan	embassies, ambushes	?	29. 113–212	Theoph. cont., 294,3–297,23; <i>De thematibus</i> , 11.18–44
occupation of Dalmatia by the Slavs	migration	?	30. 6–58	
invasion of the Bulgars by the Turks	stratagems	Georg. Mon. cont.	40.7–13	
occupation of the Carpathian basin by the Turks	migration	?	40.13–21	
distribution of power among Svatopluk's three sons (three sticks)	inauguration of rulers	Aesopus, fab. 103; Babrius, fab. 47; Plutarch, <i>Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata</i> , 174	41	
construction of the fortress Sarkel	fortifications?	?	42.20–55	Theoph. cont., 122,19–124,5
origin of Iberians in Caucasus (c. 450 AD)	migration	?	45. 4–20	
Cyprus (evacuation and repopulation in 698)	migration, embassies	?	47	
miracle of St Andrew during the siege of Patras by the Slavs	miracles, sieges, victory	<i>Synodalis epistola patriarchae Nicolai Grammatici</i> , PG 119, 877–880	49. 9–38	
intrigue in the Kibyrraiot thema (in 909–910)	ambushes	report of Eustathios (50. 182)	50. 169–196	
heroism of Michael Barkalas	heroic deeds	?	51. 112–125	

Table 1.3.: Historical anecdotes in *DAI* and *De thematibus*

## 1. The Byzantine Context

independent from their direct context.<sup>183</sup> (3) The chronology of events among which the anecdotes are inserted is often confused despite the author's attempt to maintain chronological order; the sequence of the original narrative is often mixed up.<sup>184</sup> (4) In the notes appended to the historical account, the identity of homonymous historical persons, or functions of historical figures are sometimes mingled.<sup>185</sup> It is likely that Constantine VII used historical persons, e. g., rulers as reference points, rather than years. In the disordered account of the Arab civil war, when Constantine VII proved unsuccessful in finding a historical account of the Arab migration of Muawiya's tribe to Spain, he emphasized that this event happened during the time of Justinian *Rhinotmetus* ("cut-nose", Justinian II: r. 685–695 and 705–711) but not during the time of *Pogonatos* (Constans II (r. 641–668)).<sup>186</sup> (5) In addition, there are some duplicate accounts of the same event.<sup>187</sup> The plausible explanation of these slip-ups may be the thematic arrangement of *CE*, supplied with indices, and the simultaneous loss of the chronological or unilinear narrative framework of the

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<sup>183</sup>HOWARD-JOHNSTON (2001), 309. There are some problems in the structure of the account about Soldan, especially the passages of 29.103–112, 113–213. In addition, the seizure by the Arabs of Bari (841) is misplaced and follows their vain siege of Ragusa in 867–868 (ch. 29.88–103). According to HOWARD-JOHNSTON (2001), 315, n.38, it was the Byzantium rather than the Frankish king of Italy, Louis II who led the coalition which recovered the city in 871 (ch. 29.103–112). The rebellion of Lombard Benevento against Louis II and the Arab attack on Salerno are misused in *DAI* (ch. 29.113–213). The sentences (ch. 46.166–169) providing transition to the third and fourth parts of *DAI* are misplaced as preceding the historical account of the repopulation of Cyprus, which seems an appendix to part three rather than the beginning of a new part.

<sup>184</sup>In addition to the Arab migration to Spain, there are other examples. The admiral who attacked Constantinople in 717–718 is confused with the caliph who authorized the attack (ch.21.111–123). The separation of the principality of Salerno from that of Benevento in 849 is dated wrongly (ch.27.52–58). HOWARD-JOHNSTON (2001), 315, n.25. David who brought the Iberians to Transcaucasia (subject: migration) 400 or 500 years ago (ch.45.36–40) is related to Adarnase (coeval with Leo VI) as his great-grandfather despite the more than 350 years between the two. HOWARD-JOHNSTON (2001), 327, 309, n.24

<sup>185</sup>Among the three mistakes in the genealogy of Hugh of Arles (926–947) (ch.26.1–16), one is the confusion of Lothar II with his father Emperor Lothar I. HOWARD-JOHNSTON (2001), 309, n.24. Although the events were very recent, the confusion of homonymous historical persons may originate from a rearranged sequence of the historical records.

<sup>186</sup>*DAI*, 21.29–30, ed. MORAVCSIK (1967): 'Ο δὲ αὐτὸς ἔκγονος τοῦ Μαυρίου μετ' ὀλίγων τινῶν διεπέρασεν εἰς τὴν Ἰσπανίαν ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ Ῥινότμητου, οὐχὶ δὲ τοῦ Πωγωνάτου.

<sup>187</sup>The flight of the Ummayyads to Spain: 26.26–31 and 22.36–40; first Arab civil war (21.16–23: Theophanes confessor), a longer one from an independent source (21.65–110) with the ring anecdote. The two accounts on the fall of Salona originate from two closely related passages (29.14–46 and 30.6–58). On the duplicate accounts, see HOWARD-JOHNSTON (2001), 308.

complete historical works. The complex system of fifty-three subjects was designed to provide a guideline to multilinear reading, to satisfy multiple interests.

## 1.5. Selection of the Fifty-Three Subjects

The number of the Constantinian subjects was not randomly chosen to structure *CE* but relies on ideological, historical, and mathematical grounds. The prooemium, seemingly attached to each Constantinian thematic collection, states that the emperor's intention was "to distribute the material in an ingenious and careful manner into diverse subcategories (ὑπόθεσις), fifty-three in number, in and through which the whole epic course of history might be grouped together." In addition to this statement, there is another point of reference that is identical in both surviving versions of the prooemium: the choice of subject for collection no. 1: "On the inauguration of the emperors". Besides these repeated statements, there is a third component: a figure specifying the position of the collection within the fifty-three Constantinian subjects. Among these labels, collection no. 27 received the title "On the embassies of the Romans to the Barbarians", while collection no. 50 was entitled "On virtue and vice".

These instances demonstrate that the redistribution of historical events into exactly fifty-three categories must have been of a conscious decision. This scheme for categorization was intended to encompass every significant aspect of historiography including a wide range of narratives. At the same time, the importance of numeric references in the subjects, labeled from one to fifty-three, and, within each thematic collection, references to the historians, who were also numbered, demonstrate that these numbers played a significant role in producing *CE*. Concerning their function, these identifiers not only seem to have assisted Constantine's team in assembling and reconstructing the historical excerpts but they also reflect, to some extent, a kind of hierarchy in the sequence of the subjects. As will be demonstrated in the third chapter (on p. 195), the iambic poem preceding the collection "On virtue and

## 1. The Byzantine Context

vice” seems to parallel Meleager’s introductory epigram in the *Palatine Anthology* (iv. 1–2), in the way it compares a collection of small pieces of literature to a garland. It seems to have been Meleager’s innovation that he linked each species of flower to a specific author and organized them alphabetically.<sup>188</sup> The age of Leo VI and Constantine VII, as shown above, also favoured the arrangement according to subject, demonstrated by the fact that Constantine Kephalas rearranged the vast corpus of epigrams including Meleager’s epigrams according to thematic principles. Nevertheless, this analogy and the semantic allusions to two meanings of λόγος (text, and the sense of the text), as hinted at in the prooemium (see below on p. 180) and the iambic poem, suggest that Constantine also associated the flowers woven into his crown metaphorically with the subjects bestowing great importance to their harmonious arrangement. This proposal would explain why it was so crucial to him emphasize the primary position of the subject “On the inauguration of emperors”.

### 1.5.1. The Singular Universality of the Number Fifty-three

#### Ideological Basis for Using Fifty-Three

The extraordinary character of the number fifty-three can be explained both from historical-ideological and mathematical-scientific points of view.<sup>189</sup> Fifty-three may have been regarded as a symbol of triumph in the history of the Roman Empire, as explicitly stated in Polybius’ introduction (1.1), the success of the empire ruled by the emperor in Constantinople.<sup>190</sup> Polybius, one among the most extensively

<sup>188</sup>CAMERON (1993), 5–6, 19–24.

<sup>189</sup>The “miraculous catch of 153 fish” emerges as another idea which may have played a role in deciding on fifty-three subjects. (John 21:1–14). Christian authors were influenced by this number when structuring their works. E.g., Evagrius Pontikos (CPG 2452) and *Quodvultdeus* (CPL 413) divided their theological treatises into 153 chapters (*capitula*). PETITMENGIN (1997), 494, n. 19. I do not think, however, that this could be the starting point but in this way it was the Polybian auspicious number that might have gained easier favour with Christians. In addition, *DAI* is divided into fifty-three chapters of extremely varying length, although this chapter division is imbalanced and sometimes not as clear in the single Byzantine manuscript of *DAI* (Par. gr. 2009) as the printed edition implies. I am not convinced that there was an intentional association of the number fifty-three here.

<sup>190</sup>The people we now call Byzantines identified themselves as Romans (Ῥωμαῖοι); the term Byzantine in its modern meaning was not used before 1562.

excerpted historiographers in *CE*, repeats several times that it took fifty-three years for Rome to extend her power from a city-state to the whole inhabited world (220–168 BC).<sup>191</sup> Three of the passages that refer to the Polybian “auspicious-number” of fifty-three appear in the Constantinian collection “On gnostic statements” (ES). One of them can be found at the very beginning of Polybius’ historical narrative where he describes the advantage of studying history and proposes the goal of his work in the following question.<sup>192</sup>

(1.2) But all historians, one may say without exception, and in no half-hearted manner, but making this the beginning and end of their labour, have impressed on us that the soundest education and training for a life of active politics is the study of History, and that surest and indeed the only method of learning how to bear bravely the vicissitudes of fortune, is to recall the calamities of others. [...] (1.4) For who is so worthless or indolent as not to wish to know by what means and under what system of polity the Romans in less than fifty-three years have succeeded in subjecting nearly the whole inhabited world to their sole government — a thing unique in history? Or who again is there so passionately devoted to other spectacles or studies as to regard anything as of greater moment than the acquisition of this knowledge?

It is worth emphasizing that the sentence in praise of historical studies is almost verbatim reiterated by the anonymous continuator of Theophanes in the work dedicated to Constantine VII.<sup>193</sup> It is tempting to suppose that the citation was taken from exc.1 of the Constantinian collection “On gnostic statements” because the series

<sup>191</sup>The “fifty-three years” is repeated in Polybius’ *Historiae* several times: 1.1.4; 1.2.7; 1.4.1; 3.1.4; 3.1.9; 3.2.6; 3.3.9; 3.4.2; 3.118.9; 6.2.3; 8.2.3; 39.8.7. See WALBANK (1957–1979), vol. 1, 40.

<sup>192</sup>Polybius, *Histories*, 1.1.2–4 tr. W. R. Paton (Loeb Classical Library edition, London: W. Heinemann, 1922–1927, vol. i, 3–5. ES, 104: (Polybius, exc.1 and 1.2–4, ed. Büttner-Wobst, vol. 1, 1) <ἐπεὶ δ’ οὐ τινὲς οὐδ’ ἐπὶ ποσόν, ἀλλὰ πάντες ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἀρχῇ καὶ τέλει κέχρηται τοῦτω, φάσκοντες ἀληθινωτάτην μὲν εἶναι παιδείαν καὶ γυμνασίαν πρὸς τὰς πολιτικὰς πράξεις τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας μάθησιν, ἐναργεστάτην δὲ καὶ μόνην διδάσκαλον τοῦ δύνασθαι τὰς> [here begins ES 104 on Vat. gr. 73, p. 93] τῆς τύχης μεταβολὰς γενναίως ὑποφέρειν τὴν τῶν ἀλλοτρίων περιπετειῶν ὑπόμνησιν [...] τίς γὰρ οὕτως ὑπάρχει φαῦλος ἢ ῥαθύμιος ἀνθρώπων, ὃς οὐκ ἂν βούλοιο γινῶναι πῶς καὶ τίνι γένει πολιτείας ἐπικρατηθέντα σχεδὸν ἅπαντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην οὐχ ὅλοις πεντήκοντα καὶ τρισὶν ἔτεσιν ὑπὸ μίαν ἀρχὴν ἔπесе τὴν Ῥωμαίων; ὃ πρότερον οὐχ εὕρισκεται γεγονός. τίς δὲ πάλιν οὕτως ἐκπαθὴς πρὸς τι τῶν ἄλλων θεαμάτων ἢ μαθημάτων, ὃς προυργιαίτερον ἢ τι ποιήσαιτο τῆσδε τῆς ἐμπειρίας;

<sup>193</sup>Theophanes Continuatus, 21, 19–21, ed. BEKKER (1838): καὶ γὰρ ταύτην μόνην εἶπομι ἂν ἐγὼ εἶναι ἀληθινωτάτην παιδείαν τε καὶ γυμνασίαν πρὸς τὰς πολιτικὰς πράξεις, τὴν ἐναργεστάτην αἰτίαν καὶ τὸ μὴ τήνδε ἀλλὰ τήνδε ἐπικεκαλυμμένην καταφοράν, ἥς πᾶσα δὴ βίβλος ἱστορικὴ στερουμένη καὶ ἀπογυμνουμένη οὐκ οἶδ’ εἴ τινα ὄνησιν παράσχοι τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν.

## 1. The Byzantine Context

of excerpts from Polybius starts in the middle of the quoted sentence (Vat. gr. 73, p. 93) the first part of which was thrown away with the decorated title page when the tenth-century text was washed for reuse (see reconstructed structure in fig. 3.2 on p. 204). At the beginning of Book 6, Polybius refers to the purpose of his work:<sup>194</sup>

I said that the best and most valuable result I aim at is that readers of my work may gain a knowledge how it was and by virtue of what peculiar political institutions that in less than in fifty-three years nearly the whole world was overcome and fell under the single dominion of Rome, a thing the like of which had never happened before.

In a passage of Book 3, also excerpted in the collection “On gnostic statements”, Polybius refers again to the conscious way he selected the period of fifty-three years:<sup>195</sup>

Now if from their success or failure alone we could form an adequate judgement of how far states and individuals are worthy of praise or blame, I could here lay down my pen, bringing my narrative and this whole work to a close with the last-mentioned events, as was my original intention. For the period of fifty-three years finished here, and the growth and advance of Roman power was now complete.

At the beginning of Book 3, preceding the passage just quoted, and thus certainly available to the excerptors and well-known to Constantine’s scholars, Polybius explained in detail why he considered the interval of fifty-three years after 220 BC as a “single whole”, an extraordinary span of time with a definite beginning, extent and completion. In this passage, the same adjective appears with the preface appended in front of each collection as an epithet adjacent to *ὑπόθεσις*, the name given to the fifty-three categories.<sup>196</sup>

<sup>194</sup>Polybius, *Histories*, 6. 1, tr. W. R. Paton, (Loeb) vol. ii, 269; ES, 131 (Polybius, exc. 38): [...] ἐν ἣ τοῦτο κάλλιστον ἔφαμεν ἅμα δ’ ὠφελιμώτατον εἶναι τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐπιβολῆς τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι τῇ πραγματείᾳ, τὸ γινῶναι καὶ μαθεῖν πῶς καὶ τίνι γένοι πολιτείας ἐπικρατηθέντα σχεδὸν πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν οὐδ’ ὅλοις πεντήκοντα καὶ τρισὶν ἔτεσιν ὑπὸ μίαν ἀρχὴν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἔπесεν, ὁ πρότερον οὐχ εὐρίσκειται γεγονός.

<sup>195</sup>Polybius, *Histories*, 3. 4, tr. W. R. Paton, (Loeb) vol. ii, 11–13; ES, 113: Polybius, exc. 16 Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν κατορθωμάτων ἢ καὶ τῶν ἐλαττωμάτων ἱκανὴν ἐνεδέχετο ποιήσασθαι τὴν διάληψιν ὑπὲρ τῶν ψεκτῶν ἢ τοῦναντίον ἐπαινετῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ πολιτευμάτων, ἐνθάδε που λήγειν ἂν ἡμᾶς δεῖ καὶ καταστρέφειν ἅμα τὴν διήγησιν καὶ τὴν πραγματείαν ἐπὶ τὰς τελευταίας ῥηθείσας πράξεις κατὰ τὴν ὃ τε γὰρ χρόνος ὁ πεντηκοντακαιτριετῆς εἰς ταῦτα ἔληγεν,...

<sup>196</sup>Exactly the same expression (κεφαλαιώδη [...] ὑπόθεσιν) is used in Polybius, *Histories*, 12. 25f, ed. Büttner-Wobst, vol. iii, 216) and excerpted in ES 154, at the end of Polybius, exc. 81.

(3. 1) The subject I have undertaken to treat, the how, when, and wherefore of the subjection of the known parts of the world to the dominion of Rome, should be viewed as a single whole, with a recognized beginning, a fixed duration, and an end which is not a matter of dispute; and I think it will be advantageous to give a brief prefatory survey of the chief parts of this whole (κεφαλαιωδῶς ἐπιμνησθῆναι καὶ προεκθέσθαι) from the beginning to the end. For I believe this will be the best means of giving students an adequate idea of my whole plan. Since a previous general view is of great assistance to the mind in acquiring a knowledge of details, and at the same time a previous notion of the details helps us to knowledge of the whole, I regard a preliminary survey based on both as best and will draw up these prefatory remarks to my history on this principle.<sup>197</sup>

The hypothesis that Polybius' judgements on historical matters indeed impacted on the thematic division of the narratives excerpted at Constantine's court is also supported by other pieces of evidence. First, it is well known that the statements on favouring anecdotes in historical narratives, another theoretical viewpoint, as expressed in ch. 56 of *Vita Basilii* and cited as a motto to this chapter, originate from Polybius' *Historiae* (38. 4).<sup>198</sup> Polybius, especially the first volume of his books (1–5) with the introduction and statements on the fifty-three years, seems to have been available in several copies in Constantine VII's circles. Ephraim, a scribe coeval with Constantine's reign (see below), whose hand is very close to the main hand of **T**, was the scribe of the earliest extant manuscript of Polybius' *Historiae* (Books 1–5), Vat. gr. 124. This copy of *Historiae*, however, seems to originate from a branch

<sup>197</sup>Polybius, *Histories*, 3. 4, tr. W. R. Paton, (Loeb) vol. ii, 3–5

<sup>198</sup>ŠEVČENKO (1992), 183, n. 42 and JENKINS (1962), 12. The sentence in Polybius seems to have influenced Constantine VII in his *Vita Basilii* as well (ch. 56): Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πολλάκις ἡ ἱστορία φιλεῖ καὶ ταῖς κατὰ παρέχβασιν διηγῆσεσι τὸν λόγον ποικίλλειν καὶ τὰς τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων ψυχαγωγεῖν ἀχοάς,...

The sentence on simple style seems to rely partially on Polybius (*Historiae*, 38. 4, 1). *DAI*, 1. 10–13: Οὐ γὰρ ἐπίδειξιν καλλιγραφίας ἢ φράσεως ἡττικισμένης καὶ τὸ διηρμένον διογκούσης καὶ ὑψηλὸν ποιῆσαι ἐσπούδασα, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον διὰ κοινῆς καὶ καθωμιλημένης ἀπαγγελίας διδάξαι σοι ἔσπευσα,... *De cerimoniis*, prefacer to book 1, ed. Vogt, vol. i, 2, 15–17 (different phrasing but the same idea): Ὡς ἂν δὲ σαφῆ καὶ εὐδιάγνωστα εἶεν τὰ γεγραμμένα, καὶ καθωμιλημένη καὶ ἀπλουστέρᾳ φράσει κεχρήμεθα καὶ λέξεσι ταῖς αὐταῖς καὶ ὀνόμασι τοῖς ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ πράγματι πάλαι προσαρμοσθεῖσι καὶ λεγομένοις,... Polybius, *Historiae*, 38. 4, 1, ed. Büttner Wobst, vol. 4, 470 (ES 214, 10–12, exc. 156): Ὑπερ ὧν οὐ δεήσει θαυμάζειν ἐὰν παρεχβαίνοντες τὸ τῆς ἱστορικῆς διηγῆσεως ἥθος ἐπιδεικτικωτέραν καὶ φιλοτιμωτέραν φαινόμεθα ποιοῦμενοι περὶ αὐτῶν τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν. "It should not surprise anyone if abandoning here the style proper to historical narrative I express myself in a more declamatory and ambitious manner." tr. Paton, vol. vi, 397. In the *DAI* and in the *De cerimoniis* Hermogenes' rhetoric treatise (Περὶ ἰδεῶν), 1. 1, 6, 2. 9 was also employed in the statements on simple style.

## 1. The Byzantine Context

of textual transmission which is different the excerpts.<sup>199</sup> In addition, there are marginal notes in **T** and **V** that may also reflect the use of several copies of Polybius' work during the production of *CE*. In these marginal notes, there are mentions of different numbers of leaves missing from each of the exemplars containing Polybius' *Historiae*.<sup>200</sup> Moreover, Constantine or his scholars exploited Polybius' data, as did the continuator of Theophanes, the author of *De them.*,<sup>201</sup> and the anonymous author of *De obsidione toleranda*.

### The Mathematical Justification for “Fifty-three”

Besides the historical-ideological aspect, fifty-three is a special number in mathematics, as well. It is a special prime because it is not only divisible by only two numbers, one and itself, but it is also the sum of five consecutive primes ( $5 + 7 + 11 + 13 + 17$ ). Since the birth of Greek mathematics, the prime or incomposite numbers (πρῶτοι or ἀσύνθετοι ἀριθμοί) have been viewed as unique because they form the indivisible elements of all other numbers, generally speaking, the particles comprising the entire universe. After Eratosthenes (276–194 BC) invented an effortless method, known as his ‘sieve’ (κόσκινον Ἐρατοσθένους in Greek), to collect prime numbers by dropping their multiples in a numeric sequence of positive integers,<sup>202</sup> it would have been easy to recognize an exceptional relationship between consecutive primes.

Being indivisible, prime or incomposite numbers seem particularly apt for expressing the idea of perfection and completeness. Thus, they provide arguments against further segmentation. As various phenomena in the universe can be expressed in numbers, compounds of prime numbers, fifty-three categories seem an

<sup>199</sup>MOORE (1965), 166–167.

<sup>200</sup>See **T**, f. 318v: ζητεῖ ἐνέλειπε γὰρ φύλλα μὴ', ἐν οἷς περὶ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου ἐνεφέρετο καὶ περὶ Ἀρσινόης EV 2, 140, 6–8 in exc. 50 cf. Vat. gr. 73 p. 30 ES, exc. 89, ed. Boissvain p. 167: ἰστέον ὅτι τὸ προοίμιον μόνον διεσάφει τοῦ τεσσαρισκαίδεκάτου λόγου· τὰ δ' ἐφεξῆς πάντα ἐνέλειπεν μέχρι λ' φύλλων. However, Irigoien considers both notes as referring to the same gap. IRIGOIN (1977a), 308, n. 7.

<sup>201</sup>*De them.*, ed. Pertusi, ii, 16–31 = Polybius, frs. 54 (90), ed. Büttner-Wobst, iv, 521–522.

<sup>202</sup>Nicomachus of Gerasa (AD 2nd century), an author of a textbook on arithmetic describes the method (i. 13). See the text in HOCHÉ (1866), 28–36. and its English translation in D'OOGHE (1926), 203–207.



ideal number to cover all observable phenomena in the universe. By demanding an enormous effort, fifty-three represents a high enough number to serve as an ambitious goal to express imperial power without necessitating further divisions. Although this numeric theory may overemphasize the role of arithmetics in the selection of the number of the Constantinian subjects, the conscious aspect of this choice, as shown above, still demonstrates a kind of scientific reasoning.

### Inconsistent Elements

It is worth mentioning some of the inconsistent elements in some of the categories. In **T**, there are separate marginal references to *κακία* (wickedness) and its opposite in words such as *ἀγαθή*, *ἀγαθία*, *ἀνδραγαθήματα* (good, good deed, heroic deed), which are more common than simultaneous references to virtue and vice. Interestingly enough, the title *τὸ περὶ ἀνδραγαθημάτων* (“On heroic deeds”) assembled virtuous deeds as a collection separate from EV. The cross-references to the collections “On ambushes”, “On gnostic statements”, and “On politics” are not consistent in the way they order categories (see below tab. 1.4 on p. 73). The separation of embassies by the principle of whether they were sent by the Romans to the Barbarians or vice versa (see below on ELr–g) also reveals some elements of these primary editorial ideas. For example, the excerpts from Herodotus (ELg 435–6), Thucydides (ELg 436–8), Agathias (ELg 438–41), and Appian (ELg 516–68) were copied under the heading “On the embassies” in ELg without specifying who sent the embassies, the Romans or the Barbarians. These instances support the hypothesis that there was no primary distinction made between embassies as regards the selection of passages to this Constantinian collection.

However, the fact that the excerptors proved at occasion undecided in the way they assigned passages to certain collections does not seem to hurt the repeatedly emphasized significance of the number fifty-three. The prooemium preceding each Constantinian collection emphasizes this number, strongly supporting the hypothesis that the number of collections and their sequence was settled at the moment the

## 1. *The Byzantine Context*

final deluxe copies such as **T** or **V** were prepared, but not necessarily before. As the date of **T** seems to be twenty or thirty years later than the date of Constantine's death, the decision to use fifty-three subjects and the association or separation of certain elements in the collections such as "On embassies" seems to have happened quite late, at the time when Constantine VII launched the project of preparing the final set of copies, a project which continued after his death. The three subsequent steps of the procedure of excerpting, outlined in ch. 3.5, p. 242, may give some hints concerning the nature of the draft copies on which the final ones are based.

### 1.5.2. The Constantinian Subjects

As will be presented below (ch. 3.2.3 on p. 207), there were cross-references leading to other collections placed in the margins of the five extant collections. By using them, scholars have restored twenty-six titles out of the fifty-three,<sup>203</sup> almost half of those subjects designed to cover all significant aspects of history in general.<sup>204</sup> There is a surprising similarity between the concepts hinted at in these titles and those behind the works attributed to Constantine VII, as shown in the analysis of *DAI*. However, former studies have not properly emphasized the strong relationship that existed between the two. In order to show that the classification system applied to *CE* depended on the emperor and his close circle, I will present these thematic groups by comparing them to priorities of interest reflected in the imperial treatises composed in Constantine VII's circle.<sup>205</sup>

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<sup>203</sup>BÜTTNER-WOBST (1906), 108–119.

<sup>204</sup>On the basis of the marginalia of Vat. gr. 977 on Theophylaktos Simokattes and the citations in the Suda lexicon, SCHREINER (1987), 21–23 increased the number of titles taken from the cross-references to other headings such as on the deaths of the emperors, on magistrates, on punishments, on festivals, on reasons for wars, on sieges, on dangerous events, on natural phenomena. I regard these titles as hypothetical, mainly supported by the Suda lexicon, because the marginal entries of Vat. gr. 977 do not seem to be one of the exemplars for *CE*.

<sup>205</sup>See their list in other arrangements in LEMERLE (1971), 327–328, SCHREINER (1987), 14–21 and FLUSIN (2002), 553–555.

Table 1.4.: Constantine VII's subjects

category	subject matter (Greek)	subject matter (translation)
emperor	(1) περί βασιλέων ἀναγορεύσεως περί διαδοχῆς βασιλέων περί καيسάρων περί γάμων περί ἐπιβουλῶν κατὰ βασιλέων γεγону- ιῶν, περί ἐπιβουλῶν	on the inauguration of emperors on the succession of sovereigns on Caesars on marriages on ambushes <div>on imperial deaths</div>
warfare- diplomatics	περί στρατηγημάτων  περί νίκης περί ἥττης περί ἀνακλήσεως ἥττης περί συμβολῆς πολέμων περί συμβολῆς  περί δημηγορίων (27) περί πρέσβειων	on leading the army  <div>on sieges</div> on victory on defeat on transformation of defeat into victory on battles on combats <div>on naval warfare</div> on public speeches on the embassies <div>on reasons of wars</div> <div>on strongholds</div>
politics	περί πολιτικῶν διοικήσεως, περί πολιτικῶν, τὸ ῥηθὲν ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς	on political affairs  <div>on magistrates</div> <div>on punishments</div>
Church	περί ἐκκλησιαστικῶν	on ecclesiastical affairs
geography	περί ἐθνῶν περί ἔθνων περί οἰκισμῶν	on customs on peoples on settlements
leisure readings	περί κυνηγίας περί παραδόξων	on hunting on fantastic events <div>on dangerous events</div> <div>on natural phenomena</div> <div>on festivals</div>
literary genres	περί ἐκφράσεως ἐν τοῖς ἐπιγράμμασι περί ἐπιστολῶν περί γνωμῶν, περί γνωμικῶν ἀποστομ- ισμάτων περί Ἑλληνικῆς ἱστορίας περί τοῦ τίς τι ἐξεῦρε	object descriptions on epigrams on letters on gnomic statements  on pagan mythology inventors and their inventions
morality	περί ἀνδραγαθημάτων (50) περί ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας, περί κακίας καὶ ἀρετῆς	on courageous deeds on virtue and vice
<div>subjects matters without cross-references</div>		

### 1.5.3. Hagiography and Church Matters

Both the preference for secular historiography and the favour given secular points of view in Constantine's subjects compared to the ecclesiastical-hagiographical ones suggest that Constantine tried to expand the horizon of inquiry in *CE* primarily as regarded his position as a ruler. The spiritual motives behind the emperor's "orthodoxy", frequently mentioned in imperial propaganda,<sup>206</sup> can be demonstrated by his collecting of relics and housing them in the various churches and chapels in the imperial palace.<sup>207</sup> In this context, the emperor was apparently being consciously innovative by simultaneously initiating the unconventional comprehensive project on mainly non-Christian historiography here discussed, a rather neglected field with regard to imperial interest before his reign, and also extending his control over hagiographical literature. The *Synaxarion* of the Constantinopolitan Church seems to have been composed with the assistance of Emperor Constantine VII and his circle. He subsidized a hagiographical project to select a wide-ranging collection of saints' lives arranged according to the Byzantine liturgical calendar.

The Arabic translation of the letter preceding the *Synaxarion* dedicates the work to Constantine, born to the purple silk.<sup>208</sup> The dedication to Constantine VII

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<sup>206</sup>Two examples beyond the epithets attached to the imperial title will suffice. The preface to the excerpts name Constantine as the most orthodox and Christian of the emperors (Κωνσταντῖνος, ὁ ὀρθοδοξότατος καὶ χριστιανικώτατος τῶν πώποτε βεβασιλευκότων). See also the text on his purported kinship with the Blessed Theophanes in *DAI*, 22, 77–82, ed. MORAVCSIK (1967): Ἔως ὧδε ἐκανόνισεν τοὺς χρόνους τῶν Ἀράβων ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις Θεοφάνης, ὁ τὴν μονὴν συστήσας τοῦ καλουμένου μεγάλου Ἀγροῦ, μητρόθειος τυγχάνων τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ εὐσεβοῦς καὶ χριστιανικωτάτου βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου, υἱοῦ Λέοντος, τοῦ σοφωτάτου καὶ ἀγαθοῦ βασιλέως, ἐγγόνου δὲ Βασιλείου, τοῦ ἐν μακαρίᾳ τῇ μνήμῃ τὰ σκήπτρα τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλείας κρατήσαντος.

<sup>207</sup>On the imperial palace chapels housing relics, especially the chapel of the Virgin of the Pharos, see KALAVREZOU (1997) and KLEIN (2006). The same interest in relics might have inspired some writings, probably not written but commissioned by Constantine VII, on the translation of the relics of John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nazianzus in 946, and the holy image of Edessa to Constantinople (944). The arm of St. John the Baptist was transferred from Antioch to Constantinople during Constantine VII's sole reign in 956. See the homilies attributed to Constantine VII: BHG 728, 794, 878d, 1486. LEMERLE (1971), 270–272 (LEMERLE (1986), 313–315), ŠEVČENKO (1992), 184–186, FLUSIN (1999), FLUSIN (2001), 48–51, and KLEIN (2006). An account of the translation of the holy image of Edessa (*Mandylion*) to Constantinople by Constantine VII, initiated by the emperor, was included in the extensive collection of Saints' Lives by Symeon Metaphrastes and later disseminated as the orthodox emperor's image (see the representation of Constantine VII as Abgar in app. C.1 on p. 379).

<sup>208</sup>See LUZZI (1989), 183, n. 156.

should be accepted as authentic because the sentence following this dedication is a verbatim translation of the Greek text that only survives in the manuscript copied during Constantine VII's last years (950–960) (siglum H = Codex Hierosolymitanus Sanctae Crucis 40).<sup>209</sup> The Arabic text says:<sup>210</sup>

This is the apology of Euaristos, blessed deacon and librarian, addressed to Constantine, glorious among the emperors, born to the purple silk, concerning the Saint book.

[*the continuation identical in both texts says*]

You were the greatest and most noble among the emperors, inclined to impose an important but difficult task on us, by insisting that we should compose for you, in a short form, an account that contains the history of the saints whose feasts are celebrated throughout the circle of the whole year...

The Arabic text may be viewed as authentic including the dedication to Constantine VII, which can have been deleted only in a later phase of its transmission as in the Jerusalem copy. Moreover, in the same Greek dedicatory letter, mostly identical to the Arabic translation, there is another possible allusion to Constantine VII: ἀνθ' ὧν εὐχασθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ δίκαιον Τιθωνοῦ γῆρας ἢ μᾶλλον Ἀβραμιαίαν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι χρόνῳ τὴν πολιάν (“...instead, I pray that the emperor live to an age equal with Tithonus”<sup>211</sup> or rather the grey hair of Abraham).<sup>212</sup> It is also Tithonus whose image is employed, when yearning for old age, to the Emperor Constantine VII in the iambic poem following the introduction in **T** (EV, 3) Οὐκοῦν βοάτω πρὸς θεὸν πᾶς τις μέροψ· Τιθωνὸν αὐτὸν δεῖξον ἄλλον ἐν χρόνοις (“Let all voices roar in one to God: «Render him another Tithonos in regards to years...»”). In the same letter,

<sup>209</sup>Σὺ μὲν, ὦ θειότατε καὶ κράτιστε βασιλεῦ, μέγα τι περὶ ἡμῶν καὶ γενναῖον ἴσως οἰηθεῖς, ἐπέταξας ἐν βραχεῖ μνήμην ἅμα καὶ σύνοψιν τῆς ἱστορίας τῶν ταῖς κυκλοφορικαῖς ἔτους περιόδοις τελουμένων ἁγίων γενέσθαι σοι... The text is quoted from DELEHAYE (1902), xiii. On the dating of this manuscript, see also GRUMEL (1967), 45–57.

<sup>210</sup>The Arabic text is quoted from its French translation of the Arabic text found in the earliest dated manuscript of the Arabic synaxarions (Sinaï arabe 417, dated to 1095), see SAUGET (1969), 32–33.

<sup>211</sup>Tithonus is famous for having been granted immortality by the goddess Aurora (Eos in Greek) who fell in love with him. However, he forgot to ask for vigour, youth, and beauty. Thus, he soon grew old and became infirm. Finally, the goddess transfigured him into a cicada. This explains the use of the term “ἐν χρόνοις”.

<sup>212</sup>DELEHAYE (1902), xiv. See the suggestion in ŠEVČENKO (1992), 188–189, n. 52.

## 1. The Byzantine Context

appended as a preface to the *Synaxarion*, moreover, the compiler, Deacon Euaristos (= Huwaristus),<sup>213</sup> mentions that his practice somehow resembles the excerptors' method: "I retained the simple statements, removing and cutting off what seemed not to be central to the story."<sup>214</sup>

The largest collection of saints' lives ever compiled in Greek in a single collection is known as the *menologion*. It was completed a generation later under Symeon Metaphrastes' supervision (before 912–after 982). However, its composition may have originated and been inspired by Constantine VII's encyclopædic projects, as manifested in the *Synaxarion* of Constantinople. On the basis of lost sources, Michael Psellos, the polymath writer (1018–after 1081), described the imperial initiative and the method in his "Enkomion on Symeon Metaphrastes".<sup>215</sup>

[Symeon Metaphrastes] had the facilities at hand and quite a group of people around him, some taking down the words in shorthand, others writing out the text. These people worked successively, some doing the first job, others the second. Subsequent to these were those who checked the texts so that what had escaped the notice of the copyist would be corrected according to its intended meaning. For, due to the abundance of the texts, he [Symeon] could not go over and look through the same text several times.

The method here described reflects team work which consisted of an established sequence of well-defined tasks, similar to what must have characterized *CE*. Despite the similarities, however, the purpose of the comprehensive project seems different in terms of its aim: revising and rewriting hagiographical texts. The purpose of this

<sup>213</sup>Huwaristus' identification with Symeon Metaphrastes is no longer accepted among scholars.

<sup>214</sup>Tr. by HØGEL (2002), 55. καὶ οὐδὲ διαφόρους συγγραφεῖς εὐρηκῶς, ἐξ ὧν ἂν τις περεξετάζων τὸ ἀληθὲς ἀπὸ τῆς πολυπλανοῦς ἐκκρίνειεν ἱστορίας, κατ' ἐμαυτὸν ἀνεδυόμην τοῦπίταγμα... Αὐτὰς δὲ ψιλὰς τὰς φράσεις κατεθέμην εἰς μέσον, τὰ δοκοῦντα τῇ ἱστορίᾳ προσίστασθαι ἐξελών καὶ ὑποτεμόμενος... Ὁ δὲ λόγους τε ἐντρυφῶν καὶ ὕκτος πρὸ τῶν ὀρνίθων τοῖς βιβλίοις ᾤδων..., ed. DELEHAYE (1902), xiii–xiv. See also FLUSIN (2001), 41–47, the whole introduction is translated into French on 44–45.

<sup>215</sup>καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ ἡ παρασκευὴ ἐξ ἐτοίμου κύκλος τε οὐ βραχὺς τῶν τε πρώτως ἐνσημαινομένων τὴν λέξιν καὶ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα τιθέντων· καὶ ἄλλος ἐπ' ἄλλῳ, ὁ μὲν τὰ πρῶτα ποιῶν, ὁ δὲ τὰ δεύτερα· καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτοις οἱ τὰ συγγεγραμμένα ἐξακριβοῦμενοι, ἵν', ὅ τι τοὺς ὑπογραφέας λάθοι, πρὸς τὴν προκειμένην διορθώσωνται ἔννοιαν. οὐ γὰρ ἐνῆν αὐτῷ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν συγγραμμάτων πολλάκις τὰ αὐτὰ ἀνακυκλεῖν τε καὶ ἐφορᾶν. "Enkomion on Symeon Metaphrastes", ed. FISHER (1994), 285, lines 333–341 and commented on by HØGEL (2002), 92–126, Høgel's translation is taken from p. 93. Basil Lekapenos the *parakoimomenos* could also have stood behind the Menologian project (p. 70). On Symeon Metaphrastes, see the recent summary with bibliography by DUMMER (2006).

### 1.5. Selection of the Fifty-Three Subjects

scheme was to create a purified version of what were sometimes multiple *vitae* for the same saint, or to write new texts based upon various sources. In this context, rephrasing sentences, shortening or expanding passages by applying various rhetorical methods were not only a matter of choice but a necessity.<sup>216</sup> In order to speed up the procedure, dictation was likely involved in Metaphrastes' project. Unlike the *menologion*, the historical excerpts were designed to preserve the style and the phrases of the historiographers to the greatest possible extent, as stated explicitly in the *prooemium*: "the literary quality (of the historical narratives) might be more easily impressed upon the learned people". Therefore, oral instead of written "translation" as a method for quickly producing a large number of texts within a short time span would not have been appropriate for the historical excerpts. Spoken words do not seem precise enough to result in the accuracy reflected in the excerpts. However, dictation as a medium of transmission was suggested for the excerpts on sieges in **P** and for Diodorus of Sicily.<sup>217</sup> A well organized sequence of individual tasks (see ch. 3.5 on p. 242) might explain the surprising reliability of the historical texts as preserved in *CE* after the scrupulous procedure of restructuring the historical narratives.

In the historical excerpts, the "most orthodox and most Christian of emperors" does not seem to have granted too much importance to the Church in the universal context of history. However, the hypothesis that the methodology of dogmatic florilegia was used in defining the methodological principle of *CE*, as suggested above (ch. 1.1 on p. 18), may explain this aspect of *CE* which may seem surprising at the surface. As dogmatic material was available in minutely classified thematic arrangements and hagiography was selected for another project, there was no need to include this material in *CE*.

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<sup>216</sup>On the rhetoric transformation of hagiographical texts by Symeon Metaphrastes, see Elisabeth Peyr's studies: PEYR (1992) and her doctoral thesis defended at Vienna University: SCHIFFER (1999).

<sup>217</sup>On **P**, see WESCHER (1867a), xv–xxiv, especially xxi; for the excerpts from Diodorus of Sicily, dictation as a vehicle of transmission was suggested by GOUKOWSKY (2006), xxiii, xxviii, especially n. 64. On dictation as a vehicle in textual transmission in general, see FLUSIN (1984).

## 1. The Byzantine Context

There are two titles among the cross-references that may be viewed as belonging to an ecclesiastical subject. There is a collection “On fantastic events” (περὶ παραδόξων). However, the two independent references to the same title suggest that all kinds of miracles were assembled and recorded in this collection not only miracles from Christian contexts.<sup>218</sup> The interest in Church matters can be seen behind the collection “On ecclesiastical affairs” (περὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῶν). The single reference to this title points to a passage from George the Monk reporting on the dual nature of Christ.<sup>219</sup> There is no other information on the character of this collection; the Suda lexicon cites directly or indirectly fifth-century Church historians and George the Monk when presenting Church matters probably based on the collection “On ecclesiastical affairs”.<sup>220</sup> Nevertheless, it cannot be excluded that Church historians other than Sokrates were also excerpted under this title, or other historians who do not appear in the extant collections of *CE*.<sup>221</sup>

### 1.5.4. Emperors

Several factors might explain the unusual emphasis laid on various aspects of imperial power as reflected in *CE*. The fact that Constantine VII was born from Leo VI’s fourth marriage with Zoe Karbonopsina, his concubine, a marriage prohibited by canon law, resulted in countless troubles during his career and weakened his position behind Emperor Romanos I Lekapenos (920–944) and his sons (until 944).<sup>222</sup> The difficulties in maintaining the power of the dynasty established by his grandfather,

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<sup>218</sup>See the two miracles of the baby Moses (Josephus AJ 2. 226–228, 234–237) in EV 1,40–41 and a lost passage from Polybius EV 2, 172.

<sup>219</sup>EV 1,145. See this passage in DE BOOR (1904), 473,21 – 475,4. On this collection, see DE BOOR (1886), 1–26 and BÜTTNER-WOBST (1906), 111.

<sup>220</sup>HUNGER (1991), 148.

<sup>221</sup>FUSIN (2002), 540.

<sup>222</sup>On Romanos I Lekapenos, see RUNCIMAN (1929). On the complex problem of Leo VI’s fourth marriage, see OIKONOMIDES (1976a), 161–170 and OIKONOMIDES (1976b). DAGRON (2003), 215–219 describes Constantine VII’s attempt to normalize Church and State relations in *De ceremoniis*. The relevance of this issue to *CE* may be demonstrated by the likening of author-less texts to “bastard children” in the prooemium.



Basil I, in 867 may have played a major role in stirring his interest in patterns in imperial careers.

Five titles among the known ones encompass passages on various momentous events in the lives of sovereigns, each important in Constantine VII's own career. The prooemium to *CE* clearly states that the first section for the whole system of assembled extracts was the subject "On the inauguration of the emperors" (περὶ βασιλέων ἀναγορεύσεως). The name of this collection appears once among the marginal cross-references, which points to a passage that describes the Biblical Daniel's interpretation of the dream of the Babylonian king, Nebuchadnezzar.<sup>223</sup> Daniel reveals the Babylonian king's forgotten dream. The king saw a statue with a golden head, silver shoulders and arms, the belly and things of brass, iron legs, and iron-clay feet. Later, a stone broke the image into small pieces. Daniel explained the vision as a forewarning of how subsequent empires would triumph over each other (Dan 2: 37–44). This passage, excerpted in the first Constantinian collection, played an important role in Christian historiography, interpreting the takeover of supreme power by subsequent empires such as the Assyrian, Persian, Macedonian, and Roman.<sup>224</sup>

There are some passages on imperial inaugurations that may originate from this collection. The enthronements of Emperors Leo I (457–474), Anastasios I (491–518), Justin I (518–527), Leo II (473–474), Justinian I (527–565), and among the tenth-century emperors, Nikephoros II Phokas (963–969), and Romanos II (959–963) are embedded in this sequence in the Leipzig codex of *De cerimoniis* which was copied in the scriptorium where the final copies of *CE* were produced.<sup>225</sup> Although these passages were not copied directly from one of Constantine VII's historical collec-

<sup>223</sup>On **T**, f. 39r, the cross-reference is to Josephus Flavius, *Jewish Antiquities*, 10.207–210.

<sup>224</sup>Two entries in the Suda lexicon also cite the translation of power: Ἀσσοῦροι (A 4289) and Ρωμαίων ἀρχή, (P 246). BEARZOT (1999), 36.

<sup>225</sup>Reiske's hypothesis (given in his 1751 preface, iii) that the chapters 'On the inauguration of the emperors' in Constantine VII's work (*De cerimoniis* 1.91–96, ed. by Johann Jacob Reiske and J. H. Leich, *Constantini Porphyrogeniti libri II. de cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae*, (Bonn, 1829), 410–433 in Leipzig, University Library, I 17, ff. 154v–172r) originate in the lost collection of *CE* was convincingly refuted by WÄSCHKE (1878). The coronation of Romanos II appears in the table of contents of Book 2 in the Leipzig manuscript (as ch.17 on f.174r) and was copied on f.203,

## 1. The Byzantine Context

tions, these texts may have used some lost sections of *CE*. The emperors who were selected for presentation were crowned in the fifth and sixth centuries, a period that was favoured both by Leo VI and Constantine VII (see above). The insertion of two contemporary coronations among the historical ones may represent a similar approach in which the past is associated with the present as seems to be the case in the collection of military speeches in the cod. Ambros. B 119 sup. Here Constantine VII's speeches were copied in a collection of other speeches extracted from classical historians. Imperial succession was also important in the description of the imperial sarcophagi in the Church of the Holy Apostles (*De cerimoniis* 2.42–3);<sup>226</sup> as a counterpart, “On the succession of sovereigns” (περὶ διαδοχῆς βασιλέων), which also included rulers other than Roman emperors, appears among the lost titles.<sup>227</sup>

Imperial marriages receive attentive treatment in the course of presenting imperial ceremonies in the *De cerimoniis* (1.41). The collection “On marriages” (περὶ γάμων) was probably inspired by the same curiosity.<sup>228</sup> The lost passage in Diodorus of Sicily narrated the shameful wedding of Ptolemy VIII with Kleopatra III who was the daughter of his previous wife Kleopatra II, and the mother of his son Memphites (144/142–130 BC). In addition, two diplomatic marriages (Romanos II and Bertha-Eudokia, and Romanos I's granddaughter and Peter of Bulgaria) are cited from George the Monk continuatus in *DAI* and in *Vita Basilii*, respectively.<sup>229</sup>

The former content of the collections “On Caesars” (περὶ καيسάρων) is uncertain. The single reference points to a passage on Octavian in the chronicle of John of An-

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which has been lost since the sixteenth century. The similarity of taste behind these selections, however, cannot be denied.

<sup>226</sup>*De cerimoniis*, Book 2, ch.42 contained the succession of the emperors after Constantine the Great, as apparent in the table of contents. Unfortunately, the Leipzig codex has lost 5 leaves between f. 215 and f. 216, with ch. 42 on them. This chapter was, however, preserved in the palimpsest in Istanbul, as demonstrated by MANGO & ŠEVČENKO (1962), 61–63.

<sup>227</sup>In this context, see the reference to Phalaris (Diodorus of Sicily, 9.30: ὡς γέγραπται ἐν τῷ περὶ διαδοχῆς βασιλέων) in the collection ES, 289.

<sup>228</sup>EV 1, 298: end of Diodorus of Sicily, fr. 316 (33.13). BÜTTNER-WOBST (1906), 116–117.

<sup>229</sup>*DAI*, 13.147–149, 26.66–72 and in Theophanes Continuatus, ed. BEKKER (1838), 414,1–415,9, 422,10–13, 431,11–19, respectively.

tioch.<sup>230</sup> Its position implies that this collection should have been on heir apparents and events in their lives preceding enthronement.

The collection “On ambushes (against emperors)” also reflect an interest in the emperor’s personality. This reference is known in two forms, one as the title of collection EI (περὶ ἐπιβουλῶν κατὰ βασιλέων γεγονυῶν), transmitted in two sixteenth-century manuscripts (see above in ch. 2.4.2 on p. 141); the other refers to the passage in Josephus Flavius’ *Jewish Antiquities* narrating an ambush but against someone who is not a ruler (περὶ ἐπιβουλῶν).<sup>231</sup> This instance suggests an uncertainty within the categories as also apparent in the collections on embassies. It seems likely that all kinds of ambushes were included, not only those against emperors or rulers.<sup>232</sup>

### 1.5.5. Geography and Ethnography

The various aspects of geography-ethnography (three titles), warfare, stratagems, diplomacy (nine titles) and politics (two titles) would have satisfied the interest of the representatives of power in Constantinople who constituted Constantine VII’s inner circle. These various interests are manifested, not only in altogether at least fourteen Constaninian subjects, but also in Constantine VII’s treatises and the manuscript production of his age. The collection “On customs” (περὶ ἐθῶν)<sup>233</sup> described the ceremony of oath-giving, and that on “On peoples” (περὶ ἐθνῶν)<sup>234</sup> commented on three “philosophical” branches of the Jews, the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essens, their beliefs and lifestyles. The heading “On settlements” (περὶ οἰκισμῶν) seems to have embraced various passages on settlements and economy related to

<sup>230</sup>EI, 75, at the end of John of Antioch, exc. 30, fr. 151, ed. ROBERTO (2005a), 266–267. See also BÜTTNER-WOBST, 117.

<sup>231</sup>EV 1, 62, at the end of Josephus Flavius, exc. 26 (AI, 8 204–224).

<sup>232</sup>Perhaps the inclusion of the story on the intrigue in the Kibyrraiot thema in 909–910 in (DAI, 50. 169–196), based on the report of Eustathios (DAI, 50. 182) was influenced by the collection on ambushes.

<sup>233</sup>ELr, 26: τὸ δὲ διὰ λίθων ζήτει ἐν τῷ περὶ ἐθῶν. Polybius, *Historiae*, 3. 25.

<sup>234</sup>EV 1, 84. Josephus Flavius, AJ, 18. 10–25

## 1. The Byzantine Context

them in a broad sense. For example, the single reference to the latter theme describes how Joseph handles the crisis in Egypt with various economic initiatives.<sup>235</sup>

There are two marginal references to the collection “On political affairs”: in Nicolas of Damascus (περὶ πολιτικῶν),<sup>236</sup> there is a reference to a lost passage on the Corinthian tyrant, Periander; and another one (περὶ πολιτικῶν διοικήσεως) in a passage by Diodorus of Sicily narrating the political solution invented by Ninus, the king of Mesopotamia. According to the latter passage, each year, he exchanged the soldiers summoned from subject peoples.<sup>237</sup> Another phrase may refer to the same collection. In the main text of Polybius (7.13.8, EV 2, 107, f.109v in **T**), there is an interpolation stating in the context of Philip V and Messene: τὸ ρηθὲν ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς (“what was said in the collection on political affairs”).

The emperor’s preference for geographic, ethnographic, and political interests, manifested in the selection of subjects just discussed, inspired several chapters, in *DAI* and in *De them*. In the latter, the geographical lexicon by Stephanus of Byzantium was employed.<sup>238</sup> There are references within these works, however, which can be explained by the use of some Constantinian subjects of geographical interest, rather than by supposing that Stephanus of Byzantium laid behind these passages (see above in ch.1.4.1 on p.1.4.1 and ch.1.4.2 on p.1.4.2). As regards the other manuscripts produced in the imperial scriptorium, the same interest in geography also emerges in a codex comprising a military collection that was copied for Constantine VII’s library.<sup>239</sup>

<sup>235</sup>EV 1, 36, Josephus Flavius, *AJ*, 2.190–197:

<sup>236</sup>EI 22, Nicolas of Damascus, exc. 24, FGrHist A 90 F 60.

<sup>237</sup>EV 1, 207, at the end of Diodorus of Sicily, exc. 4 (2.21.4–7)

<sup>238</sup>On the use of Stephanus of Byzantium in Constantine VII’s works, see DILLER (1938, 1950) and NAWOTKA (1994), 323–324.

<sup>239</sup>Ms Laurentianus Plut. 55,4 (see above) contains a few leaves (ff.403 and 405) with passages which may be connected to the title: Στρατηγικὸν περὶ ἔθῶν διαφορῶν ἔθνῶν (The art of war concerning the customs of various nations), attributed to Constantine VII. Dain regards this text as a paraphrase of Maurice’ *Strategicon* (9.2–3). See also the last folios of the same manuscript (ff.401, 402, 404). FOUCAULT (1967), 362.

### 1.5.6. Leisure Readings

The collection “On hunting” refers to a popular activity of the elite, that also had a representative significance.<sup>240</sup> The content of the collection ‘περὶ τοῦ τίς τι ἐξεῦρε’ is unclear and may have contained extracts on creative minds and their inventive ideas.<sup>241</sup> The collections “On courageous deeds” (περὶ ἀνδραγαθημάτων)<sup>242</sup> and “On virtue and vice” (περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας no. 50), a subject probably influenced by the identical principle of juxtaposing excerpts in dogmatic and ascetic florilegia,<sup>243</sup> show the imperial circle’s moral interest in virtuous deeds. The single cross-reference to this collection (in EI 87) is to exc. 38 (EV).<sup>244</sup>

### 1.5.7. Embassies

The two collections “On embassies sent” (no. 27) “by the Romans to the Barbarians” and “by the Barbarians to the Romans” also seem to have been inspired by an interest in war and diplomacy. The separation of the two categories seems to have been decided on at a later phase of the editorial procedure. Some authors were classified under the title “On embassies” without further specification. Interestingly enough, the cross-references in the extant Constantinian collections do not mention this subject. The selection of embassies as a separate subject matter may be linked

<sup>240</sup>See the reference to this collection in ELg 275: at the end of Polybius exc. 32. On hunting in Byzantium, see PATLAGEAN (1992), 257–263.

<sup>241</sup>See the reference to this collection in ES 222, at the end of Polybius exc. 166 (book 39–40), final cross-reference in the excerpts from Polybius.

<sup>242</sup>EV 1, 338: end of Nicolas of Damascus exc. 12 (FGrHist A 90 F 13); EV 1, 354: end of Nicolas of Damascus exc. 32 (FGrHist A 90 F 125); EI 33: in Nicolas of Damascus exc. 26 (FGrHist A 90 F 66,44), paired with the collection “on marches”.

<sup>243</sup>For example, in Book 3 of the florilegium *Sacra Parallela*, the various citations from Church fathers were juxtaposed according to virtues and vices. EHRHARD (1901), RICHARD (1962), 476–486, ODORICO (1990).

<sup>244</sup>EI 87 (περὶ κακίας καὶ ἀρετῆς, see ch. 2.2 on T), at the end of John of Antioch exc. 48, fr. 203, ed. ROBERTO (2005a), 342–348.

## 1. The Byzantine Context

with the tradition of archiving reports of embassies, which late antique historians used extensively.<sup>245</sup>

In Islamic sources, Byzantine envoys are attested to have used their historical knowledge in their diplomatic missions under Constantine VII.<sup>246</sup> Therefore, the knowledge of history occasionally proved rewarding in diplomatic missions. This seems the case according to Masudi's (c. 896–956) account who emphasized that John Mystikos, a Byzantine envoy sent by Constantine VII in 946 to the Abassid court, amazed the caliph and the court in Damascus with his “wide knowledge of the history of the kings of ancient Greece and Rome and of their contemporary philosophers and their philosophical systems and theories.”<sup>247</sup> Learned Arabic scholars were interested in Greek and Roman history, sciences, and philosophy. In the first decades of the tenth century, Masudi included in his historical work an account of Greek kings after Alexander the Great, the Roman rulers until Constantine the Great, and from him until the birth of Islam.<sup>248</sup> It also happened in the 940s that an Orosius volume *Histories against the Pagans* in Latin was dispatched to the Umayyad court in Spain together with Dioscurides' medical work.<sup>249</sup> These acts demonstrate that the envoys relied on the historical notion of the supreme power of the Roman Emperor and represented the claim that Constantinople still maintained her former power and the supremacy of the Roman Empire. For this purpose, Constantinian collections such as the one on embassies sent by the Romans to the Barbarians might perceivably have been of a great help.

As demonstrated above, it is likely that Constantine VII used the collection “On embassies” to adopt two versions of the Sardanapalus story in *DAI* and *Vita Basilii* (see above on p. 60), when describing the conversation between Soldan, the

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<sup>245</sup>BURY (1906), 538–539. Photios also showed special interest in embassies as noticed by MENDELS (1986), 205, n. 43.

<sup>246</sup>SHEPARD (2003), 98–99.

<sup>247</sup>MASUDI (1897), 261 and SHEPARD (2006), 35.

<sup>248</sup>MASUDI (1863), vol. ii, 278–293 (Greek history from Alexander the Great), 293–310 (Rome before the Christian emperors), 311–333 (Rome, Christian rulers).

<sup>249</sup>SHEPARD (2003), 98–99.

emir of Bari and Louis II. The collection “On public speeches” (περὶ δημηγορίων) collected mainly diplomatic and military orations following the classical tradition of excerpting such passages in separate collections.<sup>250</sup>

### 1.5.8. Military Affairs

Ethnographic and diplomatic subjects were closely related to a wide range of other matters concerning warfare. The collections “On victory” (περὶ νίκης),<sup>251</sup> “On defeat” (περὶ ἥττης)<sup>252</sup> or “On transformation of defeat into victory” (περὶ ἀνακλήσεως ἥττης),<sup>253</sup> “On battles” (περὶ συμβολῆς πολέμων)<sup>254</sup> or “On combats” (περὶ συμβολῆς)<sup>255</sup> provided principles to classify historical passages according to significant war events.

The frequent references to the lost collection “On leading the army” (περὶ στρατηγημάτων) show the same interest that stood behind a fair number of chapters in Constantine VII’s works.<sup>256</sup> The scope of this category, however, is unclear. The majority of the scholars argue that it covered a broad area of warfare, including sieges. It is only a single passage from Zosimos that may illustrate the content of this

<sup>250</sup>On the battle exhortation in ancient historiography, see HANSEN (1993), 161–180 and HAMMOND (1999), 238–253. There were some collections of public speeches excerpted from historical writings available in the fifth century as hinted at in the references in Stobaeus’ anthology (cf. HENSE (1916), 2570): Stobaeus, iv. 1, 58: Θουκυδίδου ἱστορίας τρίτης δημηγορίας Κλέωνος; iii. 7, 18: Θουκυδίδου ἱστορίας β’ < δημηγορίας Περικλέους; iv. 1, 61: Θουκυδίδου ἱστορίας ζ’ ἐκ τῆς δημηγορίας Νικίου; iii. 7, 35: Θουκυδίδου ἐκ τοῦ Ἑπιταφίου.

<sup>251</sup>ELg 390: Socrates: after vii. 18. 15–.

<sup>252</sup>ES 210: at the end of Polybius exc. 155 (after ch. xxxvii. 17).

<sup>253</sup>EV 1, 9: Josephus Flavius, *AJ* 1.175–180 (1.x.1): Abram gives the Sodomites assistance against the Assyrians and defeats them with a small number of servants.

<sup>254</sup>EI 207: Diodorus of Sicily (book 34–35).

<sup>255</sup>It describes the slaughter of the Jews by the Roman Florus. EV 1, 99: Josephus Flavius, *BJ* 2.301–308 (xiv. 8–9).

<sup>256</sup>The single extant codex of *De cerimoniis* from the tenth century contains several chapters on military affairs. See three treatises on imperial military expeditions by Constantine VII in two manuscripts, assigned to the imperial scriptorium by IRIGOIN (1959), 177–181 in Leipzig, University Library, I 17, ff. 1r–21r and Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Plut. 55, 4, ff. 1r–2r, ed., trans., and com. by HALDON (1990). See an account of two unsuccessful military expeditions against the Saracens on Crete in 910–911 and 949 (*De cerimoniis* 2.44–45), also ed., trans., and com. by HALDON (2000).

## 1. The Byzantine Context

collection.<sup>257</sup> This passage exclusively narrates how the Visigoth Alaric marched to Rome with his army. There is no evidence to help us decide whether other features of war were included under this heading as the other cross-references point to passages that have been lost.<sup>258</sup> The discourse on the content of this collection was influenced by the opposing approaches to the problem as to whether the excerpts on the sieges of various towns in Par. suppl. gr. 607 (ff. 16–17, 88–103) belong to *CE*. The problem of the various historical excerpts on warfare will be discussed in a case study in the second chapter (p. 161).

### 1.5.9. Historical Epigrams in the *Palatine Anthology*

The *Palatine Anthology* is the most wide-ranging collection of Greek epigrams. It is preserved in a single manuscript, now bound in two volumes: Palatinus gr. 23 (nowadays in Heidelberg) and Par. suppl. gr. 384.<sup>259</sup> Scholars date this single manuscript within a period ranging from 930s to 1050–1070.<sup>260</sup> Apart from the question of which dating is correct, all the suggestions, except for Aubreton’s dating to 1050–1070, gives an interval that is very close in time to the production of *CE*.<sup>261</sup> The epigrams within the collections are arranged according to subject and seem to be a final stage of a continuously expanding collection of epigrams. Alan Cameron

<sup>257</sup>ELg 379: Zosimus 5. 37: Alaric’s march against Rome.

<sup>258</sup>E.g., ELr 14: Dionysius of Halicarnassus, xix. v (17. 7) EV 1, 335: end of Nicolas of Damascus, exc. 8: (FGrHist A 90 F 4), EV 2, 116: in Polybius exc. 30 (ix. 24); EV 2, 123: at the end of Polybius exc. 34 (x. 22); EI 33: in Nicolas of Damascus exc. 26 (FGrHist A 90 F 66, 44), paired with the collection “On courageous deeds” EI 222: at the end of Dionysius of Halicarnassus exc. 2 (15. 3), paired with the collection “On public speeches”; ES 131: at the end of Polybius exc. 38 (vi. 1. 10), ed. Büttner-Wobst, vol. 2, 241.

<sup>259</sup>See its facsimile edition by PREISENDANZ (1911), 2 vols.

<sup>260</sup>The later dates, 1050–1070, are suggested by AUBRETON (1968), 32–82 and AUBRETON (1969), 459–462. CAMERON (1993), 98–99, 115–116 gives the period of Constantine VII’s sole reign (944–959). Most recently, LAUXTERMANN (2003), 83–86 accepts Cameron’s dating. AGATI (1984), 43–59, suggests a date at the end of the tenth century on palaeographical grounds. BECKBY (1957–58), vol. 1, 70 suggests a date around 980. WILSON (1983), 138 suggests a date of 930–950.

<sup>261</sup>There is another collection of epigrams, anacreontics and hymns, the *Anthologia Barberina*, named after its single manuscript in the Vatican Library (Barb. gr. 310) that copied in the second half of the tenth century. This anthology of epigrams was compiled shortly after 919 and does not contain epigrams excerpted from historians. On this anthology, see LAUXTERMANN (2003), 123–128.



noticed that an epigram copied in two independent locations in EV coincides with the version of the *Palatine Anthology*.

The Constantinian collection “On virtue and vice” quotes the epitaph of Sardanopalus (Sesostris), a reputedly rich man in Egypt, from Diodorus of Sicily. The text on f. 101v in **T** is followed by a reference to the collection “On the epigrams” (see the facsimile 1–2 in fig. C.15 on p. 390). The same epigram is quoted once more on f. 64r but this time in a somewhat different version and from George the Monk. As Alan Cameron pointed out, the first version was not taken from Diodorus of Sicily<sup>262</sup> and neither does the second one derive from George the Monk.<sup>263</sup> Both versions seem to be an editorial construction of the Constantinian excerptors partially based on the epigram found in the *Palatine Anthology*. The variant readings exclusive to the *Palatine Anthology* are framed and the words that are identical with it and contradict the historical texts are underlined in tab. 1.5. The ταῦτ’ of the Diodorus excerpt is the same in Strabo 14.672, Polybius 8.10.4 and in Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. Ἀγχιάλη. The variants of the epigram quoted in the excerpt from George the Monk (Τόσσ’) and ἐδάην appear only in the mid-tenth century manuscript of the *Palatine Anthology*.<sup>264</sup>

Τόσσ’	ἔχω, ὅσσ’ ἔφαγον τε καὶ ἔπιον καὶ μετ’ ἐρώτων
τέρπν’	ἐδάην

τὰ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ὄλβια πάντα λέλειπται.

For inclusions of epigrams from a collection similar to that of the *Palatine Anthology*, Alan Cameron provides another example from Constantine VII’s *DAI* (21, 57f) and two more from *De them.* (66.70–74, 70.19f).<sup>265</sup> The epigrams quoted in *De*

<sup>262</sup>Diodorus, *Bibliotheca historica*, 2.23.3, ed. Vogel 1.208, 12–3: καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ σποδός εἰμι, Νίνου μεγάλης βασιλεύσας.

ταῦτ’ ἔχω ὅσσ’ ἔφαγον καὶ ἐφύβρισα καὶ μετ’ ἔρωτος  
τέρπν’ ἔπαθον, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ὄλβια κεῖνα λέλειπται.

<sup>263</sup>George the Monk, ed. de Boor, vol.1, 13–14: τόσσ’ ἔχω, ὅσ’ ἐφύβρισα, ἔφαγόν τε καὶ ἔπιον καὶ μετ’ ἔρωτος τερπνοῦ ἐπολιτευσάμην, παθόντα δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ὄλβια πάντα λέλειπται. καὶ γὰρ νῦν σποδός εἰμι Νίνου μεγάλης βασιλεύσας.

<sup>264</sup>*Palatine Anthology*, vii.325.1, ed. Beckby, vol.2, 190. See its facsimile in PREISENDANZ (1911), 254, in the top of the page.

<sup>265</sup>See also PRATSCH (1994), 84–87.

Table 1.5.: Sardanapalus' epitaph in T

Diodorus exc. 6 (EV 1,207,28–29) f. 101v	George the Monk, exc. 2 (1, 123, 13–15) f. 64r
ταῦτ' ἔχω ὅσσ' ἔφαγόν τε καὶ ἔπιον καὶ μετ' ἐρώτων καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς ζητεῖ ἐν τοῖς ἐπιγράμμασι	<u>τόσσ'</u> ἔχω, ὅσσ' ἔφαγόν τε καὶ ἔπιον καὶ μετ' ἐρώτων τέρπν' <u>ἐδάην</u> , τὰ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ὀλβια πάντα λείλειπται καὶ γὰρ νῦν σποδός εἰμι, Νίνου μεγάλης βασιλεύσας.

*them.* are especially significant in terms of understanding the relationship between the *Palatine Anthology* and *CE*. The author, who was probably not Constantine VII himself, quoted two epigrams on the bad reputation of the Cappadocians and uses the term ἐν ἐπιγράμμασι, possibly as a reference to the Constantinian collection.<sup>266</sup> The other example is a poem on the Sangarius bridge built by Emperor Justinian.<sup>267</sup> It is very likely, according to Cameron, that Constantine VII or his scholars used Kephalas' anthology when quoting these epigrams. Cameron bases his dating of the Palatine manuscript on a note appended by hand J, to Crinagoras' epigram (*AP* ix. 81) where he mentions the emperors, Leo and Romanos, using a critical tone. Ro-

<sup>266</sup>Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De them.*, ed. Pertusi, 66, l. 70–77:

Καὶ ἐν ἐπιγράμμασι· (= *Palatine Anthology*, xi. 238. 1–4 and Ioannes Lydus, *De magistratibus*, iii. 57)

Καππαδόκαι φαῦλοι μὲν αἰεὶ ζώνης δὲ τυχόντες,  
φαυλότεροι· κέρδους δ' εἵνεκα φαυλότατοι·  
ἦν δ' ἄρα δις καὶ τρίς μεγάλης δράζωνται ἀπήνης,  
δὴ τότε γίνονται φαυλεπιφαυλότατοι.

Καὶ ἄλλως· (= *Palatine Anthology*, xi. 237)

Καππαδόκην ποτ' ἔχιδνα [κακῇ] δάκεν· ἀλλὰ [καὶ] αὐτὴ  
κάτθανε γευσάμενη αἵματος ἰοβόλου.

<sup>267</sup>Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De thematibus*, ed. Pertusi, 70, l. 19–26: 'Ρεῖ δὲ ἐν τῷ θέματι τῶν Ὀπτιμάτων ποταμὸς ὁ καλούμενος Σάγαρις· ἐν ᾧ ἔστιν ἀξιοθέατος γέφυρα, ἣν ἐποίησεν Ἰουστινιανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκεῖνος ὁ πολυμήντης, ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχουσα τοιαύτην, ἥτις γέγραπται ἐν μιᾷ τῶν πλακῶν οὕτως λέγουσα· (= *Palatine Anthology*, ix. 641, attributed to Agathias)

Καὶ σὺ μεθ' Ἑσπερίην ὑψαύχενα καὶ μετὰ Μήδων  
ἔθνεα καὶ πᾶσαν βαρβαρικὴν ἀγέλην,  
Σαγγάριε, κρατερῇσι ῥοὰς ἀψῖσι πεδηθεὶς  
οὕτως ἐδουλώθης κοιρανικῇ παλάμῃ·  
5 ὁ πρὶν γὰρ σκαφέεσσιν ἀνέμβατος, ὁ πρὶν ἀτειρὴς  
κεῖσαι λαϊνῇ σφιγκτὸς ἀλυστοπέδῃ.

manos should be identified with Romanos I Lekapenos and an event in 922–923.<sup>268</sup> Romanos I can easily have received criticism after 944.

Without aiming to touch upon the question of dating the “Palatine Anthology” and the rather complicated procedure involved in the production of the Palatine manuscript, it is worth mentioning an astonishing phenomenon that has not been used as an argument in this context so far. There is a unique string of twenty-three oracles in the *Palatine manuscript*.<sup>269</sup> These epigrams were taken from Herodotus’ *Historiae*. This cluster of oracles is not a random selection but contains all the oracles in Herodotus, including those transmitted in prose summaries, precisely following the sequence of Herodotus’ narrative. The structure of these twenty-three oracles shares the principle of *CE*, precisely.

Among the thousands of short poems in the *Palatine Anthology*, as far as I know, there is no other place where the same method is attested. One can admit that most of the oracles were quoted in various other collections of epigrams. However, none of the other such collections contains more than a couple of these oracles.<sup>270</sup> The collection is on the whole unique and seems to have been created directly from Herodotus’ work, using a methodology identical to the one applied in *CE*. Beckby, the editor of the epigrams, believes that the oracles of Book xiv of the *Palatine Anthology* were added by the redactors of the Palatine manuscript and do not derive from Kephalas’ collection. In his opinion, a collection of arithmetic epigrams and riddles (xiv. 1–64, 103–111, 116–147) was expanded with various groups of oracles

<sup>268</sup>The poem by Crinagoras says that death itself is not always the end of man’s suffering. Hand J adds a comment on the disturbance of the tombs of Maurice and Amantius. According to CAMERON (1993), 115–116, the later event of the two refers to the translation of three sarcophagi from the church of St Mammas to the monastery of Myrelaion, the new family burial place for the Lekapenoi, an act carried out at the order of Romanos I Lekapenos in 922–923. The transferred sarcophagi had once contained the corpses of Maurice and his son (cf. Theophanes continuatus, ed. BEKKER (1838), 403–404).

<sup>269</sup>See the facsimile edition by PREISENDANZ (1911), 625–629, the text here was copied by hand B2.

<sup>270</sup>Other collections contain only a few of the 150 epigrams in Book xiv. Sylloge B contains 8 epigrams (1f, 7, 12f, 17, 51, 71); E (Sylloge Euphemiana, compiled ca. 891), contains 3 epigrams (71f, 74); Sylloge Crameriana (S) contains 2 epigrams (17, 71). In book xiv, there are also epigrams from classical authors (Diodorus: 69), Stobaeus (101), Plutarch (66,150), Pausanias (65), Diogenes Laertius (101), Athenaeus (40, 64), Achilleus Tatius (34), Suda (73, 148). BECKBY (1957–58), vol. 4, 172–173.

## 1. The Byzantine Context

Table 1.6.: Excerpted oracles from Herodotus in the *Palatine Anthology*

AP	Hdt	content
14.69	1.65,3	(Diod. 7.12.1) oracle to Lykurgos
14.76	1.65,3	in marg. Ἡρώ<δότου>, Sparta and Arcadia
14.77	—	Diod. 7.12.1, adhaerent to ep.69?
14.78	1.67,4	Sparta and Tegea
14.79	1.85,2	Croesus and his son
14.80	1.91,1	(prose) Τὴν πεπρωμένην ποίρην ἄδύνατά ἐστιν ἀποφυγέειν καὶ θεῶ
14.81	1.174,5	oracle to Cnidus
14.82	3.57,4	oracle to Siphnus
14.83	4.155,3	oracle to Battus
14.84	4.157,2	Therians in Platea
14.85	4.159,3	oracle to Hellas
14.86	5.92,β2	oracle to Eëtion
14.87	5.92,β2	oracle to the Bacchiads
14.88	5.92,ε2	oracle to Cypselus
14.89	6.19,2	oracle on Miletus
14.90	6.77,2	Women from Argus
14.91	6.86,γ2	oracle to Glaucus
14.92	7.140,2–3	oracle to Athens
14.93	7.141,3–4	oracle to Athens
14.94	7.148,3	oracle to Argus
14.95	7.169,2	(prose) oracle to Crete: ὦ νήπιοι, ἐπιμέμφεσθε, ὅσα ὑμῖν ἐκ τῶν Μενελάου τιμωρημάτων Μίνως ἔπεμψε μηνίων δακρύματα, ὅτι οἱ μὲν οὐ συνεξεπρήξαντο αὐτῷ τὸν ἐν Καμικῷ θάνατον γενόμενον, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐκεῖνοισι τὴν ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀρπαχθεῖσαν ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς βαρβάρου γυναῖκα.
14.96	7.220,4	oracle to Sparta
14.97	8.20,2	Bakis: wisdom addressed to Euboea
14.98	8.77,1	Bakis: wisdom to the Greeks
14.99	9.43,2	Bakis: wisdom on the battle at Plataea
AP	=	<i>Anthologia Palatina</i> , ed. H. Beckby, (Munich, 1958) vol. 4, 204–221
Hdt	=	Herodotus, <i>Persian Wars</i>

(xiv. 65–102, 113–115, 148–150) and belong to the final redaction of the Palatine manuscript.<sup>271</sup> In this case, therefore, the redactors of the Palatine manuscript applied the same method or, more likely, used a collection that already had the same sequence of epigrams. This cluster of oracles from Herodotus may provide evidence that there was a reciprocal relationship between the synchronous activities of pre-

<sup>271</sup>BECKBY (1957–58), vol. 4, 172–173.

paring *CE* and expanding Kephalas' collection to produce the *Palatine Anthology*. Not only did the excerptors apparently borrow from Kephalas' collection but the redactors of the Palatine manuscript also used *CE*, probably a draft supplying one of the lost collections.<sup>272</sup> In the context of the oracles excerpted from Herodotus, I would suggest that the collection of oracles was a part of the Constantinian collection of epigrams or oracles since historical works often cite oracles in hexameters.

### 1.5.10. Literary Genres

Several other collections aimed at extracting various literary genres such as “epigrams” embedded in historical texts that were popular at the time of Constantine VII,<sup>273</sup> including *ekphraseis* (literary portraits of buildings, works of art, a person, an action, a time, or a season),<sup>274</sup> “letters of the sovereigns”,<sup>275</sup> and “gnomic statements” with or without their historical contexts.<sup>276</sup> In parallel to the collection “On *ekphraseis*”, the description of the marvels of Constantinople is worth mentioning.<sup>277</sup> Description of various objects was also popular in Constantine's circles, as demonstrated by the description of the Church of the Holy Apostles by Constantine of Rhodes, dedicated to Constantine VII.<sup>278</sup>

As far as gnomic sentences are concerned, a new collection of wise sayings taken exclusively from historiography not only satisfied the interest in expanding the avail-

<sup>272</sup>De Boor found some entries in the Suda that may originate in a separate collection of oracles. See DE BOOR (1912), 394 on Suda s. v. Ἰουλιανός and 110, n. 1.

<sup>273</sup>EV 1, 207.

<sup>274</sup>The reference to a lost collection (ἐν τῷ περὶ ἐκφράσεως) in the volume “On virtue and vice” (123, 23–24) on the description of the high priest's vestments by George the Monk (26, 11 – 30, 23) is also mentioned in the context of Polybius' (8.4.2) description of war-machines in Suda 74, s. v. σάμβουκες. See in EV 1, 111.

<sup>275</sup>ELg 451: Menander exc. 7 (fr.).

<sup>276</sup>EV 1, 212, Diodorus of Sicily, exc. 28 (7.12.1). This is the other cross-reference in the excerpts that was followed. EV 1, 254: end of Diodorus of Sicily, fr. 188 (21.12.3–5) ‘On gnomic statements’ exc. 1.

<sup>277</sup>See the “Brief historical notes” (*Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai*), ed. by CAMERON & HERRIN (1984) which were popular in Constantinople as their inclusion in Par. suppl. gr. 607A demonstrates (see ch. 1.2.1 on p. 32).

<sup>278</sup>On Constantine of Rhodes, see LEGRAND (1896).

## 1. The Byzantine Context

able gnomic collections, but often also provided historical contexts for them. The anecdotes and maxims, placed in their historical circumstances, were popular in rhetorical exercises (*progymnasmata*) as a special kind of *chreia* (maxims or anecdotes illustrating a human character) and in hagiography (e.g., the sayings of the desert Fathers), both of which were available in the 10th century.<sup>279</sup>

In addition, letters—both fictitious and authentic—of famous historical persons, especially rulers, enjoyed popularity in the tenth century and inspired the flourishing epistolary culture of the period.<sup>280</sup> From the late ninth century on, Byzantine manuscripts started to increasingly embrace the collections of letters of historical figures as highly esteemed examples for representing individual characters through style (ῥητοποιία) without considering the problem of their authenticity (e.g., those of Brutus, Themistocles, and Phalaris).<sup>281</sup> All these independent pieces of literature served both as readings for entertainment and for improving the style of various compositions in the tenth-century.

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<sup>279</sup>See classical collections of *chreiai* and their Byzantine use in HOCK & O'NEIL (1986). For the *Apophthegmata Patrum* classified both systematically (21 groups) and alphabetically according to the fathers, see GUY (1962), 119 and PG 65.

<sup>280</sup>DARROUZÈS (1960) and FOUCAULT (1967), 339.

<sup>281</sup>On Pal. gr. 398, see MUSSO (1976). For a typical tenth-century example from excerpted letters of famous historical figures see Ambrosianus B 4 sup. in MARTINI & BASSI (1906), vol. 1, 92–94 and LAOURDAS (1951), 370–372. For the pseudonymous collections, see MALHERBE (1977), 6–34; MÜSELER & SICHERL (1994), vol. 1, 75–91; and HINZ (2001), 129–141.

*The emperor paid considerable attention and supervision to the students, by encouraging them to have common occupations and meals on daily basis and by providing money and by having modest conversations with them. And in a short time, by the flattery and the comradeship of the emperor they had been improved in terms of knowing sciences and arts, and he honoured them by appointments as judges, imperial clerks, and metropolitans, and he adorned and enriched the Roman state by wisdom.*

Theophanes Continuatus, 6. 14 [BEKKER (1838), 446]

# 2

## The Material Evidence for the Constantinian Excerpts

The material remains of *CE*, five volumes damaged to varying degrees, constitute only a very small proportion of the once complete imperial set of Constantine VII's historical collections. However, this small portion is invaluable to the study of certain aspects of the tenth-century Byzantine mentality which can best be glimpsed at through the excerpting activity, because all manuscripts of *CE* seem to have been produced in the second half of the tenth century or to have been copied in the sixteenth century directly from an exemplar from the late tenth century. In order to contextualize the production of the final copies, the preparation of the final volumes, associated with the palace library, is distinguished from the preparation of the excerpts in which the palace school seems to have actively participated.

## 2.1. Constantine VII's Library Revisited

Jean Irigoin observed that the manuscripts comprising collections dedicated to Constantine VII or treatises ascribed to him share a number of similarities in terms of material support, size, script, and content. First, the very fine white parchment sheets used for these manuscripts were given an identical pattern of ruled vertical and horizontal lines to act as guides for the text.<sup>282</sup> In addition, it seems likely that these manuscripts were huge uniform volumes with roughly the same size.<sup>283</sup> Moreover, the script in these manuscripts resembles a type close to the hand of scribe Ephraim and certain Constantinopolitan hands from the third quarter of the tenth century;<sup>284</sup> and, finally, all contain texts that are somehow related to Emperor Constantine VII. Thus, Irigoin assigned a group of volumes, sharing these features, to the imperial *scriptorium*.<sup>285</sup> In addition, it has been assumed that the final copies of various compendia, dedicated to Constantine VII, were also transcribed into once sumptuous, now lost, dedicatory copies in the same circle of scribes.<sup>286</sup>

<sup>282</sup>IRIGOIN (1959), 177–181. 44C1q [cf. SAUTEL (1995), 207] on **T**, ff. 2–33, 42–333. This ruling type seems specific to the late tenth and early eleventh century. Vatican, cod. Pius II gr. 50 has the same ruling and the frontispiece resembles that of **T** and the Florentine collection. See f. 128r from WEITZMANN (1935), pl. xxviii, no. 159 in the appendix on p. 384. 20C1 [cf. SAUTEL (1995), 107–120] on **T**, ff. 34–41; 20D1 [cf. SAUTEL (1995), 127–135] Leipzig, University Library, IRep. 17 and Florence, Plut. 55,4.

<sup>283</sup>The text space in **T** (Tours C 980) measures 270 × 185 mm; **V** (Vat. gr. 73) does 260 × 200 mm; Florence, Plut. 55,4 does 265 × 195 mm. With trimmed edges, the leaves in **T** measure 360 × 270 mm, while those of **V** do 350 × 275 mm and those of Florence, Plut. 55,4 do 328 × 255 mm.

<sup>284</sup>MAZZUCCHI (1978), 276–282 and DILLER (1974).

<sup>285</sup>IRIGOIN (1959), 177–181; IRIGOIN (1977a), 298–299. Two volumes containing the *Constantinian excerpts* (**T** and **V**), a military collection possibly prepared for Constantine VII (Florence, Plut. 55,4), described by BANDINI (1764–70), coll. 218–238 and HALDON (1990), 38–39; the Leipzig manuscript of *De cerimoniis* (University Library, IRep. 17), described by FEATHERSTONE (2002), 457–479; and as a partially similar piece, Milan, Ambrosiana B 119 sup., presented by MAZZUCCHI (1978). The *Hippiatrica* (Berlin, Phillips 1538) seems a dedicatory copy prepared to Constantine VII. COHN (1900), 158–160, WEITZMANN (1935), 16–18 and MCCABE (2007), 269–275.

<sup>286</sup>In addition to the *Hippiatrica*, the *Geoponica*, ed. by BECKH (1895) and the *Excerpta de natura animalium*, ed. by LAMBROS (1885), can be mentioned here. On Constantine VII's patronage of the *Geoponica*, see KOUTAVA-DELIVORIAS (2002). The medical “encyclopedia” by Theophanes Nonnos [COHN (1900), 154–158] may also be assigned to this group provided that the medical work was dedicated to Constantine VII, as generally accepted among scholars, and not another emperor as SONDERKAMP (1984) raised this possibility. If the “Life of Homer”, compiled at the command of Constantine VII, was really executed, it is reasonable to assume that a copy was housed in the library. WACHSMUTH (1863), 137.



The Continuator of Theophanes stated that Constantine VII established a library in the imperial palace. It was a chamber that had a window furnished with grille, providing a pleasant view on the throne room, the *chrysotriklinos* (golden chamber).<sup>287</sup> Constantine VII expressed the same idea of accumulating knowledge in the preface to his *De cerimoniis*<sup>288</sup> as in the prooemium to his excerpts (see below on p.184). Based on this literary evidence, the imperial volumes were associated with the palace library. In addition to the codicological similarities, the idea of linking these volumes with Constantine's library was supported by the lack of data for their use in Byzantium after the date when the Suda Lexicon was produced (early eleventh century at the latest), and by the small proportion of the surviving final copies of *CE*. Housing these volumes in a place accessible for only the few members of the imperial family may explain, according to Irigoin, the surprising lack of use of *CE* after the end of the tenth century.

Irigoin's conjectures on the imperial scriptorium and library were developed by highlighting the significance of the learned Basil Lekapenos the *parakoimomenos* in this context, which modified the dating of the manuscripts to Constantine VII's reign. The connection emerged with two manuscripts which Irigoin attributed to the imperial scriptorium. On the one hand, Mazzucchi argued that a military collection (Milan, Ambros. B 119 sup.) was prepared for Basil and suggested a date later than Constantine VII's death.<sup>289</sup> On the other hand, strong evidence has been collected to suggest a date between 963 and 969 to the Leipzig manuscript of *De*

<sup>287</sup>Υποβεβηκός δὲ τούτου μεσόπατόν ἐστιν, ὃ τὴν μὲν σκοπιὰν διὰ μαρμαρίνου κλουβίου πρὸς τὸν Χρυσοτρίκλινον ἔχον εἰς βιβλιοθήκην ἀφώρισται παρὰ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ φιλοχρίστου πορφυρογεννήτου βασιλέως. Theophanes Continuatus, 145 (also 450–451), ed. BEKKER (1838). On the position of the Kamilas library in the reconstructed palace building, see BARDILL (2006), 25, fig. 7.

<sup>288</sup>Constantine VII Porphyrogenète, *Le livre des cérémonies*, ed. Albert Vogt (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1935–1940), vol. 1, 1–2: "Τὴν οὖν μὴ τοῦτο γένηται καὶ δόξωμεν ἀτάκτως φερόμενοι τὴν βασιλικὴν καθυβρίζειν μεγαλειότητα, δεῖν ὥρθημεν, ὅσα τε παρὰ τῶν παλαιότερων ἐφευρέθη καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἑωρακῶτων διηγέληθη καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐθεάθη καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν ἐνηργήθη, ταῦτα φιλοπόνῳ μελέτῃ ἐκ πολλῶν ἐρανίσασθαι καὶ πρὸς εὐσύνοπτον κατάληψιν τῷ παρόντι ἐκθέσθαι φιλοτεχνήματι, καὶ πατρίων ἐθνῶν παρεωραμένων παράδοσιν τοῖς μεθ' ἡμᾶς ἐνσημῆνασθαι, καὶ ὥσπερ τινὰ ἄνθη ἐκ λειμῶνων δρεψαμένους εἰς ἀσύγκριτον εὐπρέπειαν τῇ βασιλικῇ παραθέσθαι λαμπρότητι, καὶ οἷόν τι κάτοπτρον διαυγὲς καὶ νεόσημητον ἐν μέσοις τοῖς ἀνακτόροις ἰδρύσασθαι, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὰ τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἀρχῇ πρόποντα καὶ τὰ τῷ συγκλητικῷ συστήματι ἄξια κατοπτευόμενα, ἐν τάξει καὶ κόσμῳ αἱ τοῦ κράτους ἡνία διεξάγοντο.

<sup>289</sup>MAZZUCCHI (1978), 276–279.

## 2. The Material Evidence

*cerimoniis* and to associate it also with Basil Lekapenos.<sup>290</sup> It is worth noting that another codex assigned to the imperial scriptorium (Florence, Plut. 55,4) began with the same treatise as the Leipzig copy of *De ceremoniis*.<sup>291</sup> In terms of content, it parallels the military collection dedicated to Basil (Milan, Ambros. B 119 sup.) and the decorative structure, as will be shown below, suggests to assign to the Florentine military collection a date after Constantine VII's death, which is later than the suggestion by Irigoin.

In addition to these manuscripts, there are some links between Basil's manuscript and *CE* in terms of methodology, which demonstrates that Basil Lekapenos favoured Constantine VII's project. First, it is in the manuscript copied for Basil Lekapenos (Milan, Ambros. B 119 sup., ff. 135–165) that the methodology of excerpting military speeches from classical historians was practiced according to *CE* (see in ch. 2.5.5). Second, a thematic collection on naval warfare, a subject in *CE*, is closed by the work compiled at the order of Basil Lekapenos (ff. 323r–342v).<sup>292</sup> Third, the study of historical manuscripts is emphasized both in the dedicatory poem to Basil,<sup>293</sup> and in the preface in the treatise on naval warfare dedicated to Basil.<sup>294</sup> Finally, the unique redaction of Polyaeus' *Hypotheseis* (Ambros. B 119 sup., ff. 162r–185v), arranged according to exactly fifty-three (!) military problems,<sup>295</sup> especially because of its position directly after the historical excerpts of military speeches, well demonstrates that Basil was certainly linked with Constan-

<sup>290</sup>For dating the Leipzig copy to the reign of Nikephoros II Phokas (963–969), see KRESTEN (2000a), 474–475, n. 6 and KRESTEN (2005). For the link with Basil Lekapenos, see KRESTEN (2000b), 38–39, n. 102 and FEATHERSTONE (2004a), 118–121. There are some other manuscript commissioned by Basil Lekapenos, such as Athos, Dionysiou 70 and Vatican, Ross. gr. 5. DILLER (1974), 517.

<sup>291</sup>HALDON (1990), 38–39.

<sup>292</sup>See MÜLLER (1882) and DAIN (1943).

<sup>293</sup>Ιστορικαῖς σελίδεσσιν ὑπ' εὐγενέων βασιλῆων | Δειχθεῖς Αὐσονίων στρατιῆς πανυπέρτατος ἄρχος... The text is cited from the edition by DAIN (1943), 61.

<sup>294</sup>Ἀνθ' ὧν τῇδε τὴν συλλογὴν δι' ἐντολῆς σῆς συνειλήχαμεν ἐκ πολλῶν μὲν ἱστοριῶν, πολλῶν δὲ στρατηγικῶν συλλεξάμενοί τε καὶ ἐκλεξάμενοι... The text is quoted from the edition by DAIN (1943), 63.

<sup>295</sup>See the edition of the Ambrosian collection of stratagems in FOUCAULT (1949), 9–66, FOUCAULT (1967), 364, and DAIN (1931). Polyaeus was selected among the historical excerpts on sieges in Par. suppl. gr. 607, ff. 90v–91r as well.

tine VII's project of excerpting historical texts. Thus, Basil Lekapenos knew the excerpting methodology of *CE* and highly appreciated *CE* because of their thematic arrangement.<sup>296</sup>

The chronology of the final copies of *CE* may also support the hypothesis that it was Basil Lekapenos who stood behind finishing Constantine VII's initiative to produce deluxe copies of the various collections of *CE*. The time gap between the activity under Constantine VII and the date of some final copies can well be explained by Basil's career. Before entering this problem, the chronology of *CE* has to be established.

The single extant imperial of *CE*, the *codex Peirescianus* (**T**) seems to have been decorated a couple of decades after Constantine VII's death. It is in the *Menologion* of Basil II (Vat. gr. 1613, p. 410 in app. on p. 383)<sup>297</sup>, dated around 985,<sup>298</sup> that contains a series of heart shape palmettes (*Herzpalmetten*), in vertically dove-tailed arrangement and palmettes symmetrically linked with tendrils which form the closest parallel to the decoration of the frontispieces of **T** and the Florentine military collection (Plut. 55, 4). There is a handful of other similar decorations, all dated to the times of Basil II.<sup>299</sup> Although the dating of the majority of these manuscripts is based on the parallel motives with the decoration of Basil II's *Menologion*, the lack of the *Blütenblattstil*, the decoration characterizing artefacts produced for Constantine VII in **T** suggests a date after Constantine VII's death.

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<sup>296</sup>It seems to have happened at Basil's order that excerpts and compilations comprising mainly historical examples were compiled and copied in his manuscript (Ambros. B 119 sup.), arranged according to three subjects (military speeches, examples on leading of the army, and naval war).

<sup>297</sup>See the facsimile of Basil II in *MENOLOGIUM* (1907), 406, 409, especially 410 as lintel and arch decoration in a scene representing Flavianus, archbishop of Constantinople (fifth century; feast: 17 February).

<sup>298</sup>KATSARELIAS (1997), 100–101, ŠEVČENKO (1962), 245, n. 2. The manuscript was accomplished after 979 and probably before 989 and certainly before Basil II's death (1025).

<sup>299</sup>For example, Athens, National Library, cod. 56, f. 2v, in GALAVARIS (1989), 339; Vatican, cod. Pius II gr. 50, f. 128r from WEITZMANN (1935), pl. xxviii, no. 159 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Cromwell 15, f. 178 from HUTTER (1977), p. 144, no. 49, see both in fig. C.7 on p. 384. Rome, Vatica, Ottob. 1075, dated to 1018, cf. FRANTZ (1934), pl. xiv, no. 1. Par. gr. 669, cf. FRANTZ (1934), pl. xvii, no. 7; Par. suppl. gr. 75, cf. FRANTZ (1934), pl. xvii, no. 3;

## 2. The Material Evidence

As the script of **T** and **V** allows a dating to the second half of the tenth century (see below), the decoration may facilitate a more precise dating. As follows from the structure of data and the marginal annotations of **T**, and the careful study of the manuscripts here offered, it seems impossible to postulate a direct transmission from the complete historical texts to the sumptuous volumes of *CE* we have now (**T** and **V**). It is, therefore, necessary to postulate a number of draft volumes. This has occasionally been doubted. The main counterargument that has been raised against assuming drafts or intermediary version(s) in the process of transmission was the shortage of time that Constantine VII's sole reign allowed for completing his ambitious project. The evidence of the decoration in **T** and the Florentine military collection, however, allows expanding the time framework of the preparation of the final copies. The very probable later date of the final copies of *CE* may counter-balance Wilson's doubts concerning the temporal limits and the narrow impact of *CE*.<sup>300</sup>

The encyclopædia almost disappeared without trace, and no other fate could have been anticipated unless Constantine had been able to give orders for the production of a number of complete sets. Only imperial patronage, and perhaps not even that, could have organised the necessary resources... We must suppose that his relatively early death put an end to the project.

Under Basil II (976–1025), the compilers of the *Suda Lexicon* extensively used the *CE* as discussed above on p. 35.<sup>301</sup> The possibility that the process of copying the final volumes went on even under Basil II may well explain the strange fact that the compilers of the *Suda* used a certain number of volumes of *CE*, including **T**, and did not use other collections. In his *History*, Leo the Deacon (c. 950–after 1000) used expressions borrowed from historians whose works were included in *CE* such as Herodotus, Thucydides, Diodorus of Sicily, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Prokopios, and Agathias.<sup>302</sup> In addition to the *verbatim* citations, Leo followed the classical tradition of historiography by including constructed speeches and digressions in his

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<sup>300</sup>The quotation is taken from WILSON (1983), 145.

<sup>301</sup>See the evidence for the extensive use of *CE* in the *Suda* in DE BOOR (1912, 1914–19) and BECKER (1915).

<sup>302</sup>TALBOT & SULLIVAN (2005), 16–19.

work which partially covered subjects earlier used for classification in *CE*.<sup>303</sup> Leo came to Constantinople in his youth and was ordained as a deacon around 970 and became the member of the palace clergy after Basil II's accession to the throne in 976.<sup>304</sup> Living in the palace, he could perhaps have an access to the excerpts or to their draft copies in the time when they were transcribed to the final volumes. Besides these connections under the reign of Basil II and some marginal entries in the tenth-century manuscripts of *CE*, later in date than the tenth century,<sup>305</sup> there is no evidence for any subsequent use of the Constantinian collections in Byzantium.

The career of Basil Lekapenos can explain the gap between the preparation of *CE* under Constantine VII and the production of the final copies of *CE* under Basil II. On the one hand, the prooemium attached to each volume of *CE*, the dedicatory poem to Constantine VII, and the comprehensive ideology behind it demonstrate that Constantine VII wanted to have a series of final copies and suggest that the process of copying started under his reign. Thus, it seems unlikely that the production of *CE* started after Constantine VII's death. On the other hand, as Wilson noted, the production of even a single set of the fifty-three collections, consisting of a higher number of volumes, would have cost so much money that only a long standing financial support could afford it. Basil Lekapenos the *parakoimomenos* had the position and thus the financial resources to bring Constantine VII's project to the end, especially in the first ten years of Basil II's reign when he governed the Byzantine empire as a regent.

Basil Lekapenos (910/920–after 986), was an illegitimate son of Emperor Romanos I (920–944). As Basil seems to have been castrated before his father, Romanos I fell out from power, Constantine had no reason to regard Basil as a threat to his throne. As a sign that Constantine trusted Basil, he appointed him *παράκοιμώμενος* (“who sleeps near the emperor”) between 944 and 949 and charged

<sup>303</sup>In Leo's *History*, there are military exhortations, letters, origins of Mysians (Bulgarians) (vi. 8–9), the source of the Istros (Danube) (viii:1), the customs of the Rus (ix. 6 and 8), digressions on the “Holy Tile” (iv. 10) and on a miraculous icon (x. 5). TALBOT & SULLIVAN (2005), 15–16.

<sup>304</sup>TALBOT & SULLIVAN (2005), 9–11.

<sup>305</sup>For example, **T**, f. 76r.

## 2. The Material Evidence

him with the protection of the emperor during night, which was the highest court office for an eunuch. Being half brother to Helen, Constantine VII's wife, Basil had good relation with his half-sister who seems to have assisted his career.<sup>306</sup> According to an inscription, Basil may have had the office of μέγας βασιλός, which means that he was the tutor of Constantine VII's son, Romanos for some time.<sup>307</sup> After Constantine VII's death, Joseph Bringas was entrusted with the office of *parakoimomenos* and Basil lost his high position. He had to wait until Nikephoros II Phokas' accession to the throne which he actively assisted in 963. He was then rewarded and received the office πρόεδρος τοῦ συγκλήτου, a position created especially for him.<sup>308</sup> Basil maintained his offices under John Tzimiskes as well but when his relationship with the emperor deteriorated Basil found the way to get rid of the emperor by bribing someone to poison John Tzimiskes.<sup>309</sup> After Tzimiskes' death, Basil Lekapenos governed the Byzantine empire as a regent in the name of the emperors Basil II and Constantine VIII and maintained this highest position until 985/986 when he was banished and condemned of *damnatio memoriae* in 996.<sup>310</sup> His properties were confiscated when he was exiled.<sup>311</sup>

There are three factors in his career that may help understand some problems of *CE*. First, Basil Lekapenos was in a very close contact with Constantine VII who entrusted his life to Basil by appointing him *parakoimomenos*. If Basil was really the tutor of Romanos, it can explain the texts in Lekapenos' volume of *De cerimoniis* which are Constantine VII's works dedicated to his son. Maybe the historical excerpts were also designed as an educational tool for the young prince. These data may clarify how Basil Lekapenos could be involved in the project of *CE*. Second, the high position of Basil Lekapenos as a regent between 976–986 allowed

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<sup>306</sup>BROKKAAR (1972), 203–205.

<sup>307</sup>BROKKAAR (1972), 212–213. This information depends on a plausible emendation of an inscription to the honour of St Stephen.

<sup>308</sup>BROKKAAR (1972), 217–219.

<sup>309</sup>BROKKAAR (1972), 223–224.

<sup>310</sup>BROKKAAR (1972), 224–234.

<sup>311</sup>BOURA (1989).

him to finance the project which was interrupted by Constantine VII's death. Third, the banishment of Basil Lekapenos in 986 and his *damnatio memoriae* in 996 may explain the lack of evidence for the use of *CE* after the end of the tenth century. The production of the final copies was certainly interrupted and the extant volumes could have been easily the victims of neglect and disrespect after the exile of Basil Lekapenos.

### 2.1.1. The Palace School and the *Constantinian Excerpts*

The unknown continuator of Theophanes' chronicle emphasized that Emperor Constantine believed that he could successfully improve the morality of his empire through knowledge and education.<sup>312</sup> The short description quoted as a motto to this chapter may give some realistic hints although it relies on the topos of learning and education.<sup>313</sup>

For this purpose, Constantine VII renewed the palace school, previously established by Bardas in the mid-ninth century, which stopped functioning afterwards,<sup>314</sup> and appointed scholars to the chairs of philosophy (Constantine the *protospatharios*), rhetoric (Alexander of Nicaea), geometry (Nikephoros the *patrikios*), and

<sup>312</sup>BEKKER (1838), 445–446: Οὗτος πάντα ἐφευρών εἰς ἀχρειότητα καὶ ἀμέλειαν, καὶ τῶν ἐναρέτων ἀνδρῶν χυδαιωνθέντων καὶ καταφρονηθέντων, ὡς φιλόθεος καὶ φιλόκαλος προέκρινεν τῶν δειλῶν καὶ ἀνάνδρων τοὺς εὐτόλμους καὶ ἀνδρείους, καὶ τούτους τῷ μαγίστρῳ καὶ δομεστίκῳ τῶν σχολῶν Βάρδᾳ τῷ Φωκᾷ παραδοὺς νίκην τῇ Ῥωμαϊκῇ ἀρχῇ προεξένησεν. πολλῶν δὲ ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἡμῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀξιεπαινέτων γνώσεις καὶ λογικαὶ τέχναι καὶ ἐπιστήμαι, τούτων οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἀμεληθέντων καὶ παροραθέντων τί σοφίζεται ὁ φιλοσοφώτατος ἐκείνος νοῦς; ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἠπίστατο πρᾶξιν καὶ θεωρίαν πρὸς θεὸν ἡμᾶς οἰκειοῦντα, καὶ τὴν μὲν πρᾶξιν πολιτικοῖς προσαρμόζουσαν πράγμασιν, τὴν θεωρίαν δὲ τοῖς λογικοῖς, ἀλλήλοις δι' ἀμφοτέρων βοηθεῖ, τὸ μὲν πρακτικὸν διὰ ῥητορικῆς τέχνης ἀσχεῖσθαι παρασκευάζων, τὸ δὲ θεωρητικὸν διὰ φιλοσοφίας καὶ φυσικῆς τῶν ὄντων διαγνώσεως. παιδευτὰς δὲ ἀρίστους προέκρινεν· εἰς Κωνσταντῖνον πρωτοσπαθᾶριον τὸν τηνικαῦτα μυστικὸν τὸ τῶν φιλοσόφων παιδοτριβεῖον δέδωκεν, εἰς δὲ τὸ τῶν ῥητόρων Ἀλέξανδρον μητροπολίτην Νικαίας, εἰς δὲ τὸ τῆς γεωμετρίας Νικηφόρον πατρίκιον τὸν γαμβρὸν Θεοφίλου ἐπάρχου τοῦ Ἑρωτικοῦ, εἰς δὲ τὸ τῶν ἀστρονόμων Γρηγόριον ἀσκηρῆτιν. The same passage appears in the expansion of Symeon Logothetes' chronicle in Vat.gr.163, f.59. The parallel text is edited by MARKOPOULOS (1979), 92.

<sup>313</sup>BEKKER (1838), 446: καὶ πολλὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ σπουδὴν εἰς τοὺς φοιτητὰς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐποιεῖτο, ὁμοδιαίτους καὶ ὁμοτραπέζους τούτους καθ' ἐκάστην ποιῶν καὶ ἀργύρια παρέχων καὶ ὁμιλίας μετ' αὐτῶν προσηγεῖς ποιούμενος. καὶ οὐ πολὺς χρόνος διελθὼν, τὰς μεγάλας ἐπιστήμας καὶ τέχνας τῇ θωπεΐᾳ καὶ συνέσει τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος κατωρθώσαντο, καὶ κριτὰς καὶ ἀντιγραφεῖς καὶ μητροπολίτας ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκλεξάμενος τετίμηκεν, καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν Ῥωμαίων τῇ σοφίᾳ κατεκόσμησεν καὶ κατεπλούτισεν.

<sup>314</sup>On the palace school, see SPECK (1974), 22–28.

## 2. The Material Evidence

astronomy (Gregory the *asekretis*). Thus, he subsidized both the practical and theoretical branches of disciplines. According to the description quoted above, he promoted the students to spend time together over common meals and enjoyed having pleasant conversations with them. In this milieu, knowledge and education seem to have been an important prerequisite for a career at the Byzantine imperial court.

There are some pieces of evidence for the revival of interest in the classical authors during Constantine VII's reign. A Lucian manuscript (Vat. gr. 90) contains the marginal notes of the incumbent of the rhetorical chair, Alexander of Nicaea.<sup>315</sup> As a testimony for studying and amending classical authors as a joint activity, involving discussions, the names accompanying Alexander's notes may indicate who were assisting Alexander's activity as a scholar when correcting Lucian with the help of his colleague who compared the text in another manuscript comprising Lucian's work.<sup>316</sup> In addition to Alexander's notes, the correspondence of a Constantinopolitan master of a lay school, who is referred to as the "anonymus professor" in scholarly studies, demonstrates that the philological study of manuscript was practiced in lay schools as well.<sup>317</sup> Moreover, a large number of manuscripts, not only classical authors, were transcribed into reliable copies, still often the basis of modern critical editions; manuscripts were also copied in an increasing extent for private use.<sup>318</sup>

It was in this intellectual milieu that *CE* were assembled. A high number of educated people studying in the palace school would have been interested in showing loyalty to the emperor. Thus, they are likely to have been the hand of emperor Constantine VII in compiling *CE*; the same circle seems to have read the results as well. The infiltration of the Constantinian method of excerpting historiography into some other intellectual efforts of the mid-tenth century may best be explained

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<sup>315</sup>Their editions in Hugo Rabe, *Scholia in Lucianum* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1906), 21.6, 25.1, 28.7, 29.14, 119.17, 154.15, 155.5, 247.19. Vat. gr. I, 101–103; RABE (1902); BEES (1928); MAAS (1922); MARKOPOULOS (1994a).

<sup>316</sup>WILSON (1983), 141.

<sup>317</sup>London, British Library, Add.36.749, ff.135v–232r, edited by MARKOPOULOS (2000). On letter 88, a particularly significant source for tenth-century activity of copying manuscripts, see CORTASSA (2001).

<sup>318</sup>WILSON (1983), 136–145 and GAUL (2010), 73–78.



by the hypothesis that the emperor's circle, with a strong connection of the palace school, actively assisted in the emperor's unusual project.

There is a manuscript (Par. suppl. gr. 607, hereafter **P**) that comprising historical excerpts which were assembled with a method faithfully following that of *CE*. In addition, the hand of these excerpts seems a couple of dates earlier than **T** as will be presented below on p. 147 (**P**). The mediocre quality of the material support of **P**, the earlier date of its composition compared to **T** (*codex Peirescianus*), its content that reflects military interest demonstrate that someone interested in military affairs could have access to the preparatory works of Constantine VII's enterprise. It seems likely that someone who participated in the excerpting activity as a student could transmit the material. Moreover, a considerable part of the marginal entries of **T** reflects an activity of studying and analyzing the historical works as school texts. The origin of this sort of marginal entries well fits the environment of a school or a group of students studying texts which could parallel the activity of copying texts as a scribal exercise either from an other text or at dictation, which was practiced in schools from classical antiquity.<sup>319</sup> The principle of splitting up the historical narrative into small coherent sections reflects the idea that the texts on history consist of examples the study of which is useful for edifying purposes, especially for students. This idea also supports the hypothesis that the palace school was involved in the production of the excerpts.

## 2.2. Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, C 980 (T)

### Study of Manuscripts

The descriptions of the codices here serve as integrative elements of my argumentation; so do both the careful rendering of the present structure of the gatherings and leaves and the reconstruction of the intentionally designed tenth-century states of the Constantinian codices. For the purpose of providing an illustrative rendering

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<sup>319</sup>CRIBIORE (1996), 227–253.

## 2. The Material Evidence

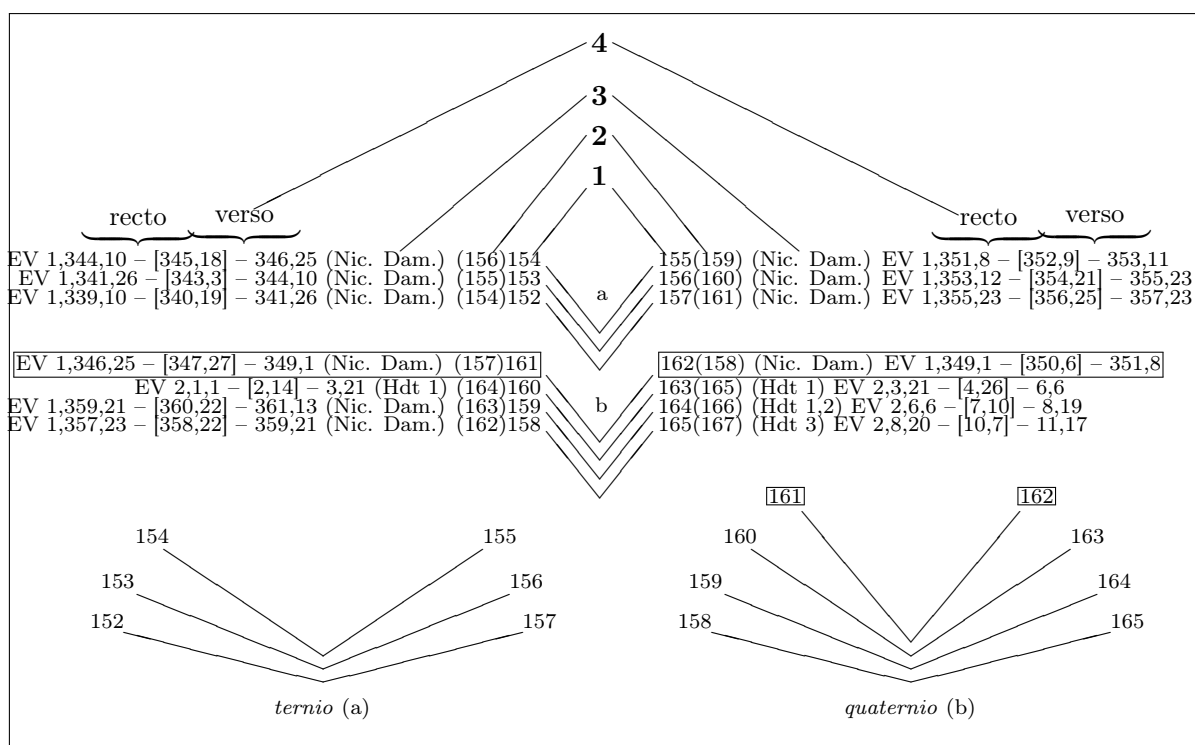


Figure 2.1.: Explanation on the use of codicological reconstructions

of present and explanatory reconstruction of earlier codicological structures with a concordance of the edition of the texts, I have developed a way of presenting these complex data in a graphic display which is as concise as informative (cf. **T**: ch. 2.2, p. 103; **V**: ch. 2.3, p. 127 and **P**: ch. 2.5.1, p. 147).

Interestingly enough, Büttner-Wobst and Roos, the editors of the single extant manuscript of the excerpts surviving from the end of the tenth century (**T**), did not indicate to the reader which leaf of the manuscript the edited text derives from and only provided a draft of the sequence of the leaves in a hypothetical reconstruction.<sup>320</sup> Since the double leaves (bifolios) or single leaves (folios) of the codex are very much intermingled in the present volume, it was difficult to investigate these details, a fact which constituted an obstacle to the inclusion of new data in the analysis.

For easy consultation of the data, I attach a concordance to each leaf of the present codicological structure, proposing this new tool in the hope it will provide considerable help to scholars investigating the manuscripts of the excerpts (see an

<sup>320</sup>See the difficulties noticed by PARMENTIER-MORIN (2002), 477 when analyzing some chapters of Dionysius of Halcarnassus that were copied among those of Nicolas of Damascus.

example for practical use in ch. 1.3). In the concordance, the beginning of each page of the manuscript is indicated with a reference to the volume number, page number, and line number of Büttner-Wobst's and Roos's edition.

The various layers of information concentrated in the diagram given in the descriptions may be explained with an example. Fig. 2.1 shows a *ternio* (a) and a *quaternio* (b) of the codex Tours C 980 (**T**) in two different forms. The version above which is used in the descriptions gives four data, in the following sequence outwards: (1) the foliation showing the present sequence, (2) the previous foliation in parentheses, (3) the excerpted historian also in parentheses, and (4) the concordance with Büttner-Wobst's and Roos's edition. Each group of bifolios placed close to each other indicates a gathering, a set of double leaves sewn together in the Tours manuscript. The other drawing beneath shows the same *ternio* (a) and *quaternio* (b), providing an easier overview but only the recent foliation. For instance, if we take the bifolios of ff. 161–162 it can be seen that the previous foliations were nos. 157–158 (in parentheses). These leaves contain a text of Nicolas of Damascus (3). For example, (4) f. 161r starts in Büttner-Wobst's edition (EV 1) on page 346, line 25, f. 161v starts on page 347, line 77, while f. 161v finishes on page 349, line 1. Using this concordance, anyone can easily find which page of the edition contains a particular part of the manuscript because the leaves of **T** are arranged in the diagram (ch. 2.2.2, p. 109) according to the state as found in the manuscript now.

If anyone is interested in the opposite, namely, which leaf in **T** contains the text published on a certain page in the edition, one may find the answer with equal ease. In the description of the content of **T** (ch. 2.2.3, p. 113), the reconstructed structure is additionally given, which reflects the sequence exactly as published in the editions. The number of the leaf gives the requested concordance by virtue of the first diagram. In the example, from the foliations represented in the figure it follows that the binder of **T** misplaced the central double leaf of *quaternio* (b) which should be relocated in the middle of the present *ternio* (a). Beyond its practical function, the reconstruction of the quires confirmed the hypothesis that **T**

## 2. The Material Evidence

is a carefully designed volume using parchment of supreme quality and neat script, and furnished an additional indication that there was a draft version of very similar structure from which the final copies were made. From the disordered state of the manuscript today this conclusion would not have been possible to deduce.

### 2.2.1. Description of T

**Material:** I + 333 + I' leaves (360 × 270 mm, trimmed off at least 10 mm in the outer margins and some millimeters in the upper and lower margins, cf. f. 83r, f. 101r, f. 146r), often mutilated, but a bifolio and at least 46 quaternios and a *ternio* (altogether at least 376 leaves) can be reconstructed as constituting the tenth-century codex; parchment of extremely fine quality; ruling: type 44C1q [SAUTEL (1995), 207] on ff. 2–33, 42–333, [not type I 34a (Lake) 34 C1: SAUTEL (1995) as erroneously argued by IRIGOIN (1959), 177–181] and 20C1 [cf. SAUTEL (1995), 107–120] on ff. 34–41) (flyleaves: eighteenth-c. paper); text space: 270 × 185 mm, 32 lines to a page (33 lines to a page on f. 107r, 150r, 314v, 328v: at the end: ἡμεῖς ὅτι is missing), 46 to 54 letters to a line.

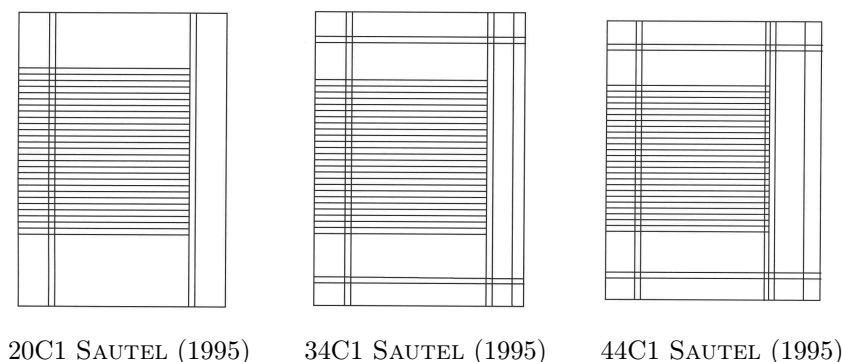


Figure 2.2.: Ruling types in T

**Extent of the collection:** V is the first volume of the collection “On the virtues and vices”.

The table of contents of T also refers to the lost other volume of the same Constantinian collection (EV 1, 3, 9–10: ἰδ' Δίωνος Κοκκιανοῦ Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἱστορίας. καὶ οἱ ἐφεξῆς ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τεύχει ἐπιγράφονται), which must have comprised excerpts of a group of historians other than those in the first volume. Regrettably, it is impossible to judge which authors were excerpted in the second volume in addition to the fourteen names of the first volume [cf. BÜTTNER-WOBST (1893), 351]. It is reasonable to assume that the other volume was also a substantial piece because all the historians excerpted in CE offer rich abundance of material for good and bad virtues. In addition, the Constantinian collections of ES, ELr–g, and EI preserve the excerpts of twelve historians whose texts are absent from the *codex Peirescianus*, the first volume of EV. Moreover, it cannot be excluded that such historiographers were also included in volume two of EV, whose texts do not appear in the other fragmentarily preserved Constantinian collections.

**Hand(s):** (1) Body text and the tenth-century marginal entries: semi-formal calligraphic minuscule written in brown ink across the guiding line with frequent ligatures, very close to the hand of scribe Ephraim (main scribe); (2) rubricator in red, in addition to the letters in red, he corrected the marginal indices twice on. f. 228r and f. 172v; (3) corrector's hand frequently, indicated in EV 1–2; (4) two later Byzantine marginal entries on f. 76r and f. 155v (a shorthand note?); (5) post Byzantine Greek marginalia frequently; (6) Valois' hand in the margin indicating the correct sequence of leaves.

**Foliation:** Triple foliation

(1) Arabic numerals in ink, seventeenth century, right upper corner of each recto side, put down before the present binding; foliation 1 gives n° 3 on the present first leaf of codex Peirescianus, after its n° 236 it repeats this number (236bis), the bifolia of the excerpts from Nicolas of Damascus are intermingled (according to foliation 2: 152, 153, 154, 161, 162, 155, 156, 157 = foliation 1: 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161).

(2) Arabic numerals in ink, in the centre of the upper margin of each recto side, made by Duboz, the director of the Municipal Library in Tours at the end of the nineteenth century, best visible and used in references; foliation 2 numbers the second paper flyleaf of the codex as 1 (f. IIr); after n° 40, n° 42 is corrected to 41; after n° 56 comes n° 65bis; after this mistake foliation 2 and 3 are identical (ff. 66–333).

(3) modern Arabic numerals in pencil, in the lower right corner of each recto side, present sequence of leaves.

References in the hand of foliation 1 to rearrange the sequence of the leaves: f. 103v: *infra pag. 208*; f. 221v: *infra pag. 324*; f. 330v: *recurre ad pag. 176*; f. 181v: *vide infra pag. 277*; f. 283v: *recurre ad pag. 245*; f. 251v: *Infra pag. 261*; f. 227v: ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ *vide supra p. 154*; f. 165v: it might have been cut; f. 189v: *vide infra 230* τῷ συγγραφεῖ (without accentuation); f. 119: *infra pag. 316*; f. 322v: *recurre ad pag. 300*; f. 314v: *recurre ad pag. 293*; f. 298v: *infra pag. 267*; f. 275v: *infra pag. 285*; f. 291v: *recurre ad pag. 168*; f. 173v: *Recurre ad pag. 192*. Two modern catchwords may be attributed to another hand: f. 197v (EV 2, 285): ὅτι ὁ καὶσαρ τὴν f. 147v: σωφρον referring to f. 150r that begins with σωφρονέστατα.

(4) In the right corner of the lower margin of f. 210r: 212 written in a different hand from the previous ones.

**State of preservation:** Lower margin is truncated of ff. 72, 80, 120, 122, 130, 134, 165, 241, 242, 291, 330; fore margin is truncated on f. 235. Losses: ff. 1–2 (after mid-16th century), entire quires between f. 64 and f. 65, f. 267 and f. 222, f. 243 and f. 252, f. 197 and f. 198; a leaf between f. 49 and f. 50, f. 222 and f. 223, f. 226 f. and f. 227, f. 158 and f. 159, f. 164 and f. 165, f. 296 and f. three leaves after f. 333. A part of f. 12 is complemented by modern parchment during restoration (1996). Water damage in the front and back of the codex.

The larger size of the parchment leaves can be calculated from the lost letters of some marginal entries (ἀρ<ετη> on f. 101r, the title page of John of Antioch, the title page of Diodorus of Sicily, in the appendix, fig. C.2 and Ηρα<κλης> on f. 83r, the title page of George the Monk) cut off together with the outer margins when the codex was rebound before. The distance between the utmost guide-line and the outer margin, which usually measures 12–14 mm while it does 25 mm on f. 146r, the part that was cut off must have exceeded the length of 10 mm. The lack of quire signatures, catchwords and the intermingled sequence of leaves can be best explained by this loss.

**Reconstructed sequence of leaves, losses:** A bifolium that contained the prooemium (lost foliation 1: ff. 1–2), the table of contents and the iambic poem that must have been lost before the codex was rebound in the eighteenth century. However, these lost texts were preserved in Valois's edition (1634) and the iambic poem in Salmasius' copy (1631–32) as well. Subsequent to this bifolium, the former codex consisted of at least 44 regular quires, 2 quires with an intentionally removed leaf (ff. 50–56, 292–298), and a *ternio* at the end (see their reconstructed sequence in ch. 2.2.3). The loss of a leaf after f. 222, f. 226, f. 158, and f. 164, respectively, and the omission of complete quires between f. 64 and f. 65, between f. 267 and f. 222, between f. 243 and f. 252, and between f. 197 and f. 198 have been noticed by the editors since the days of Valois. The last leaves of the codex (ff. 334\*–335\*) were lost only after Valois's edition was published in 1634. Then, the last excerpt ended on f. 335\* with: τέλος τῆς ἱστορίας Δίωνος (EV 2, 407, 22), thus f. 335\* must have been the last leaf with text. Theoretically, a *ternio* would have sufficed to accommodate Cassius Dio's final excerpts with a blank leaf but the regularity of the quaternios, attested throughout the whole codex, rather supports reconstructing a *quaternio* here with three blank folia. It is more probable that the first bifolium was taken from the last quire.

**Restoration:** Dominique des Fontaines, Agir, 1996.

**Decoration:** Gilded frontispieces decorated with blue, which surmount the title of each excerpted author (ff. 2r, 64r, 79v, 83r, 101r, 160r, 287v, 188v, 233v, 256v, f. 272r). There are two main types: (1) a series of heart shape palmettes (*Herzpalmetten*), in vertically dovetailed arrangement, (2) the palmettes are symmetrically linked with tendrils, each palmette alternates with itself turned by 180 degrees. In both cases the palmettes are gilded, the background is blue. They belong to the decoration that Weitzmann calls *Laubsäge-Ornamentik* and dates its expansion to the last quarter of the tenth century. WEITZMANN (1935), 18, 22 and FRANTZ (1934), 62–63. A close context where both types appear is a fellow ms: Florence, Plut. 55,4 and a less close context but helpful for dating and context: *menologion* of Basil II (Vat. gr. 1613, p. 410), *MENOLOGIUM* (1907), 410. The titles here περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας are written in epigraphic majuscule accompanied by a position number in the outer margin (from A' to IΔ' = 1–14), both are gilded and decorated with blue. The letters of the titles in epigraphic majuscule, the accents in them, the position numbers and the initial of each excerpted passage (usually the omicron of Ὅτι) are gilded except for the initial of the first excerpt from Diodorus of Sicily on f. 101r.

**Binding:** Millboard covered with parchment (370×280 mm), late 17th or early 18th century, parchment flyleaf with French texts produced in this period.

Post-Byzantine Greek quire numbers in the right lower corner on f. 2r and in the left lower corner on f. 9v: β' on f. 120r and f. 126v: β', f. 135r: δ', f. 143r and f. 144v: ε' implying that the quires had been bound in two volumes and those of the second volumes had already been intermingled in the early seventeenth century.

In a sequence of the present order of the quires from the end of the codex backwards, traces of inverted Arabic numbers occur in the centre of lower margin on the verso side of the last leaf of several quires: f. 332v: 2; f. 314v: 13; f. 205v: 17; f. 189v: 19; f. 181v: 20; f. 144v: 24/5; f. 119v: 28; f. 111v: 29; f. 103v: 30; f. 95v: 31; f. 84v: 32; f. 70v: 34; f. 64v: 35; f. 56: 36; f. 49v: 37; f. 41v: 38; f. 33v: 39; f. 25v: 40; f. 9v: 42. There is letter β' in lower left corner of f. 9v, and f. 126v; and ε' in lower right corner of f. 143r and in bottom left corner of f. 144v.

**Possessors:** Constantinople, Imperial palace library, cf. IRIGOIN (1977a), 238–239 – Cyprus, cf. CONSTANTINIDES & BROWNING (1993), 23, n. 31 – 1627: Nicolas Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580–1637) – 1716: Monastery of Marmoutiers, shelfmark: 113 (Iv), below this number 197 is crossed out – 1791: Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale

**Later copies:** 1631–32: Cl. Salmasius, Paris, *Bibliothèque nationale*, cod. gr. 2550, cf. OMONT (1886–1898), vol. 3, 2; BÜTTNER-WOBST (1905), 756–757). Seventeenth century, partial copy: Vatican Library, cod. Barb. gr. 237, cf. PITTIA (2002a), 99, n. 40.

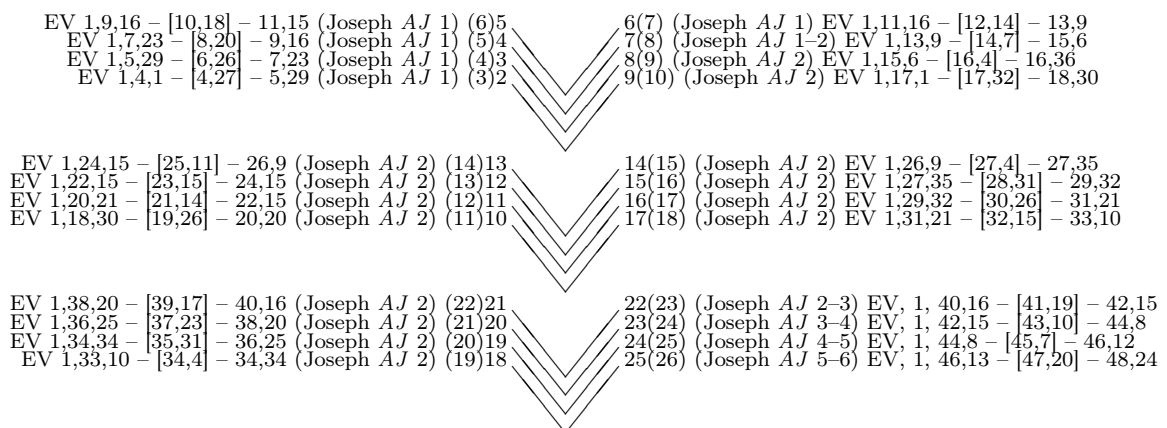
**Scholars consulting T before 1906:** Salmasius (1630–1631) (cf. his copy Par. gr. 2550) – Henri Valois (cf. his edition: Paris, 1634) – Grotius – Petrus Wesselingius (Amsterdam, 1746) – Reiske (Leipzig, 1757–1769) – Dindorf (1828, 1842–44, 1866–1868, 1870–1871) – Iulius Wollenberg [cf. WOLLENBERG (1861, 1871, 1882)] – E. Grosius (1844: for the edition of Cassius Dio) who kept the manuscript in his home in Paris between 1844 – around 1856 when other scholars could frequently consult it. Cf. Büttner-Wobst, EV 1, xix–xx.

**Editions :** Editio princeps: Henri Valois, *Polybii, Diodori Siculi, Nicolai Damasceni, Dionysii Halicarnassei, Appiani Alexand., Dionis et Joannis Antiocheni excerpta ex collectaneis Constantini Augusti Porphyrogenetae* (Paris: M. du Puis, 1634) – The complete text of the **T** was finally critically edited by Theodor Büttner-Wobst (EV, vol. 1: 1906) and Antoon Gerard Roos (EV, vol. 2: 1910).

**Literature:** GROS (ed.), Cassius Dio, vol. 1 (1845), lvii–lxxxiv, BÜTTNER-WOBST (1893), BOISSEVAIN (1895), vi–xvi, EV 1, i–xxix, OMONT (1886–1898), vol. 3, 63–65, SOTIROUDIS (1989b), 165–171, PARMENTIER-MORIN (2002), 467–470, and PITTIA (2002a), 98–101.

## 2.2.2. The Present Structure of Gatherings and Leaves in T

For the sake of clarity, I give the concordance of the two earlier foliations (1 and 2) in my rendering of the present structure of the quires of **T**, but I will refer to foliation 2 in my analysis because this is the only foliation that is well visible on each leaf. In the edges, the numbers refer to Büttner-Wobst's and Roos's edition.



## 2. The Material Evidence

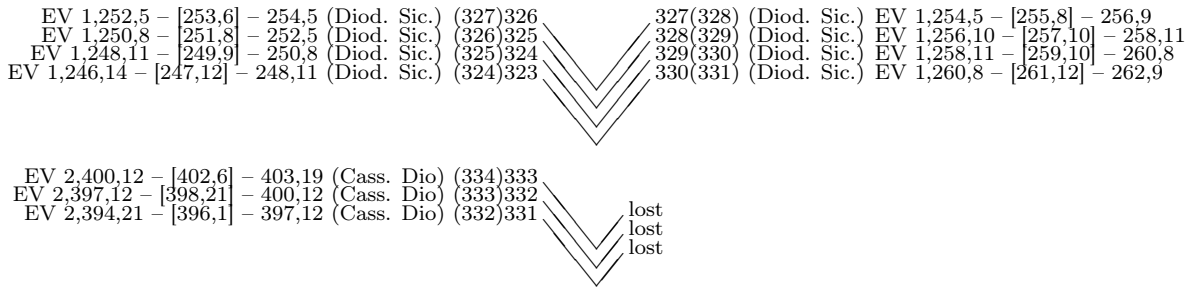
EV 1,54,5 – [55,6] – 56,12 (Joseph <i>AJ</i> 6–7) (30)29	30(31) (Joseph <i>AJ</i> 7)	EV 1,56,12 – [57,9] – 58,10
EV 1,52,16 – [53,11] – 54,5 (Joseph <i>AJ</i> 6) (29)28	31(32) (Joseph <i>AJ</i> 8)	EV 1,58,1 – [59,12] – 60,7
EV 1,50,21 – [51,18] – 52,16 (Joseph <i>AJ</i> 6) (28)27	32(33) (Joseph <i>AJ</i> 8)	EV 1,60,7 – [61,3] – 62,3
EV 1,48,24 – [49,22] – 50,21 (Joseph <i>AJ</i> 6) (27)26	33(34) (Joseph <i>AJ</i> 8)	EV 1,62,3 – [63,7] – 64,8
EV 1,70,32 – [71,30] – 73,1 (Joseph <i>AJ</i> 10) (38)37	38(39) (Joseph <i>AJ</i> 10)	EV 1,73,1 – [73,33] – 74,32
EV 1,68,21 – [69,27] – 70,32 (Joseph <i>AJ</i> 9–10) (37)36	39(40) (Joseph <i>AJ</i> 10–11)	EV 1,74,32 – [75,30] – 76,31
EV 1,66,14 – [67,15] – 68,21 (Joseph <i>AJ</i> 8–9) (36)35	40(41) (Joseph <i>AJ</i> 11–12)	EV 1,76,31 – [77,29] – 78,27
EV 1,64,8 – [65,12] – 66,14 (Joseph <i>AJ</i> 8) (35)34	41(42) (Joseph <i>AJ</i> 12–14)	EV 1,78,27 – [79,24] – 80,21
EV 1,86,9 – [87,9] – 88,7 (Joseph <i>AJ</i> 18) (46)45	46(47) (Joseph <i>AJ</i> 18–19)	EV 1,88,7 – [89,5] – 90,2
EV 1,84,5 – [85,11] – 86,9 (Joseph <i>AJ</i> 18) (45)44	47(48) (Joseph <i>AJ</i> 20, <i>BJ</i> 1)	EV 1,90,3 – [91,5] – 92,11
EV 1,82,13 – [83,7] – 84,4 (Joseph <i>AJ</i> 15,18) (44)43	48(49) (Joseph <i>BJ</i> 1)	EV 1,92,11 – [93,10] – 94,8
EV 1,80,21 – [81,17] – 82,13 (Joseph <i>AJ</i> 14–15) (43)42	49(50) (Joseph <i>BJ</i> 1–2)	EV 1,94,8 – [95,8] – 96,6
EV 1,99,26 – [100,26] – 101,24 (Joseph <i>BJ</i> 4) (53)52	53(54) (Joseph <i>BJ</i> 4)	EV 1,101,24 – [102,22] – 103,18
EV 1,97,34 – [98,29] – 99,26 (Joseph <i>BJ</i> 2,4) (52)51	54(55) (Joseph <i>BJ</i> 4–5)	EV 1,103,18 – [104,15] – 105,15
EV 1,96,7 – [97,4] – 97,34 (Joseph <i>BJ</i> 2) (51)50	55(56) (Joseph <i>BJ</i> 5)	EV 1,105,15 – [106,16] – 107,12
	56(57) (Joseph <i>BJ</i> 5–6)	EV 1,107,12 – [108,10] – 109,10
EV 1,115,1 – [116,3] – 116,36 (Joseph <i>Ap.</i> 2) (61)60	61(62) (Joseph <i>De Mac.</i> )	EV 1,117,1 – [117,32] – 118,26
EV 1,113,8 – [114,5] – 115,1 (Joseph <i>Ap.</i> 2) (60)59	62(63) (Joseph <i>De Mac. Vit.</i> )	EV 1,118,26 – [119,21] – 120,22
EV 1,111,2 – [112,1] – 113,8 (Joseph <i>BJ</i> 7, <i>Ap.</i> 2) (59)58	63(64) (Joseph <i>Vit.</i> )	EV 1,120,22 – [121,21] – 122,23
EV 1,109,10 – [110,10] – 111,2 (Joseph <i>BJ</i> 6–7) (58)57	64(65) (Georg. Mon.)	EV 1,122,24 – [123,25] – 124,29
EV 1,130,35 – [131,26] – 132,22 (Georg. Mon.) (69)67	68(70) (Georg. Mon.)	EV 1,132,22 – [133,19] – 134,14
EV 1,129,9 – [130,6] – 130,34 (Georg. Mon.) (68)66	69(71) (Georg. Mon.)	EV 1,134,14 – [135,15] – 136,10
EV 1,127,13 – [128,11] – 129,8 (Georg. Mon.) (67)65b	70(72) (Georg. Mon.)	EV 1,136,10 – [137,12] – 138,11
EV 1,124,30 – [126,10] – 127,12 (Georg. Mon.) (66)65	71(73) (Georg. Mon.)	EV 1,138,11 – [139,12] – 140,13
EV 1,147,7 – [148,11] – 149,7 (Georg. Mon.) (77)75	76(78) (Georg. Mon.)	EV 1,149,7 – [150,2] – 150,31
EV 1,145,4 – [146,5] – 147,7 (Georg. Mon.) (76)74	77(79) (Georg. Mon.)	EV 1,150,32 – [152,3] – 153,7
EV 1,142,18 – [143,24] – 145,4 (Georg. Mon.) (75)73	78(80) (Georg. Mon.)	EV 1,153,7 – [154,10] – 155,14
EV 1,140,13 – [141,17] – 142,18 (Georg. Mon.) (74)72	79(81) (Georg. Mon., Malalas)	EV 1,155,14 – [156,14] – 157,19
EV 1,163,15 – [165,4] – 166,10 (Malalas, Joh. Ant.) (85)83	84(86) (Joh. Ant.)	EV 1,166,10 – [167,13] – 168,9
EV 1,161,12 – [162,13] – 163,15 (Malalas) (84)82	85(87) (Joh. Ant.)	EV 1,168,9 – [169,16] – 171,9
EV 1,159,18 – [160,11] – 161,12 (Malalas) (83)81	86(88) (Joh. Ant.)	EV 1,171,9 – [172,10] – 173,11
EV 1,157,19 – [158,16] – 159,18 (Malalas) (82)80	87(89) (Joh. Ant.)	EV 1,173,11 – [174,12] – 175,20
EV 1,183,1 – [183,31] – 185,5 (Joh. Ant.) (93)91	92(94) (Joh. Ant.)	EV 1,185,5 – [186,15] – 187,18
EV 1,180,21 – [181,22] – 183,1 (Joh. Ant.) (92)90	93(95) (Joh. Ant.)	EV 1,187,18 – [188,23] – 189,28
EV 1,178,2 – [179,10] – 180,21 (Joh. Ant.) (91)89	94(96) (Joh. Ant.)	EV 1,189,28 – [191,6] – 192,9
EV 1,175,20 – [177,3] – 178,2 (Joh. Ant.) (90)88	95(97) (Joh. Ant.)	EV 1,192,9 – [193,10] – 194,17
EV 1,201,9 – [202,12] – 203,22 (Joh. Ant.) (101)99	100(102) (Joh. Ant.)	EV 1,203,22 – [205,3] – 206,6
EV 1,199,7 – [200,7] – 201,9 (Joh. Ant.) (100)98	101(103) (Diod. Sic.)	EV 1,206,7 – [207,12] – 208,20
EV 1,197,1 – [198,7] – 199,7 (Joh. Ant.) (99)97	102(104) (Diod. Sic.)	EV 1,208,20 – [209,23] – 211,1
EV 1,194,17 – [195,21] – 197,1 (Joh. Ant.) (98)96	103(105) (Diod. Sic.)	EV 1,211,1 – [212,7] – 213,15
EV 2,100,6 – [101,6] – 102,17 (Polybius) (109)107	108(110) (Polybius)	EV 2,102,18 – [103,26] – 105,4
EV 2,98,11 – [99,6] – 100,5 (Polybius) (108)106	109(111) (Polybius)	EV 2,105,4 – [106,3] – 107,6
EV 2,95,25 – [96,28] – 98,11 (Polybius) (107)105	110(112) (Polybius)	EV 2,107,6 – [108,12] – 109,16
EV 2,93,9 – [94,19] – 95,25 (Polybius) (106)104	111(113) (Polybius)	EV 2,109,16 – [110,24] – 111,26
EV 2,118,15 – [119,20] – 121,8 (Polybius) (117)115	116(118) (Polybius)	EV 2,121,8 – [122,13] – 123,17
EV 2,115,33 – [117,8] – 118,14 (Polybius) (116)114	117(119) (Polybius)	EV 2,123,17 – [124,26] – 126,8
EV 2,113,25 – [114,26] – 115,33 (Polybius) (115)113	118(120) (Polybius)	EV 2,126,8 – [127,13] – 128,17
EV 2,111,26 – [112,25] – 113,25 (Polybius) (114)112	119(121) (Polybius)	EV 2,128,17 – [129,20] – 130,27
EV 2,336,10 – [337,18] – 339,10 (Cass. Dio) (125)123	lost	
EV 2,331,10 – [332,17] – 334,1 (Cass. Dio) (124)122	124(126) (Cass. Dio)	EV 2,339,10 – [340,19] – 342,2
EV 2,328,13 – [329,22] – 331,10 (Cass. Dio) (123)121	125(127) (Cass. Dio)	EV 2,342,2 – [343,16] – 344,22
EV 2,325,25 – [326,28] – 328,12 (Cass. Dio) (122)120	126(128) (Cass. Dio)	EV 2,344,22 – [345,28] – 347,6





## 2. The Material Evidence

EV 1,330,19 – [331,21] – 332,22 (Nic. Dam.) (226)224	225(227) (Nic. Dam.) EV 1,332,22 – [333,21] – 334,21
EV 1,328,12 – [329,13] – 330,19 (Nic. Dam.) (225)223	226(228) (Nic. Dam.) EV 1,334,21 – [335,24] – 336,24
EV 1,326,3 – [327,9] – 328,12 (Nic. Dam.) (224)222	227(229) (Nic. Dam.) EV 1,336,25 – [338,2] – 339,10
EV 2,39,23 – [40,27] – 42,3 (Thuc.) (233)231	232(234) (Thuc.) EV 2,42,3 – [43,2] – 44,9
EV 2,37,14 – [38,15] – 39,23 (Thuc.) (232)230	233(235) (Thuc., Xen <i>Cyr.</i> ) EV 2,44,9 – [45,15] – 47,15
EV 2,35,6 – [36,8] – 37,14 (Thuc.) (231)229	234(236) (Xen <i>Cyr.</i> ) EV 2,47,15 – [48,21] – 50,5
EV 2,32,21 – [33,26] – 35,5 (Thuc.) (230)228	235(236b) (Xen <i>Cyr.</i> ) EV 2,50,5 – [51,11] – 52,19
EV 2,60,16 – [61,16] – 62,21 (Xen <i>Cyr.</i> , <i>An.</i> ) (240)239	240(241) (Xen <i>An.</i> ) EV 2,62,21 – [64,5] – 65,11
EV 2,58,5 – [59,12] – 60,16 (Xen <i>Cyr.</i> ) (239)238	241(242) (Xen <i>An.</i> ) EV 2,65,11 – [66,15] – 67,25
EV 2,55,16 – [56,26] – 58,5 (Xen <i>Cyr.</i> ) (238)237	242(243) (Xen <i>An.</i> ) EV 2,67,25 – [68,29] – 70,6
EV 2,52,19 – [54,6] – 55,16 (Xen <i>Cyr.</i> ) (237)236	243(244) (Xen <i>An.</i> ) EV 2,70,6 – [71,14] – 72,22
EV 1,299,29 – [300,26] – 301,26 (Diod. Sic.) (248)247	248(249) (Diod. Sic.) EV 1,301,27 – [302,27] – 303,25
EV 1,298,1 – [298,32] – 299,29 (Diod. Sic.) (247)246	249(250) (Diod. Sic.) EV 1,303,25 – [304,22] – 305,24
EV 1,295,32 – [296,29] – 297,30 (Diod. Sic.) (246)245	250(251) (Diod. Sic.) EV 1,305,24 – [306,24] – 307,24
EV 1,293,31 – [295,1] – 295,32 (Diod. Sic.) (245)244	251(252) (Diod. Sic.) EV 1,307,24 – [308,25] – 309,25
EV 2,80,23 – [81,27] – 83,4 (Dion. Hal.) (256)255	256(257) (Dion. Hal., Polybius) EV 2,83,4 – [84,9] – 86,13
EV 2,78,11 – [79,12] – 80,23 (Dion. Hal.) (255)254	257(257) (Polybius) EV 2,86,14 – [87,16] – 88,16
EV 2,76,4 – [77,5] – 78,10 (Dion. Hal.) (254)253	258(259) (Polybius) EV 2,88,16 – [89,14] – 90,19
EV 2,73,1 – [74,25] – 76,4 (Dion. Hal.) (253)252	259(260) (Polybius) EV 2,90,19 – [91,25] – 93,8
EV 1,315,18 – [316,17] – 317,18 (Diod. Sic.) (264)263	264(265) (Diod. Sic.) EV 1,317,18 – [318,17] – 319,16
EV 1,313,18 – [314,18] – 315,18 (Diod. Sic.) (263)262	265(266) (Diod. Sic.) EV 1,319,17 – [320,21] – 321,24
EV 1,311,18 – [312,14] – 313,18 (Diod. Sic.) (262)261	266(267) (Diod. Sic.) EV 1,321,24 – [322,24] – 323,23
EV 1,309,25 – [310,21] – 311,18 (Diod. Sic.) (261)260	267(268) (Diod. Sic.) EV 1,323,23 – [324,23] – 325,22
EV 2,211,11 – [213,15] – 214,20 (Polybius) (272)271	272(273) (Polybius, App.) EV 2,214,20 – [216,17] – 218,3
EV 2,210,1 – [211,5] – 212,11 (Polybius) (271)270	273(274) (Appian) EV 2,218,3 – [219,2] – 220,6
EV 2,207,24 – [208,21] – 210,1 (Polybius) (270)269	274(275) (Appian) EV 2,220,6 – [221,12] – 222,21
EV 2,205,18 – [206,21] – 207,24 (Polybius) (269)268	275(276) (Appian) EV 2,222,21 – [224,10] – 225,16
EV 1,284,10 – [285,10] – 286,10 (Diod. Sic.) (280)279	280(281) (Diod. Sic.) EV 1,286,10 – [287,7] – 288,7
EV 1,282,9 – [283,8] – 284,10 (Diod. Sic.) (279)278	281(282) (Diod. Sic.) EV 1,288,7 – [289,3] – 290,5
EV 1,280,7 – [281,6] – 282,9 (Diod. Sic.) (278)277	282(283) (Diod. Sic.) EV 1,290,5 – [291,2] – 291,33
EV 1,278,3 – [279,8] – 280,7 (Diod. Sic.) (277)276	283(284) (Diod. Sic.) EV 1,291,33 – [292,30] – 293,31
EV 2,233,10 – [235,1] – 236,12 (App., Cass. Dio) (288)287	288(289) (Cass. Dio) EV 2,236,12 – [237,10] – 238,9
EV 2,230,17 – [232,4] – 233,10 (Appian) (287)286	289(290) (Cass. Dio) EV 2,238,9 – [239,11] – 240,17
EV 2,228,6 – [229,7] – 230,17 (Appian) (286)285	290(291) (Cass. Dio) EV 2,240,17 – [241,24] – 242,28
EV 2,225,16 – [226,22] – 228,6 (Appian) (285)284	291(292) (Cass. Dio) EV 2,242,28 – [244,1] – 245,11
EV 2,193,3 – [194,8] – 195,9 (Polybius) (295)294	295(296) (Polybius) EV 2,195,9 – [196,14] – 197,18
EV 2,190,18 – [191,26] – 193,3 (Polybius) (294)293	296(297) (Polybius) EV 2,197,19 – [198,20] – 199,26
EV 2,188,7 – [189,14] – 190,18 (Polybius) (293)292	297(298) (Polybius) EV 2,200,1 – [201,11] – 203,3
	298(299) (Polybius) EV 2,203,3 – [204,14] – 205,18
EV 2,156,28 – [157,27] – 158,29 (Polybius) (303)302	303(304) (Polybius) EV 2,158,29 – [160,2] – 161,8
EV 2,154,14 – [155,19] – 156,28 (Polybius) (302)301	304(305) (Polybius) EV 2,161,8 – [162,11] – 163,18
EV 2,152,6 – [153,10] – 154,14 (Polybius) (301)300	305(306) (Polybius) EV 2,163,19 – [164,19] – 165,18
EV 2,150,4 – [151,4] – 152,6 (Polybius) (300)299	306(307) (Polybius) EV 2,165,18 – [166,18] – 168,7
EV 2,176,13 – [177,18] – 178,19 (Polybius) (311)310	311(312) (Polybius) EV 2,178,19 – [180,6] – 181,11
EV 2,173,23 – [175,1] – 176,13 (Polybius) (310)309	312(313) (Polybius) EV 2,181,11 – [312,10] – 183,16
EV 2,171,2 – [172,15] – 173,23 (Polybius) (309)308	313(314) (Polybius) EV 2,183,16 – [184,19] – 185,23
EV 2,168,8 – [169,16] – 171,2 (Polybius) (308)307	314(315) (Polybius) EV 2,185,23 – [187,7] – 188,7
EV 2,138,22 – [139,22] – 141,2 (Polybius) (319)318	319(320) (Polybius) EV 2,141,2 – [142,6] – 143,13
EV 2,136,6 – [137,16] – 138,22 (Polybius) (318)316	320(321) (Polybius) EV 2,143,13 – [144,20] – 145,23
EV 2,133,17 – [134,22] – 136,5 (Polybius) (317)316	321(322) (Polybius) EV 2,145,23 – [146,28] – 148,4
EV 2,130,27 – [132,7] – 133,17 (Polybius) (316)315	322(323) (Polybius) EV 2,148,4 – [149,5] – 150,4



### 2.2.3. The Reconstructed Structure of T

The drawings below show the reconstructed structure of the tenth-century state of the *codex Peirescianus*, based on Büttner-Wobst's reconstruction and my own research.



Figure 2.3.: Reconstructed structure: **T** (1)

(a–b, 1\*–2\*: lost bifolio) **Prooemium to the collection of historical excerpts on the virtues and vices:** [probably in calligraphic majuscule] Ὑπόθεσις τοῦ περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας βιβλίου πρώτου. [probably in minuscule] Ὅσοι τῶν πάλαι ποτὲ βασιλέων τε καὶ ἰδιωτῶν μὴ τὸν νοῦν παρεσύρησαν ἡδοναῖς ἢ κατεμαλακίσθησαν ... x ... Ἐμφαίνει δὲ τοῦτ' ἐν τῷ προοίμιον, τίνας οἱ λόγοι πατέρας κέκτηνται καὶ ὅθεν ἀποκυτίζονται, ὥς ἂν μὴ ᾧσιν αἱ κεφαλαῖαι δόξεις ὑποθέσεις ἀκατονόμαστοι καὶ μὴ γνήσιοι, ἀλλὰ νόθοι τε καὶ ψευδώνυμοι. Ed. Th. Büttner-Wobst, *EV* 1, 1–2.

**Table of Contents:** εἰσὶ δ' ἐκ τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων χρονικῶν· α' Ἰωσήπου ἀρχαιολογίας ... x ... καὶ οἱ ἐφεξῆς ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τεύχει ἐπιγράφονται. Ed. Th. Büttner-Wobst, *EV* 1, 2–3.

**Dedicatory iambics to Constantine VII:** [probably in calligraphic majuscule] Ἰαμβοὶ σημαῖοντες τὴν βασιλικὴν ἀγωγὴν. [probably in minuscule] Αἰὼν ὁ μακρὸς ὥσπερ ἄνθη τοῦς λόγους ... x ... Ὡς ἂν τὰ λῶστα τῷ βίῳ συνεισφέρῃ. Ed. Th. Büttner-Wobst, *EV* 1, 3.

(2r–47v) 1. **Josephus Flavius, AJ:** [In calligraphic majuscule]: α' Ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαιολογίας Ἰωσήπου. περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας. [in minuscule]: (AJ) Ὅτι Ἀδάμω καὶ Εὐᾷ γίνονται παῖδες ἄρσενες β' καὶ θυγατέρες. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀδελφοὶ διαφόροις ἔχαιρον ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ... x ... Ἀλλ' ὅσα μὲν ... ἡναγκάσθημεν ἢ παθεῖν ὑπεμείναμεν, ἀκριβῶς γινῶναι πάρεστι τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐντυχεῖν ταῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ περὶ τοῦ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ πολέμου βίβλοις γεγραμμέναις· παύσεται δὲ ἐνταῦθά μοι τὰ τῆς ἀρχαιολογίας, μεθ' ἧν καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἡρξάμην γράφειν. τέλος τοῦ κ' λόγου. Ed. Th. Büttner-Wobst, *EV* 1, 4–91.

(47v–58v) **Josephus Flavius, BJ:** Ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαϊκῆς ἀλώσεως. λόγος α'. Ὅτι Ἰωάννης ὁ καὶ Ὑρκανὸς πολὺ διήλθεν ἐπ' εὐπραγίᾳ, πρὸς δὲ τὰς εὐπραγίας αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν παίδων φθόνος ἐγείρει στάσιν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ... x ... οὕτως ἀπέθανεν, οὐδενὸς ἥττον ἕτερον τῆς προνοίας τοῦ θεοῦ τεκμήριον γενόμενος, ὅτι τοῖς πονηροῖς δίκην ἐπιτίθησιν. Πέρας τῆς ἱστορίας λόγος ζ' Ἰουδαϊκῆς ἀλώσεως. Ed. Th. Büttner-Wobst, *EV* 1, 91–112.

(58v–60r) **Josephus Flavius, Contra Apionem:** [in majuscule] Ἐκ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ ἐπιγραφομένου περὶ παντὸς ἧ κατὰ Ἑλλήνων. λόγος β'. τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰωσήπου. [in minuscule] Ὅτι

## 2. The Material Evidence

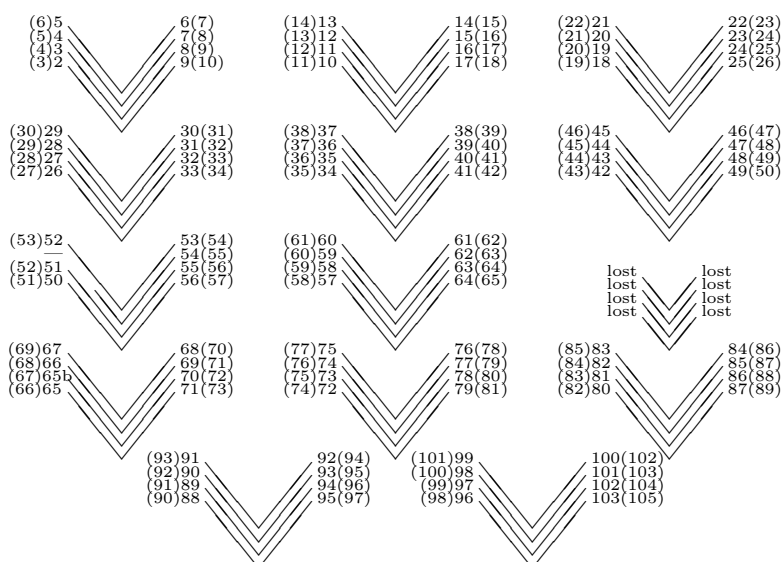


Figure 2.4.: Reconstructed structure: **T** (2)

ὁ ἡμέτερος νομοθέτης ἀρχαιότατος τοῦτο γὰρ δῆπουθεν ὠμολόγηται καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πάντα καθ' ἡμῶν λέγουσιν ἑαυτὸν τε παρέσχεν ἄριστον τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἡγεμόνα ... οὐδὲ τῶν βραχυτάτων αὐτεξούσιον ἐπὶ ταῖς βουλῇσεσι τῶν χρησομένων κατέλειπεν, ἀλλὰ περὶ σιτίων, τίνων ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ τίνα προφέρεισθαι... Ed. Th. Büttner-Wobst, *EV* 1, 112–115.

(60r–62v) **Josephus Flavius**, *De Maccabaeis*: [in majuscules] Ἐκ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ εἰς τοὺς Μακκαβαίους τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰωσήπου. [in minuscules] Φιλοσοφώτατον λόγον ἐπιδείκνυσθαι μέλλων, εἰ αὐτοδέσποτός ἐστι τῶν παθῶν ὁ εὐσεβῆς λογισμός ... οὕτως τὰ ἰδιωτικὰ τοῦ γαζοφυλακίου λάβοι χρήματα. καὶ τεράτων γενομένων ἐξαισιῶν μόλις διεσώθη. Ed. Th. Büttner-Wobst, *EV* 1, 115–120.

(62v–63v) **Josephus Flavius**, *De vita sua*: [in majuscule in the margin] Ἐκ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ ἐπιγραφομένου περὶ γένους Ἰωσήπου καὶ πολιτείας αὐτοῦ. [in minuscule] Ἐμοὶ γένος ἔστιν οὐκ ἄσημον, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἱερέων ἄνωθεν καταβεβηκός ... οὐχ οὕτω ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ἐπεστέναξαν συμφοραῖς ὥσπερ τῆς ἐμῆς ἐφρόντισαν σωτηρίας. τέλος τῆς Ἰωσήπου ἀρχαιολογίας· λόγοι κ' καὶ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ περὶ τοῦ βίου Ἰωσήπου καὶ τῆς πολιτείας αὐτοῦ. Ed. Th. Büttner-Wobst, *EV* 1, 120–122.

(64r–79v) 2. **George the Monk**: [in calligraphic majuscule] β' περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας. [in majuscule in the margin] Ἐκ τῆς χρονικῆς ἱστορίας Γεωργίου μοναχοῦ [in minuscule] Ὅτι ὁ Ἀβελ παρθένος καὶ δίκαιος ὑπῆρχεν καὶ ποιμὴν προβάτων ... οὐδ' ἂν ἐνδίκως ὁ θεῖος λόγος ἐπαράσεται σχετλιαστικῶς φάσκων οὐαὶ αὐτοῖς, ὅτι τῇ ὁδῷ τοῦ Κάν ἐπορεύθησαν καὶ τῇ πλάνῃ τοῦ Βαλαάμ μισθοῦ ἐξεχύθησαν καὶ τῇ ἀντιλογίᾳ τοῦ Κορὲ ἀπώλοντο. καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς εἰσιν ἄπειρα. τέλος τῆς ἱστορίας Γεωργίου μοναχοῦ. περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας. Ed. Th. Büttner-Wobst, *EV* 1, 122–156.

(79v–83r) 3. **John Malalas**: [in calligraphic majuscule] γ' περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας. [in majuscule in the margin] Ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας Ἰωάννου τοῦ Μαλέλα. [in minuscule] Ὅτι μετὰ τὴν τῶν γιγάντων ἀπώλειαν ἐγένετο ἄνθρωπος Νῶε ὄνομα, ἀγαπώμενος ὑπὸ θεοῦ ... ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀναστάσιος λέγει αὐτῷ «ἐμὲ οὐ κομώνεις» καὶ ἐξώρισεν αὐτὸν εἰς Πέτρας, καὶ ἐκεῖ τελευτᾷ. τέλος ἱστορίας Ἰωάννου τοῦ Μαλέλα. περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας. Ed. Th. Büttner-Wobst, *EV* 1, 157–163.

(83r–100v) 4. **John of Antioch**, *Chronicle*: [in calligraphic majuscule] δ' περί ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας. [in majuscule in the margin] Ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας Ἰωάννου Ἀντιοχείως χρονικῆς ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ. [in minuscule] Ὅτι τὸν Ἡρακλέα τὸν τῆς Ἀλκμήνης φιλόσοφον ἱστοροῦσιν ... x ... Ὅτι εἶχε φίλην ὁ Φωκᾶς Καλλινίκην ἀπὸ προΐσταμένων. ὁ αὐτὸς Φωκᾶς ὑπῆρχεν αἰμοπότης. τέλος τῆς ἱστορίας Ἰωάννου μοναχοῦ. περί ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας. Ed. Th. Büttner-Wobst, *EV* 1, 164–206.

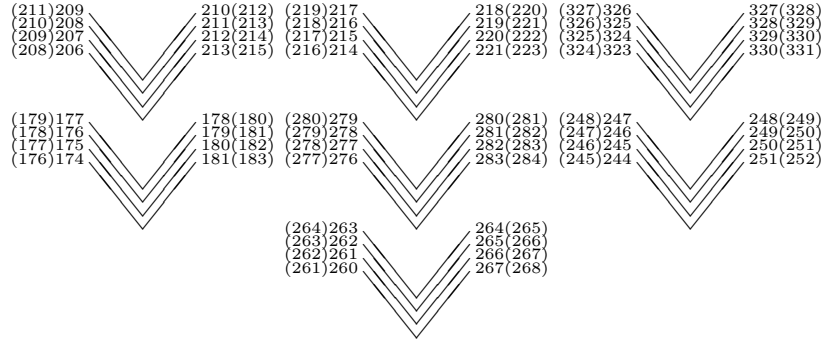


Figure 2.5.: Reconstructed structure: T (3)

(100r–103v, 206r–221v, 323r–330v, 174r–181v, 276r–283v, 244r–251v, 260r–267v) 5. **Di-odorius of Sicily**: [in calligraphic majuscule] ε' Περί ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας. [in majuscule in the margin] ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας Διοδώρου Σικελιώτου. [in minuscule] Ὅτι ὁ Σεσόωσις δοκεῖ πάντας τοὺς πώποτε γενομένους ἐν ἐξουσίαις ὑπερβεβηκέναι ταῖς τε πολεμικαῖς πράξεσιν ... x ... ὥστε πάντας τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν καταπλήττεσθαι καὶ θαυμάζειν τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ νεανίσκου... Ed. Th. Büttner-Wobst, *EV* 1, 206–325.

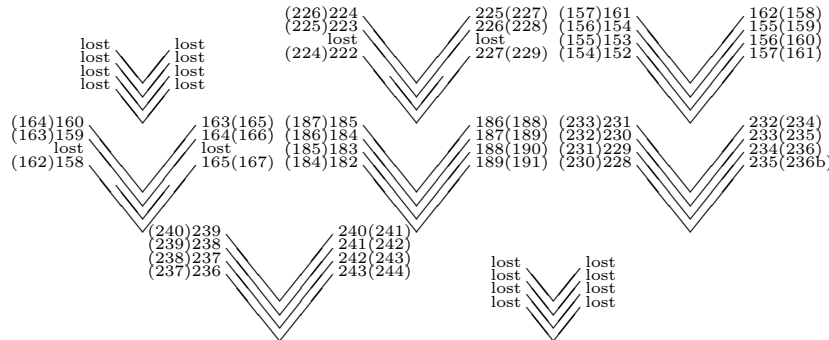


Figure 2.6.: Reconstructed structure: T (4)

(222r–223v) **Nicolas of Damascus**, *De vita sua*: [in the middle of the text] ... καὶ παρακαλέσας οἷα δὴ φιλόσοφον καὶ ἀμνησίκακον ἐν πολὺ πλείονι ἤγε τιμῇ καὶ εὐνοίᾳ ... x ... Ὅτι τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ οἰκέτας ἐκπαιδεύσας καὶ ἐκ τοῦ συζῆναι πολλὴν ὁμοφύθειαν αὐτοῖς ἐμποιήσας, ἐχρηστο οὐδὲν χεῖροσιν ἢ φίλοις. Ed. Th. Büttner-Wobst, *EV* 1, 326–329.

(223v–155v) **Nicolas of Damascus**, *Historiae*: Ὅτι Σαρδανάπαλος Ἀσυρίων ἐβασίλευσεν, ἀπὸ τε Νίνου καὶ Σεμιράμεως τὴν βασιλείαν παραδεξάμενος, οἴκησιν ἔχων ἐν Νίνῳ ... x ... ἐγκρατῆς καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ τοὺς ἀλόντας διαθείς ἀπῆγεν ἐπ' οἴκου τὴν δύναμιν, ἄγων σκυλά τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποίκων κατὰ τὴν μάχην καὶ ἀκροθίνια θεοῖς λαφύρων. τέλος τοῦ ζ' λόγου τῆς Νικολάου ἱστορίας. ζῆται τὰ λείποντα περὶ ἐλληνικῆς ἱστορίας. Ed. Th. Büttner-Wobst, *EV* 1, 329–353.

(156r–159v) **Nicolas of Damascus**, *De vita Augusti*: [in majuscule in the margin] Τοῦ αὐτοῦ περὶ πρώτης Καίσαρος ἀγωγῆς. [in minuscule] Ὅτι εἰς τιμῆς ἀξίωσιν τοῦτον οὕτω

## 2. The Material Evidence

προσεῖπον οἱ ἄνθρωποι ναοῖς τε καὶ θυσίαις γεραίρουσιν . . . x . . . ἐν ἧ μάλιστα σφριγῶσιν οἱ νέοι, καὶ τούτων δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον οἱ εὐτυχεῖς, ἀφροδισίων ἀπείχετο, φωνῆς ἅμα καὶ ἰσχύος προνοῶν. τέλος τῆς ἱστορίας Νικολάου Δαμασκηνοῦ καὶ τοῦ βίου Καίσαρος τοῦ νέου. περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας. Ed. Th. Büttner-Wobst, *EV* 1, 353–361.

(160r–188v) **Herodotus**, *Historiae*: [in calligraphic majuscule] ζ' περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας. [in majuscule in the margin] Ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας Ἡροδότου Ἀλικαρνησσεῶς. [in minuscule] Ὅτι ὁ Κανδαύλης ὁ τῶν Σαρδίων τύραννος ἠράσθη τῆς ἐωυτοῦ γυναικός, ἐρασθεῖς δὲ ἐνόμιζε οἱ εἶναι γυναῖκα πολλὸν πασέων καλλίστην . . . x . . . αὐτός τε ὅπως ἀπίκαιτο ἐς Ἑλεοῦντα, ἐν τῷ ἀδύτῳ γυναιξὶν ἐμίσγετο. τέλος τῆς ἱστορίας Ἡροδότου. Ed. A. G. Roos, *EV* 2, 1–29.

(188v–228r) **Marcellinus**, *Vita Thucydidis*: [in calligraphic majuscule] ἡ Περί ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας. [in majuscule in the margin] Ἐκ τοῦ Μαρκελλίνου εἰς τὸν Θουκυδίδου βίον. [in minuscule] Ὅτι πολὺς ὁ ἀνὴρ τέχναις καὶ κάλλει λόγων καὶ ἀκριβεῖα πραγμάτων καὶ στρατηγία καὶ συμβουλαῖς καὶ πανηγυρικαῖς ὑποθέσεσιν . . . x . . . οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι ἂν εἴποι τις, Ἀλκιβιάδου νεότητα, Θεμιστοκλέους πάντα, Νικίου χρηστότητα, δεισιδαιμονίαν, εὐτυχίαν μέχρι Σικελίας. Ed. A. G. Roos, *EV* 2, 30–33.

(228r–232r) **Thucydides**, *Historiae*: [in majuscule in the margin] Ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας Θουκυδίδου Ἀθηναίου. [in minuscule] Ὅτι αἰτίαι ἄλλαι τε ἦσαν τῶν ἀποστάσεων τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ μέγιστα αἱ τῶν φόρων καὶ νεῶν ἔκδειαι καὶ λειποστράτιον εἴ τῳ ἐγένετο . . . x . . . καὶ ἄλλα ἐπιβάλλοντος αὐτοῦ ἃ φέρειν οὐκ ἠδύναντο, ἐκβάλλουσι τοὺς φρουροὺς αὐτῶν ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως. τέλος τῶν Θουκυδίδου ἱστοριῶν. περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας. Ed. A. G. Roos, *EV* 2, 33–45.

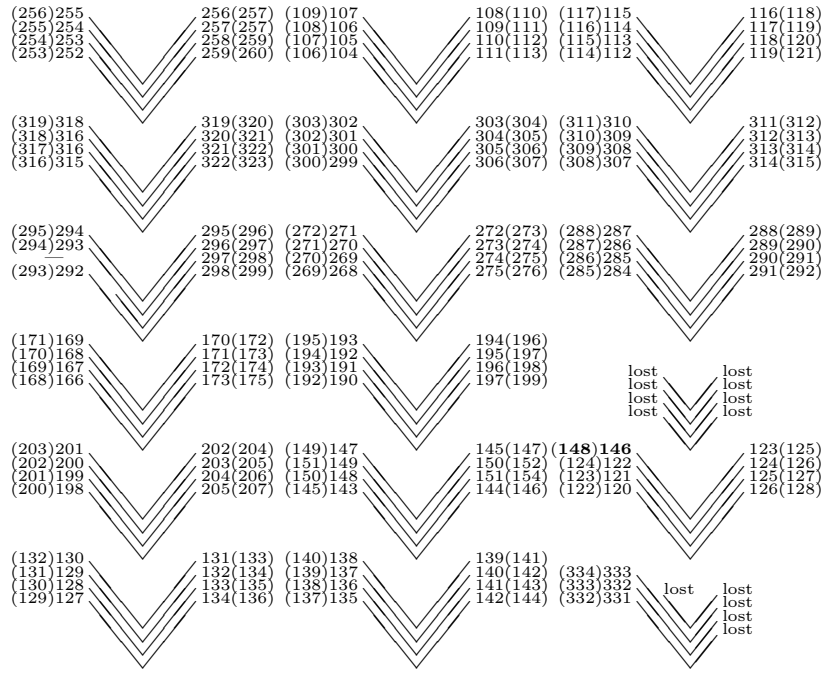
(233v–239v) **Xenophon**, *Cyropaedia*: [in calligraphic majuscule] θ' περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας. [in majuscule in the margin] Ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας Ξενοφῶντος· Κύρου παιδείας. [in minuscule] Ἡμεῖς μὲν δὴ ὥς ἄξιον ὄντα θαυμάζεσθαι τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα ἐσκεψάμεθα . . . x . . . εἰ δέ τις τάναντία ἐμοὶ γινώσκει, τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν ἐπισκοπῶν εὐρήσει αὐτὰ μαρτυροῦντα τοῖς ἐμοῖς λόγοις. Ed. A. G. Roos, *EV* 2, 46–62.

(329v–243v) **Xenophon**, *Anabasis*: [in majuscule in the margin] Ἐκ τῆς ἀναβάσεως Κύρου Παρυσάτιδος. [in minuscule] Ὅτι Κύρος ὁ νέος ἀνὴρ ἦν Περσῶν τῶν μετὰ Κύρον τὸν ἀρχαῖον γενομένων βασιλικώτατός τε καὶ ἄρχειν ἀξιώτατος . . . x . . . ἔστι δ' ὁ τόπος ἧ ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν πορεύονται. . . Ed. A. G. Roos, *EV* 2, 62–72.

<10. **Arrianus**>: lost (cf. table of contents)

(252r–256v) 11. **Dionysius of Halicarnassus**: [in the middle of the text] . . . τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ἐπικοσμοῦσα χάρις· ἀλλ' αἰὲν πικρὸς καὶ χαλεπὸς ἦν. ταῦτά τε δὴ αὐτὸν ἐν πολλοῖς ἐβλαψε . . . x . . . οὐκ ἴσχυσε δὲ νικῆσαι τὴν πεπρωμένην, ἐναντιουμένων τῶν φίλων πρὸς τὴν ἀναβολὴν καὶ μὴ μεθεῖναι τὸν καιρὸν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἀξιούντων. τέλος τῆς ἱστορίας Διονυσίου Ἀλικαρνησσεῶς. Ed. A. G. Roos, *EV* 2, 73–84.

(256v–272r) 12. **Polybius**: *Historiae* [in calligraphic majuscule] ιβ' Περί ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας. [in majuscule in the margin] Ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας Πολυβίου Μεγαλοπολίτου. [in minuscule] Ὅτι Ἀννίβα παρέσχον τὴν κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι μετὰ θάνατον Ἀσδρούβα, νέῳ ὄντι, διὰ τὴν ὑποφαινομένην ἐκ τῶν πράξεων ἀγχνόειαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τόλμαν . . . x . . . κατὰ τὰς τοιαύτας διαθέσεις εἰς περιπετείας ἐνέπιπτεν. τέλος ἱστορίας Πολυβίου Μεγαλοπολίτου. Ed. A. G. Roos, *EV* 2, 85–215.

Figure 2.7.: Reconstructed structure: **T** (5)

(272r–287r) 13. **Appianus**: [in calligraphic majuscule] ιγ' Περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας. [in majuscule in the margin] Ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας Ἀππιανοῦ τῆς ἐπιγραφομένης βασιλικῆς. [in minuscule] Ὅτι Ταρκύνιος Σαβίνους κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἠρέθειζε. Κλαύδιος δέ, ἀνὴρ Σαβίνος ἐκ Ῥηγίλλου πόλεως δυνατός ... x ... οἰκτιζόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς τέχναις, μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ἀπέθανεν. τέλος τῆς ἱστορίας Ἀππιανοῦ τῆς ἐπιγραφομένης βασιλικῆς. Ed. A. G. Roos, *EV* 2, 216–234.

(287v–333v) 14. **Cassius Dio**: [in calligraphic majuscule] ιδ' περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας. [in majuscule in the margin] Ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας Δίωνος Κοκκιανοῦ Ῥωμαϊκῆς. [in minuscule] Ὅτι ὁ Νουμᾶς ὥκει ἐν κολωνῶ τῷ Κυριναλίῳ ὠνομασμένῳ ἄτε καὶ Σαβίνος ὢν ... x ... κοινωνοὺς τῆς ὕβρεως, φύρδην ἀναφερόμενος αὐταῖς, λαμβάνη. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄτοπα, ἃ (2 lost leaves) μήτε λέγων μήτ' ἀκούων τις καρτερήσσειε, καὶ ἔδρασε τῷ σώματι καὶ ἔπαυε ... x ... τοσαύτη γὰρ ἄμα τρυφῇ καὶ ἐξουσίᾳ ἀνεπιληξίᾳ τε χρῶνται ὥς καὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν ἀποκτεῖναι. τέλος τῆς ἱστορίας Δίωνος. Ed. A. G. Roos, *EV* 2, 235–407.

#### 2.2.4. Decoration Structure of T

The remarkable decoration structure of **T**<sup>321</sup> clarifies some of the ideas behind Constantine VII's imperial project. Each excerpted historian is considered as a unit. The scribes always maintained this principle either if one single work or more were excerpted of his corpus, either one single manuscript or more were used for this purpose. More manuscripts were necessary for excerpting extensive texts such as Polybius' *Historiae* or authors with multiple works such as Josephus Flavius. The

<sup>321</sup>See f. 101r: title page of Diodorus of Sicily in fig. C.2 on p. 380 and f. 272r: title page of Appian in fig. C.3 on p. 381.

## 2. The Material Evidence

frontispieces, gilded and decorated with blue, indicated that a newly excerpted author followed.

There are two types of decoration applied to the frontispieces of **T**. One of them contains a series of heart shape palmettes (*Herzpalmetten*), in vertically dovetailed arrangement.<sup>322</sup> Unlike the similar decoration of the epoch, it is the palmettes that are gilded and not their background which is blue. The same holds true for the other type of decoration. In this case, the palmettes are symmetrically linked with tendrils. The palmettes are gilded here as well; the background is blue. Some motives in the Florentine military collection (Plut. 55,4) (see in app.C.5 on p.382) which begins with a treatise ascribed to Constantine VII is similar to **T**. A close parallel to the combination of these motives manifests itself in the menologion of Basil II<sup>323</sup> as lintel and arch decoration in a scene showing St Flavianus (fifth century) archbishop of Constantinople.<sup>324</sup> Both types belong to the decoration that Weitzmann calls *Laubsäge-Ornamentik* and assigns its expansion to the date of the last quarter of the tenth century.<sup>325</sup>

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<sup>322</sup>See an example on **T**, f. 272r on p. 381.

<sup>323</sup>Vat. gr. 1613, p. 410 in app. C.6 on p. 383

<sup>324</sup>See the facsimile of Basil II in *MENOLOGIUM* (1907), 406, 409, especially 410 as a cornice decoration. The menologium is dated around 985. KATSARELIAS (1997), 100–101, ŠEVČENKO (1962), 245, n. 2. The manuscript was certainly accomplished after 979 and probably before 989; an early eleventh century date cannot be excluded.

<sup>325</sup>WEITZMANN (1935), 18, 22 and FRANTZ (1934), 62–63. Alternating heart-shaped palmettes (*Herzpalmetten*, a special type of “a «intaglio»”): Par. gr. 567, f. 110r (Gregory of Nazianzus): AGATI (1992), vol. 1, 161–162 (with two hands with a date to the second half and the end of the tenth century), vol. 2 pl. 112; Marciana, gr. 93, f. 85r (John Chrysostom): AGATI (1992), vol. 1, 303 and vol. 2, pl. 219; Patmos, Monastery of St John, 35, f. 350r (Gregory of Nazianzus): AGATI (1992), vol. 1, 199 and vol. 2, pl. 6; Vat. Urb. gr. 15, f. 142v (Gregory of Nazianzus): AGATI (1992), vol. 1, 94–95 and vol. 2. pl. 1.

For the palmettes enclosed in vegetable ornament and in an alternating sequence, originating from the last quarter of the tenth century, see the following examples: Athens, National Library, cod. 56 (*evangeliarion*), f. 2v, in GALAVARIS (1989), 339; Vatican, cod. Pius II gr. 50, f. 128r from WEITZMANN (1935), pl. xxviii, no. 159 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Cromwell 15 (*evangeliarion*), f. 178 from HUTTER (1977), p. 144, no. 49, see both in fig. C.7 on p. 384. Rome, Vatican, Ottob. 1075, dated to 1018, cf. FRANTZ (1934), pl. xiv, no. 1. Par. gr. 669, cf. FRANTZ (1934), pl. xvii, no. 7; Par. suppl. gr. 75 (*evangeliarion* with *synaxarium*): FRANTZ (1934), pl. xvii, no. 3.



The titles below these frontispieces were copied in epigraphic majuscule<sup>326</sup> and—except for the first historian (Josephus Flavius)<sup>327</sup>—they do not indicate the name of the excerpted author but that of the collection as appears in **T**: *περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας*. In the outer margin, each new cluster of excerpts is accompanied by a position number (from A' to IΔ' = 1–14), gilded and decorated with blue, which refer to the historians. These numbers would once have corresponded with the table of contents in the beginning of the codex. These titles are preceded by an invocational cross (†) and followed by three (⋮ on ff. 2r, 64r, 79v, 83r, 101r, 188v, 233v, 256v), four (⋮ on ff. 160r, 287v) or five dots (⋮ on f. 272r). After the title of the last excerpted author of the volume—in **T** it is Cassius Dio—the series of the excerpted historians is closed by a cross placed after the dots (f. 287v:†). The letters of the titles copied in epigraphic majuscules, the position numbers and the initial of each excerpted passage, which was usually the omicron of Ὅτι, were written in red ink while the vertical elements of these letters were decorated with gold leaf.

The number of the initials that do not reflect this decoration principle, which means that they were written in red but mistakenly not illuminated with gold leaf and red ink, is rather small. The main scribe committed only one mistake in separating the excerpts when he copied an initial not marking the beginning of a new excerpt.<sup>328</sup> The proof-reader(s) corrected this slip but committed another one by correcting a *τι* to Ἐτι;<sup>329</sup> It was the decorator's fault that he did not copy two omicrons in red.<sup>330</sup> only a much later hand is responsible for correcting this error. The same decorator is to be credited only with one other slip. He did not ornate the initial of the first excerpt from Diodorus of Sicily on f. 101r. Another scribe (B) corrected some points that the main scribe and the proof-reader left incorrect in **T** but

<sup>326</sup>HUNGER (1977a) and HUNGER (1977b).

<sup>327</sup>See f. 2r: *Ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαιολογίας Ἰωσήπου. περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας*. This heading is surmounted by a lavishly illuminated headpiece.

<sup>328</sup>On **T**, f. 109r in the middle of Polybius exc. 24 (EV 2, 105, 8).

<sup>329</sup>On **T**, f. 254v, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in exc. 7, (EV 2, 80, 1).

<sup>330</sup>On **T**, f. 147v, Cassius Dio, exc. 183 (EV 2, 315, 10) and on f. 333r, Cassius Dio, exc. 404, (EV 2, 401, 8).

## 2. The Material Evidence

in red ink. On f. 228r (EV 2, 33, 21), he noted in the margin in red that Thucydides begins here: ἐκ τῆς σφόδρας (sic!) θουκυδίδου ἀθηναίου; at another place (f. 172v) the same hand also corrected a marginal entry: into the mistakenly spelled Πομπηρου, he inserted an ῖ (Πομπηῖου). The small number of such mistakes demonstrates that the main scribe, the proof-reader, and the decorator successfully reduced the inaccuracies and the oddities in the well designed layout of the codex.

### 2.2.5. The Hand of T

The characteristics of the main scribe who copied the *codex Peirescianus* (**T**) are informative on his intellectual background.<sup>331</sup> Wollenberg identified this main scribe with the “hand” of a famous codex comprising Aristotle’s various works from the mid-tenth century (Par. gr. 1853).<sup>332</sup> However, his opinion must be dismissed because none of the four tenth-century hands in the Parisinus is identical with the main scribe of **T**.<sup>333</sup> Nonetheless, the neat minuscule of **T** sharing the features of a bookscript and an informal script of a scholarly hand seems very close to some hands dating to the sole reign of Emperor Constantine VII (945–959) or to the following decades,<sup>334</sup> especially to the hand of Ephraim, the famous the mid-tenth-century scribe.<sup>335</sup> The

<sup>331</sup>There are some facsimiles published from **T**: See the partial facsimile of f. 155v in PARMENTIER-MORIN (2002), 479; f. 272r (the final page of Polybius and the title page of Appianus) in OMONT (1886–1898), vol. 3, last page. f. 248r in IRIGOIN (1959), pl. 17. GÉHIN (2005), 94, fig. 2.

<sup>332</sup>WOLLENBERG (1861), 2. The shelfmark Par. Reg. 1835 is taken from BÜTTNER-WOBST (1893), 268, n. 1. Although the same reference is repeated in scholarship [PARMENTIER-MORIN (2002), 471 gives Par. gr. 1835 which contains a sixteenth-century copy of Proclus’ Commentary on Plato’s *Parmenides* (Andreas Darmarios, 1561) see OMONT (1886–1898), vol. 2, 150], it is apparently a mistake. Par. Medic.-Reg. 1835 is —according to the new shelfmarks in Omont’s catalogue— identical with Par. gr. 1458 and does not contain Aristotle as Wollemberg says but a collection of Saints’ Lives. See OMONT (1886–1898), vol. 2, 49–50. Wollemberg might have referred to Par. gr. 1853 that is a tenth-century Aristotle.

<sup>333</sup>See the facsimile pages published by MORAUX (1967), 17–41 and plates 3–4.

<sup>334</sup>See some military manuscripts in MAZZUCCHI (1978), 276–281. See also a list of classical manuscripts with characteristics: From among the criteria of DILLER (1974), 516–518 more apply to the hand of **T**: (3) open  $\vartheta$  in one stroke, especially  $\sigma\vartheta$ ; (4) ligature of  $\lambda\omicron\gamma$  and  $\lambda\omicron\iota$ , the  $\omicron$  in the form of a low knot continuous with the preceding and following letter; (5)  $\rho$  and  $\varphi$  joining the following letter in a large low loop. Previously  $\rho$  and  $\varphi$  did not join at all; [I would add] (6) High  $\tau$  and high majuscule  $\gamma$  and (2) ligature of  $\epsilon\pi$  with a high apex.

<sup>335</sup>About scribe Ephraim, see LAKE & LAKE (1943); DILLER (1947), 184–188; DILLER (1974); IRIGOIN (1959), 181–195; MAZZUCCHI (1978), 276–281; PERRIA (1977–1979); FONKIČ (1979), 158; PRATO (1982); RGK 3A, n° 196; and MAZZUCCHI (1994), 165–176.

colophons of the manuscripts copied by Ephraim assign his activity to the years around AD 948, 954, and 947 or 962.<sup>336</sup> He is credited to have been the scribe of some other luxury manuscripts containing colophons without dates.<sup>337</sup> The Ephraim mentioned in some letters of Anonymous Professor is likely to be identical with the scribe Ephraim.<sup>338</sup> Therefore, it seems possible to assume that **T** was copied by a scribe from the circle where Ephraim was educated and working. The script close to the hand of Ephraim seems to have been used in the subsequent decades after Constantine VII's death in the third quarter of the tenth century.<sup>339</sup> Based on the likely dating of the decoration of the frontispieces of **T**, I suggest a date to the early years of the last third of the tenth century.<sup>340</sup>

The body text of **T** is copied in semi-formal calligraphic minuscule script written across the guiding line featuring numerous informal elements (see fig. 2.8). Several majuscule letters appear in the text (B, E, Z, K, Ξ). In the body text, majuscule T and Γ often exceed the other letters at the end of the lines and in the margins when

<sup>336</sup>(1) Mount Athos, Vatopedi, n° 949. *Tetraevangelium* with ruling type: LAKE & LAKE (1934–1939) I, 35a. The writing lays on the ruled lines. There are quire signatures in the left-hand lower corner of the last verso of each quire. The colophon was copied by a scribe from the lost original in the space left blank after the last text in the manuscript: ἐξενεγράψυ· χυρι εφραιμ μ(ονα)χ(ου) εν μεραις ιε' μη(νι) νο(εμβριου) κγ' ινδ(ικτιωνος) ζ' ετους ςυνζ' [AD 948]. LAKE & LAKE (1934–1939), vol. iii, n° 86, plates 152–153.

(2) Venice, Marc. gr. 201. Aristotle with ruling type I, 18a. The writing lays across the ruled lines. The colophon says at the end in the hand and the ink of the body text: εγγραφη χειρι εφραιμ μηνι νοεμβριου ιγ' ετους ςυςγ' [AD 954]. LAKE & LAKE (1934–1939), vol. ii, n° 44, Intro, plates 80–81, and 85.

(3) Rome, Vat. gr. 124: Polybius I–V. The colophon says on 304r: ἐγρά(φη) χειρὶ ἐφραίμ μο(να)χ(οῦ) μ(ηνὶ) ἀπριλλίῳ ε' ινδ(ικτιωνος) ε'. DILLER (1947), 186. The dating is possible on the *indictio* and may be solved as AD 947 or 962. Now the date 962 is more widely accepted in scholarship. *RGK* 3A, n° 196.

<sup>337</sup>(1) Athens, National Library, n° 1, 345r: ἐγράφη χειρὶ ἐφραίμ μοναχοῦ...

(2) Mount Athos, Lavra, n° 184 or B 64, cod. Acts 1739: the Pauline Epistles and the Acts with commentary (its colophon on 102r: διὰ τὴν ἀγάπην τοῦ χ(ριστο)ῦ ὁ ἀναγινώσκων ὑπερευξάσθω τῆς ἀμαρτωλῆς ψυχῆς τοῦ γράψαντος ἐφραίμ μοναχοῦ ἰλάσθη μοι τῷ ἀμαρτολῷ ἀμήν).

<sup>338</sup>*Anonymi Professoris Epistulae*, ed. MARKOPOULOS (2000), n° 12, 62, 64, 72

<sup>339</sup>MAZZUCCHI (1978), 276–282.

<sup>340</sup>Diether Reinsch dates the *codex Peirescianus* to the eleventh century. SOTIROUDIS (1989b), 169. In the international conference “Centre and Periphery in the Age of Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos: from *De cerimoniis* to *De administrando imperio*”, held in Budapest, November 2009, P. Schreiner expressed the same doubts concerning the dating. The control of dating the decoration of **T** and the reconsideration of the hand of **T** convinced me to expand the possible time-frame with a couple of decades but certainly not more. It seems unlikely that **T** is later than the early eleventh century.

## 2. The Material Evidence

	minuscule	majuscule	ligatures
A			
B			
Γ			
Δ			
E			
Z			
H			
Θ			
I			
K			
Λ			
M			
N			
Ξ			
O			
Π			
P			
Σ			
T			
Υ			
Φ			
X			
Ψ			
Ω			

Figure 2.8.: The hand of the main scribe in T

the main scribe wanted to save space. The frequent ligatures of letter alpha (-αγ-, -αζ-, -αξ-), two types of the minuscule epsilon (type 1: -εγ-, -ει-, -ετ-, -ευ-, -εχ-; type 2: -επ-, -ελ-, -εν-; both types in ligature -εξ-), theta (-θα-, -θε-, -θη-), sigma (-σε-, -σθ-, -σχ-), lambda (-λογ-, -λου-), ypsilon (-υν-, -υσ-, -υι-) seem to characterize the hand of the main scribe. In the margins, the second tau of the -ττ-ligature is written with a letter resembling gamma and as common in this period, majuscules and minuscules are combined in ligatures (e.g., -κα-). The breathings in the script have rectangular shape. Iota adscript is indicated, accentuation is marked (the circumflex is put above the breathing) except for proper names. Abbreviations are abundant. Apart from the usual *nomina sacra*, abbreviation by contraction is also applied for such secular words as e.g., ὕακινθος. Suspension of the last few letters of a word also appears.<sup>341</sup> (two types of καί, -σθαί, περί, φησί appear. Diaeresis is consequently used above iota ĭ and ypsilon ü for indicating the beginning of the word in case of proper names instead of using a breathing for this purpose. In common names breathings and accents may also be applied above the diaeresis (̈ı). There is a sort of word division (according to meaning) applied throughout the codex. However, these divisions do not often follow the sense of the text.<sup>342</sup>

The phenomenon that the proportion of abbreviated and not abbreviated words varies in various parts of T shows the effort of the main scribe to keep a defined spacial division, which seems to have differed from what the main scribe found in his exemplar. His effort is now illustrated through few examples. In some cases, the main scribe finished the excerpt at the beginning or in the middle of the last line of the page (e.g., ff. 46v, 119v, 166v, 179r, 186r, 209r, 210r, 245v, 267v, 253v, 296v). The opposite solution, i.e. that a new excerpt begins in the last line of the page only rarely happens as is the case on ff. 7r, 194r, 192v, 306r-v, or at the end of a line on f. 127v. Some texts go beyond line 32 on ff. 87v, 95v, 102r, 107r, 114v,

<sup>341</sup>At the ending of a line, a horizontal stroke at the end of the line (—) for -ος endings (-τος, -vos endings with -τ°, -ν°).

<sup>342</sup>See Büttner-Wobst's examples in his edition in EV 1, xxv-xxvii; BOISSEVAIN (1895), vol 1, xiv-xvi.

## 2. The Material Evidence

122v, 134r, 150r, 314v, 235v, 281v, 314v, occasionally despite the fact that the next page does not begin with a new excerpt (ff. 122v–123r, ff. 314v–315r). In a few cases, moreover, there are thirty-three lines to a page (one more than the usual), as on f. 117r and f. 306 with a marginal note in the lower margin. Both cases occur in the excerpts from Polybius' *Historiae*, with the last excerpt from book 10 and book 20, respectively, units consisting of ten books. Extensive blank space is left between words in the middle of an excerpt on ff. 67v, 157v, 237v, 241r, 274r, preceding and following an epigram copied in majuscules on f. 101v, and paratexts such as editorial notes in the body of the text (e. g., ff. 91v, 101v, 153r, 227v, 318v). The main scribe left an unusually large blank space between two excerpts on f. 175r.

The various pieces of evidence illustrating the scribal reactions towards the exemplar may give some indications to decipher the mysterious method of transferring the text from the complete historical works to the final Constantinian copies. This problem has not been addressed in scholarship so far. Considering the careful design, decoration structure, high quality of both the material support and the text it carries—that should be viewed as such despite the textual deficiencies—I cannot imagine that the final copies were made directly from the complete texts. There should have been intermediary or draft copies that connected the heavily annotated historical texts and the lucid final copies that were even amended very soon after all the texts had been copied in the luxury codices. The aim at improving the quality of the final copies appears in the tiny minuscule letters such as deletions and some small letters correcting the mistakes above the line in a corrector's hand. Most of these amendments, carried out after the main scribe had accomplished the copy, are referred to in the apparatuses of Büttner-Wobst's and Roos's edition.

The rapid multiplication of various mistakes in the final texts and the aim at their correction in the last step of the editorial process demonstrate that the production of *CE* necessarily took place through the hands of several people with varying commands of Greek. The process of transcribing, probably sometimes involving dictation, multiplied the deficiencies of the text in a way deceiving the scholar who

expects a direct transliteration from a single copy by a single scribe.<sup>343</sup> The complexity of transcription may explain the difficulties of locating the the historical works of certain historians as they feature in *CE* in the parallel traditions of these historical texts. For this reason, one should not expect a certain level of perfection in the texts of extensive lengths to be deconstructed and restructured in a short span of time by using a meticulous but unusual method. Thus, one can perhaps more easily understand the same phenomena of various scribal shortcomings observed in other manuscripts that were produced in imperial circles such as in the Leipzig copy of the *De cerimoniis*,<sup>344</sup> **T** also has more scribal mistakes than we can expect from a scribe working on a copy for the emperor. In addition to the usual itacistic and minuscule mistakes (ει-η-ι-οι-υ and ε-αι-η), other incorrect spellings due to the tenth-century pronunciation are also frequent (ο-ω, the misuse of liquid sounds such as μ, ν).<sup>345</sup>

In addition, there is a tendency of applying Greek etymologies to Latin personal names, e.g., Αἰμίλιος stands instead of Αἰμίλιος, implying an etymology from blood (αἷμα).<sup>346</sup> Some of the marginalia suggest that the excerptors were more familiar with copying theology<sup>347</sup> and philosophy<sup>348</sup> than historiography. In the margin next

<sup>343</sup> *Tam praegrandi mendorum numero quoniam scriba codicem adulteravit, non est cur miremur, quod ipse errores suos nonnunquam animadvertibat, si ea quae exaraverat denuo legebat, et aut ad supplendum, mutandum, corrigendum aut ad rasuram, quam tam saepe adhibeat, ut nullo alio codice eius aetatis equidem inveni, fugiebat.* See it in EV 1, xxvii by the editor Büttner-Wobst.

<sup>344</sup> FEATHERSTONE (2004b), 239–247.

<sup>345</sup> Cassius Dio, *Histoire romaine de Dion Cassius*, ed. E. Gros (Paris: Librairie de Firmin Didot Frères, 1845), vol. 1, vii–lxxxiv.

<sup>346</sup> **T** contains consequently the aspirated form or that without a breathing, see examples in the appendix, in the editions this phenomenon is never mentioned.

<sup>347</sup> E.g., Γρηγοριος (without accentuation in the margin of f. 67r) whose name is not mentioned in the text refers to θεολόγος in George the Monk (EV 1, 131, 7 = De Boor's edition p. 347). The excerptors never omit marking the excerpts where a theological relevance appears. E.g., περὶ τοῦ Προδρόμου (f. 76v) to the short excerpt from George the Monk on the relics of St John the Baptist (exc. 23, EV 1, 150, 11–12): Ὅτι ἐν τῇ Σεβαστοπόλει τοῦ Προδρόμου τὴν θήκην ἀνοίξαντες πυρὶ τε παρέδωσαν τὰ λείψανα καὶ τὴν κόνιν διεσχέδασαν. In **T** one finds Σεβαστω πόλει instead of Σεβαστοπόλει. It was a second hand that corrected the mistakes with a connective line below the word. George the Monk provided a detailed list of various heresies which were assiduously collected in EV. περὶ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (f. 44r to EV 1, 84, 17–26). ἀνάστημα ψυχῆς reference to Josephus, Ant. 2, 231 (EV 1, 40, 25–26). τί ἐστι Φαρισαῖος (f. 65r) to the text on EV 1, 125, 4.

<sup>348</sup> See: τί ἐστι λογισμὸς, τί ἐστι πάθος, τί ἐστι σοφία (f. 60v) to the text of Josephus Flavius (EV 1, 116, 14–19); ἰδέα (f. 60v to EV 1, 116, 21); πάθη (f. 60v to EV 1, 116, 23); θυμὸς (f. 60v to EV 1, 116, 28); σωφροσύνη (f. 61r to EV 1, 117, 5).

## 2. *The Material Evidence*

to the historical excerpts which have no relation to theology or philosophy, the scribe gives only some indication on the content (proper names) or a few remarks on rare words. All these indications come from the context of the excerpt rather than from independent knowledge. The number of abbreviations applied in the marginal entries or in the main body of the text depends on the space available to the scribe. Thus, whenever the space was too limited, the marginalia are heavily abbreviated. The number of abbreviations by suspension or by contraction in the body text is relatively small, they are applied mainly at the end of the sentences, paragraphs, lines or excerpts (e. g., the last few lines of f. 117r).

The abundant tenth-century marginalia seem to have been transferred from the draft copies by the same hand and with the same ink as those of the body text but in majuscule letters with infiltration of some minuscule elements. The most characteristic words are: ZHTEI, EN Tωι, ΠEPI, and the abbreviations by suspending the -ος endings of the words; the titles of the lost collections are often abbreviated. It happened only twice (f. 172v and f. 228r) that a hand corrected the marginalia in red, as was shown above. These instances also corroborate the hypothesis that the excerpts belonging to the same collection had been copied in a draft version which was then used again during the correction of the final copies and probably elsewhere too. The various types of the tenth-century marginalia and their functions are analyzed in a separate chapter (ch.3.2) and will be edited in the appendix with their idiosyncratic orthography preserved (app. A) because they yield information not only concerning the purpose of compiling the Constantinian collections but also on the methods with which this project was carried out.

Apart from the marginal entries put down in the hand of the main scribe, two Byzantine hands can be differentiated that marked the codex. One hand that is not much later in date than **T** noted in the margin to a passage on the council of Nicaea.<sup>349</sup> On f. 155v, there are notes in signs that have not been deciphered yet.<sup>350</sup>

<sup>349</sup>**T**, f. 76r: George the Monk, exc. 19, EV 1, 149, 13–29, De Boor, 508): *περὶ ἐπισκόπων κατηγορηθέντων τί ἐποίησεν ὁ μέγας βασιλεὺς ὁ ἅγιος Κωνσταντῖνος*.

<sup>350</sup>EV, 1, 353. See the facsimile of this page in PARMENTIER-MORIN (2002), 479.



There are also many later marginal entries, however, not preceding a date before the sixteenth century. Leaving the imperial library in a relatively early date must have been the only chance to avoid sharing the faith of the other fellow codices of *CE* that were completely demolished except for codices such as **T**, as well as **V**, and the old relatives of *EL* (probably Escorial: Y.I.4, burnt in 1671) and the archetype of *EI*. It is difficult to explain otherwise why *CE*, available in a single set of final copies, were completely neglected in the subsequent centuries in Byzantium if these volumes had remained accessible in the Imperial Palace.

## 2.3. Excerpta de sententiis: Vat. gr. 73 (V)

**Material:** Parchment [ruling: 20C1 SAUTEL (1995) (flyleaves: paper)] – I + 333 + I' – 350 × 275 mm – text space: 260 × 200 mm, 32 lines to a page [33 lines on f. 24 (p. 47–48) and f. 31 (p. 61–62)], 45 to 54 letters to a line

**Place and Time:** Constantinople, commissioned by Constantine Porphyrogennetos (945–959); imperial scriptorium, cf. IRIGOIN (1959), 177–181; from Constantine VII (945–959) to Basil II (976–1025).

**Hand(s):** Semi-formal calligraphic minuscule script written across the guiding line with frequent ligatures, very close to scribe Ephraim. The hand of ES shares all the characteristics of the **T** (*codex Peirescianus*), as far as it is possible to observe from the facsimiles published by Boissevain and Mai [cf. About the scribal habit of this manuscript, see ES, xvii–xix, the facsimile of f. 146 in the appendix, and MAI (1827), the page preceding his edition].

*Nomina sacra* are always abbreviated with the usual contractions. Some other words are abbreviated by contraction, i.e. with a letter put above the last letter of the first syllable of a word such as Ἀθηνᾶς ES 306, 2, Τορκουᾶτος ES 422, 14, Μασσανάσσην ES 378, 12, παρθένου ES 337, 16, ἄνδρες, and the usual abbreviation for νομισμάτων ES 376, 13. Similarly to **T** καί is abbreviated in two ways, πρός, περί are also frequently abbreviated just as φησί and φασί. According to Boissevain, the frequency of abbreviations varies in the excerpts from different authors, e. g., in Polybius the abbreviations listed above are applied in higher abundance than in Diodorus of Sicily. It often happens that -ος ending is shortened with a superscript omicron. At the ends of the lines, final ν is often abbreviated with a vertical stroke; -ης, -ην, -ου endings are occasionally contracted. Proper names often lack accentuation. Boissevain found a smaller number of scribal mistakes than Büttner-Wobst did in **T** (*codex Peirescianus*). Boissevain corrected the mistakes of the accentuation without indication. Itacistic mistakes are frequent.

**Foliation:** Foliation features in the upper right corner of each recto page. Pagination also appears in the upper right corner of each page. Boissevain refers to pagination; I also refer to **V** with page numbers.

## 2. The Material Evidence

**Quire signatures:** ι' p. 164; βι' p. 190; γι' p. 212; δι' p. 228; ει' p. 244; ϛι' p. 276; ηι' p. 292; θι' p. 308; κ' p. 324; κα' p. 340

**Decoration:** The excerpts in **V** usually also begin with ϛι but the decorated initial of the omicron is often missing probably because the gilding was successfully removed or—because of the higher number of short excerpts—they failed to be so assiduously decorated as in **T**. Nevertheless, the decoration structure of the original codex must have been identical with that of **T**. The decorated folia, as mentioned above, were intentionally rejected in the fourteenth century when the underlying text was erased. Iota subscript is often indicated, sometimes omitted.

**State of preservation:** The text has been rewashed with chemical treatment by Angelo Mai in a way that only old inventories and some traces of the fourteenth-century Aristides' Speeches show what texts were copied on the erased text of *CE*. I quote here the description of the scrupulous and Herculean method as described by the first editor Angelo Mai who was the librarian of the Vatican in the early nineteenth century. His procedure, significant for the development of manuscript studies, yet seems edifying for scholars who may intentionally cause irreparable damage for the sake of even the most honorable purpose [cf. MAI (1827), xxxi–xxxiii, my translation from Latin].

This volume, almost of the largest size, was written in cursive but sophisticated minuscules in around the tenth century, with lemmas in red in the margin (*cum lemmatibus in margine rubricatis*), with asterisks that indicate a poem, an oracle or something notable...

And then some major difficulties arose: as the parts of various authors were mingled in the palimpsest: the names of the authors as well as the names of the books almost never occurred; the *quaternios* did not have a quire signature; the gaps in the narrative were innumerable partially introduced by the excerptor, partially by the obscurity of the script. In spite of the immense obscurity, my mind was finally brightened when I recognized that this part belongs to those once compiled at the order of Constantine Porphyrogennetos; I was not satisfied with this general awareness but I managed to identify this codex with the title of the *De sententiis*...

After establishing the basis of my work, I started deciphering and reading the codex. First, the almost buried script, thus escaping the eyesight, had to be revived through chemical treatments, which took more days, in order to regain their already vanished and half-dead sharpness, to provide the letters with a kind of colour, and to reveal them from below the shroud of the new script. You should not expect, however, that I could read the text after this preparation with ease: rather you would call it Sisypheus' stone that was to roll with infinite trials and innumerable turns: and this work exhausted me throughout the extensive palimpsest, copied in minuscules, being laborious since the codex had 354 pages of large size each of which was covered by no fewer than 32 lines. After reading through the codex especially in midday's light, in the brightest sunlight of the day, and transcribing the codex, finally, I did not have anything else to do than to distinguish the authors who were intermixed with surprising confusion; first of all, to arrange all leaves among themselves in order, then again the parts belonging to each author, after taking the leaves apart; finally to establish the old gatherings that is the quires that the scribe of the recent codex had completely disordered. If only the numbers of the old

quires had been noted! For an unknown reason or for the careless scribe, however, the general reconstruction of the quire-sequence was to be done exclusively based on the narrative and through considering the sense of the text, I yet managed to escape from this tortuous labyrinth as if relying on Ariadne's single string. This circumstance enlarged the trouble and the danger because the same content—such as the Punic war—eventually appears in the text of three authors. Thus, it required a diligent attention not to attribute all to one single author, or, what was more a risk, not to let the confusion of authors lead simultaneously to that of the material, as if taking origin from false parents so that a few authors would lack their own material while others would receive what belongs to others. This error would be ridiculous to anyone who commits it and inconvenient for the reader as well as would harm the reputation of the author. I paid primary attention not to confuse some texts, especially those of Diodorus (e.g., the war with Pyrrhus) with Dio's similar narration.

Despite the decipherment of the text, Mai's efforts caused so much damage that the codex received the nickname 'carbo' (burnt) already in the nineteenth century because of its dark colour, which made it extremely difficult to decipher its content. The fourteenth-century texts are unreadable now, which makes impossible to identify the scriptorium or the scribe who used the leaves of the ES. I managed to consult only its microfiche in the *Institut de Recherche des Histoires des Textes* (IRHT) in Paris from which no new insights can arise.

**Reconstructed sequence of leaves, losses:** When the tenth-century manuscript was re-used in the fourteenth century for copying Plato's and Aristides' texts, the original sequence of its leaves got disordered. The title pages of each excerpted author were intentionally rejected because of their decorations that made these leaves inappropriate for scraping off their surface for new texts. Without the number specifying the order of the excerpted authors that must have occurred in the rejected title pages, the original sequence of the authors cannot be entirely reconstructed. Boissevain established a certain number of textual units on the basis of their distribution on the bifolios. However, the sequence of these units cannot be defined now and it is not necessarily identical either with the one of Boissevain's edition (cf. ES, x–xvii, xxiv–xxviii) or the one of Mai's edition or Flusin's reconstruction [cf. FLUSIN (2002), 551; see an overview based on his reconstruction and in tab.3.6 on p. 203].

**Binding:** In the back board, there are the shields of Pope Leo III and cardinal J. P. Pitra.

**Possessors:** Constantinople, Imperial palace library (cf. IRIGOIN (1977a), 238–239) – Vatican, 1475, cf. The oldest inventory in of the Vatican Library in 1475, Vat. Lat. 3954, f. 61r, item 201: *Aristides ex membr. in rubeo* as edited by DEVREESSE (1965), 53, and in the inventory of 1548, item 413: *Aristidis orationes membranea in albo* (DEVREESSE (1965), 410).

**Editions:** Angelo Mai, ed. *Scriptorum veterum nova collection e vaticanis codicibus edita*, vol. 2 (Rome: Typis Vaticanis, 1827). – Boissevain, ES (1906)

**Literature:** MERCATI & DE CAVALIERI (1923), 67–78 – BOISSEVAIN (1895), xvi–xxi – Boissevain, ES, v–xxviii (1906) – PEPPINK (1935)

## 2.3.1. The Present Structure of Gatherings and Leaves

The Arabic numbers indicates pagination. The name of the excerpted historians stands also in brackets. In the edges, the numbers refer to Boissevain's edition (ES).



ES 319, 17 – [321, 5] – 322, 14 (Diod. Sic.)	235 236	237 238 (Diod. Sic.)	ES 328, 14 – [329, 20] – 331, 2
ES 394, 22 – [395, 28] – 397, 1 (Diod. Sic.)	233 234	239 240 (Diod. Sic.)	ES 401, 27 – [403, 3] – 404, 15
ES 397, 1 – [397, 34] – 399, 8 (Diod. Sic.)	231 232	241 242 (Diod. Sic.)	ES 399, 8 – [400, 16] – 401, 27
ES 322, 14 – [323, 27] – 325, 11 (Diod. Sic.)	229 230	243 244 (Diod. Sic.)	ES 325, 11 – [327, 7] – 328, 13
ES 306, 3 – [307, 18] – 309, 4 (Diod. Sic.)	251 252	253 254 (Diod. Sic.)	ES 298, 1 – [299, 5] – 300, 13
ES 290, 28 – [292, 5] – 293, 11 (Diod. Sic.)	249 250	255 256 (Diod. Sic.)	ES 272, 1 – [274, 6] – 275, 17
ES 295, 17 – [296, 22] – 298, 1 (Diod. Sic.)	247 248	257 258 (Diod. Sic.)	ES 309, 4 – [310, 8] – 311, 15
ES 392, 18 – [393, 23] – 394, 21 (Diod. Sic.)	245 246	259 260 (Diod. Sic.)	ES 404, 15 – [405, 23] – 407, 3
ES 311, 15 – [312, 20] – 313, 27 (Diod. Sic.)	267 268	269 270 (Diod. Sic.)	ES 293, 11 – [294, 15] – 295, 17
ES 344, 1 – [345, 8] – 346, 14 (Diod. Sic.)	265 266	271 272 (Diod. Sic.)	ES 346, 14 – [347, 21] – 348, 26
ES 71, 1 – [72, 18] – 73, 15 (Eunapios)	263 264	273 274 (Arrian)	ES 62, 4 – [63, 10] – 64, 18
ES 255, 29 – [257, 8] – 258, 18 (Petros Patrikios)	261 262	275 276 (Petros Patrikios)	ES 268, 16 – [269, 25] – 271, 8
ES 85, 9 – [86, 17] – 87, 21 (Eunapios)	283 284	285 286 (Eunapios)	ES 78, 11 – [79, 8] – 80, 24
ES 435, 27 – [437, 4] – 438, 10 (Cass. Dio)	281 282	287 288 (Cass. Dio)	ES 433, 17 – [434, 20] – 435, 26
ES 300, 13 – [301, 20] – 303, 2 (Diod. Sic.)	279 280	289 290 (Diod. Sic.)	ES 303, 2 – [304, 18] – 306, 3
ES 12, 18 – [13, 21] – 15, 2 (Agathias)	277 278	291 292 (Xen. Cyr.)	ES 1, 1 – [2, 11] – 3, 17
ES 253, 7 – [254, 19] – 255, 28 (Petros Patrikios)	299 300	301 302 (Petros Patrikios)	ES 241, 1 – [242, 14] – 243, 21
ES 3, 17 – [4, 22] – 5, 25 (Xen. Cyr.)	297 298	303 304 (Agathias)	ES 10, 1 – [11, 12] – 12, 18
ES 362, 19 – [363, 22] – 364, 30 (Diod. Sic.)	295 296	305 306 (Diod. Sic.)	ES 364, 30 – [366, 5] – 367, 8
ES 333, 24 – [334, 30] – 336, 9 (Diod. Sic.)	293 294	307 308 (Diod. Sic.)	ES 314, 1 – [315, 8] – 316, 19
ES 315, 15 – [416, 22] – 417, 29 (Cass. Dio)	315 316	317 318 (Cass. Dio)	ES 417, 29 – [419, 3] – 420, 7
ES 73, 15 – [74, 17] – 76, 1 (Eunapios)	313 314	319 320 (Eunapios)	ES 89, 27 – [90, 30] – 92, 5
ES 15, 3 – [16, 7] – 17, 9 (Agathias)	311 312	321 322 (Menander)	ES 23, 14 – [24, 27] – 26, 12
ES 261, 3 – [262, 15] – 263, 23 (Petros Patrikios)	309 310	323 324 (Petros Patrikios)	ES 263, 23 – [264, 31] – 266, 3
ES 358, 5 – [359, 7] – 360, 12 (Diod. Sic.)	331 332	333 334 (Diod. Sic.)	ES 369, 16 – [370, 20] – 371, 22
ES 29, 16 – [31, 6] – 32, 20 (Theophylaktos)	329 330	335 336 (Prokopios)	ES 39, 12 – [41, 1] – 42, 17
ES 266, 3 – [267, 8] – 268, 16 (Petros Patrikios)	327 328	337 338 (Petros Patrikios)	ES 258, 18 – [259, 28] – 261, 3
ES 275, 17 – [276, 24] – 278, 9 (Diod. Sic.)	325 326	339 340 (Diod. Sic.)	ES 288, 14 – [289, 19] – 290, 28
ES 281, 8 – [282, 13] – 283, 16 (Diod. Sic.)	345 346	347 348 (Diod. Sic.)	ES 283, 17 – [284, 15] – 285, 29
ES 250, 24 – [251, 28] – 253, 6 (Petros Patrikios)	343 344	349 350 (Petros Patrikios)	ES 243, 21 – [244, 30] – 245, 32
ES 18, 1 – [19, 15] – 20, 20 (Menander)	341 342	351 352 (Menander)	ES 20, 21 – [21, 27] – 23, 13
		353 354 (Diod. Sic.)	ES 391, 17 – [392, 16] – 392, 17

### 2.3.2. Reconstruction of the Tenth-century Layer

Boissevain's reconstruction is followed who used Angelo Mai's rearranging the leaves of the codex (MAI (1827), 132–134: Diodorus and p. 462–464). It is impossible to decide now which cluster of excerpted historiographers followed which other set. See an alternative suggestion in FLUSIN (2002), 545–553 (see tab. 3.6 on p. 203).

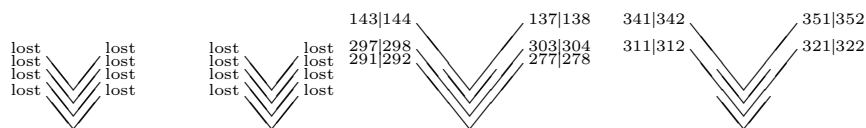


Figure 2.9.: V: unit a

(291–292, 297–298, 143–144, 137–138) **Xenophon**, *Cyropaedia*: [...] εἴτε ἄρα καὶ χρήσιμόν τι νομίζων αὐτὸν εἶναι εἴτε καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον οὕτως ἡγούμενος ... x... καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν καταιδούμενοι ποιεῖτε ἃ [...] VAT. GR. I., 75. Ed. Boissevain, *ES*, 1–9.

(303–304, 277–278, 311–312) **Agathias**: [...] μειονεκτεῖσθαι, εἰ μὴ τι καὶ μᾶλλον ὀνίνησιν ... x... Ὅτι τῶν ἀρίστων ψυχῶν ἀμβλύνεται τὸ δραστήριον, ἥνικα μὴ ἐπαινοῖντο μηδὲ τοῦ πρόποντος ἀπολαύειν· ἐνθὲνδε τὰ κοινὰ καταδεέστερα γίγνεται [...] VAT. GR. I., 76. Ed. Boissevain, *ES*, 10–17.

## 2. The Material Evidence

(341–342, 351–352, 321–322) **Menander**: [...] λέξεως εὐγενεῖ ὅσον τῇ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀφηγήσει καρποῦσθαι θαρρήσας ... x ... Ὅτι ὁ Θεόγνης εὐρηκῶς Ῥωμαίους ἀτρέμα διάγοντας τῷ τοὺς ἀρτιμαθεῖς τὰ πλείστα [...] VAT. GR. I., 76–77. Ed. MAI (1827), 352–364; Boissevain, *ES*, 18–26.

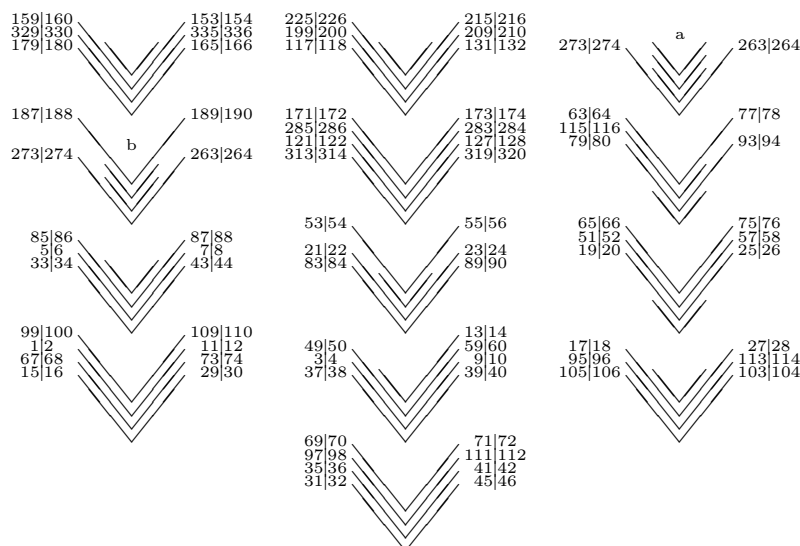


Figure 2.10.: V: unit b

(179–180, 329–330, 159–160) **Theophylaktos Simokattes**: [...] χάρις, ἅτε νῆσος, ἀπείριτος ἐστεφάνωται. τέλος τοῦ διαλόγου ... x ... οἱ γὰρ συνεργάται τῆς τυραννίδος ὑπὸ τοῦ Φωκᾶ διεφθάρησαν. τέλ(ος) τῆς ἱστορίας Θεοφυλάχτου. [...] VAT. GR. I., 75. Ed. Boissevain, *ES*, 27–35.

(153–154, 335–336, 165–166, 117–118, 199–200, 225–226) **Prokopios, Bella**: [...] μένη πάντα καλύπτει τὰ τοῦ πολέμου πάθη ... x ... Ὅτι πληθὸς ἀναρχὸν ἄλλως τε καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὑπο σπανίζον ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι ἤμισα [...] VAT. GR. I., 71. Ed. Boissevain, *ES*, 36–54.

(215–216, 209–210, 131–132, 273–274) **Arrian**: [...] ἓνα, Ἀλέξανδρόν τε ἀγασθέντες οὔτε δέει οὔτε κατ' ὠφέλειαν πρεσβεῦσαι παρ' αὐτόν ... x ... καὶ οὖν καὶ ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἀποθανὼν τοσοῦτο [...] VAT. GR. I., 74. Ed. Boissevain, *ES*, 55–64.

Reconstruction b inserts Appian fragments between Arrian and Eunapios:

(187–188, 189–190) **Appian**: [...] μαίων καταπεπληγμένων καὶ ἐνδοιαζόντων ἔφη, τοῖς παῖσιν αὐτόν ἄγειν κελεύσας εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον ... x ... καὶ τὰς βλάβας τοῖς παρεσπονδημένοις ἀποδοῦναι, ὁ Φίλιππος τὰ μὲν [...] VAT. GR. I., 76. Ed. MAI (1827), 366–367; Boissevain, *ES*, 65–70.

**Priskos**: Boissevain, *ES*, pref. and p. 71.

(263–264, 313–314, 121–122, 285–286, 171–172, 173–174, 283–284, 127–128, 319–320, 79–80, 115–116, 63–64, 77–78) **Eunapios**: [...] [in majuscules] ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας Εὐναπίου Σαρδιανοῦ τῆς μετὰ Δέξιππον νέας ἐκδόσεως. [in minuscules] Οὐκ ἀγνοίᾳ τῶν τῆς ἱστορίας χρόνων δεύτερον Εὐνάπιον τόνδε κατετάξαμεν Πρίσκου ... x ... ἐν τῷ διαφαίνεσθαι ὅτι μόνος Στελίχων ὑπὲρ ἀνθρωπίνην ἐν [...] VAT. GR. I., 70–71. Ed. MAI (1827), 247–295; Boissevain, *ES*, 71–103.

(93–94, 33–34, 5–6, 85–86, 87–88, 7–8, 43–44, 83–84, 21–22, 53–54, 55–56, 23–24, 89–90, 16–16, 67–68, 1–2, 99–100, 109–110, 11–12, 73–74, 29–30, 105–106, 95–96, 17–18, 27–28, 113–114, 103–104) **Polybius**, *Historiae*: τῆς τύχης μεταβολὰς γενναίως ὑποφέρειν τὴν τῶν ἀλλοτρίων περιπετειῶν ὑπόμνησιν ... × ... καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν βίβλων καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῆς ὁ-  
λης πραγματείας. [in majuscules] [Ζητεῖ ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ τίς τί ἐξευρε.] Τέλος τῆς Πολυβίου  
ἱστορίας λόγου λθ' ζήτει τὸν μ' λόγον Περὶ γνωμικῶν ἀποστομισμάτων. VAT. GR. I., 68–70.  
Ed. MAI (1827), 369–461; Boissevain, *ES*, 104–222.

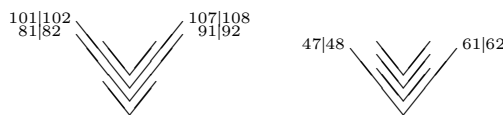


Figure 2.11.: V: unit c

(p. 81–82, 101–102, 107–108, 91–92, 47–48) **Dexippos** [...] τὸ αὔχημα, ὃ κέκτηται, μὴ κα-  
ταλύσασα, πρὸς δὲ τῷδε καὶ ἄρχειν ἐτέρων δικαιοῦσα ... × ... Ὅτι ἀνὴρ ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου τὴν  
ἀρχὴν ἔχων καὶ πολιτεύων ἄριστα πείθοιν [...] VAT. GR. I., 70. Ed. MAI (1827), 319–330;  
Boissevain, *ES*, 223–237.

(61–62) **Iamblichus**: [not well readable] ... × ... οὐδένα φοβοῦμαι ἢ μὴ φοβηθεῖσα νύκτας  
μηδὲ σταυρούς [...] VAT. GR. I., 70. Ed. MAI (1827), 349–351; Boissevain, *ES*, 238–240.

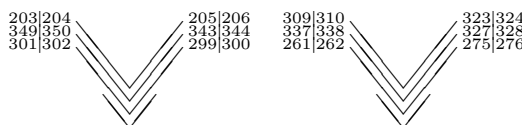


Figure 2.12.: V: unit d

(301–302, 349–350, 203–204, 205–206, 343–344, 299–300, 261–262, 337–338, 309–310, 323–  
324, 327–328, 275–276) **Petros Patrikios?**: [...] ἐπὶ πρεσβείαν πεμφθεὶς πρὸς Πέρσας, ἐφ'  
ᾧ συμμαχίαν αἰτῆσαι κατὰ Κασσίου καὶ Βρούτου ... × ... Ἀδριανὸν δὲ ἐργαλεῖον ζωγραφι-  
κόν, Μάρκον δὲ καταγέλαστον, Σευῆρον [...] VAT. GR. I., 76. Ed. MAI (1827), 197–233 as  
excerpts of Cass. Dio and p. 234–246 as excerpts of the anonymous continuator of Cass. Dio  
(from Valerianus to Constantin the Great); Boissevain, *ES*, 241–271.

(255–256, 325–326, 207–208, 345–346, 347–348, 201–202, 339–340, 249–250, 269–270, 247–  
248, 253–254, 279–280, 289–290, 251–252, 257–258, 267–268, 307–308, 183–184, 235–236,  
229–230, 243–244, 237–238, 193–194, 293–294, 221–222, 119–120, 177–178, 265–266, 271–  
272, 167–168, 129–130, 219–220, 123–124, 331–332, 211–212, 295–296, 305–306, 197–198,  
333–334, 125–126, 161–162, 169–170, 213–214, 135–136, 145–146, 227–228, 175–176, 151–  
152, 353–354, 245–246, 233–234, 231–232, 241–242, 239–240, 259–260) **Diodorus of Si-  
cily**: [...] ἔτ' οἶομαι, ὦ Λυκοῦργε, ἥκεις δ' εὐνομίαν αἰτεύμενος· αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ σοι δώσω τὴν οὐκ  
ἄλλη ἐπιχθονίῃ πόλιν ἔξει ... × ... πάντα ὥς εἰπεῖν τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν τισι γεγραμμένα, συνέγραψα  
δὲ οὐ πάντα ἀλλ' ὅσα ἐξέχρινα. μὴ μέντοι μηδ' ὅτι κεκαλλιεπημένοις [...] VAT. GR. I., 71–74.  
Ed. MAI (1827), 1–134; Boissevain, *ES*, 272–407.

(195–196, 155–156, 217–218, 315–316, 317–318, 223–224, 157–158, 181–182, 133–134, 185–  
186, 287–288, 281–282, 191–192, 147–148, 163–164, 139–140, 141–141, 149–150) **Cassius**

## 2. The Material Evidence

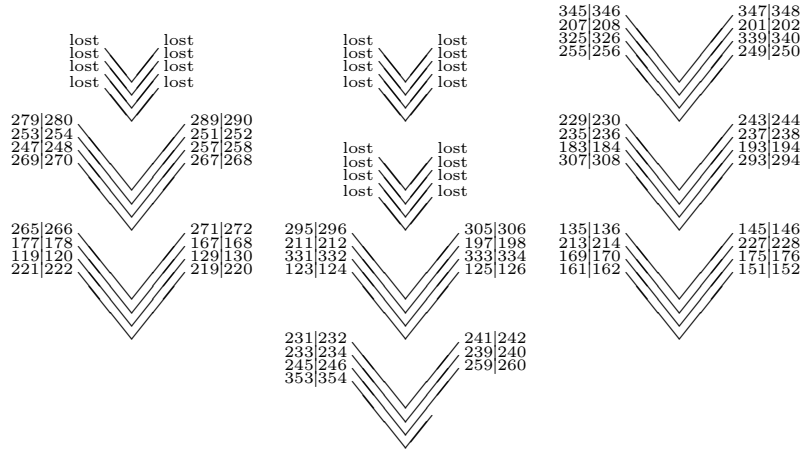


Figure 2.13.: **V**: unit e



Figure 2.14.: **V**: unit f

**Dio:** [...] πάντα ὥς εἰπεῖν τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν τισι γεγραμμένα, συνέγραψα δὲ οὐ πάντα ἀλλ' ὅσα ἐξέκρινα ... × ... τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀγνοοῦσί τι οὐδὲν ἐστι φοβερὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀπονοίας ὑπομένειν, τὸ δὲ ἐκ λογισμοῦ θαρσοῦν [...] VAT. GR. I., 74–75. Ed. MAI (1827), 135–195; Boissevain, *ES*, 408–452.

Reconstruction 'a' separates the Appian fragments



Figure 2.15.: **V**: unit g

(187–188, 189–190) **Appian:** [...] μαίων καταπεπληγμένων καὶ ἐνδοιαζόντων ἔφη, τοῖς παισὶν αὐτὸν ἄγειν κελεύσας εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον ... × ... καὶ τὰς βλάβας τοῖς παρεσπονδημένοις ἀποδοῦναι, ὁ Φίλιππος τὰ μὲν [...] Vat. gr. I., 76. Ed. MAI (1827), 366–367; Boissevain, *ES*, 65–70.



## 2.4. Later Copies of CE

In case of three collections (ELr, ELg, and EI), the tenth-century archetypes have not survived. Thus, the approximation of the tenth-century state of the Constantinian collection required clarifying which relationship the extant manuscripts, much later in date, had with their lost archetypes. It seems rather likely that the lost archetypes shared the characteristics of **T** and those of the tenth-century layer of **V**.

### 2.4.1. The Excerpts on the Embassies

There are controversial hypotheses regarding the archetypes of the collections “On the embassies sent by the Romans to the Barbarians” (ELr) and “On those sent by the Barbarians to the Romans” (ELg) in scholarly literature, as a consequence of the rather vague and scanty information on the lost source of these collections. For this reason, a short overview on the manuscript transmission of ELr and ELg seems helpful for the better understanding of the problems.

Both collections (ELr and ELg) were copied from an old codex that was burnt in a fire devastating some parts of the Escorial in 1671. The lost archetype of ELr and ELg (old shelf mark: B.I.4; later  $\Theta$ .I.4) arrived to the library of the Spanish Juan Paez from Sicily (Messina, Abbey of San Salvatore)—according to a letter written in 1556.<sup>351</sup> The information that this manuscript was a parchment codex originating from the tenth to twelfth centuries was probably taken from an old catalogue but neither Graux nor Gregorios de Andrés provide the exact source.<sup>352</sup> In order to clarify the problems, Carl de Boor analyzed an early catalogue of the Greek manuscripts in the Escorial, written by David Colvill, which seems the only source comprising valuable data on the burnt archetype.<sup>353</sup> Thus, he used the description provided in

<sup>351</sup>ANDRÉS (1968), n° 77, p. 43.

<sup>352</sup>Graux based his conclusion on some less precise sixteenth-century descriptions. GRAUX (1880), 93–97 and ANDRÉS (1968), 43.

<sup>353</sup>The early seventeenth-century catalogue by David Colvill (Ambrosianus Q 114 sup., ff. 233v–234r) contains the description of  $\Theta$ .I.4. The reference is taken from DE BOOR (1902), 148–150.

## 2. *The Material Evidence*

this catalogue to reconstruct the structure of the lost archetype. However, de Boor applied his own reconstruction in his later edition of E<sub>Lr</sub>-g with a considerable difference: he changed the original sequence of the collections as transmitted in the archetype where E<sub>Lg</sub> had preceded E<sub>Lr</sub>. In addition, de Boor assumed that the sequence of the authors were mutilated at least in E<sub>Lg</sub> and raised the hypothesis, difficult to accept, that the two collections were originally a single one which started with Prokopios and ended with Menander. Anyhow, the beginning of the collection E<sub>Lg</sub> seems damaged and a considerable amount of text must have been lost. The integrity and the structure of E<sub>Lr</sub> as preserved in the later copies are corroborated by the prooemium preceding this collection in the company of a table of contents. This arrangement is similar to that of **T**. The excerptors seem to have been uncertain as to whether to separate the two collections or not. The attribution of “Roman”—which meant also “Byzantine” in our understanding—was not obvious for the excerptors in several cases. The encounter with ideology is demonstrated by the fact that they classified the embassies sent to Alexander the Great (E<sub>Lg</sub> 513–516) as if “to the Romans” and the excerpts from Herodotus (E<sub>Lg</sub> 435–436), Thucydides (E<sub>Lg</sub> 436–438), Agathias (E<sub>Lg</sub> 438–441), and Appian (E<sub>Lg</sub> 516–568) were copied under the heading “On the embassies” in E<sub>Lg</sub> without specifying whether the excerpts narrate “on embassies sent by the Romans to the Barbarians” or vice-versa (see ch. 1.3.1, p. 39).<sup>354</sup>

After carefully comparing the description of the old catalogue with the descendants of  $\Theta$ .I.4 and the two tenth-century codices of EV and ES, de Boor found more probable that  $\Theta$ .I.4 must have belonged to the same group of codices with **T** and **V**. He rejected the possibility that  $\Theta$ .I.4 had been copied in two columns to a page as the fact that Colvill indicated two different texts (Eunapios and the preface to E<sub>Lr</sub>) on ff. 185–190 would have implied. In order to refute the logical implication of reconstructing a manuscript with two columns, de Boor calculated the text per page ratio between  $\Theta$ .I.4 and one of its direct copies (by Andreas Darmarios: Ambros. N

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<sup>354</sup>For Alexander see FLUSIN (2002), 553, n. 56.

135 sup.). He found that 3.7 pages of the codex Ambros. N 135 Sup. correspond to one page of Θ.I.4. Through Hultsch's Polybius edition, de Boor found 3.5 to 1 ratio between Ambros. N 135 Sup. and **T**. The close results convinced de Boor to suspect behind Θ.I.4 a tenth-century codex of a shape very similar to **T**.<sup>355</sup> The small difference between the ratio in **T** and that in Θ.I.4 may be explained by the small dissimilarity of the text space in **T** (270×185 mm) and that in **V** (260×200 mm).

De Boor's interpretation that the lost archetype was a copy prepared for Constantine VII has been widely accepted among scholars. Jean Irigoin developed this theory by supposing the high probability that Θ.I.4 had shared the same codicological and palaeographical characteristics with those of **T** and **V**.<sup>356</sup>

At the end of the sixteenth century, several copies were made from Θ.I.4, most of them in the workshop of Andreas Darmarios who was a famous copyist in the second half of sixteenth century.<sup>357</sup> The three earliest copies of Θ.I.4 (both ELg and ELr), made for Antonio Augustino, the archbishop of Tarragona (Spain), burnt in the great fire of the Escorial in 1671 together with the archetype.<sup>358</sup> It was Fulvio Orsini who first edited the unpublished classical fragments he found in ELg-r (Antwerp, 1582).<sup>359</sup> A few decades later, a German scholar, David Hoeschel published

<sup>355</sup>See DE BOOR (1902), 149.

<sup>356</sup>IRIGOIN (1959), 179–180 discussed this manuscript as a probable production of the tenth-century imperial centre of copy.

Ce qui semble confirmer cette vue, c'est qu'il ne nous est parvenu aucune copie d'époque byzantine ni des trois premiers manuscrits, ni de ceux, incomparablement plus nombreux, qui appartenaient à la même collection? Les extrait *περὶ ἐπιβουλῶν* ne nous sont connus que par une copie du XVI<sup>e</sup> s., le Scorialensis Ω I. 11; des extraits *περὶ πρεσβέων*—contenus dans un manuscrit de la même bibliothèque, qui, d'après la date qu'on lui attribuait, se rattacherait à notre groupe, mais a disparu dans l'incendie de 1671.

Later he seems more convinced: "il y a donc de fortes chances qu'il ait été le frère ou le cousin des deux témoins originaux de la collection." See the quotation in IRIGOIN (1977a), 239.

<sup>357</sup>RGK A 29–32, B 14.

<sup>358</sup>DE BOOR (1902), 147; GRAUX (1880), 93–97.

<sup>359</sup>Fulvio Orsini, *Ἐκ τῶν Πολυβίου τοῦ Μεγαλοπολίτου ἐκλογαὶ περὶ πρεσβειῶν. Ex libris Polybii Megalopolitani selecta de Legationibus et alia quae sequenti pagina indicantur: nunc primum in lucem edita ex bibliotheca Fulvi Ursini* (Antwerp: Ex Officina Christophori Plantini, 1582). [on the verso of the page]: *Fragmenta ex historiis quae non extant: Dionysii Halicarnassei, Diodori*

Table 2.1.: The structure of the burnt archetype of ELr-g ( $\Theta$ .I.4)

	ff.		coll.	author
1	–	70	ELg	Polybius
70	–	76B		Josephus
76B	–	79		Zosimos
79	–	82		Dexippus
82	–	84		Socrates
84	–	87		Petros Patrikios
87	–	94		Diodorus of Sicily
94	–	106		Dio Cassius
106B	–	107		Herodotus
107	–	108		Thucydides
108	–	110		Agathias
110	–	129		Menander
129	–	134		Theophylaktos Simokattes
134B	–	147		Prokopios
147	–	148		Arrian
148	–	174		Appian
174B	–	178		Malchos
178	–	185		Priskos
185	–	190		Eunapios
187	–	190	ELr	proœmium
		190		1. Petros Patrikios
190B	–	191B		2. George the Monk
		191B		3. John of Antioch
192	–	198		4. Dionysius of Halicarnassus
198	–	222		5. Polybius
222	–	226		6. Appian
226	–	229		7. Zosimos
		229		8. Josephus Flavius
229B	–	230		9. Diodorus of Sicily
230	–	234		10. Dio Cassius
		234		11. Arrian
234B	–	249		12. Prokopios
249B	–	266		13. Priskos
266	–	273		14. Malchos
273	–	301		15. Menander
301	–	305		16. Theophylaktos Simokattes

those Byzantine authors whose excerpts had been omitted from Orsini's edition (Augsburg, 1603) and later expanded his edition with the excerpts from Theophylaktos Simokattes (Augsburg, 1648). It was the latter one that was reprinted in CSHB with some corrections by Niebuhr (Bonn, 1829) and in PG 113 by Migne. The first edition of the entire collection was accomplished by Carl de Boor who changed the sequence of collections ELg and ELr against the textual tradition for practical reasons (Berlin, 1903).

The analysis of the textual tradition of ELr and ELg demonstrates that each collection (ELr and ELg) have separate manuscript traditions yet both originate from  $\Theta$ .I.4.<sup>360</sup> As far as the transmission of ELg is concerned, a codex in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana (A=Ambrosianus N 135 sup.) was copied directly from  $\Theta$ .I.4 by Andreas Darmarios.<sup>361</sup> The manuscript tradition of ELr is similar. According to Carl de Boor, only an Escorial copy (Ea=R.III.14) derives directly from  $\Theta$ .I.4.<sup>362</sup> Krašeninnikov made further effort to clarify the interrelation of the manuscripts of the ELr and ELg.<sup>363</sup> He discovered a new manuscript that was not known by Carl de Boor (Cambridge, Trinity College, O. 3. 23).<sup>364</sup> I succeeded in identifying a hitherto unknown manuscript of EL (cod. 407, ff. 39–192) in the Vatopedi Monastery, Mt. Athos),<sup>365</sup> which, however, has little significance for studying the textual tradition of the text because it contains an eighteenth-century copy of Hoeschel's edition (Augsburg, 1648).

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*Siculi, Appiani Alexandrini, Dionys. Cassii Nicoei de Legationibus. Dionys. Lib. LXXIX et LXXX imperfectus. Emendationes in Polybium impressum Basileae per Ioannem Heruagium anno MDXXIX.* See also DE NOLHAC (1887), 46–48.

<sup>360</sup>DE BOOR (1902), 154–164 and ELr, vii–xxi. See the codices of ELg (A, Ba, Ec, Mb, N, Pa–c, V partially) and ELr (Ba, Ea, Eb, Ma, Pd, V partially).

<sup>361</sup>See its description in MARTINI & BASSI (1906), 660–661. On Andreas Darmarios, see RGK 1A no. 13 with bibliography on p. 29–32.

<sup>362</sup>For the codices Bruxellensis 11301–21, see JUSTICE (1896) and BÜTTNER-WOBST (1901), 66–69.

<sup>363</sup>KRAŠENINNIKOV (1901, 1903, 1904, 1905).

<sup>364</sup>KRAŠENINNIKOV (1914), 45–170.

<sup>365</sup>EUSTRATIADES (1924), 78.

## 2. The Material Evidence

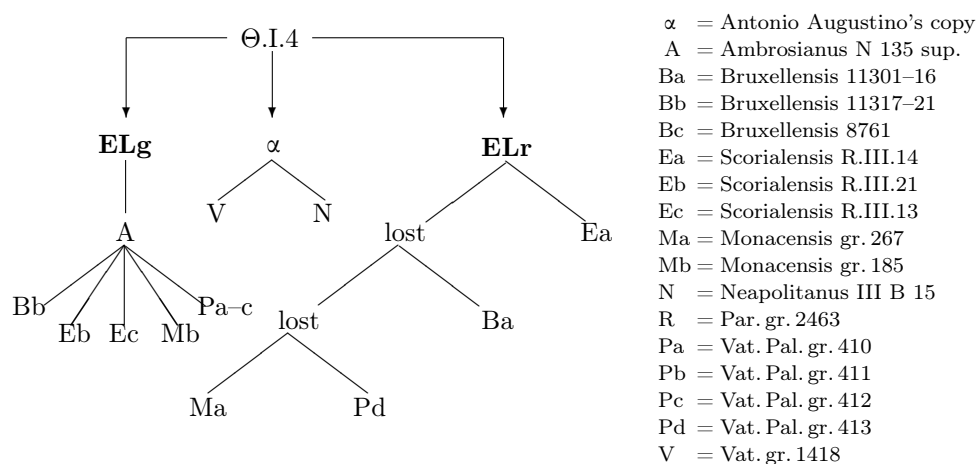


Figure 2.16.: The stemma of the manuscript of ELg-r according to de Boor

### “False Excerptors” of ELr

In a copy of the collection “On embassies sent by the Romans to the Barbarians”, there is a possible reference to a participant: ὁ ἐρανίσας τὸ παρὸν Θεοδόσιος ὁ μικρός (=Theodosios the Younger assembled the present [volume]).<sup>366</sup> This sentence was copied in a hand different from that of the text body in the upper margin of the Brussels codex and has been interpreted as originating from the archetype of ELg-r. It is impossible to decide whether this hypothesis is correct. Two facts, however, rather support the opposite idea. The manuscript directly copied from the exemplar of ELg-r does not contain this scribal entry but instead gives a later reference to Fabricius.<sup>367</sup> The Bruxellensis (cod. 11301-16) is not a direct copy. The information is written in a different hand so it comes from elsewhere. Kresten suggests that Theodosius the Younger is an author’s name.<sup>368</sup> I would rather join Moore’s suggestion that Theodosios was a scribe in Andreas Darmarios’ scriptorium where Bruxellensis (cod. 11301-16) was copied.<sup>369</sup>

<sup>366</sup>Cod. Bruxellensis 11301-16, f. 2r, see its facsimile in fig. C.9 on p. 386. See JUSTICE (1896), 31; BÜTTNER-WOBST (1906), 100; and SCHREINER (1987), 25.

<sup>367</sup>Scorialensis R.III.14, f. 1r, see its facsimile in fig. C.10 on p. 386: in the margin on f. 1r, see *Theodosii ut videtur qui fuisse Constantini Porphyrogeniti eas collegisse προοιμιον dicitur de Fabricio T. vi p. 238*.

<sup>368</sup>SCHREINER (1987), 25, n. 66.

<sup>369</sup>MOORE (1965), 165.

It is worth noting that Orsini, the first editor of EL attributed ELr to John Constantinopolitanus.<sup>370</sup> Colvill mentioned in his catalogue that a recent hand copied the reference to his name in the archetype of ELr (Θ.I.4) and in one of its later copies.<sup>371</sup> Since both manuscripts vanished in the fire of 1671 devastating the Escorial, one cannot argue that John Constantinopolitanus assembled the collection on the embassies of the Romans. Moore admits that this note is a late guess concerning the authorship, not made before the Renaissance.<sup>372</sup>

### 2.4.2. Excerpts on Ambushes

The collection “On ambushes” (EI) is preserved in a sixteenth-century codex, comprising a selection of passages of historians mainly from classical antiquity. This manuscript (Scorialensis Ω.I.11, ff. 74r–196v) contains a relatively short, corrupted, and fragmentary part of the former Constantinian collection of EI.<sup>373</sup> This part of the manuscript was copied by two hands, that of Nicolas Murmur (ff. 74–105) and that of Ioannes Mauromata (ff. 107–196v). As regards the structure of the exemplar the two scribes used, it seems significant to observe that there is a break in the middle of EI marked not only by the change of scribes but also by a new system of quire signatures: ff. 1–106 (α′–ιγ′ = 1–13) and f. 107–197 (α′–ιβ′ = 1–12). Nicolas Murmur of Nauplion was a scribe active in Venice in the mid-sixteenth century. He copied manuscripts from 1541–1543 for Diego Hurtado de Mendoza; that is how Ω.I.11 finally entered the Escorial.<sup>374</sup> His colleague was also active in Venice between 1550 and 1563.<sup>375</sup> Two hands other than the two scribes corrected the text at several points (S1 and S2 in de Boor’s edition). One of them can be identified with the hu-

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<sup>370</sup>GRAUX (1880), 96.

<sup>371</sup>*Ioannis Constantinopolitani (ut ei attribuitur manu recentiori) eclogae historiarum digestae libris 53 ut dicitur in I.Θ.4 p. 187 et IV.H.8 p. 3.* The quotation is taken from MOORE (1965), 165.

<sup>372</sup>MOORE (1965), 165.

<sup>373</sup>See its description in ANDRÉS (1967), 131–133; MILLER (1848), 460–462; DILTS (1965), 63–64; SOTIROUDIS (1989b), 174–178.

<sup>374</sup>RGK 1A 314bis, p. 164

<sup>375</sup>RGK 1A 172, p. 100.

Table 2.2.: The structure of Scorialensis  $\Omega$ .I.11

f-f	work (and scribe)
1–67v	Aelianus: <i>Variae historiae</i> (copied by Andronico Nuccio, Venice, 1543)
67v–72v	Heraclides Lembus: <i>Excerpta ex Aristotelis Politeia</i> (f. 73: blank)
74–196v	<i>Excerpta de insidiis</i> , copied by
74–105	Nicolas Murmuris de Nauplia
107–196v	Juan Mauromata de Corfu (f. 197: blank)
198–324v	Polyaenus: <i>Strategica</i> (copied by Pedro Carnabaca, f. 325: blank)
326–334	Leo VI: <i>Constitutio militaris XIX de navali proelio</i>
324v–337v	Agathemerus: <i>Geographica informatio</i>
337v–340v	Anonymus: <i>Ratio geographiae in sphaera intelligendae</i>
341–348	Anonymus: <i>Geographia compendiararia</i>
349–353v	Iustinus Philosophus: <i>Confutatio quorundam Aristotelis dogmatum</i>

manist Arnold Arlenius Peraxylus (around 1510–1574) who corrected manuscripts that were copied for Mendoza in Venice.<sup>376</sup> Carl de Boor published the text of EI according to  $\Omega$ .I.11 (Berlin, 1906).

Besides  $\Omega$ .I.11, the fragments from John of Antioch appear in a sixteenth-century codex in Paris as well. Par. gr. 1666 (earlier Fontembl. – Reg. 2540) is a paper codex with 148 leaves (289×213 mm) furnished by the deluxe leather binding of Henry II, king of France (1547–1559) and consists of two parts. Part (1) contains books 15–19 from the *v* by Diodorus of Sicily (ff. 1–96v), part (2) embraces the incomplete set of John of Antioch’s excerpts from the collection “On ambushes” (ff. 97–146). Sotiroudīs did not succeed in identifying the three watermarks he found in the paper of the codex.<sup>377</sup> Judging by the script, however, he dates the part with the excerpts taken from John of Antioch to the sixteenth century. Under the decorated headpiece there is the title “On ambushes that took place against the emperors”.<sup>378</sup> The name of John of Antioch is missing, as are the names of the other authors in the final copies of *CE*. In the margins there is a high number of scholia (mostly names), functioning as an index similar to the marginal indices of **T** and almost identical

<sup>376</sup>SOTIROUDIS (1989b), 177. See RGK 1A n° 28.

<sup>377</sup>SOTIROUDIS (1989b), 178–184.

<sup>378</sup>See the title pages (περὶ ἐπιβουλῶν κατὰ βασιλέων γεγонуῶν) in both manuscripts of EI in figs. C.11 and C.12 on p. 387.



with the marginal entries of Ω.I.11—which has some more names—even with regard to the means of abbreviating them. There are some ση(μείωσαι) signs as well.

The almost identical marginal indexing, their identical abbreviation system as well as the numbers in the Ω.I.11 specifying Nicolas of Damascus (α'), John of Antioch (β'), George the Monk (δ'), and Diodorus of Sicily (ε'), moreover, the calligraphic majuscules applied in the titles, specifying the Constantinian collection instead of the excerpted historian, and in the initial of the first excerpt, all these features may indicate that both sixteenth century scribes of Ω.I.11 had a copy at their disposal which was very similar to **T** and both codices originate from the single set of final copies of *CE*. This hypothesis might be corroborated with some frequent types of scribal mistakes which are easy to explain by the characteristics of a hand similar to the one of **T** (ch. 2.2.5, p. 120).

De Boor's conclusion based on the analysis of the scribal mistakes in Ω.I.11 does not seem tenable. He concluded that the exemplar of Ω.I.11 was a later Byzantine copy with a higher number of abbreviations, moreover different from **T**. To the contrary, almost all the elements of his list of the characteristic scribal mistakes in the *Scorialensis* Ω.I.11 can be explained by the characteristics of the hand of **T** (see above on fig. 2.8 on p. 122).<sup>379</sup> The contracted words in EI such as ὑπαρχον, κλυταιμνήστρα, ἔδωκε, λευκάδα share the logic of abbreviations in **T** and **V**. The confusion of letters and ligatures in Ω.I.11 provides a good summary of the peculiarities of the minuscule hand of **T** (see fig. 2.8). The sigmas missing from -ος endings (e.g., κἀνδυο instead of κἀδυσος) correspond with the frequent suspensions of -ος endings in **T**.<sup>380</sup> The confusion of β and μ, β and χ,<sup>381</sup> κ and η, α and β (αίου instead of βίου, κίμαρος instead of κίμβρος, αἰθυσῶν instead of βιθυσῶν), α and αι ligature (δωμαιτίο instead of δωματίο, οἰνόμαιος instead of οἰνόματος, οὐχαινοῶν instead of οὐχ

<sup>379</sup>EI, xviii–xx.

<sup>380</sup>An example for *nomen sacrum*: on f. 135r of Par. gr. 1666, the abbreviation  $\overline{v\upsilon}$  is solved in the margin as υἰοῦ. See EI 112,30, not mentioned in the critical edition.

<sup>381</sup>E.g., EI 70,5: βάσσιος instead of κάσσιος; EI 68,19: βεβίλιον corr. κελίλιον.

## 2. The Material Evidence

$\acute{\alpha}\gamma\nu\omicron\tilde{\omega}\nu$ ),  $\pi\tau$  with  $\sigma\pi$  and  $\sigma\tau$ ,  $\mu$  with  $\lambda\nu$ ,  $\rho$  with  $\nu$ , and  $\tau\gamma$  with  $\tau\tau$  can be explained by the similar appearance of these ligatures in **T**.

Another argument may help broaden our knowledge on the archetype. In the *Scorialensis* there are some cases when a text measuring a length of 38–50 letters is missing as between EI 85,7–8 (50 letters), EI 89,32–33 (48 letters), in EI 97,3–6 (45 letters), and EI 131,5 (38 letters). One could easily interpret these omissions as the scribe jumping a line when copying from the exemplar. At this point, it is worth remembering that both manuscripts **T** and **V** feature 45–54 letters to the line. All these signs suggest that the archetype was a codex belonging to the single final set of the imperial volumes like **T** and **V**. The sequence of the historians in the Escorial manuscript is the following:

Table 2.3.: The sequence of the historians in *EI*

	<i>Scor.</i>	$\Omega$ .I.11	EI	historian
		(ff.)	(pp.)	
1	( $\alpha'$ )	74v–105r	1–58	Nicolas of Damascus
2	( $\beta'$ )	107r–154v	58–150	John of Antioch
3		155r–168v	151–176	John Malalas
4	( $\delta'$ )	169r–175v	176–190	George the Monk
5	( $\epsilon'$ )	176r–187v	190–212	Diodorus of Sicily
6		188r–196v	212–224	Dionysius of Halicarnassus
7		188v–189v	224–228	Polybius

Considering the very high probability that the two scribes used a tenth-century exemplar in Venice in the mid-sixteenth century, one would imagine a manuscript with many lost leaves and quires. Thus, the extant sixteenth century copy is a small fragmentary testimony to the erstwhile Constantinian collection “On ambushes”. However, on the basis of comparing the variant readings of the two manuscripts, Sotiroudís concludes that Par.gr.1666 has a smaller number of mistakes thus it seems to have been copied directly from the the original and  $\Omega$ .I.11 originates only from a copy of the original.<sup>382</sup> I cannot judge which of the two options is closer to

<sup>382</sup>SOTIROUDIS (1989b), 181–184. Both manuscripts are corrupted, each has a considerable number of errors disjunctive one from the other.

the reality. I would suggest a possible solution:  $\Omega$ .I.11 was probably copied from a final copy prepared from the emperor while Par.gr.1666 preserves the text of the intermediary version where John of Antioch had been separated from the other historians. The higher proportion of scribal mistakes in  $\Omega$ .I.11 may be explained with the skills of the sixteenth-century scribes rather than with the mistakes emerging in the exemplar.

## 2.5. Pseudo Collections of CE?

In the recent scholarly literature, there is an ongoing dissent in relating tenth-century historical excerpts of different kinds to Constantine VII's project. The methodological similarities, an argument of scholars a century ago, are no longer accepted as sufficient criteria for postulating a direct connection between some tenth-century historical fragments and the project of Constantine VII. The direct connection between them is refused primarily with two counterarguments.

(1) The fact that J. Irigoin's view of the imperial scriptorium (see above)<sup>383</sup> has been widely accepted has codified a set of codicological characteristics that a codex comprising excerpts from historians is expected to share in order to be classified to CE. Irigoin observed an additional characteristic namely that these codices were not consulted and copied later in Byzantium. Thus, codices coeval to Constantine VII if not sharing all features set by Irigoin are treated as independent from CE. This model would necessitate that the final Constantinian volumes such as **T** and **V** were directly copied from exemplars comprising complete texts of historians because it excludes the possibility that historical texts involved in Constantine's project could have gone beyond the narrow circle of the final Constantinian volumes. As was demonstrated above, the codices that Irigoin attributed to the imperial scriptorium range in time from the mid-tenth until the early eleventh centuries. In addition to the characteristics of the final copies, the interval dividing the activity of excerpting from

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<sup>383</sup>IRIGOIN (1959), 177–181.

## 2. *The Material Evidence*

the execution of some final copies makes it very likely to assume that intermediary versions were made in advance which could have been easily consulted by those who participated in Constantine's project and later by those who participated in preparing the final copies even a couple of decades after Constantine VII's death.

(2) In the hypothetical reconstructions of the textual transmission of certain historians, based on their variant readings, *CE* and the other types of historical excerpts occupy positions different from each other. This observation cannot exclude the possibility that the different groups of excerpts are based on the same exemplars comprising historical texts for the following reasons. The principle of establishing the various steps of transmission is based on the model of direct transmission and has not taken into account two factors that characterize the Constantinian method of excerpting. (a) The transmission between the complete historical texts and the final copies does not seem direct, thus, it very likely involved intermediate steps and multiplied the number and the character of scribal slips. (b) It also seems probable that in the process of excerpting more than one copy of the same text were occasionally employed, each of which may occupy a slightly different position in the transmission of a certain historical text. In this case the variant readings of a certain historian do not necessarily follow the traditional textual tradition if they are reconstructed as if representing a single tradition. For philologists, this methodological caveat may be important because the pure textual tradition of a certain text could easily have been mixed up if it was included in more Constantinian collections. In this way, the Constantinian collections could amalgamate more textual traditions of a certain text.

Since both arguments involves presumptions that cannot be maintained, I would rather support the criterion of methodological similarities, which can be additionally supported by the fact that this model seems to have been applied exclusively in a close context with the Byzantine emperor and in the second and third quarters of the tenth century. Two manuscripts are worth discussing here: Par. suppl. gr. 607 (**P**) and Ambros. B 119 Sup.

## 2.5.1. Par. suppl. gr. 607

**Material data:** Foliation by Mynas in the left upper corner of each verso side of Part 3 (from f. 16v:  $\alpha'=1$  to f. 103v:  $\pi\zeta'=87$ ). He followed this foliation in Part 4 (from f. 104v:  $\pi\eta'=88$  to f. 129v:  $\rho\gamma'$ )

Part 1: Fragment from the fourteenth century – text space: 215×170 mm – 31 lines to a page – ca. 60 letters to a line

Part 2: Fragment from the end of thirteenth century – text space: two columns, 210×60/65 mm each – 30 lines to a page – 16–17 letters to a line – script is from thirteenth century (Ernst Gamillscheg) – quire numbers: f. 8r lower margin right:  $\chi\beta' = 22$

Part 3, Unit 1: Constantinople – 2nd quarter of the tenth century – ruling: simple, 34 ruled lines, *punctoria* – text space: 240×150 mm – 34 lines (on f. 18r: 41 lines) to a page and 42–48 letters to a line – This script, written across the line, is leaning to the right.

Part 3, Unit 2: Constantinople – 2nd quarter of the tenth century – no ruling: – text space varies – 39 lines to a page – 62–65 letters to a line – script/scribe: similar to Stylianos (Par. gr. 781, Lake, vol. 4, n° 137; AGATİ (1992), vol. 1. p. 280–281.)

Part 3, Unit 3: Constantinople – 2nd quarter of the tenth century – ruling: simple, 34 ruled lines, *punctoria* (identical with that of part 3,1) – text space: 240×145/150 mm – 34 lines to a page – 38–44 letters to a line – The script, written across the line, is leaning to the right.

Part 4: Italy – mid-fifteenth century (after 1453) – text space: 188×110 mm – 24–25 lines to a page – 46–48 letters to a line – scribe: fifteenth-century humanist Greek hand

**Damages:** The halves of five leaves have been cut and removed (ff. 23, 32, 60, 61, and 129).

**Decoration:** Huge T initial with bird sitting on its top on f. 9r; drawings of war machines passim.

**Binding:** Renaissance Hungarian blind stamped leather binding by Lucas Coronensis (cf. the former note stuck onto the inside on the lower board Λυκας κωρονενσης ιλλ-ηγατορ ληβρορουμ βυδενσις ανν<...> 5<...> = *Lucas Coronensis illigator librorum budensis ann<...> 5<...>*), in a monastic binding workshop in Buda 1510s, 288×205 mm. Restored (before 1897). On the binding and other works from the same workshop, see ROZSONDAI (1997), the photo of the upper cover is published on p. 534, fig 2.

**Possessors:** Up to the end of the fifteenth century, Parts 1–4 were separate volumes (possibly Parts 1 and 3 constituted one volume).

All elements of Part 3 (units 1–3) were compiled in the 2nd quarter of the tenth century in Constantinople and united as a composite volume already in the mid-tenth century. This unit is attested to have been as a separate unit ca. 1470 in Rome, cf. Vienna, ÖNB, Phil. gr. 140 (the watermark of the paper: BRIQUET (1923), horn, No. 7834; HARLFINGER & HARLFINGER (1980), Horn 25), a copy by Demetrios Tri-

## 2. The Material Evidence

boles (RGK 1A No. 103) identified by Ernst Gamillscheg, see the comparison of the two texts in WESCHER (1867a), xxxv–xxxvi.

Part 4 was copied from Vat.gr.1366, a sample copy directly made by Thettalos Skutariotes in Florence or Parma for Palla Strozzi from Pal.gr.88 the main codex of Lysias. Once belonged possibly to Giovanni Aurispa, cf. SOSOWER (1987), 54–55.

The four parts were probably collected in Buda Royal Collection (called also *Corvinian Library*) (an attempt to rebind the Renaissance deluxe copy of Lysias in a gilded leather Corvina binding can be viewed behind the confusion of bifolia of Part 4, as if having been taken apart for rebinding). – Private collector in 1510–20s when rebound (probably someone from Nagyvárad, e.g., Martin Haczy/Haczius) – Gabriel, archbishop of Thessalonica (1593–1596) and the exarch of Thessaly, sixteenth century, cf. a note on f.Iv: Γαβριηλ ἐλεου θεου θεσσαλονικης ἀρχιεπισκοπος και ἐξάρχος πασης Θεσσαλιας, cf. PETIT (1901–1902), 153–154. – Mont Athos, *Vatopedi Monastery* up to 1843 – Constant Mynoides Mynas (1798–1859) who copied Part 3 Unit 3 (now: suppl.gr.485 and suppl.gr.1253) cf. OMONT (1916), 390–391, 403. – 5 April 1864: Paris, *Bibliothèque nationale*, cf. Registre C. (in pencil: No 5844 Reg. A).

### The Present and the Reconstructed Composition (P)



Figure 2.17.: Present structure: Part 1 (P, ff. 1–7)

(1r–6r) **Niketas Choniates**, *Fragment on the siege of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204*. Τὴν τοῦ Δούκα τοῖον ἐπίπληξιν καὶ ἐπιβρίμηνσιν ... x... τῶν δ' ἡλπιότων ἐπὶ Κύριον τῇ παιδείᾳ σύνδρομος ἡ ἐπανάκλησίς τε καὶ παρακλήσις. Ed. Jean-Louis van Dieten: Nicetas Choniates, *Historia* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1975), vol. 1, 566,39–582,46.

(6v–7v) blank

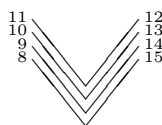
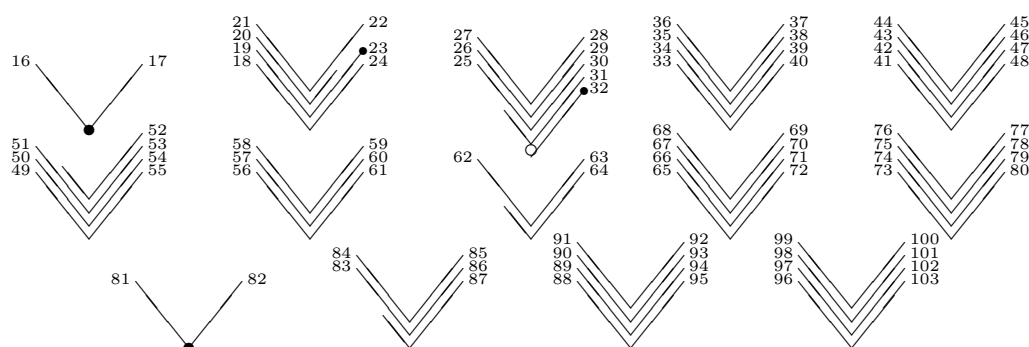
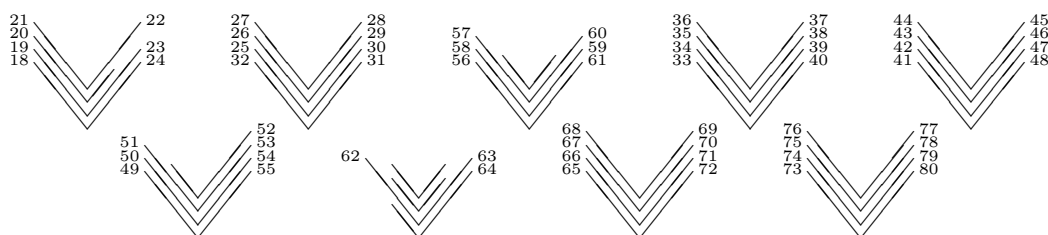


Figure 2.18.: Present structure: Part 2 (P, ff. 8–15)

(8r–15v) **John Chrysostom**, *De sacerdote* fr. (3.14.44 – 4.4.2): εἰχῇ καὶ ἀπλῶς αἰτιώμενοι, γενναίως πρὸς τὴν τῶν μέμψεων τούτων ἀθυμίαν ἴστασθαι. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ δικαίως ἐγκαλούμενος καὶ ἐνένκη τὸν ἐγκαλοῦντα ῥαδίως: ... x... οὔτε γὰρ ὅπλοις ἅπαντες χρῶνται τοῖς αὐτοῖς, οὔτε ἐνὶ προσβάλλειν ἡμῖν μεμελετήκασι τρόπῳ. Καὶ δεῖ τὸν μέλλοντα τὴν πρὸς πάντας ἀναδέχεσθαι. Ed. MALINGREY (1980), 222–252.

(18r–24v, 32r–v, 25r–v) **Athenaeus**, *De machinis*: [in majuscules] Ἀθηναίου Περὶ μηχανημάτων [in minuscules] Ὅσον ἐφικτὸν μὲν ἀνθρώπῳ τοὺς ὑπὲρ μηχανικῆς ποιούμενῳ λόγους, ὧ

Figure 2.19.: Present structure: **P**, ff. 16–103Figure 2.20.: Reconstructed structure: **P**: ff. 18–80

σεμνότατε Μάρκελλε, ... x ... καὶ οὐ φαμένων εἶναι ἐν πολλῶ ἐπίγνωσιν γενέσθαι πραγμάτων ὥσπερ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν ἀποστενοχωρούντων τὴν προθυμίαν τῶν μαθημάτων. Ed. WESCHER (1867a), 3–40. Lost text between ff. 22 and 23 because of missing leaves.

(25v–31v) **Biton**, *De constructione machinarum*: [in majuscules] Βίτωνος κατασκευαὶ πολεμικῶν [in minuscules] Λιθοβόλου ὀργάνου κατασκευὴν ἐπιβέβλημαι γράψαι, ὧ βασιλεῦ ... x ... Τὰ δὲ σχήματα καὶ τὰ μέτρα προέγραπται. [in majuscules] Βίτωνος κατασκευαὶ πολεμικῶν ὀργανων καὶ καταπλακτικῶν. WESCHER (1867a), 43–68; MARSDEN (1971), 61–103.

(56r–v, 58r–v, 57r–v) **Hero of Alexandria**, *De mensura Chiroballistae*: [in majuscules] Ἡρωνος χειροβαλλίστας κατασκευὴ καὶ συμμετρίας [in minuscules] Γεγονέτωσαν κανόνες δύο πελεκινωτοὶ οἱ ΑΒ ΓΔ, ἐν τετραγώνοις ... x ... ἀνακαμβάς δὲ ἐχέτωσαν τὰ κανόνια πρὸς τοῖς πέρασι τὰς ΜΝ ΠΡ, ὕψος δὲ ἐχούσας δακτύλου τὸ ἥμισυ. Ed. WESCHER (1867a), 123–134; MARSDEN (1971), 206–233.

(60r–v, 59r–v, 61r–v, 33r–45v) **Apollodorus of Damascus**, *Poliorcetica*: [in majuscules] Ἀπολλοδώρου Πολιορκητικά [in minuscules] βαστάσει ξύλα χελώνης τρόπῳ πάρορθα, ὅπως ἅπαντα τὰ ἐπιβαλλόμενα ὀλισθαίνῃ ... x ... δεῖ οὖν χαλινούῃν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας ὄχθης καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ἀνιεμένοις ἔχειν, ἵνα ἡμέρα συνέρχεται. [in majuscules] Απολλοδώρου Πολιορκητικά. Ed. WESCHER (1867a), 143, 11–193; Rudolf Schneider, *Griechische Poliorketiker*, (Berlin: Weidmann, 1908).

(46r–55v) **Hero of Alexandria**, *Belopoeica*: [in majuscules] Ἡρωνος Κτησιβίου βελοποιηκά [in minuscules] Τῆς ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ διατριβῆς τὸ μέγιστον καὶ ἀναγκαιότατον μέρος ὑπάρχει τὸ ἀταραξίας ... x ... καὶ ὥς ἡ ΒΑ πρὸς ΑΖ, οὕτως καὶ ἡ ΗΓ πρὸς ΓΒ· τῶν ἄρα ΑΒ, ΒΓ, δύο μέσαι εἰσιν αἱ ΑΖ, ΓΗ. [in majuscules] Ἡρωνος Κτησιβίου βελοποιηκά. Lost text because of the missing leaves between ff. 51 and 52. Ed. WESCHER (1867a), 71–119; MARSDEN (1971), 18–60.

## 2. The Material Evidence

(62–80v, 82r–v) **Hero of Alexandria**, *De dioptra*: [in majuscules] Ἡρωνος Ἀλεξανδρεως περὶ διόπτρας [in minuscules] Τῆς διοπτρικῆς πραγματείας πολλάς καὶ ἀναγκαίας παρεχομένης χρείας καὶ πολλῶν αὐτῆς λελεχότων ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι νομίζω ... x... (62v) ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς πλίνθου μεταξύ τῶν κανονίων κοχλίας ἔστω στρεφόμενος, οὗ τὰ στη[μάτια...] (4 missing leaves) (63r) ἀρμοστὰ τῷ εἰρημένῳ τόρμῳ· οἱ δὲ μακροὶ καὶ οἱ ὄντες τῷ τόρμῳ παρυπεραΐρουσιν εἰς τὸ ἄνω μέρος ὅσον δακτύλους δ. ἐν δὲ τῇ μεταξύ τῶν ὑπεροχῶν χώρᾳ ἐναρμόζεται κανὼν πλάγιος, μῆκος μὲν ... x... (82v) τὸ ποιογνώμονιον τὸ συμφυὲς τῷ Λ, φερόμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ εἰρημένου κύκλου, δηλώσει τὸ καθ' ἕκαστον κίνημα τῆς κινήσεως. Ed. Hermann Schöne, *Heronis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt omnia*, (Leipzig: Teubner, 1903), vol. iii, 141–315.

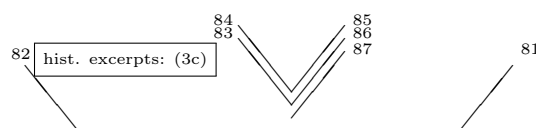


Figure 2.21.: Reconstructed structure: Part 3 Unit 2 (P, ff. 81–87)

(81r–v, 81v, 85r–86r) **Philostratus**, *Vita Apollonii Tyanei*, 1.1–1.9: (81r) (1.1) Οἱ τὸν Σάμιον Πυθαγόραν ἐπαινοῦντες τάδε ἐπ' αὐτῷ φασιν· ... x... (81v) (1.3) ἐγένετο Δάμις ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἄσσοφος τὴν ἀρχαίαν ποτὲ οἰκῶν Νῖνον· οὗτος τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ προσφιλοσοφῆσας ἀποδημίας τε αὐτοῦ ἀναγέγραφεν, ὣν κοινωνῆσαι καὶ αὐτός φησι, [in majuscules] Ζῆτει τὸ λείπον τούτον ὀπισθεν, ἐν ᾧ σημεῖον ἐστι τοιοῦτον ο—ο, ἡ δὲ ἀρχὴ τοῦ λόγου «γέγραφεν ὣν κοινωνῆσαι καὶ γνώμας καὶ λόγους καὶ ὅποσα ἐς πρόγνωσιν εἶπεν» (1.14) ἐς τὴν μνημοσύνην ᾗδετο, ἐν ᾧ πάντα μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου μαραίνεσθαι φησιν ... x... (81v) (1.16) καὶ φυτὸν τιμᾶται παρ' αὐτοῖς δάφνης, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἀντὶ τῆς παρθένου, κυπαρίττων τε ὕψη ἀμήχανα περιέστηκε κύκλω τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ πηγὰς ἐκδίδωσιν ὁ χώρος ἀφθόνους τε καὶ (85r) (1.3) ο—ο ὣν κοινωνῆσαι καὶ αὐτός φησι, καὶ γνώμας καὶ λόγους καὶ ὅποσα ἐς πρόγνωσιν εἶπεν ... x... (86r) (1.9) ταυτὶ μὲν σαφέστερα, οἶμαι, τῆς Ἡρακλείτου σοφίας ἐχρησμάδει· ὁ μὲν γὰρ δεῖσθαι ἔφη τοῦ ποιήσοντος.

(83r) Tenth-century entries of medical content. Unpublished.

(83v–84r) **Aristodemus**, *Fragment 1*: ο—x—ο [in majuscules] καὶ τὸ σημεῖον· ἐστι κ[ατὰ] τὸ ζητούμενον τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου [in minuscules] αἰτησάμενος γὰρ μίαν ἡμέραν μόνην ἔπεμψε κρύφα Σίκινον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ παιδαγωγὸν πρὸς Ξέρξην ... x... (84r) καὶ ἐορτὴν ἡγαγον Ἐλευθερία προσαγορεύσαντες, Θηβαίους τε, καθὼς ὤμοσαν, ἐδεκάτευσαν: – Ed. see below.

(84v–85r, 86v–87v) **Aristodemus**, *Fragment 2*: τέλος τοῦ <...> τὸ <...> Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Περσικῆς στρατείας ἐπὶ τὸν Πελοποννησ<ιακὸν πόλεμον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων '?'> ἐπράχθη τάδε ... x... (85r) καὶ συνθέμενος περὶ τούτων ἦλθεν εἰς Ταίναρον ἔν τε τῷ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τεμένει; (86v) [in majuscules] τοῦτο ἐστι τὸ ζητούμενον ο—ο ἰκέτευεν· οἱ δὲ ἔφοροι παραγενόμενοι καὶ αὐτοὶ εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ τέμενος καὶ διπλὴν σκηνὴν [in minuscules] ἰκέτευεν· οἱ δὲ ἔφοροι παραγενόμενοι καὶ αὐτοὶ εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ τέμενος καὶ διπλὴν σκηνὴν κατασκευάσαντες ἐν αὐτῇ ἔκρυψαν ἑαυτούς ... x... (87v) οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὁρῶντες αὐξανομένους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ χρήμασι καὶ ξυμμάχοις... Par. suppl. gr. 1253, f. 5r–12v. Ed. WESCHER (1867a), 349–366; WESCHER (1867b), 363–368; WESCHER (1868c), 177–188; Karl Müller, FHG vol. v, xxii–xxxiv, lvi–lviii, 1–20 (1870); Felix Jacoby, *FrGrHist* ii A, no. 104. The single extant manuscript in addition to Pap. Ox. 2469, in: *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. xxvii, ed. E. G. Turner, John Rea, L. Koenen, and Jose M<sup>a</sup> Fernandez Pomar, (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1962), 141–145, plates v–vi.



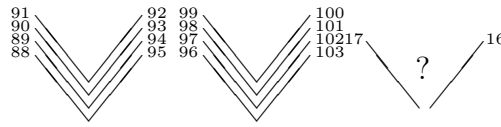


Figure 2.22.: Reconstructed structure: Part 3 Unit 3 (P, ff. 88–103)

(88r–90v) **Dionysius of Halicarnassus**, 20.1–3. *Excerpt on the siege of Asculum* (20.1.1): [in majuscule] Στρατηγία καὶ πολιορκία διαφορῶν πόλεων, Ἐκ τῆς Διονυσίου ἱστορίας Βι. Κ. Πύρρου καὶ Ῥωμαίων ὑπάτων Ποπλίου Δεχίου καὶ Ποπλίου Σουλπικίου. [in minuscule] Συνθέμενοι δὲ διὰ κηρύκων τὸν χρόνον, ἐν ᾧ διαγωνιοῦνται, κατέβαινον ἐκ τῶν στρατοπέδων καὶ εἰς τάξιν καθίσταντο τοιάνδε ... x ... τοιούτου τέλους ἔτυχεν ἡ δευτέρα μάχη Ῥωμαῖοις πρὸς Πύρρον περὶ πόλιν Ἀσκλον.

Par. suppl. gr. 485, p. 1–6. MÜLLER (1847), 1–11, WESCHER (1867a), 283–292. Single witness for this text.

(90v–91r) **Polyaenus**, 1 (*Strategemata*, 4.3.22.) Excerpt on Alexander the Great and Porus: [in majuscules] κε. Ἐκ τῶν Πολυαίνου στρατηγημάτων. Ἀλέξανδρου καὶ Πύρου. [in minuscules] Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν τῇ πρὸς Πύρον μάχῃ τὸ μὲν ἵππικὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως ἔταξεν ἐν μετώπῳ τὸ ἥμισυ ... x ... καὶ κατὰ νότου συνελάσαντες τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς τελεωτάτην νίκην ἀνείλοντο μεθ' ἣν βασιλεὺς Ἰνδικῆς Ἀλέξανδρος ἦν. Par. suppl. gr. 485, p. 6–7. Ed. Müller 1847, 11; WESCHER (1867a), 293–294; Edward Wölflin and Iohannes Melber, *Polyaeni Strategematon libri VIII* (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1970), 174–175 (hereafter: Wölflin–Melber).

(91r) **Polyaenus**, 2 (*Strategemata*, 4.6.3) : [in majuscules] κς. Ἐκ τῶν Πολυαίνου στρατηγημάτων. [in minuscules] Ἀντίγονος Μέγαρος πολιορκῶν τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐπῆγεν. οἱ Μεγαρεῖς σύας καταλείφοντες ὑγρᾷ πίσσῃ καὶ ὑφάπτοντες ἠφίεσαν· αἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς καιόμεναι κεκραγυῖαι πολλῶ δρόμῳ εἰς τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐνέπιπτον· οἱ δὲ οἰστρῶντες καὶ ταρασσόμενοι ἄλλος ἄλλῃ διέφευγον. Ἀντίγονος τοῦ λοιποῦ προσέταξε τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς τρέφειν ὥς μετὰ τῶν ἐλεφάντων, ἵνα τὴν ὄψιν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν κραυγὴν τὰ θηρία φέρειν ἐθίζοιτο. Par. suppl. gr. 485, p. 7. Ed. Müller 1847, 11–12; WESCHER (1867a), 294–295; Karl Müller, FHG vol. v, iix; Wölflin–Melber, 187–188.

(91r) Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ τὰς πολιορκίας καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἔνδον παρασκευᾶς, εἰ μὴ γραφὴν ἀγνωμοσύνης φεύγειν ἐθέλομεν, ὁ λόγος ἔρχεται πράξαι [ταῖς] πάλαι τὸ τῶν μηχανῶν πιστούμενος χρήσιμον. Par. suppl. gr. 485, p. 7. Ed. Müller 1847, 12; WESCHER (1867a), 295.

(91r) [in majuscules] Ὑσμείνην δεδάηκας ἀμετροβίων ἐλεφάντων· ἰνδοφόρους κρατεροὺς οὐ τρομέεις πολέμους. Par. suppl. gr. 485, p. 7. Ed. MÜLLER (1847), 12; WESCHER (1867a), 295; Anthologia Palatina, *Epigrammata Demonstrativa*, 55.

(91r–92r) **Dexippos**, *Scythica* (Excerpt on the siege of Marcianopolis): [in majuscules] Ἐκ τῶν Δεξιππου. Πολιορκία Μαρκιανουπόλεως. [in minuscules] Μαρκιανούπολιν, τὸ δὲ ὄνομα Τραϊάνου τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἐνδεδωκέναι τῇ πόλει λέγουσιν οἱ ἐγχώριοι ... x ... ἀπαγορευόντες πρὸς τὰς πληγὰς, καὶ ὥς οὐκ ἦν αὐτοῖς περαιτέρω καρτερεῖν, ἀνεχώρησαν ἄπρακτοι. Par. suppl. gr. 485, p. 7–9. Ed. Müller 1847, 12–13; WESCHER (1867a) 296–298; Karl Müller, FHG vol. v, lix; Felix Jacoby, *FrGrHist* ii A, no. 100, F 25 (1926); MARTIN (2006), 108–111.

(92r–93r) **Dexippos**, *Scythica* (Excerpt on the siege of Philippoupolis): [in majuscules] Ἐκ τῶν Δεξιππου. Πολιορκία Φιλιππουπόλεως. [in minuscules] τὴν Φιλιππούπολιν, ἔστι δὲ

## 2. The Material Evidence

ἡ πόλις αὕτη μεθόριος μὲν τῆς Θρακῶν καὶ Μακεδόνων γῆς, κεῖται δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἐβρῷ ποταμῷ . . . × . . . ὥς δὲ πάντῃ ἄποροι τῇ γνώμῃ ἐγίνοντο οἱ βάρβαροι, ἐδόκει ἀναχωρεῖν. Καὶ τοῦτο τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τέλος τοῖς Σκύθαις ἐγένετο.

Par. suppl. gr. 485, p. 9–1. Ed. MÜLLER (1847), 13–15; WESCHER (1867a), 299–302; Karl Müller, FHG vol. v, lix; Felix Jacoby, *FrGrHist* ii A, no. 100, F 27 (1926); MARTIN (2006), F 24, p. 116–119. Single witness of this text.

(93r–v) Dexippos, *Scythica* (Excerpt on the siege of Sidon): [in majuscules] Ἐκ τῶν Δεξιππου Σίδης πολιορκία. [in minuscules] Ἐπολιόρκουν οἱ Σκύθαι τὴν Σίδην . . . × . . . Γενομένης δὲ πείρας ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκατέρωθεν καὶ μάχης κρατερᾶς, ὥς ἄπρακτος ἦν τοῖς Σκύθαις ἡ διατριβὴ καὶ οὐδὲ ἐν προῦχώρῃ εἰς ἐλπίδας, ἀνεχώρουν. Par. suppl. gr. 485, p. 11–12. Ed. Müller 1847, 15–16; WESCHER (1867a), 302–303; Karl Müller, FHG vol. v, lix; Felix Jacoby, *FrGrHist* ii A, no. 100, 29 (1926); MARTIN (2006), F 27, p. 124–125. Single witness of this text (and cf. Suda s. v. ἐφεστρίς).

(93v) **Priskos**, *Excerpt on the siege of Obidunae*: [in majuscules] Ἐκ τῶν Πρίσκου πολιορκία πόλεως Ὀβίδουнай [in minuscules] Οὐάλιψ ὁ πάλαι, τοὺς Ῥούβους τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπαναστήσας τοῖς ἐφώις, . . . × . . . καὶ οὕτως αὐτῷ τριβομένου τοῦ χρόνου, ἐπὶ συνθήκαις ἡ πολιορκία ἐλύετο. Par. suppl. gr. 1253, f. 1r. Ed. WESCHER (1867a), 304; WESCHER (1868a); Karl Müller, FHG vol. v, lviii–lix and 24.

(93v–94v) **Priskos**, *Excerpt on the siege of Naissus*: [in majuscules] Ἐκ τῶν Πρίσκου Ναῖσσοῦ πολιορκία [in minuscules] Ἐπολιόρκουν οἱ Σκύθαι τὴν Ναῖσσόν· . . . × . . . Τοῦτο δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν κλιμάκων, αἱ τῷ μήπῳ πεσόντῃ τοῦ τείχους [μέρει] προσήγοντο. Par. suppl. gr. 1253, f. 1r–v. Ed. WESCHER (1867a), 305–306; WESCHER (1868a); Karl Müller, FHG vol. v, lviii–lix and 25–26.

(94v–97r) **Arrian**, *Excerpt on the siege of Tyre* (*Alexandri Anabasis*, 2.15,6–24,2): [in majuscules] Ἐκ τῶν Ἀριανοῦ Τύρου ἄλωσις [in minuscules] μετὰ τὴν Δαρείου φυγὴν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκ Μαράθου ὁρμηθεὶς (ἡ δὲ καὶ ἀντικρὺ τῆς Ἀράδου ὥχισται νήσου κατὰ τὴν ἡπειρον πόλις μεγάλη τε καὶ εὐδαίμων) Βύβλον τε λαμβάνει . . . × . . . καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος σὺν τοῖς ὑπασπισταῖς ἐπὶ τούτους χωρήσας πάντας αὐτῷ τοὺς μαχομένους διέφθειρεν. Καὶ τοῦτο τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τέλος ἐγένετο. Ed. WESCHER (1867a), 307–316; Antoon Gerard Roos (corr. Gerhard Wirth), Flavius Arrianus, *Alexandri Anabasis cum Excerptis Photii tabulae phototypica* (Munich – Leipzig: K. G. Saur, 2002), vol. 1, 95–111 (hereafter: Roos, *Arrianus*).

(97r) **Arrian**, *Excerpt on the siege of Gaza* (*Alexandri Anabasis*, 2.25,4–27,7): [in majuscules] Ἐκ τῶν Ἀριανοῦ Ταζέων πολιορκία [in minuscules] Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰς ξυμβάσεις Δαρεῖος ἀπέγνω, Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ἔγνω ποιεῖσθαι τὸν στόλον . . . × . . . Οἱ δὲ Γαζαῖοι, καὶ τῆς πόλεως σφισιν ἤδη ἐχομένης, ξυνεστηκότες ὅμως ἐμάχοντο, καὶ ἀπέθανον πάντες αὐτοῦ μαχόμενοι ὥς ἕκαστοι ἐτάχθησαν. Ed. WESCHER (1867a), 317–320; Roos, *Arrianus*, 113–116.

(98r–100v) **Polybius**, *Excerpt on the siege of Syracusae* (8.3–7): [in majuscules] Ἐκ τῶν Πολυβίου Συρακουσῶν πολιορκία [in minuscules] Ὅτε δὲ τὰς Συρακούσας Ἐπικύδης τε καὶ Ἱπποκράτης κατέλαβον . . . × . . . Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῖς Ἐξαπύλοις ἡγγιζόν καταβαίνοντες, ἐνωκοδομημένην τὴν πρώτην πυλῖδα διεῖλον, δι' ἧς τὸν τε στρατηγὸν καὶ τὸ ἐδέξαντο στράτευμα. Οὕτω δὲ τὰς Συρακούσας εἶλον Ῥωμαῖοι. Par. suppl. gr. 1253, f. 2r–3v. Ed. WESCHER (1867a), 321–328; WESCHER (1869), 50–60, 124–130; Karl Müller, FHG vol. v, lx–lxxv; Th. Büttner-Wobst, *Polybii Historiae* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1889–1905), vol. 2, 335–341 (hereafter: Büttner-Wobst, *Polybius*).

(100v–102r) **Polybius**, *Excerpt on the siege of Ambracia* (21. 27. 1 – 28. 18): [in majuscules] Πολυβίου Β' ΚΑ' [in minuscules] ... Ὁ δὲ Μάρκος, ἀσφαλισάμενος τὰ κατὰ τὰς στρατοπεδίας, συνίστατο μεγαλομερῶς τὴν πολιορκίαν ... x... Τοιαύτην δὲ λαμβανούσης τριβὴν τῆς πολιορκίας, ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Αἰτωλῶν πρεσβεύειν ἔγνω πρὸς τὸν στρατηγὸν τῶν Ῥωμαίων. Par. suppl. gr. 485, p. 13–15. Ed. MÜLLER (1847), 16–18; WESCHER (1867a), 328–332; Büttner-Wobst, *Polybius*, vol. 4. 55–68.

(102r–103v) **Thucydides**, *Excerpt on the siege of Plataea* (2. 75–78): [in majuscules] Ἐκ τῶν Θωκυδίδου πολιορκία Πλαταιέων [in minuscules] Τοσαῦτα ἐπιθειάσας καθίστης ἐς πόλεμον τὸν στρατὸν, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν περισταύρωσεν αὐτοὺς τοῖς δένδροισιν ... x... ἀνεχώρησαν τῷ στρατῷ καὶ διελύθησαν κατὰ πόλεις. Τοιαύτη μὲν ἡ Πλαταιῶν πολιορκία κατεσκευάσθη. Ed. WESCHER (1867a), 333–337; Carl Hude, *Thucydidis Historiae* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1898), vol. 1. 167–171.

(103v) **Eusebius**, *Excerpt on the siege of Thessalonica*: [in majuscules] Ἐκ τῶν Εὐσεβίου Βι. Θ' Πολιορκία Θεσσαλονίκης ὑπὸ Σκυθῶν [in minuscules] Οἱ δὲ Θεσσαλονικεῖς οὔτε ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ ἀδρανέες τινὲς εὐρέθησαν ... x... καὶ οἱ ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκίτου ἀμβλυνθέντες οὐδὲ... Par. suppl. gr. 485, p. 15. Ed. MÜLLER (1847), 18; Id., in FHG vol. iii, 728 (1849); Id., FHG vol. v, 21; WESCHER (1867a), 342; Felix Jacoby, *FrGrHist* ii A, no. 101, F 1 (1926).

(17r–v) **Eusebius**, *Excerpt on the siege of Tours*: [in minuscules] τὴν ὄψιν αὐτὴν τοῦ πολέμου, οὔτε τῶν ἀντιπολεμίων ἀπορρηθῆναι ... x... ἔπειτα μολοβδίνους στεγανούς ἀγαγοὺς τοὺς ὑποδεξομένους καὶ πα[ρά]ζοντας τὸ ὕδωρ... Ed. WESCHER (1867a), 343–346; WESCHER (1868b), 401–407; Karl Müller, FHG vol. v, 21–23 (1870); Felix Jacoby, *FrGrHist* ii A, no. 101, F 2 (1926).

(16r–v) **Josephus Flavius**, *Excerpt on the siege of Iotapata*: [in minuscules] ... μέγεθος ἐκ τῶν πετροβόλων ἐβάλλοντο πῦρ τε καὶ πληθὸς ἀθρόον ὀϊστῶν ... x... ἐμβρέξαι κελεύει πλείστους τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ κατακρημνῆσαι περὶ τὰς ἐπάλξεις πᾶν ἐξαπίνης... Ed. WESCHER (1867a), 338–341.

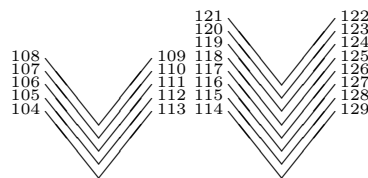


Figure 2.23.: Present structure: Part 4 (P, ff. 104–129)

## 2. The Material Evidence

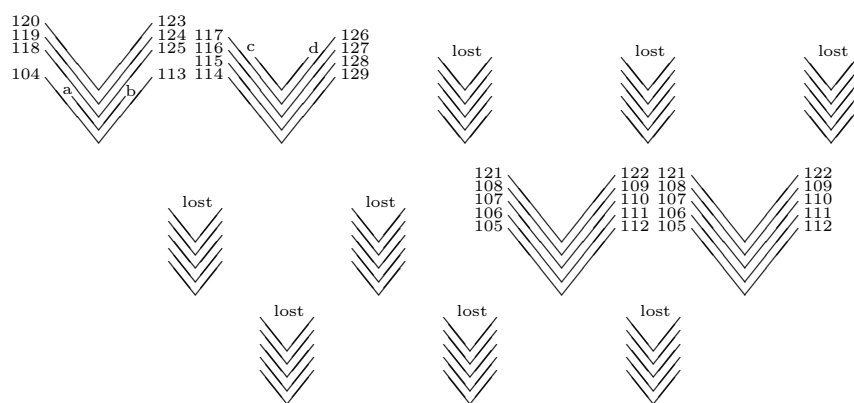


Figure 2.24.: Reconstructed structure: Part 4 (**P**, ff. 104–129)

(104–129) **Lysias**, *Orationes*, 1.1–1.12, 1.22–2.32, 2.44–3.17, 3.40–5.5, 19.35–22.8): (104r–v) ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἑρατοσθένους φόνου ἀπολογία. Περὶ πολλοῦ ἂν ποιησαίμην, ὦ ἄνδρες, τὸ τοιούτους ὑμᾶς ἐμοὶ δικαστὰς περὶ τούτου τοῦ πράγματος γενέσθαι ... × ... ἐκέλευον καὶ δοῦναι τῷ παιδίῳ τὸν τιτθόν, ἵνα παύσῃται κλᾶον. ἡ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὐκ ἤθελεν... [1 leaf is missing] (118r–120v, 123r–125v) ποιήσιν. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα διεγένοντο ἡμέραι τέτταρες ἢ πέντε, ... × ... εἰ δὲ εἰς τὰς τριήρεις ἐμβήσονται, ὑπὸ τῆς πεζῆς στρατιᾶς ἀλώσονται, ἀμφοτέρα δὲ οὐ δυνήσονται [1 leaf is missing] (113r–117v) ὕστερον δὲ Πελοποννησίων τειχιζόντων τὸν Ἴσθμόν, ... × ... ἤδη δὲ αὐτοῖς οὔσι παρὰ τὴν Λάμπωνος οἰκίαν ἐγὼ μόνος βαδίζων ἐντυγχάνω, δεινὸν δὲ [2 leaves missing] 126r–129v ἄρα περὶ παίδων ἐφιλονεικήσαμεν ἡμεῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ... × ... ἀλλ' ὅ τι ψεῦδος περὶ αὐτῶν μηνύσαντες [5 *quinios* missing: (Lysias, *Or.* 6. 1–19. 35)] (105r–108v, 121r–122v, 109r–112v) πάντες ἐπίστασθε Κόνωνα μὲν ἄρχοντα ... × ... δεῖν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὀβολῷ μόνον πωλεῖν... [3 *quinios* are missing: (Lysias, *Or.* 22. 8–34. 11)]. Ed. CAREY (2007), 1–3, 6–23, 26–39, 44–52, 191–218.

### 2.5.2. Evidence for a Draft of the Collection “On Sieges”

Par. suppl. gr. 607 is a composite codex that consists of 129 leaves (275×203 mm). It is also called Mynas codex after Mynoïdes Mynas (1798–1859), a Greek emigrant philologist in France (1798–1859) who discovered it in Vatopedi Monastery on Mount Athos in 1843 during one of the expeditions he made to the Eastern Mediterranean at the commission of the French minister of education.<sup>384</sup> Mynas found the historical fragments particularly valuable. Thus, he copied these texts by his own hand (this copy is Par. suppl. gr. 485 and Par. suppl. gr. 1253). From his bequest, the exemplar and its copies as well entered the *Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris) in 1864 where they are kept now. Some scholars maintain the view that the historical excerpts of the Mynas codex were part of the collection *περὶ στρατηγημάτων*.<sup>385</sup> The school of French Byzantinists, however, holds the opposite view that the selection of these excerpts was independent from Constantine VII’s project.<sup>386</sup>

Contrary to these common scholarly views, I will argue in support of the hypothesis that the selection of the Mynas codex reflects the preparation of the Constantinian collection “On sieges”. I will use two sets of arguments, (1) codicological ones in order to disprove Irigoin’s hypothesis and (2) a theoretical one based the Constantinian method (see ch. 2.5.3 on p.161).

The method of rebinding manuscripts for the library of Matthias Corvinus king of Hungary (1458–1490) has some importance in studying the historical excerpts.<sup>387</sup>

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<sup>384</sup>OMONT (1916), 390–391, 403. Hunt probably refers to this manuscript he saw in 1801 in Vatopedi Monastery: Κατάλογος Βατοπαϊδίου τῇ 2 Ἀπριλίου 1801. Περὶ τὰ 705 χειρόγραφα συντομώτατα μνημονευόμενα Ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ κῶδιξ περιέχων πολλὰ τοῦ Λυσίου. See LAMBROS (1922), 421.

<sup>385</sup>DÜBNER (1863), 479–480 mentioned that these fragments may have belonged to the Constantinian excerpts. The title *De excerptis poliorceticis* is used by Antoon Gerard Roos, ed., Flavius Arrianus, vol. 1. *Alexandri Anabasis cum Excerptis Photii tabulaque phototypica* (Munich: K. G. Saur, 2002), xl. The title *De strategematibus* is followed both by Felix Jacoby in the editions of the fragments of Dexippus (FrGrHist A 100), Eusebius (FrGrHist A 101), Aristodemus (FrGrHist A 104). For Dexippus, see MARTIN (2006), 51–52.

<sup>386</sup>IRIGOIN (1959), 177–181, FOUCAULT (1967), 347–349, LEMERLE (1971), 284, n. 55, IRIGOIN (1977a), 240, FLUSIN (2002), 553, n. 57. VAN DEN BERG (1947), 19–30.

<sup>387</sup>See on the relation of **P** to the Corvinian Library and the analysis of the Corvinian bindings in NÉMETH (2010a,b).

## 2. The Material Evidence

First, it gives an explanation how the leaves could easily become intermingled in a workshop of a binder not possessing adequate knowledge of Greek; secondly, it helps reconstructing the tenth-century core of the Mynas codex which differs from the present state.

I attribute, however, to Lucas Coronensis some of the confusion of the tenth-century part of the Mynas codex. There are parchment leaves with a Latin theological treatise originating from the thirteenth century, which Lucas Coronensis mended and mounted for stitching leaves at two points (between ff. 16–17 and ff. 81–82). Interestingly enough, in both of these cases, when the binder installed these narrow parchment strips, he confused the original order.<sup>388</sup> Moreover, he attached f. 32, wrongly, to the quire ff. 25–31. Therefore, he must have received—according to these mistakes—at least these 6 leaves as separate. It seems likely to assume that he joined parchment leaves that originally did not belong together (see a similar case in **T**, ff. 145–146). This hypothesis, although disagreeing with Schöne’s reconstruction,<sup>389</sup> can explain several contradictions of the Mynas codex (**P**).

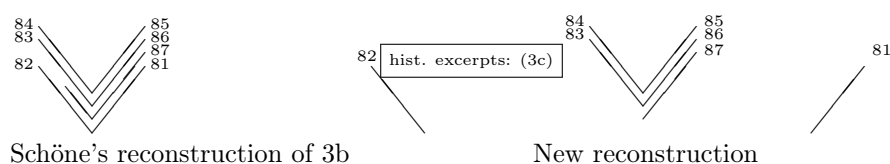


Figure 2.25.: Reconstructions of 3b (**P**, ff. 81–87)

Both the different ruling of the parchment and the non-identical number of lines on the page demonstrate that the leaves of the Mynas codex have a wrong position in Schöne’s reconstruction. Both the artillery texts and the historical excerpts are copied on parchment leaves with 34 ruled lines; the Philostratus and Aristodemus

<sup>388</sup>The insertions are marked with small black circles in the present and the reconstructed structures of leaves on figs. 2.19, 2.20, 2.21, 2.22. The parchment strips contain a Latin theological treatise written in Gothic cursive minuscule reflecting the characteristics of Paris university script (thirteenth century). See the text between f. 15 and f. 16: *mirabantur eius clementiam et dignitatem Augustinus bonum admirabatur non malum suspi...*

<sup>389</sup>SCHÖNE (1898), 442.

fragments, at the same time, are copied on parchment without ruling.<sup>390</sup> Since both the military manuals and the historical excerpts on sieges were copied on parchment with same ruling type in very close scripts, they seem to belong together. Thus, it seems reasonable to locate 3c (ff. 16–17, 88–103) after 3a (ff. 18–80, 82) as part 3b (ff. 83–87, 81) is likely to have been added to the end of the military collection. If this hypothesis is correct, 3b was originally located in the back of the tenth-century codex with two sets of excerpts: (1) the arbitrarily copied passages of Aristodemus, retelling Greek military history of the fifth century BC, and (2) the life of Apollonius, with passages emphasizing his vegetarian diet and extraordinary lifestyle, close in content to short practical wisdoms copied on f. 83r, once the last leaf of the reconstructed tenth century codex. By this analogy, it is not necessary to assume that ff. 16–17 belonged together. It is equally probable to deduce that more leaves of part 3c were available in the fifteenth century than now. They could have easily got lost. It seems possible to establish the tenth-century composition of the core of the Mynas codex and to reconstruct how some of its bifolia had been intermingled before arriving at Buda.

For the confusion of the leaves of the central texts partially goes back to earlier periods. There is a codex in Vienna (ÖNB, phil. gr. 140), comprising texts on artillery, which follows the irregular arrangement of the leaves of **P**. A certain point assures the direct connection with confidence: Heron's work "On the construction of cheiromballista" appears in a wrong sequence in **P** (the correct sequence would be ff. 56, 58, 57). Since the text was transmitted unfinished and terminates on f. 57, the fifteenth-century copy terminates on f. 63r just as does **P** on f. 58v, and leaves the remaining part of its quire blank. This fifteenth-century codex seems to have been copied by Demetrios Tribolles in Rome around 1470.<sup>391</sup>

<sup>390</sup>**P**, f. 83v, the front of the Aristodemus text, has 36, while f. 81, the beginning of the Life of Apollonius of Tyana, and ff. 84–87 have 39 lines to a page.

<sup>391</sup>I am indebted to Ernst Gamillscheg for the identification of the scribe with Demetrios Tribolles. See his activity in RGK 1A n° 103. The codex is described with some incorrect details (watermark, quires) in HUNGER (1961), 245–246. The date of the Vienna copy is based on the watermark that is similar to a special type of horn as it occurs in two manuscripts copied in Rome in 1470 and 1471. See the references in BRIQUET (1923), n° 7834; HARLFINGER & HARLFINGER (1980),

## 2. The Material Evidence

Reconstructing the journey of this manuscript from Byzantium to Italy would lead us to the field of speculation. Schöne suggested that the tenth-century core of the manuscript belonged to the famous Italian humanist, Giovanni Aurispa (1376–1459), who brought 238 codices from Byzantium to Venice including an Athenaeus volume.<sup>392</sup> Aurispa wrote to Ambrogio Traversari several times (1424–1430) saying that he possessed the engineer Athenaeus’ work *περὶ μηχανημάτων*, an old volume with illustrations. He offered this volume in exchange for old Latin codices. Since the repertory of his bequest does not contain this item he must have sent or sold it before his death. Sabbadini’s main argument, however, that **P** is the single codex that contains Athenaeus work as the first one cannot be maintained. There is another eleventh-century codex (Escorial Υ.III.11) that preserves Athenaeus at the first place with a very similar military collection on the construction of war machines so it can also be regarded as a candidate for Aurispa’s codex. Sabbadini—perhaps without knowing about the other codices—identified Aurispa’s Athenaeus volume with Vat. gr. 1164, one among the three military collections, parallel to **P**. His identification does not seem to be acceptable because Athenaeus is in the middle of the codex (ff. 95r–101r). However, it cannot be excluded that the codex had a different arrangement in the fifteenth century. Exactly all the three military collections, parallel to **P**, contained an interesting work called *Anonymi de obsidione toleranda*; its dating to the reign of Constantine VII is widely accepted.<sup>393</sup> These codices show similarities in structure with the central part of the Mynas codex. Thus, they all

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Horn 25. Wescher’s hypothesis [WESCHER (1867a), xxxv–xxxvi] that ÖNB phil. gr. 140 was copied partially from **P** was confirmed by the codicological analysis and the comparison of the texts of both manuscripts. ÖNB phil. gr. 140 does not only copy carefully all the figures of **P** but also repeats its irregularities that come from the disordered succession of its bifolia at the following points. Hero: *De dioptra*: **P**, ff. 62–80 = ÖNB Phil. gr. 140, ff. 31r–59r; Hero: *De constructione et mensura chiroballistae*: **P** ff. 56–58 (the correct sequence of **P**: ff. 56, 58, 57) = ÖNB phil. gr. 140, ff. 59v–63r. The text ends with the same word both in Par. suppl. gr. 607, f. 58v and ÖNB phil. gr. 140, f. 63r (δὲ ἀπαλλήλων δακτύλους ΒΣ). At the end of the quire, the scribe left 4 folia blank in ÖNB phil. gr. 140. Hero: *Belopoeica*: **P**, ff. 46r–55v = ÖNB phil. gr. 140, ff. 64r–77r.

<sup>392</sup>See SCHÖNE (1898), 445, n. 2; ROZSONDAI (1997), 524. See the letters in SABBADINI (1931), letter n° viii, xxiii, lii, liii, liiii, lv, on p. 13, 51, 67, 69, 70, 72.

<sup>393</sup>The text was edited by VAN DEN BERG (1947). See the three manuscripts: Vat. gr. 1164, ff. 111v–131r; Barberinianus 276, ff. 90v–106r; Υ.III.11, 111v–131r.



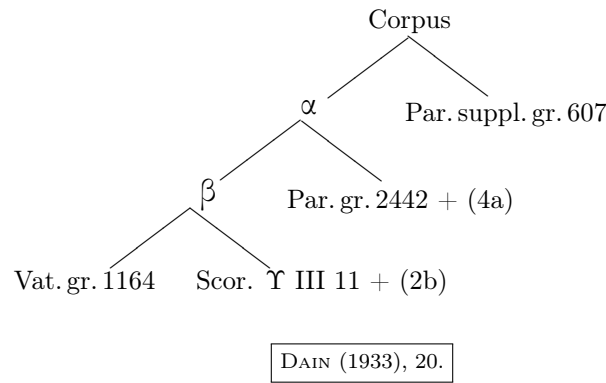


Figure 2.26.: The joint collection of artillery and excerpts

demonstrate that historical texts and the manuals of artillery were already combined in the tenth-century in the age of Constantine VII.

This comparison shows that **P** belongs to the family of these codices and might have contained other works as well in the tenth-century subsequent to f.82. Dain established the relationship between these codices (see fig. 2.26). Dain's reconstruction, based on the textual evidence of the artillery manuals, does not differ much from the one established by Schöne who claimed that cod. Escorial Υ.III.11 was copied from cod. Vat. gr. 1164.<sup>394</sup>

This survey well illustrates the significant position of Par. suppl. gr. 607 and cod. Barberinianus 276 and Par. gr. 2442. A handful of artillery manuals constitute a corpus that seems transmitted directly from antiquity.<sup>395</sup> The respective supplement of the same cluster with the Anonymous' work *On the sieges*, on the one hand, and with the historical excerpts, on the other, offers valuable material to contextualize the influence of Constantine VII's excerpting project and its reception at the imperial court.

In the military manuscripts parallel to **P**, there are works commissioned or compiled by emperors Leo VI's (886–912) *Tactica*, Nikephoros II Phokas' *De velitatione bellica* which seems a later addition to the collection. Constantine VII expresses his

<sup>394</sup>See the analysis of various reconstructions in VAN DEN BERG (1947), 4–13.

<sup>395</sup>Athenaeus, *De machinis*; Biton, *De constructione machinarum*; Hero of Alexandria, *De mensura Chiroballistae*; Apollodorus, *Poliorcetica*; Hero, *Belopoeica*; and perhaps also Philo, *De telorum constructione*.

Table 2.4.: Joint collection of artillery and historical excerpts on sieges

	1	2	3	4
Athenaeus, <i>De machinis</i>	18r–24v, (2a) 1r–7v 32r–v, 25r–v		95r–101r	(4b) 56–62
Biton, <i>De constructione machinarum</i>	25v–31v	(2a) 8r–14r	101v–105v	(4b) 62–68
Hero, <i>De mensura Chiroballistae</i>	56r–v, 58r–v, 57r–v	(2a) 14v–16v	105–118?	(4b) 68–71?
Apollodorus, <i>Poliorectica</i>	60r–v, 59r–v, 61r–v, 33r–45v	(2a) 28r–45r	118r–137v	(4b) 79–92
Hero, <i>Belopoeica</i>	46r–55v			(4b) 71–79
Philo, <i>De telorum constructione</i>	—	(2a) 49r–66v	138v–165v	(4a) 63r–63v (4b) 92–125
Sextus Iulius Africanus	—	(2a) 82r–111v	—	(4a) 63v–90v
<i>De obsidione toleranda</i>	excerpts	(2a) 111v–131r	176v–188v	(4a) 90v–106r
Leo VI, <i>Militares constitutiones</i>	—	(2a) 162–257	189r–233v	(4a) 130v–214v, 106v–114r
Nikephoros II Phokas, <i>De velitatione bellica</i>	—	(2a) 281r–308v		(4a) 235r–240v

1 = Par. suppl. gr. 607  
2 = Escorial Y.III.11 (2a) with Neapolitanus III-C-26 (Neap. 284) (2b)  
3 = Vat. gr. 1164  
4 = Barberinianus 276 (4a) with Par. gr. 2442 (4b)

idea of joining artillery manuals and historical examples in one of his short military treatises dedicated to his son, Romanos, that was preserved in its entire length in the Leipzig codex of *De cerimoniis* (ff. 1r–21r) and partially in his other codex comprising the most comprehensive collection of military treatises transmitted from antiquity (Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Plut. 55, 4, ff. 1r–2r).<sup>396</sup> (The latter codex offers a text of higher quality and integrity than the text in the military collections under scrutiny). In Constantine’s opinion, an emperor should bring the following books on a military expedition:<sup>397</sup>

<sup>396</sup>On the dossier of this military text by Constantine VII, see SPECK (1991).

<sup>397</sup>John Haldon’s translation is taken from “Treatise C, 196–204,” in HALDON (1990), 107. The Greek text is as follows: βιβλία· ἡ ἀκολουθία τῆς ἐκκλησίας, βιβλία σταρατηγικά, βιβλία μηχανικά, ἐλεπόλεις ἔχοντα, καὶ βελοποιϊκὰ καὶ ἕτερα ἁρμόδια τῇ ὑποθέσει, ἧγουν πρὸς πολέμους καὶ καστρομαχίας· βιβλία ἱστορικά, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ τὸν Πολύαινον καὶ τὸν Συριανόν· βιβλίον τὸν ὄνειροκρίτην· βιβλίον συναντηματικόν· βιβλίον τὸ περιέχον περὶ εὐδείας καὶ χειμῶνος καὶ ζάλης, ὕετοῦ τε καὶ ἀστραπῶν καὶ βροντῶν καὶ ἀνέμων ἐπιφορᾶς· πρὸς τοῦτοις βροντολόγιον καὶ σεισμολόγιον, καὶ ἕτερα, ὅσα παρατηροῦνται οἱ πλευστικοί. ἰστέον δὲ, ὅτι τοιοῦτον βιβλίον ἐφιλοπονήθη καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν βιβλίων ἡρανίσθη παρ’ ἐμοῦ Κωνσταντίνου ἐν Χριστῷ βασιλεῖ αἰωνίῳ βασιλεύς Ρωμαίων.

Books: the liturgy of the Church, military manuals, books on mechanics, including siege machinery and the production of missiles and other information relevant to the enterprise, that is to say, to wars and sieges; historical books, especially those of Polyainos and Syrianos; an oneirocretical book; a book of chances and occurrences; a book dealing with good and bad weather and storms, rain and lightening and thunder and the vehemence of the winds; and in addition to these a treatise on thunder and a treatise on earth-quakes, and other books, such as those to which sailors are wont to refer. Note that such a book was researched and compiled from many books by myself, Constantine emperor of the Romans in Christ the eternal King.

As a conclusion, the dissemination of these manuals of artillery was likely connected to the imperial court, especially to the second and third quarters of the tenth century, i.e. the joint- (920–944) and sole reign (945–959) of emperors Constantine VII and his son, Romanos II (959–963) and the subsequent rule of Nikephoros II Phokas (963–969). The fact that there are a few extant military compendia from the turn of the eleventh century, which all reflect Constantine VII's taste in the selection of the books, clearly demonstrates that the courtly mentality influenced at least those people from the military aristocracy who had close relations with the court. The owners of these military collections must have been some learned officers of the Byzantine army. Among the technical works on military engineering, historical texts of military concern were also included. The fact that the restructuring of historical passages on sieges of various towns in **P** exactly followed Constantine's method demonstrates that the project of the historical excerpts went beyond the confines of the imperial palace.

### 2.5.3. Case Study: On Sieges in Par. suppl. gr. 607 (P)

In this case study, I will argue both for establishing a close relation of the excerpts transmitted in Par. suppl. gr. 607 (**P**) with *CE* and for separating the collection “On sieges” from the collection “On leading of the army” (περὶ στρατηγικῶν). The question of besieging was important in Byzantium in the tenth century when, as a response to the Arab threat, Byzantium started to occupy an offensive rather than

## 2. The Material Evidence

a defensive position. Several expeditions were initiated to reconquer Crete after Byzantium had lost the island in 826. After a number of unsuccessful attempts, including the one in 949 under Constantine VII's reign (described in *De cerimoniis*), it was Nikephoros II Phokas before his ascent to the Byzantine throne, who finally managed to recapture the island from Arab dominance in 960–961. Moreover, besieging fortified towns and strongholds was an important part of the expeditions also in some parts of the Near East (e.g., Melitene, Edessa, Chandax, and Aleppo). Some manuals on military affairs treated besieging as separate branch of comprehensive warfare.<sup>398</sup> Not surprisingly, attacking machinery, the main concern of **P**, attracted a great interest in Constantine VII's court where he describes the books his son is advised to bring along when going to a military expedition. These historical circumstances may also support the hypothesis that the texts on sieges were excerpted in a separate Constantinian collection, representing one of the fifty-three significant aspects of history.

In the Byzantine studies, there is a debate on the relationship between the historical excerpts on sieges in **P** and *CE*, which resulted in some misunderstandings I try to clarify now. The majority of scholars hold the view that these fragments have either nothing to do with *CE* or they formed part of the collection “On leading of the army” (περὶ στρατηγικῶν).<sup>399</sup> In my view, however, there should have not only been a separate collection “on the sieges” but also other collections on other aspects of warfare. I would argue with the clear pattern of omissions in **P** (ff. 16–17, 88–103). To defend my hypothesis, I will assert three independent points. First, I will argue against an implausible scholarly presumption that has not been proved but still is a decisive argument in discussing these problems. Secondly, I will demonstrate that the method of excerpting in **P** is distinctive for *CE* and can be compared

<sup>398</sup>SULLIVAN (2000), 15–16 and McGEER (1995).

<sup>399</sup>Dübner mentioned that these fragments may have belonged to *CE*. See DÜBNER (1863), 479–480 and FOUCAULT (1967), 347–349. The title *De excerptis poliorceticis* is used by Antoon Gerard Roos, ed., Flavius Arrianus, vol. 1. *Alexandri Anabasis cum Excerptis Photii tabulaque phototypica* (Munich: K. G. Saur, 2002), xl. The title *De strategematibus* is followed both by Felix Jacoby in the editions of the fragments of Dexippos (FrGrHist A 100), Eusebius (FrGrHist A 101), Aristodemus (FrGrHist A 104) and by MARTIN (2006), 51–52.

with similar attempts carried out a few decades later. Finally, I will explain why the title preceding the collection of historical excerpts in **P** cannot be used as an argument in answering these questions.

First, those who argue for separating the two collections refer to Irigoin's concept of observing uniform characteristics as shared patterns in the books copied in the Byzantine imperial scriptorium in the tenth century. This argument implies a hidden presumption and does not take into account either the probability that intermediary steps existed preceding the final copies of *CE* or the inference that these intermediary versions were used in fact for purposes other than that of producing the final deluxe copies for the emperor. Irigoin himself refuses the connection between the two, primarily relying on the differences between **P** and **T** in terms of codicological characteristics.<sup>400</sup>

In the profound survey on Polybius' textual transmission, Moore shares Irigoin's view that the excerpts belonging to *CE* are to be suspected to occur in the same type of manuscripts with **T** or **V** when arguing that these excerpts derive from among the Constantinian ones. Therefore, Irigoin's unexpressed view is the basis of Moore's opposite proposal. In order to support the hypothesis that the historical excerpts in **P** are part of *CE*, Moore forces the codicological data of **P** to be assimilated with the codicological features of codices copied for Constantine's imperial library.<sup>401</sup> His arguments are untenable. The written area, the size of the manuscript, and the quality of parchment slightly differ from the Constantinian volumes. Moreover, his conclusion that the excerpts on sieges constituted a part of the collection "On leading of the army" (περὶ στρατηγῆμάτων) and were not a separate collection is based on two arguments, both necessitating the lack of draft versions. (1) First, there is no

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<sup>400</sup>"Ni le format, ni la présentation, ni le détail du contenu ne permettent de rapprocher ce manuscrit des témoins décrits plus haut." IRIGOIN (1977a), 240. The codicological argument, the single one referred to for defending this opinion (IRIGOIN (1959), 177–181), does not consider the transition of texts from complete manuscripts to the final deluxe copies of excerpts, a procedure necessitating intermediary steps.

<sup>401</sup>"... the written area is almost the same size as that of **P** (Tours 980) and **M** (Vat. gr. 73), and it is reasonable to suggest that **T** (Par. suppl. gr. 607) was originally of approximately the same format as the other manuscripts of *CE* surviving from a similar period." MOORE (1965), 134.

Table 2.5.: Majuscule slips in **P** (Thucydides)

ch.	Par. suppl. gr. 607.	Thucydides	mistake
2. 76, 1	ἐν[ <u>Δ</u> ]όντες	ἐν[ <u>Ε</u> ]όντες	Δ–Λ
2. 76, 2	ἀν[ <u>Ο</u> ]ίγ[ <u>Ε</u> ]εν	ἀν[ <u>Υ</u> ]τειν	Γ–Τ
2. 76, 4	χαλαρα[ <u>Χ</u> ]ταῖς	χαλαρα[ <u>Ι</u> ]ταῖς	Κ–ΙC
2. 77, 5	ἐλαχίστου[ <u>Σ</u> ] δεῆσαι	ἐλαχίστου [Ε]δέησε	С–E
2. 78, 2	ἐξήρ[ <u>Τ</u> ]αστο	ἐξείρ[ <u>Υ</u> ]αστο	Τ–Γ

prooemium attached to the excerpts on sieges in **P**. (2) Secondly, the lack of cross-references in the extant Constantinian collections, which would name this heading.<sup>402</sup> The lack of an introduction in a damaged manuscript does not necessarily means that it was not there in an early stage. However, there is no reason to assume that the excerpts on the sieges in **P** contained the introduction if they originate in the draft version. The second argument can be refuted by the fact that the extensive collections “On the embassies”, parts of Constantine VII’s enterprise without any doubts, are never referred to in the other Constantinian collections. In spite of this fact, no scholar would question that the collections “On the embassies” formed parts of the Constantinian project.

Constantine VII’s volumes, as shown above, share a number codicological features that do not characterize Par. suppl. gr. 607. The fragments in **P** are copied on parchment of much inferior quality, they have different rulings and layout. However, if one anticipates the existence of drafts for preparation and expand the time limit of the execution of *CE*, the different codicological characteristics of **P** do not influence the problem of relating the two. The other group of Irigoin’s arguments, more difficult to refute, are based on the scribal mistakes showing an archetype in majuscules that differ from the numerous minuscule mistakes of *CE*.<sup>403</sup>

All the scribal errors, however, demonstrate that the archetype of the Thucydides excerpt of Par. suppl. gr. 607 (ff. 102r–103v, 2. 75–78) was a Thucydides in majuscules

<sup>402</sup>MOORE (1965), 135.

<sup>403</sup>KLEINLOGEL (1965), 158.

while the Thucydides-excerpts of the other Constantinian collections originate in a minuscule codex. Kleinlogel who established the textual tradition of Thucydides argues for a pre-Constantinian collection because the variant readings of Par. suppl. gr. 607 and those of the Constantinian collections seem to derive from the same source.<sup>404</sup> His hypothesis coincides with the suggestion that there were drafts that mediated between the complete historical manuscripts and the imperial final volumes. The majuscules used in the margins of the excerpts may well explain the relatively high number of majuscule mistakes in **P**.

For these reasons, I do not think that Irigoin's philological arguments are satisfactory to deprive all the excerpts in **P** of the meticulous procedure of producing *CE*. On the one hand, there is no study available on historians other than Thucydides for contrasting the variant readings of **P** with those of *CE*. Each of the two sorts of historical excerpts occupies a different position in the hypothetical reconstructions of the textual transmission of certain historians. The working method of the excerptors, described also in the third chapter, may explain how a less skilled imperial excerptor could produce majuscule types of slips while the deluxe copies of the emperor contain some minuscule mistakes. As will be shown in chapter 3, the classification of the historical passages happened in the margin, probably in tiny majuscule letters as was the custom that time. Thus, the majuscule slips may originate from majuscule codices or from the margin of any codices. The drafts of the final volumes were prepared in minuscules. In this way, during the teamwork prior to the final copies, the minuscule mistakes could be easily accumulated and proportionally surpassed the majuscule ones that the proof-readers could have corrected.

Secondly, I try to demonstrate that **P** exactly reflects the principle of excerpting identical with *CE*. It is striking to observe that all texts which deal with naval business are missing from the long extract in an excerpt from Arrian on the siege of Tyre by Alexander the Great (*Alexandri Anabasis*, 2. 15. 6–2. 24. 2, cf. App. B, on

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<sup>404</sup>See the relation of *CE* and the Paris codex (**P**) in the stemma composed by KLEINLOGEL (1965), 168. He originates both groups of the Thucydides excerpts from an early majuscule version of family Θ.

## 2. The Material Evidence

p.317). In **P**, similarly to *CE*, there is no reference to the content nor summary of the absent text. This phenomenon may demonstrate that in parallel with the sieges, the chapters excerpted here were also adopted to a lost collection on naval warfare. The separate treatment of naval war might well be argued by the cluster of such texts in Ambros. B 119 sup., ff.323–342, a codex copied in the 950–960s for the courtier, Basil Lekapenos the *parakoimomenos* (see above) who seems to be responsible for some of the codices copied for Constantine’s library. In this cluster there are three works on naval tactics by Leo VI the Wise,<sup>405</sup> one by Syrianos Magister,<sup>406</sup> and the last work of this group is dedicated to Basil Lekapenos.<sup>407</sup>

Among the other gaps of **P**, such texts as mythology and military speeches were classified to the appropriate other collections. The collection entitled “On public speeches”<sup>408</sup> suggests an interesting parallel in the same Ambrosian manuscript. The tenth-century historical manuscripts usually marked in the margin the passages on public speeches, which may explain why they were selected as a separate subject matter.<sup>409</sup>

Compared to alternative textual transmission of complete texts, the “fragments” in **P** demonstrate the same methodological accuracy in regards of verbatim inclusion of the passages on the siege and simultaneously the traceless omission of other coherent passages, perfectly fitting other collections of *CE* (cf. App. B, on p.317). These characteristics show that the excerpts of **P** originate in texts produced in the

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<sup>405</sup>Alphonse Dain, ed., *Leonis Sapientis de navali proelio, Excerptum Nauticum, De fluminibus traiacendis*, in: DAIN (1943), 15–33, 35–38, 39–42;

<sup>406</sup>Alphonse Dain, ed., “Syriani Magistri naumachiae,” in: DAIN (1943), 43–55.

<sup>407</sup>Alphonse Dain, ed., “Ad Basilium Patricium Naumachica,” in: DAIN (1943), 57–68.

<sup>408</sup>ELr 484: Theophylaktos Simokattes, exc.6: 4.13.4–26, ed. Carl de Boor, *Theophylacti Simocattae Historiae* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1887), 174–178; EV 1,63: Josephus Flavius, AJ 8.227–228 (8.viii.4); EV 2,153: at the end of Polybius exc.60 (xvi.22.10); EI 4: at the end of Nicolas of Damascus, exc.2 (FGrHist A 90 F), EI 30: in Nicolas of Damascus, exc.26 (FGrHist A 90 F 66,31), EI 48: in Nicolas of Damascus, exc.27 (FGrHist A 90 F 130, xxvii), EI 215: in Dionysius of Halicarnassus exc.1, between 12.1.15 and 12.2.1; EI 222: at the end of Dionysius of Halicarnassus exc.2 (15.3), in pair with the collection “on marches”; ES 412: at the end of Cassius Dio exc.21 (fr.13,2, ed. Boissevain, p.37).

<sup>409</sup>On the battle exhortation in ancient historiography, see HANSEN (1993), 161–180.



Table 2.6.: Patterns of omissions in Arrianus in **P**

Arrianus	Par. suppl. gr. 607	content	ὑπόθεσις
2. 15.6	+	intro to siege	
2. 15. 7	—	naval war	
2. 16. 1–6	—	Heracles cult, mythology	περὶ Ἑλληνικῆς ἱστορίας
2. 16. 7–8	+	envoys	
2. 17. 1–4	—	military speech	περὶ δημηγορίων
2. 18. 2–4	(only 2. 18. 3)	Tyre's geography	περὶ οἰκισμῶν
2. 18. 5–	+	siege of Tyre	
2. 19. 6			
2. 19. 6–	—	naval siege	περὶ ναυμαχίας
2. 21. 1 and passim after			
2. 21. 1–	+	siege of Tyre	
2. 24. 2 with lacunae			

frame of a much larger project that covers a range of aspects broader than besieging or warfare in general. The wide scope of the coherent omissions would rather argue for viewing these excerpts as copied from among those that were classified according to the Constantinian subjects.

Finally, I will demonstrate that the Greek title in **P** is irrelevant in deciding its relationship with *CE* (see the various facsimiles in fig. C.13 on p. 388). In the upper margin of f. 88r, the first page of the historical excerpts on sieges, only the lower parts of the “title” can be seen because majority of this word has been trimmed off with the upper edge when the codex was bound in the 1510s. The legs of two letters go below the other letters. Only the second line is visible in its entire length: διαφορων πόλεων. Mynas who discovered the manuscript in Mount Athos supplemented this word, judging from the content, read <π>ολιορ<κίαι> (Par. suppl. gr. 485, p. 1).

Müller who first published the text from Mynas’ transcription suggested this reading while proposing to classify these collections as part of the Constantinian one “On leading of the army” (περὶ στρατηγίας). Moreover, he suggested that a scribe unified two collections in **P** under the same heading, which would be significant for identifying the title. In Mynas’ copy, he found a passage after an excerpt from Polyaeus’ *Stratagems* narrating how the citizens of Megara managed to scare

## 2. The Material Evidence

Antigonus' Indian elephants during the siege of their towns by smearing pigs with melted pitch, putting them in fire and driving them among the elephants. He interpreted the passage as a transition from the description of battles to those of sieges (and then follows the narrative on sieges etc. Ἐνθεῦθεν ἐπὶ τὰς πολιορκίας κτλ.).<sup>410</sup> Because the content before this sentence rather deals with battles (περὶ παρατάξεων), he suggested the title as περὶ παρατάξεων or περὶ πολιορκίων. Wescher, however, who first published all of the historical excerpts with critical notes from **P**, did not accept Mynas' conjecture but suggested στρατηγία or παρατάξεις.<sup>411</sup> Nevertheless, he interpreted the visible part of the first line as στρ<ατηγία>. Following Müller hypothesis on the transitional sentence and calculating with the length of this upper line he suggested a reading στρατηγία καὶ πολιορκία.

I would mention two points against these arguments. First, the letter shape of the visible parts does not allow Wescher's reading as στρ<ατηγία> if they are attributed to the hand of the historical excerpts "On sieges". The scribe of these passages does not use -στ- ligature in majuscule or does not draw the leg of minuscule τ below the bottom line of the bilinear writing system as the title would require. The letters here rather seem to correspond to an -εϛ- but I cannot find a word which fits the meaning and the title seem longer than someone could guess on its former content. If one considers another option, namely, that it is a different hand that copied this title, it seems easier to find the solution. The hand of f. 83r produced such letters that στρ<ατηγία> can correspond to the visible parts of the title. There is huge initial majuscule T that extends much below the bottom line and the peculiar Δ that is in διαφέρων. In the latter case, the title comes from one of the later users of **P**, part 3; thus, its content does not affect the question on the original title of the collection. Moreover, it is very likely that f. 88r is not the beginning of the collection as argued in description of **P** (ch. 2.5.1).

<sup>410</sup>MÜLLER (1847), vol. 2, Appendix, 3–5.

<sup>411</sup>WESCHER (1867a), 283.

As far as the transitional sentence on f. 91r is concerned, it seems hard to believe that it bridges a different collection with the previous one as Müller and Wescher argued. The previous excerpts are also interested in attacks against towns even if not directly in a siege. Instead, it rather relates the description of how the elephants were scarred by the burning pigs in the siege of Megara to the epigram that was copied directly afterwards. Müller and Wescher did not take into account the frank note of the scribe in the middle of this sentence which may slightly modify their interpretation. The whole sentence is quoted as follows: “This is the source of the proverb on besieging preparations using things available at hand, if I liked to write the real sense of it, to entrust the solution of actual problems to old practices.” and the epigram: “If you had learnt the the battle of the longevous elephants | you would not tremble the wars of the beasts carrying the Indians” (see in the appendix, fig. C.14 on p. 389).<sup>412</sup> The epigram does not occur in the *Palatine Anthology* among the epigrams assembled in the most extensive garland edited under Constantine VII’s age but only in a later collection. It does not appear either in the context of Polyaeus. The scribe of **P** could have access of a collection of epigrams of historical context where he found and copied the *distichon* illustrating the excerpted passage.<sup>413</sup> The inclusion of this epigram at this place may also support the idea that the historical excerpts of **P** originate in the context of *CE*.

#### 2.5.4. The Hands of P

As was argued in ch. 2.5.3 (p. 168, the last text in part 3 of **P** was copied by the hand of f. 83r, which is very close to the one copying part 3b (**P**, ff. 81–87) with extracts from Philostratus’s *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* and from Aristodemus. These two similar hands differ both from the hand of the military engineering and the one of the excerpts on sieges of various towns. It also seems the hand of **P**, f. 83r that

<sup>412</sup> Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ τὰς πολιορκίας καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἔνδον παρασκευῶν, εἰ μὴ γραφὴν ἀγνωμοσύνης φεύγειν ἐθέλομεν, ὁ λόγος ἔρχεται πράττειν [ταῖς] πάλαι τὸ τῶν μηχανῶν πιστούμενος χρήσιμον. And the epigram: Ὑσμείνην δεδάηκας ἀμετροβίων ἐλεφάντων· Ἰνδοφόρους κρατεροὺς οὐ τρομέεις πολέμους.

<sup>413</sup> Anthologia Palatina, *Epigrammata Demonstrativa*, 55.

## 2. The Material Evidence

copied the heading of the excerpts on sieges on f.88r. The script of **P**, ff.81–87 seems to parallel some hands from the mid-tenth-century. Among the hands that seem close to the one of **P**, ff.81–87,<sup>414</sup> there is only one which has a colophon with a precise date (Par.gr.781).<sup>415</sup> Par.gr.781 was copied under the joint reign of emperors Romanos I and Constantine VII in 939. If the hypothesis is correct that **P**, ff.81–87 and f.83r was the last addition to the tenth-century collection, the artillery manuals and the excerpts on the sieges were copied before. Therefore, the central part of **P** may be viewed contemporary with Emperor Constantine VII. The written space is unusually packed with 39 lines to a page and with 62–65 letters to a line (except for f.83), especially if compared to the other tenth-century sections of the same part of **P**. The scribe apparently wanted to save place by writing so densely and abbreviating long proper names such as e.g., Κορίνθιοι by suspension as it can be observed in **T**. The script, written across the line, is leaning to the right and gives the appearance of a more regular minuscule than the other parts of the manuscript. Characteristic ligatures are with the letters -ε-, -σ-, -υ-, -τ- the abbreviations of καί and -ου, -ον, -τα, and the usual contraction of the *nomina sacra* are applied. The words are not consequently accentuated; the circumflex is located after breathing which usually has square shape. Majuscule E, B, Λ, N, O, and Σ infiltrate into the text.

The script of the artillery manuals is similar to that of the historical collection on sieges of towns. In the works on the construction of missiles, there are 34 lines to a page (f.18r: 41 lines) and 42–48 letters per line. The leaves of part (ff.16–17 and ff.88–103) have equally 34 lines to a page but 38–44 letters to a line. Therefore,

<sup>414</sup>See some parallels in AGATI (1992), vol.2, tab. 16a–b (Patmiacus 24), tab.34 (Par.gr.763), tab.73 (Par.gr.139), tab.110 (Escorial Ψ.III.18), tab.117 (Patmiacus 13), tab.184 (Moscow, Syn.gr.284), and tab.185 (Oxford, Bodleian, Barocc. 174).

<sup>415</sup>Par.gr.781 contains Chrysostom (ruling type II,4b). Its colophon says: σχήματα λόγων: χρυσορρήμονο(ς) τε ἐρμηνείας ἡμαῖς παλάμησι χαράξας · πολλὰ σολοικίζειν οὐκ ἐθέλων ἐδάην ∴ ἐγράφη χειρὶ στυλιανοῦ τοῦ τάλανος· εὐκλεεστάτῳ καλοκύρῳ πρωτοσπαθαρίῳ. . . νομίμασι βυζαντίοις ζ'· μηνὸς ἰαννουαρίου, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιβ'· ἔτει κόσμου ςυμζ'· βασιλείας ῥωμανοῦ· κωνσταντίνου τοῦ πορφυρογεννήτου· στεφάνου καὶ κωνσταντίνου· τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων καὶ φιλοχρίστων βασιλέων· πατριαρχοῦ δὲ θεοφυλάκτου, υἱοῦ ῥωμανοῦ τοῦ ἀειμνήστου βασιλέως. ὥσπερ ξένοι χαίρουσι πατρίδα βλέπειν, οὕτως καὶ τοῖς κάμνουσι βιβλίου τέλος. The colophon is quoted from AGATI (1992), vol.1. p.280–281. See also LAKE & LAKE (1934–1939), vol.4, n° 137.

these folia were copied by a similar but probably not identical hand with that of the artillery in irregular *minuscule rotunda*, showing some elements of the *minuscule bouletée*. The similarity of the letter shapes suggest dating them to the same period, roughly to the reign of Constantine VII. This script is also leaning to the right. The words are not consistently accentuated, the breathings have angular shape. The letters are much larger than those copied in the hand of the excerpts from Aristodemus. There are several majuscule letters (B, N, O, Υ) among them. *Iota subscriptum* and *adscriptum* are not indicated. Initial *ypsilon* and *iota* are usually marked with *trema* without accents or breathings (ϊ, ῑ). There are some abbreviations (two types of καί, κατὰ, -τα). In addition to the letter size, there some other differences as well: e. g., the majuscule Δ are slightly different in each script. However, on f. 83r, both types of majuscule Δ occur. From linguistic point of view, it is worth noting that some excerpts in this part apply Ionic dialect (Athenaeus, Biton).

It seems possible to conclude that, contrary to Wescher's view that the poliorcetic texts and the historical fragments constitute the oldest part of the codex, both scripts might be viewed as contemporary. In addition to the usual itacistic mistakes, and the confusion of short and long vowels, there are some other types of scribal errors revealing the origin of the codex. According to Wescher, both groups of texts were copied from archetypes in majuscule letters (see the confusion of A–Λ, O–Θ, C–O, Δ–Λ).<sup>416</sup> Wescher's suggestion that the poliorcetic texts and the historical excerpts were copied on dictation, mainly based on the confusion of the lengths of vowels, does not seem tenable. If the hypothesis that the Aristodemus fragment once began on the remaining blank leaf either of the artillery manuals or the historical excerpts, both texts should be dated shortly before the Aristodemus fragment.<sup>417</sup>

As demonstrated above (cf. ch. 2.5.3, p. 161) that the historical excerpts in **P** used historical works that were thematically excerpted employing a method identical with

<sup>416</sup>See the spelling mistakes to be originated from majuscule script, listed by WESCHER (1867a), xix–xxiv.

<sup>417</sup>See the closest parallels in AGATI (1992), vol. 1, 271–272, vol. 2, tab. 184–185.

## 2. *The Material Evidence*

the one applied to *CE*. In this context, the history of the **P** helps contextualize *CE* in general. The evidence of the codicological structure and the scripts of **P**, ff. 81–103 suggests that some parts of *CE* were available in the early years of Constantine VII's sole reign (945–959). This aspect may expand the temporal and intellectual confines both of the creation and influence of *CE* if compared with previous scholarly suggestions.

In addition to the availability of *CE* in an early date, it seems very probable that these texts reached the circle of the imperial court beyond the imperial family. From the individual features of the intermingled excerpts from Philostratus and Aristodemus as well as the recipes copied on f. 83r, it seems very likely that **P** was ordered and expanded for personal use. The tenth-century core of **P** could have been in the possession of a well formed officer of the Byzantine army who could use the engineering manual in practice during war and the historical extracts as leisure reading. By choosing a cluster of excerpts, mainly from sources not available in abundance even in Constantinople in the tenth century, the unknown possessor of **P** testifies to a close intellectual contact with the imperial court. Thus, the tenth-century military miscellany (**P**) should be viewed as a rare example of an intellectual exchange within the imperial circle: some of the students of the palace school as the owner of **P** could have access to the excerpts and be influenced by them.

### 2.5.5. Milan: *Ambros. B 119 sup.*

The codex Ambrosianus B 119 sup. entered the Biblioteca Ambrosiana from the library of the Italian philologist, Jean Vincent Pinelli (sixteenth century). It is impossible to reconstruct what happened to this manuscript between the end of the tenth century and the sixteenth century when it had already been in Italy. Judging by its codicological characteristics, however, Jean Irigoin assigned this codex to the imperial scriptorium identical with the one in which **T** and the other codices listed at the beginning of this chapter were produced.

The Ambrosian codex consists of 347 foliated parchment leaves, each measuring 295×225 mm, with a text in 31 lines, copied within a writing space of 215×155 mm. The ruling type of the Ambrosian manuscript is very simple and frequent.<sup>418</sup> The composite codex consists of four units: (1) collection of strategists; (2) the Tactics of Leo VI, (3) military rhetoric; and (4) treatises on sea war. The leaves are foliated in several different ways. The simultaneous use of two different foliation systems in the scholarly literature results in some confusion.<sup>419</sup> Despite the irregularities and the fact that it does not follow the actual sequence of the leaves, the majority of scholars decided in favour of following a foliation, made by a humanist hand (sixteenth century) in the lower right corner of each recto side (system 1).<sup>420</sup> The other foliation was also made by a humanist hand (sixteenth century) in the upper right corner of each recto side (system 2), which reflects an arrangement of leaves as it is now.

On the basis of a careful analysis of the structure and the palaeographical features of the codex, Carlo Maria Mazzucchi developed Irigoin's theory on the origin of the manuscript and concluded that the codex represents a dedicatory copy prepared in the 950s or in the 960s for the courtly man, Basil Lekapenos the *parakoimomenos* (see above).<sup>421</sup> As a sign revealing its commissioner, the last text of the collection is the *Naumachia*, a treatise on naval war written by Basil Lekapenos himself. Judging by its content and several characteristics, the collective manuscript as a whole can be viewed as a fellow codex to Plut. 55, 4 (Florence), which seems to have been composed at the commission of Constantine VII.

The codex Ambros. B 119 sup. contains texts paraphrased into a simpler Greek than their exemplars, a rather remarkable peculiarity of this manuscript, and several

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<sup>418</sup>On LAKE & LAKE (1934–1939) I 1C = SAUTEL (1995): 00C1, see SAUTEL (1995), 71–77.

<sup>419</sup>Both foliations are indicated in the manuscript catalogue by Aemidius Martini and Dominicus Bassi, in MARTINI & BASSI (1906), vol. 1, 157–160.

<sup>420</sup>MÜLLER (1882), VÁRI (1908), AHRWEILER (1967), and MAZZUCCHI (1978).

<sup>421</sup>MAZZUCCHI (1978), 287–289 and VÁRI (1908), 76.

Table 2.7.: The structure of Ambros. B 119 sup.

system 1 (ff.)	system 2 (ff.)	author and work
1r–5av		Onesandrus:
104r–113r		<i>Strategicon</i>
6r–17v		De re strategica
114r–124v		Mauricius:
96r–103v		<i>Strategicon</i>
18r–88v		
89r–91v		Urbicius: <i>Cynegeticus</i>
93r–95v		Urbicius: <i>Tacticon</i>
125r–134v		fifteenth-century addition
135r–140v		<i>Rhetorica militaris</i>
141r–161r	135–165	<i>Conciones militares</i>
162r–185v		<i>Strategemata Ambrosiana</i>
186r–322r		Leo VI: <i>Tacticae constitutiones</i>
323r–331r		Leo VI: <i>De navali proelio</i>
331r–331v		Leo VI: <i>Excerptum nauticum</i>
331v–332v		Urbicius: <i>De fluminibus traiacendis</i>
333r–338v		Sirianus Magister: <i>Naumachia</i>
339r–342v		<i>Ad Basilium Naumachica</i>

unique texts that have not been transmitted in other manuscripts. The section of “military rhetoric” also belongs to the unique part of the collection. Rezső Vári interpreted a section of this manuscript as the remains of the lost Constantinian collection with a heading “On military speeches” (περὶ δημηγορίων).<sup>422</sup>

Vári’s idea was refuted by Hélène Ahrweiler.<sup>423</sup> Within the section in question, there are three quires (ff. 135–165) that contain military speeches excerpted from three historians (Xenophon, Josephus Flavius, and Herodian) and an additional quire that preserve a speech ascribed to Constantine VII,<sup>424</sup> each on a separate gathering. However, it is rather interesting to notice that the first speech by Constantine VII was copied at the end of the quire identical with the one containing the

<sup>422</sup>It was MÜLLER (1882), 26–27 who first raised the possibility of viewing a section of Ambros. B 119 sup. (ff. 141–161). VÁRI (1908), 76–78 developed this idea with further arguments. See also this opinion in FOUCAULT (1967), 364.

<sup>423</sup>AHRWEILER (1967), 393–394, and accepted by later scholars such as by LEMERLE (1971), 273, 284, n. 55 and FLUSIN (2002), 553, n. 57.

<sup>424</sup>The speech on ff. 157r–161v was edited by VÁRI (1908), 78–84.



excerpts from Herodian.<sup>425</sup> On fig. 2.27, the number in brackets indicate foliation 1 and the second numbers show foliation 2 reflecting the present sequence of the leaves in the codex. The difference between the two can be explained by insertion and removal of gatherings. For the sake of clarity, I use foliation 1 in my references.

Among the historians excerpted in the Ambros. B 119 sup., only Xenophon received a more detailed study.<sup>426</sup> Carlo Maria Mazzucchi tried to define the position of these excerpts in the textual tradition of these historians and to clarify the relationship between these excerpts and *CE*. Based on the critical editions of Xenophon and Josephus Flavius as well as on other studies on these historians, he concluded that the exemplars of the historical excerpts selected for the Ambrosian manuscript differed from the exemplars of the same texts selected for *CE*.<sup>427</sup> The absence of Herodian's excerpts from among the fragmentarily preserved Constantinian collections also seems to support this conclusion, however, there is no evidence to exclude the hypothesis that Herodian's text was selected in the lost parts of Constantine's collections. Although any strong connection between the two selections was refuted based on the observation that the two collections comprise texts originating from different manuscript traditions, the similar method of excerpting and classifying these texts cannot be denied. The headings of the historical passages in the Ambrosian codex (δημηγορίαι) are identical with the references as they appear in the preserved codices of *CE* (περὶ δημηγορίων). Moreover, the excerpts in the Ambrosian codex follow the sequence of the narrative of the exemplar. Thus, the collection was compiled in the 950s or in the 960s in a codex closely related to the imperial court with a method that was employed in *CE*. The fact that each historian was copied to a separate gathering with blank parts and leaves subsequently being removed indicates that this collection of historical excerpts was assembled afresh for this codex.

<sup>425</sup>The speech on ff. 154r–156v was edited by AHRWEILER (1967), 397–399.

<sup>426</sup>BOLLA (1893).

<sup>427</sup>MAZZUCCHI (1978), 290–293.

## 2. The Material Evidence

fol.1	fol.2	passages	content
141r	135r	Xen., <i>Cyr.</i> 1. 5. 7–14	Cyrus's speech to his army
142r	136r	Xen., <i>Cyr.</i> 3. 3. 44–45	The speech of the Assyrians' king
142r	136r	Xen., <i>An.</i> 1. 7. 3–4	Cyrus's speech to his Greek allies
143r	137r	Xen., <i>An.</i> 3. 1. 15–18, 21–25, 35–45	Xenophon's speech to the Greeks
143v	137v	Xen., <i>An.</i> 3. 2. 2–3	Cheirisophus' speech to the Greeks
144r	138r	Xen., <i>An.</i> 3. 2. 10–21, 26–32	Xenophon's speech to the Greeks
145r	139r	Xen., <i>An.</i> 3. 2. 39	Xenophon's speech to the Greeks
145v	139v	4/5 is blank	
146r	140r	Ios. Flav., <i>BJ</i> , 2. 373–379	Hedodes's speech to his subjects
146r	140r	Ios. Flav., <i>BJ</i> , 2. 345–367, 396, 400, 401	Agrippa's speech to the Jews
146v	140v	Ios. Flav., <i>BJ</i> , 4. 163–166, 168, 173–179, 185, 189–191	Ananias's speech
149r	143r	Ios. Flav., <i>BJ</i> ,	Titus's speech to the army
150v	144v	Blank (half of the leaf 144 is cut)	
151r	145r	Herodian 2. 10. 2–9	Severus' Speech to the army
151v	145v	Herodian 3. 1. 6–7	Severus
152r	146r	Herodian 4. 14. 5–8	Macrinus
152v	146v	Herodian 6. 3. 3–7	Alexander Severus' speech to the army
153r	147r	Herodian 8. 3. 4–6	Crispus consul to the citizens of Aquileia
153v	147v	Blank (after the end on f. 147r)	
154r–	148r–	(title is missing)	Const. VII's speech to his army in the east
156r	150r		
156r	150v	blank	
151–160		16th century paper folia	
157r–	161r–165	Const. VII's speech to his army in the east	
161r			
fol.1	title (in red ink and majuscules)		margin
141r	†δημηγορία Ξενοφώντος ἐκ τῆς Κύρου παιδείας:		
142r	∴ δημηγορία Κύρου πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώτας:–		K<ύρου> παι<δείας> Γ'
142r	∴ δημηγορία τοῦ Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέως πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοῦ στρατιώτας:–		K<ύρου> ἀναβ<άσεως> Β'
142v	∴ δημηγορία τοῦ Κύρου πρὸς τοὺς συμμάχους Ἑλλήνας:–		
142v	∴ δημηγορία Ξενοφώντος πρὸς τοὺς Κύρου συμμάχους Ἑλλήνας:		
143r	μετα τὴν ἐκείνου ἐν τῷ πρὸς βασιλέα Ἀρταξέρξη τὸν αὐτοῦ		
143r	ἀδελφὸν ἀναίρεσιν ἀπιέναι βουλόμενον εἰς τὰ οἰκεία:–		
143r	∴ δημηγορία Ξενοφώντος πρὸς Ἑλληνικὸν στράτευμα		
143v	δημηγορία Χειρεσόφου πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοῦς Ἑλλήνας:		
143v	δημηγορία Ξενοφώντος πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοῦς Ἑλλήνας:		
145r	δημηγορία αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοῦς:–		
146r	†δημηγορία ἐκ τῆς Ἰωσήπου ἱστορίας [Τ]τε ἀλώσεως Ἱεροσολύμα:–		
146r	∴ δημηγορία Ἡρώδου πρὸς τὸ ὑπήκοον ἐπὶ συμβάντι		
146v	σεισμῷ καὶ πολέμων ἐφόδω:–		
146v	∴ δημηγορία Ἀγρίππα πρὸς Ἰουδαίους:		
148v	∴ δημηγορία Ἀνάνου ἀρχιερέως		
149r	δημηγορία Τίτου πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώτας ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος		
149r	Ἱεροσολύμων ἀνιέναι προτρέποντος:		
151r	†δημηγορία ἐκ τῆς Ἡρωδιανοῦ ἱστορίας ὅσαι ἀνδρίαν		
151r	παρακαλοῦσι πρὸς τὸ χρῆσιμον συντεταγμέναι:		
151v	∴ δημηγορία Σεβήρου πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώτας:		
151v	∴ δημηγορία Σεβήρου:–		
152r	∴ δημηγορία Μακρόνου βασιλέως:–		
152v	∴ δημηγορία Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μαμαίας καὶ Ἀντωνίου υἱοῦ:–		
153r	∴ δημηγορία Κρισπίνου ὑπάτου ἣν εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας		
153r	τῆς Ἀκυληΐας ὅτε ἐπολιόρκει αὐτὴν Μαξιμῖνος:		
156r	— (immediate beginning without a title)		
157r	∴ δημηγορία Κωνσταντίνου βασιλέως πρὸς τοὺς τῆς ἀνατολίας στρατηγούς:–		

Figure 2.27.: Historical speeches in Ambros. B 119 sup.

Regrettably, the source of this selection cannot be specified.<sup>428</sup> The fact, however, that the redaction of Polyaeus' *Strategemata* (ff. 162r–185v) following the military speeches are arranged according to fifty-three problems argues for a connection with *CE*. The Constantinian method of excerpting may explain how the variant readings originating of independent traditions were mixed up (see ch. 3.5 on p. 243).

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<sup>428</sup>The tradition of excerpting public speeches from historical narratives may have provided methodological aid. On the battle exhortation in ancient historiography, see HANSEN (1993), 161–180.

## 2. *The Material Evidence*

[The emperor's intention was] to distribute [the material] after an ingenious and careful manner into diverse subjects, fifty-three in number, in and through which the whole epic course of history might be grouped together. Nothing contained in the texts would escape this distribution into subjects; by following the sequence of the narrative nothing would be omitted in virtue of this division according to subject. Rather would it preserve the coherence of the whole, not by providing the usual summary for each of the subjects, but rather, to describe the process more accurately, by assigning each of them a proper classification.

Constantine VII, *Prooemium to the excerpts*

# 3

## A Data Management System: Tradition and Innovation

This chapter seeks to explore the imperial excerptors' method by contrasting the instructions as described in the prooemium, once preceding each Constantinian collection, with the practice as reflected in manuscripts which were produced as part of a series launched by Constantine VII himself. In the apparatus of the edition below, the reader is provided with the prooemium to *CE* in Greek, with the allusions as well as with translation in English. In some cases, as will be argued, multiple interpretations seem as equally tenable; while other ambiguous parts will be clarified through various pieces of evidence borrowed from the manuscripts of *CE*.

### 3. A Data Management System

The tenth-century marginal entries that were put down in **T** by the main scribe, (cf. ch. 2.2.5 on p. 120) will be classified and analyzed in order to show the means and the ends they were produced with. The exploration is based on these “editorial supplements” that appear in full in print—for the first time—in app. A (p. 261). These marginalia may reveal the practice of the editorial work and may brighten our knowledge on the intermediate steps bridging the exemplars with the final copies. They help uncover the routine that hides behind the solid remains of *CE*, which are yet to be viewed as scarce if compared to the lost majority of the collections. It seems likely to suspect the same practice in other compilations produced at the imperial court of Constantinople. The abundant data of other works claiming Constantine VII’s authorship such as *DAI*, *De them.*, and *De cerimoniis* are viewed as unique treasures for a number of disciplines such as historical geography of the eastern Mediterranean, political history of Byzantium and art history.<sup>429</sup> Yet, it is still unknown how these data were assembled and employed by the Constantinian method and for the purpose of his imperial ideology into a frame that, at first sight, seems to lack a cohesion.<sup>430</sup> They are short of a conscious arrangement that a modern reader would expect from “imperial” works claiming to be carefully and intentionally designed. To answer this question, analyzing the system of these marginal entries seems especially valuable.

#### 3.1. Prooemium to the *Constantinian Excerpts*

The primary aim of this chapter is to analyze the only textual evidence, composed at Constantine’s court, which allows the reader a deep insight in the mid-tenth century

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<sup>429</sup>For a corpus of these data, see KOUTAVA-DELIVORIAS (1993), 2 volumes.

<sup>430</sup>See the oddities in the “structures” of the *DAI* and the *De cerimoniis* which can be explained by viewing these works as compiled with a dossier-technique, a method explained by SPECK (1991). For the incoherent arrangement of the *De cerimoniis*, see BURY (1907) and the table by MCCORMICK (1991), 596–597, and MOFFATT (1995). For the arrangement of the *DAI*, see BURY (1906) (especially 517–520), JENKINS (1962), 1–8, SODE (1994) (especially 149–153), and most recently HOWARD-JOHNSTON (2001). The treatise *De them.* is geographically arranged and reflect more precision than Constantine VII’s other works. For the detailed analysis of its structure, see PRATSCH (1994).

### 3.1. *Prooemium to the Constantinian Excerpts*

Byzantine theory of producing compilations. The author of this text is someone who is taking up the role of Emperor Constantine VII when describing the compilatory techniques. In addition to the moral and practical justification of the work, also present in other treatises claiming Constantine VII's authorship,<sup>431</sup> this prooemium prescribes in details how historical texts should be reshaped with the purpose of finding an easier approach to their content, while at the same time guaranteeing that they are not deprived of the rhetorical beauty they possess.

#### 3.1.1. Critical Edition of the Prooemium

This *prooemium*, surviving through two independent channels, seems to have preceded each of the Constantinian collections. One of the two is the single codex that survives of the once numerous collections of *CE*, the first volume (**T**) carrying historical excerpts “On virtue and vice”, a subject numbered as the fiftieth part of the whole set consisting of fifty-three separate subjects alike. In **T**, the two leaves with the prooemium had already been lost in the middle of the eighteenth century when the codex was rebound. However, the surprisingly well designed arrangement of its leaves (see ch. 2.2, p. 103) demonstrates that it was a bifolium that preceded the excerpts that were otherwise copied in *quaternios*. The same arrangement can be suspected also in the lost collections. The insertion of these double leaves in front of each collection, thus, seems to have been the final step in producing the copies for the imperial palace library.

Despite the unfortunate loss of the bifolium comprising these texts in **T**, satisfactory evidence has come down to us on what it contained. In 1631–1632, the French humanist and philologist, Claudius Salmasius (1588–1653) transcribed some texts of **T** including the iambic poem but not the prooemium.<sup>432</sup> This copy of the poem is available in Par. gr. 2550 (f. 120r) (see fig. C.8 on p. 385). Shortly after Sal-

<sup>431</sup>See other Constantinian prefaces such as *De cerimoniais* and *DAI*.

<sup>432</sup>BÜTTNER-WOBST (1905), 756–757.

### 3. A Data Management System

masius, Henri Valois, the first editor of the classical fragments of **T**, included this prooemium and the poem in his edition of the entire content of **T** (Paris, 1634), although he extensively used Hoeschel's edition of the collection of E<sub>Lr</sub>, published earlier in Augsburg in 1603, in order to supply the deficiencies of the prooemium to be edited from **T**.

The other collection that preserved the same prooemium is “On the embassies sent by the Romans to the Barbarians” (E<sub>Lr</sub>). Its original manuscript that was probably also a copy from the single imperial series (see above in ch. 2.4, p. 135) did contain the same prooemium as well, according to Colvill's description of the content of the Escorial codex (Θ.I.4, pp. 187–190), vanished in a fire in 1671 (see ch. 2.1, p. 138). However, this prooemium was transmitted in some copies of E<sub>Lr</sub> (figs. C.9 and C.10 on p. 386), and in its various editions since that of Hoeschel (Augsburg, 1603).<sup>433</sup> The later editors sometimes tried to correct the text at some points.

The prooemium is edited below on the basis of de Boor's edition of E<sub>Lr</sub>. The variant readings are indicated in the first apparatus. The second apparatus contains references to parallel texts that may help understand the various allusions and ideas behind this enigmatic text. Because previous attempts have left some points for interpretation unanswered, the whole text is translated parallel to the Greek text.<sup>434</sup>

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<sup>433</sup>This prooemium also appears in Casaubon's Polybius, 777ss; also in SCHWEIGHÄUSER (1823), vol. 1, cxxxix–cxlii Dindorf's edition (*Geographi Graeci Minores*, vol. 1, lxxix–lxxxii), and in WÄSCHKE (1882), 271–272.

<sup>434</sup>I am indebted to Mark Drew for his assistance in the English translation of this prooemium as it precedes the collection “On embassies of the Romans to the Barbarians” (E<sub>Lr</sub>, ed. De Boor, 1–2). See previous translations in French in LEMERLE (1971), 281–282, and in English in LEMERLE (1986), 325–326. See also its various interpretations in BÜTTNER-WOBST (1906), 88–89, WILSON (1983), 143–145, and—the most accurate one—in FLUSIN (2002), 538–539.



Table 3.1.: References in the apparatus to the prooemium and to the iambic poem

reference	= manuscript or edition
BW	= Büttner-Wobst's conjectures in his edition of EV (Berlin, 1906)
Casaubon	= Casaubon's edition of Polybius (Paris, 1609) (777ss)
cod. Peiresc.	= the reading of the lost bifolium of the <i>codex Peirescianus</i>
de Boor	= de Boor's edition of ELr
Dindorf	= Dindorf's edition [ <i>Geographi Graeci Minores</i> (Leipzig, 1870) vol. 1, lxxix–lxxxii]
Hoeschel	= Hoeschel's edition of ELr (Augsburg, 1603 and 1648)
E	= Scorialensis R.III.14
Salmasius	= the iambic poem in Par. gr. 2550, f. 120r
Schweighäuser	= Schweighäuser's edition of Polybius (Oxford, 1823) vol. 1, cxxxix–cxlii
X	= shared reading of 3 mss [(Ba) Bruxellensis 11301–16, (Ma) Monacensis gr. 267, (Pd) Pal. gr. 413] of ELr
V	= Vat. gr. 1418 (ELr)
Valesius	= Valois's edition of EV (Paris, 1634)

## 3. A Data Management System

<Υπόθεσις τοῦ περὶ πρέσβων τεύχους  
Ῥωμαίων πρὸς ἐθνικούς. Προοίμιον.>

Ὅσοι τῶν πάλαι ποτὲ βασιλέων τε  
καὶ ἰδιωτῶν μὴ τὸν νοῦν παρυσύρησαν  
5 ἡδοναῖς, ἢ κατεμαλακίσθησαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ  
τῆς ψυχῆς εὐγενὲς ἀκηλίδωτον ἀρετῇ  
συνετήρησαν, οὗτοι δὲ οὗτοι καὶ πόνοις  
ἐνεκαρτέρησαν καὶ λόγοις ἐνησχολήθη-  
σαν, καὶ ἄλλος ἄλλο τι τῶν ὅσοι λο-  
10 γικώτερον ἐπεβίωσαν παιδείας ἐρασταὶ  
γεγονότες σπουδαιότερόν τινα συνεγρά-  
ψαντο, τοῦτο μὲν τῆς σφῶν αὐτῶν πο-  
λυμαθίας δεῖγμα ἐναργὲς τοῖς μετέπειτα  
καταλιπεῖν ἱμερόμενοι, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ εὐ-  
15 κλειαν ἀείμνηστον ἐκ τῶν ἐντυγχανόν-  
των καρπώσασθαι μνόμενοι.

ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκ τῆς τῶν τοσούτων ἐτῶν πε-  
ριδρομῆς ἄπλετόν τι χρῆμα καὶ πραγμά-  
των ἐγίγνετο καὶ λόγων ἐπλέκετο, ἐπ’  
20 ἄπειρόν τε καὶ ἀμήχανον ἢ τῆς ἱστορίας  
ἡρῶνυετο συμπλοκή, ἔδει δ’ ἐπιρρεπέσ-  
τερον πρὸς τὰ χεῖρω τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώ-  
πων προαίρεσιν μετατίθεσθαι χρόνους  
ὕστερον καὶ ὀλιγώρως ἔχειν πρὸς τὰ  
25 καλὰ καὶ ῥαθυμότερον διακεῖσθαι πρὸς  
τὴν τῶν φθασάντων γενέσθαι κατάλη-  
ψιν, κατόπιν γινομένης τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἐ-  
πιτεύξεως, ὥς ἐντεῦθεν ἀδηλὴ συσχι-  
άζεσθαι τὴν τῆς ἱστορίας ἐφεύρεσιν, πῇ  
30 μὲν σπάνει βίβλων ἐπωφελῶν, πῇ δὲ πρὸς  
τὴν ἐκτάδην πολυλογίαν δειμαινόντων  
καὶ κατορρωδούντων,

Subject of the embassies sent by the Ro-  
mans to the Barbarians. Prooemium.

All those, both among the emperors of  
old and the persons of no public station, who  
did not allow their mind to be turned aside 5R  
or weakened by pleasure, but who by dint  
of virtue preserved unblemished the noble  
quality of their soul; propelled themselves  
into action or gave themselves over to liter-  
ary activities. Of these, the ones who under- 10R  
took the literary pursuits as a consequence  
of having been passionate about acquiring  
knowledge, have—each in his own manner—  
written something the remarkable. [This was]  
both so as to leave to posterity some brilliant 15R  
proof of his vast learning, and at the same  
time intending to reap the fruit of an imper-  
ishable fame among those who would read  
his work.

Since, however, with the passage of so 20R  
many years, the number of the events has  
become innumerable and the writings have  
become more complex, the intricacy of the  
historical record has been infinitely magni-  
fied to the point of becoming unmanageable. 25R  
Thus, people’s inclinations and their choices  
have with time leaned ever more towards the  
worse, and they have become indifferent to  
the good and have neglected to learn the les-  
sons of the past or indeed to establish the 30R  
truth. As a consequence of this lack of clar-  
ity, the investigation of history is rendered  
obscure, both by the lack of useful books  
and because of people’s fearing and dread-  
ing their overstretched complexity. 35R

16 μνόμενοι] μόμενοι *coni.* Schweighäuser 17 δὲ] *om.* E 19 ἐγίγνετο] ἐγίνετο *coni.* BW in  
cod. Peiresc. 21 ἡρῶνυετο] εὐρῶνυετο cod. Peiresc. 21–22 δ’ ἐπιρρεπέστερον] δὲ ἐπιρρεπέστερον  
VX 27 τῆς ἀληθοῦς] cod. Peiresc.: τῆς τοῦ ἀληθοῦς Casaubon *Polyb.* ed. τὰληθοῦς *coni.* BW  
28 ὥς] ὥστ’ Valesius 28 ἀδηλὴ] ἀδειλεία X 28–29 συσχιάζεσθαι] σχιάζεσθαι X cod. Peiresc.  
31–32 δειμαινόντων καὶ] δειμαινόντων τε καὶ V

6 ἀκηλίδωτον] LXX Wi. 4.9, 7.26 15 ἀείμνηστον] Const. VII *De contionibus militaribus* 8, 58  
16 μνόμενοι] Herodianus, 1.1: παιδείας κλέος ἄϊδιον μώμωνι 17–18 ἐτῶν περιδρομῆς] Euripides  
*Helena* 776 27–28 ἐπιτεύξεως] cf. Theophylaktos Sim. ES 30,9 31 ἐκτάδην] i.e. ἐ. κεῖσθαι  
lie outstretched i.e. dead LSJ 32 κατορρωδούντων] cf. Plb. ELg 252, 14 266, 22 363, 4 Menander  
Protector ELr 185, 18 Prokopios ELg 491, 13 Cyrill. Theol.

## 3.1. Prooemium to the Constantinian Excerpts

ὁ τῆς πορφύρας ἀπόγονος Κωνσταντῖ-  
 νος, ὁ ὀρθοδοξότατος καὶ χριστιανικώ-  
 35 τας τῶν πώποτε βεβασιλευκότων, ὁ-  
 ξυωπέστερον πρὸς τὴν τῶν καλῶν κα-  
 τανόησιν διακείμενος καὶ δραστήριον ἐσ-  
 χηκῶς νοῦν ἔκρινε βέλτιστον εἶναι καὶ  
 40 κοινωφελὲς τῷ τε βίῳ ὀνησιφόρον, πρό-  
 τερον μὲν ζητητικῇ διεγέρσει βίβλους  
 ἄλλοθεν ἄλλας ἐξ ἀπάσης ἑκασταχοῦ  
 οἰκουμένης συλλέξασθαι παντοδαπῆς καὶ  
 πολυειδοῦς ἐπιστήμης ἐγκύμονας,

ἔπειτα τὸ τῆς πλατυεπείας μέγεθος καὶ  
 45 ἀκοὰς ἀποκναῖον ἄλλως τε καὶ ὀχληρὸν  
 καὶ φορτικὸν φαινόμενον τοῖς πολλοῖς  
 δεῖν ὥρθη καταμερίσαι τοῦτο εἰς λεπ-  
 τομέρειαν ἀνεπιφθόνως τε προθεῖναι κοι-  
 νῇ τὴν ἐκ τούτων ἀναφυσομένην ὠφέλει-  
 50 αν,

ὥς ἐκ μὲν τῆς ἐκλογῆς προσεκτικωτέ-  
 ρως καὶ ἐνδελεχέστερον κατεντυγχά-  
 νειν εἰς τοὺς τροφίμους τῶν λόγων καὶ  
 μονιμώτερον ἐντυποῦσθαι τούτοις τὴν  
 55 τῶν λόγων εὐφράδειαν,

So it is that Constantine, born in the  
 purple, that most orthodox and most Chris-  
 tian of the emperors up to the present time,  
 fitted to the task by a most sharp discern- 40R  
 ment concerning what is good and possess-  
 ing an enterprising intellect, judged that the  
 best thing, the most conducive to the com-  
 mon good and useful for governing conduct  
 is – in the first place – to collect by means  
 of diligent research all manner of books from 45R  
 all over the *oikoumene*; books bursting with  
 every kind and every variety of knowledge.

Next, he thought that it was necessary  
 to divide and distribute their great quantity  
 and extent, which weigh heavily on the un- 50R  
 derstanding and which seem to many to be  
 irksome and burdensome – into small sec-  
 tions. Hence, all the useful material which  
 they contain in such fertile abundance could,  
 [he thought,] be made available unstintingly 55R  
 to the public.

By a very careful selection the utility of  
 these works could be demonstrated more as-  
 siduously to those who are being reared in  
 the knowledge of letters, while at the same 60R  
 time their literary quality might be more eas-  
 ily impressed upon them.

48–49 κοινῇ] πᾶσι κοινῇ cod. Peiresc. 53 εἰς] *om.* cod. Peiresc.

44 πλατυεπείας] hapax 47 καταμερίσαι] cf. LXX Num. 34.29: οὗτοι οἷς ἐνετείλατο Κύριος  
 καταμερίσαι τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ ἐν γῇ Χανααν – Suda K 633 s. v. καταλοχίσαι: τὸ εἰς λόχους καταμερίσαι  
 τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ στρατοῦ 48–49 κοινῇ] DAI, preface, l. 14: τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον, ed. Moravcsik

## 3. A Data Management System

μεγαλοφυῶς τε καὶ εὐεπηβόλως πρὸς  
ἐπὶ τούτοις καταμερίσαι εἰς ὑποθέσεις  
διαφόρους, τρεῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς πεντήκοντα  
τὸν ἀριθμὸν οὖσας, ἐν αἷς καὶ ὑφ' αἷς  
60 ἅπαντα ἱστορικὴ μεγαλουργία συγκελ-  
εῖται.  
οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν τῶν ἐγκειμένων, ὃ δια-  
φεύξεται τὴν τοιαύτην τῶν ὑποθέσεων  
ἀπαρίθμησιν, οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἀφαι-  
65 ρουμένης τῆς τοῦ λόγου ἀκολουθίας τῇ  
διαίρεσει τῶν ἐννοιῶν, ἀλλὰ σύσσωμον  
σωζούσης, καὶ ἐκάστη ὑποθέσει προσαρ-  
μοζομένης τῆς τηλικαύτης οὐ συνόψε-  
ως, ἀληθέστερον δ' εἰπεῖν οἰκειώσεως.  
70 ὧν κεφαλαιωδῶν ὑποθέσεων ἡ προκει-  
μένη αὕτη καὶ ἐπιγραφομένη περὶ πρέσ-  
βων Ῥωμαίων πρὸς ἐθνικοὺς τυγχάνει  
οὕσα ἐβδόμη ἐπὶ τοῖς εἴκοσι, τῆς πρώτης  
τὸ ἐπώνυμον λαχούσης περὶ βασιλέων  
75 ἀναγορεύσεως.  
ἐμφαίνει δὲ τοῦτ' ὅτι τὸ προοίμιον, τίνας οἱ  
λόγοι πατέρας κέκτηνται, καὶ ὅθεν ἀ-  
ποκυῖσκονται, ὥς ἂν μὴ ὧσιν αἱ κεφα-  
λαιῶδεις ὑποθέσεις ἀκατονόμαστοι καὶ  
80 μὴ γνήσιοι, ἀλλὰ νόθοι τε καὶ ψευδῶ-  
νυμοι. εἰσὶ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων  
χρονικῶν·

In addition to this, [his intention was]  
to distribute [the material] after an ingeni-  
ous and careful manner into diverse subjects, 65R  
fifty-three in number, in and through which  
the whole epic course of history might be  
grouped together.

Nothing contained in the texts would es-  
cape this distribution into subjects; by fol- 70R  
lowing the sequence of the narrative noth-  
ing would be omitted in virtue of this divi-  
sion according to subject. Rather would it  
preserve the coherence of the whole, not by  
providing the usual summary for each of the 75R  
subjects, but rather, to describe the process  
more accurately, by assigning each of them  
a proper classification.

Of these principal subjects, the present  
text, bearing the heading: “On the embassies 80R  
of the Romans to the barbarians”, occurs as  
number twenty-seven, whereas the first re-  
ceived the title “On the proclamation of the  
Emperors”

This prooemium states from which au- 85R  
thor each of the texts was conceived and  
whose labour brought them forth, so that the  
principal subjects may not be as it were an-  
onymous and illegitimate; indeed, like bas-  
tard children bearing a stranger's name. [The 90R  
texts] are from the chronicles listed below:

56 εὐεπηβόλως] εὐεπηβόλως cod. Peiresc. – εὐεπιβόλως Hoeschel, de Boor – -επι- del. Casaubon  
59 τὸν] del. Casaubon 59 καὶ ... αἷς] del. Casaubon 62 ἐγκειμένων] συγκεμένων cod. Peiresc.  
del. Casaubon 68 τῆς] om. cod. Peiresc. 70 ὑποθέσεων] προθέσεων Casaubon 71–73 περὶ  
... εἴκοσι] περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας πεντηκοστὴ οὕσα τυγχάνει cod. Peiresc.

56 εὐεπηβόλως] Suda E 3439 s.v. εὐεπηβόλος: ὁ καλῶς ἐπιβάλλων καὶ εὐεπηβόλως· σαφῶς καὶ  
ὀρθῶς – Zonaras lex. εὐεπηβόλος: ὁ καλῶς ἐπιβάλλων καὶ εὐεπηβόλως ἀντὶ τοῦ σαφῶς καὶ ὀρθῶς  
64 ἀπαρίθμησιν] Rhetorica Anonyma περὶ τοῦ λόγου σχημάτων v.3 p.121 65 ἀκολουθίας] cf.  
τάξις καὶ ἀκολουθία in Const. VII *De cerimoniis* preface v.1, p1: “Ὡςπερ γὰρ σώματος μὴ  
εὐσχημόνως διαπεπλασμένου, ἀλλὰ φύρδην καὶ οὐκ εὐαρμόστως τῶν μελῶν αὐτῷ συγκειμένων ἀταξίαν  
ἂν τις τὸ τοιοῦτον προσείποι 66 σύσσωμον] Photios lex. fr. (Catena in 1Cor. 11.3) 68–69 συν-  
όψεως] cf. Plb. ES ed. Boissevain 107, 10 – Theophanes Continuatus p.262–3, ch.33 69 οἰκειώ-  
σεως] Etymologicum Gudianum A p.41 – Theophanes Continuatus 189, 12 70 κεφαλαιωδῶν] cf.  
Polybius ES ed. Boissevain 154, 9

### 3.1.2. Interpretation of the Prooemium

Some points in the prooemium are in need of clarification. The interpretation of the word ἐκλογή is not explained in the text. It is understood generally as “(arbitrary) selection of passages”—mainly because of the Latin title, *Excerpta*. However, “selection” might also refer to (1) historians and their works as a whole, at the same time, (2) some particular periods described in these works (see above in ch. 1.3, on p. 38), and equally (3) to the fifty-three subjects that had to be selected carefully before assigning the passages of the chosen works to one of them (see above in ch. 1.5, on p. 65). The excerptors’ task was to distribute (καταμέρισαι) the selected passages according to the content (ἐγκείμενα: virtue, vice, ambushes, enthronement of emperors, etc.) and literary form (e.g., epigrams, speeches, letters) into small units with the aim of assigning these units (οἰκείωσις) to one of the fifty-three pre-defined subjects. Although this task required a good command of high-brow Greek and a thorough understanding of the text, it seems reasonable to assume that Constantine’s employees were not authorized either to modify the text or to leave passages aside from being classified to any of the collections.

This interpretation of ἐκλογή also implies that Constantine VII did not want to shorten the “overstretched” historical writings by summarizing (σύνοψις) them. The *epitome* or summary was the traditional method of rendering the content of long literary works in brief, especially that of historical works (see above in ch. 1.1 on p. 18). Therefore, I interpret the contrast of *oikeiosis* with *synopsis* as a sign of a conscious attempt to create an improved method of preserving knowledge instead of following the traditional way of abridged summaries (see above in ch. 1.1, p. 18).

Some evidence supports the idea that the excerptors did follow Constantine’s wish that “the whole epic course of history might be grouped together” and “nothing contained in the texts would escape this distribution into subjects”. For example, the passages in which a historian reflected on his own writing were occasionally

### 3. A Data Management System

assigned to a collection where the passage does not seem to belong.<sup>435</sup> Equally, the same passage was sometimes excerpted in more than one collection.<sup>436</sup> Considering these two factors, the dimensions of *CE* can be estimated as larger than the selected historical texts in the excerptors' exemplars.<sup>437</sup>

Furthermore, the high number of historical works to be excerpted and the subjects into which the excerpts were to be assigned required a distribution of the various tasks among numerous collaborators. The number of participants involved and the costs of professional scribes in the period suggest that students in the palace school, re-established by Constantine VII, may have been involved in this project (see above in ch. 2.1.1 on p. 101).<sup>438</sup> While the scale of an average compilation allowed the compiler to shape the work according to his own mind and taste, however arbitrary, the scale of the *CE* required a smooth distribution of various tasks to prevent any arbitrary divergence by the excerptors. Each collaborator was supposed to follow rigid rules in order to help his colleagues continue or use his work at a different step of the editorial procedure.

Besides the careful enumeration of the subjects and the historians and their various works, the principle of carefully observing the sequence of the narrative seems to have played a major and innovative role in the cooperation. The expression ἡ τοῦ

<sup>435</sup>E.g., the final sentence of Josephus Flavius' *AJ* is excerpted in the collection "On virtue and vice" in minuscule in **T** (f. 47v) as part of exc. 59 (Josephus Flavius) ed. by Büttner-Wobst in EV 1, 91,12–16.

<sup>436</sup>E.g., Polybius exc. 55 in the collections “On virtue and vice”, ed. by Büttner-Wobst in EV 1, 142 is also extracted in the collection “On ambushes”, ed. by de Boor in EI 226. The collection “On gnomic sentences” contains a number of passages extracted in other collections, which are sometimes indicated by the editors. Several passages from the Chronicle of John of Antioch were simultaneously selected to two Constantinian collections (EV and EI). fr. 33 (EV exc. 5 = EI exc. 1), fr. 206 (EV exc. 39 = EI exc. 50), fr. 224 (EV 48 = EI exc. 57), and fr. 246 (EV exc. 51 = EI exc. 71). See ROBERTO (2005a), xxxix–xl.

<sup>437</sup>When excerpting some historians such as Cassius Dio and Diodorus of Sicily, the excerptors do not seem to have used the entire corpus.

<sup>438</sup>There is no source on the cost of a professional scribe in Constantine VII's period, only from some fifty years earlier. The parchment of Plato (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Clark. 39), once belonging to Arethas of Patras, cost 8 *nomismata* (golden coins), while a professional scribe cost 14 *nomismata* in 895. See LEMERLE (1971), 247–248. As for comparison, 72 *nomismata* was an annual salary (*thoga*) of a *prōtopatharios*, who was fairly high up in the dignities and constituted the lowest rank of the senate. WILSON & REYNOLDS (1968), 57.

λόγου ἀκολουθία in the prooemium seems to refer to this principle of following the sequence of the original narrative”. The alternative meaning “sequence according to the sense” is simultaneously applied. Providing a double advantage, this principle helped accomplish the seemingly contradictory aims expressed in the prooemium: (1) to avoid omitting any passage while restructuring the texts and (2) to preserve the literary form in which the texts were originally written. As a result of this method, the extracted texts seem to have been modified only to a limited extent.<sup>439</sup> As this restructuring principle was employed in only a few other manuscripts coeval to Constantine VII and reached its perfection in *CE*, this specific methodology is best viewed as an achievement of Constantine’s scholarly circle. The details of their activity are represented in the high number of marginal notes that were copied by the main scribe in **T**.

### 3.1.3. Dedicatory Poem

The prooemium and the table of contents is followed by a iambic poem which addresses the ruling Emperor Constantine VII (fig. C.8 on p. 385) and compares the garland of excerpts to a splendid wreath woven of fragrant flowers:<sup>440</sup>

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<sup>439</sup>According to Flusin’s summary [FLUSIN (2004), 121–122], although the excerptors seem to have followed the exemplars except for omissions assigned to other collections, they left summaries at the beginnings and the ends of their excerpts. See an example of a summary in the collection ELr (“On embassies sent by the Romans to the barbarians”) where Prokopios (*Wars* 2.26.38) is preceded by a sentence summarizing the previous chapters, ed. de Boor ELr, 104. The omissions can usually be explained by their possible assignment to another collection, e.g., Prokopios’ short passages (*Wars* 2.28.4–5, ed. Haury 1, 283) that are omitted in exc.16 (ed. by de Boor ELr, 104–105) in the same collection were assigned to one subject on the succession of rulers and to another subject of geographical interest.

<sup>440</sup>The long passage of time left texts scattered everywhere of earth like the flowers in blossoms, yet not sending their sweet-smelling grace. Constantine, possessing from these a delightful crown, by plucking and gathering them with harmonious (well ordered) instinct, managed to set charming fragrance to all claiming a sense, [and to render the] texts fragrant. Of which he prepares a single wreath as a friend of texts. Because he incomparably exceeds the rulers, by his brightness, illustrating the honesty of the power, a Giant brightening like the sunlight, to all enemies as well as to pious subjects. Let all voices roar in one to God: “Render him another Tithonos in regards to years so he might contribute the best to the life.”

Figure 3.1.: The iambic dedicatory poem in T

	<sup>a</sup> Αἰὼν ὁ μακρὸς ὥσπερ ἄνθη τοὺς λόγους
	Ἄπανταχοῦ <sup>b</sup> γῆς ἔσχεν ἐσκεδασμένους,
	Ἄνθοῦντας, οὐ πέμποντας εὐπνοον <sup>c</sup> χάριν.
	Τὰ νῦν δὲ τοῦτοις εὐστεφῆς Κωνσταντῖνος
5	Δρέψας, <sup>d</sup> ἀγείρας ἐμμελεῖ μουσουργία
	Προύθηκε πᾶσιν <sup>e</sup> θελκτικὴν εὐοσμίαν,
	Ὅσοις λόγου μέτεστιν, εὐώδεις λόγους.
	† Ὅν <sup>f</sup> τοῖς λόγοις στέφωμεν <sup>g</sup> ὡς λόγων φίλον. <sup>h</sup> †
	Ἀσυγκρίτως <sup>i</sup> γὰρ ἐν μέδουσιν ἐκπρέπει,
10	Λάμπων, προφαίνων χρηστότητα τοῦ κράτους
	Γίγας φεραυγῆς <sup>j</sup> ὥσπερ ἡλίου φάος
	Ἐχθροῖς ἅπασιν, εὐνόοις θ' ὑπηκόοις.
	Οὐκοῦν βοάτω πρὸς θεὸν πᾶς τις μέρος·
	Τιθωνὸν <sup>k</sup> αὐτὸν δεῖξον ἄλλον ἐν χρόνοις,
15	Ὡς ἂν τὰ λῶστα <sup>l</sup> τῷ βίῳ συνεισφέροι.

<sup>a</sup>Ἰαμβοὶ σημαίνοντες τὴν βασιλικὴν ἀγωγὴν Salmasius  
<sup>b</sup>Ἀπανταχοῦ Salmasius  
<sup>c</sup>εὐπνόον Salmasius  
<sup>d</sup>*Palatine Anthology*, iv. 2 (Ἄνθεά σοι δρέψας...) and *De cerimoniis* preface (ed. Vogt, v. 1, p. 2, l. 9–11): ὥσπερ τινὰ ἄνθη ἐκ λειμῶνων δρεψαμένους εἰς ἀσύγκριτον εὐπρέπειαν τῇ βασιλικῇ παραθέσθαι λαμπρότητι  
<sup>e</sup>πᾶσιν Salmasius, BW πᾶσι Valesius  
<sup>f</sup>Ὅν *conieci*  
<sup>g</sup>στέφοιμεν Valesius στέφωμεν corr. Salmasius, Dindorf στέφων ἐν sc. (στέφος) *conieci*  
<sup>h</sup>φίλος *conieci*  
<sup>i</sup>Ἀσυγκρίτως Salmasius  
<sup>j</sup>φεραυγῆς Valesius φεραυγῆς corr. Salmasius, Dindorf  
<sup>k</sup>ἂνθ' ὦν εὐξασθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ δίκαιον Τιθωνοῦ γῆρας ἢ μᾶλλον Ἀβραμιαίαν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι χρόνῳ *Synaxarium*, ed. DELEHAYE (1902), xiv.  
<sup>l</sup>λῶστα Salmasius

Similarly to this dedication, poems praising the emperor's merits appear in the prefaces to other Constantinian compilations. For instance, the preface to the *Excerpta de natura animalium* is supplied with a iambic poem.<sup>441</sup> Other works originating in the same circle were also furnished with poems in the preface.<sup>442</sup> The

<sup>441</sup>LAMBROS (1885), 1

Ζῶων ἔθνη νομάς τε καὶ φύσεις ἅμα  
τῶν γηγενῶν πτηνῶν τε καὶ θαλαττίνων  
ἄναξ ὁ πιστὸς καὶ σοφὸς Κωνσταντῖνος  
συνῆξε λεπταῖς ὥδε τοῦ νοῦ φροντίσιν.

<sup>442</sup>LAUXTERMANN (2003), 197–212 (206–212, with a list of published poems 353–356) collected a fair number of dedicatory book epigrams. See also the dedication in dodecasyllables to emperor Constantine probably VII (Marciana vi. 10) in CAMERON (1984), 256–260. This dedication seem to have followed the tradition already alive under Leo VI who received a volume with Xeno-



historical work by Joseph Genesios, commissioned by Constantine VII, also starts with a poem.<sup>443</sup> The treatise *On naval war* by Basil Lekapenos the *parakoimomenos*, transmitted in the codex Ambrosianus B 119 sup., is preceded by a hexameter (see above in ch. 2.5.5 on p. 172).<sup>444</sup> At the end of the tenth century, manuscripts such as the Vatican *menologion* and the Venice Psalter, both dedicated to emperor Basil II, started with a dedicatory poem in iambic metre.<sup>445</sup> The dedicatory poem in **T**, composed under Constantine VII (see line 14) seems to form part of the front matter

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phon's works with similar dedication, as analyzed by MARKOPOULOS (1994b), 33–40. Ourbikios' *Strategicon* also contained a dedication to Leo VI. CAMERON (1993), 144–145.

<sup>443</sup>See the edition by LESMÜLLER-WERNER & THURN (1978), 3, 3–6. On Genesios and his relation with Constantine VII's circle, see the recent article by MARKOPOULOS (2009).

Τὴν ἐξ ἱστορίας τελέσας βίβλον ὥς ἐκέλευσας,  
αὐτοκράτορ, μελέταις καὶ καμάτοις μεγάλαις,  
ἐν σοὶ δῶρον ἔθηκα, ὅπως ἐγνωσμένον εἴη  
ἐκ φιλοδεσποτίας συντεθὲν ἐκ τε πόθου.

<sup>444</sup>The text is taken from the edition by DAIN (1943), 61. On another dedicatory poem to Basil Lekapenos in a manuscript of the Letters of Paul in 985 (Saint Petersburg, cod. 55, f. 1), see BOURA (1989), 403–404.

<sup>a</sup>Αὐσονίων σοφίης δεδιδαγμένος ἔξοχα ἔργα  
Καὶ στίχας ἡδὲ φάλαγγας ἰδ' ἄρραγέας παρατάξεις  
Ὀπλιτῶν πρυλέων, κρατερῶν πάλιν ἵπποκορουστῶν  
Ἱστορικαῖς σελίδεσσιν ὑπ' εὐγενέων βασιλῆων  
5 Δειχθεὶς Αὐσονίων στρατιῆς πανυπέρτατος ἀρχός,  
Χαμβδᾶν<sup>b</sup> ἡττήσας Ἀράβων γένος ἐξεναρίζεις,  
Νηῶν <δ'><sup>c</sup> ὠκυπόρων δεδαήμεναι εἴ ποτε βούλῃ,  
Ἄνδιχα ναυμαχίης ὄφρ' εὐκλέα μήσεαι ἔργα,  
Βίβλου τῆσδε, φέριστε, νοήματα πάντα κατ' αἶσαν  
10 Ὅμμασι σοῖς σκοπιάζε καὶ ἐν φρεσὶ βάλλεο σῆσιν.  
Ἐνθεν δὴ, Βασίλειε, πέδον Κρήτης ἀλαπάξεις  
Καὶ γενεὴν ὀλέσεις Καρχηδονίων μεσθύμων.

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<sup>a</sup>Ναυμαχικὰ συνταχθέντα παρὰ Βασιλείου πατρικίου καὶ παρακοιμωμένου Ambrosianus B 119 sup., f. 349

<sup>b</sup>Χαμβδᾶς refers to Saïf ad-Dawla and to the reconquista of Crete in 961, cf. the harangue in Ambrosianus B 119 sup. ff. 148r–150r which addresses soldiers fighting against this Arabic leader

<sup>c</sup>δ' add. Brunckius

<sup>445</sup>The two manuscripts are the *menologion* [Vat. gr. 1613, f. xiii, ed. by DELEHAYE (1902), xxv–xxvi] and the Venice Psalter [Marciana, gr. 17, (N. c.421), f. iv, ed. by ŠEVČENKO (1962), 272]. Based on the content, ŠEVČENKO (1962), 273, n. 97 mentions the possibility that the poem had the name of Κωνσταντῖνος instead of Βασίλειος in line 11 [Ἀναξ ὁλῆς γῆς, ἥλιος τῆς πορφύρας, |(11) Βασίλειος, τὸ θρέμμα τῆς ἀλουργίδος]. He found similar iambic poem in a Georgian *menologion*, executed in Constantinople around 1030.

of the volume as it strongly relies on the prooemium that preceded each volume of *CE*. In addition to what has been said in the analysis of the manuscripts above, it also follows from the nature of the dedication that **T** is one of the single final set of volumes of *CE*. The likely assumption that **T** was copied a couple of decades after Constantine VII's death does not contradict the previous statement but suggests to postulate that the process of producing the final copies started under Constantine VII and continued after the emperor's death. Thus, it is likely that the volumes of *CE*, copied after 959, were not re-dedicated to the ruling emperor.

#### 3.1.4. Comparative Analysis of the Prooemium and the Poem

The dedicatory poem denotes the very same idea described in the prooemium, yet in allegorical terms. The common points of both texts mutually help understand some unclear points of the other and reveal a peculiar concept, the driving force of Constantine VII's project of reshaping historical narratives into a new structure. In this pronounced opinion, the extent of historical texts and the events they describe had become so overstretched that it was increasingly difficult to handle their intricacy. For this reason, historiography was no longer capable of fulfilling its function of providing illustrative examples either to follow or to avoid, in brief, to teach posterity historical lessons. The emperor wished to enhance the awareness of morality in those who constituted his close circle at court in order to offer historical lessons to them through examples. These examples—the pious emperor considered—hid in the texture of the original historical narratives and were waiting, as they were, to be rescued to reach the interested audience and transmit teachings and values of the past to the present. On the level of ideology, restructuring the former sequence of the historical narrative and redistributing the small textual units according to the apprehension (λόγος as sense) of the present readership served common use, not only the emperor's seemingly “idiosyncratic” interest.

To visualize this idea, the prooemium uses the image of a tailor weaving the texture of his historical narrative (ἄπλετόν τι χρῆμα... ἐπλέκετο). The long passage of time has left an enormously broad, extensive texture woven by innumerable historians (ἡ τῆς ἱστορίας ἡρῶνετο συμπλοκή). The sense, the teaching, the knowledge are embedded among the intricate structures of the threads, which the readers prove unable to understand. It is the overstretched intricacy of the historical narratives and the complexity of the events they describe that frighten the prospective readers from reading and learning the historical lessons they would teach. The other image the prooemium applies is the one of fertile nature. The historical texts are pregnant with knowledge that are capable to grow out of the texts after transplantation (ἀναφυσομένη ὠφέλεια). Thus, it depends on the structure of the historical texts, namely its surrounding context as a prospective fertile soil, whether it is capable of bringing forth the teaching or not.

After being removed from their original context, the particles preserved their integrity and, in addition, gained vitality like plants after pruning (ἀναφυσομένη ὠφέλεια). This concept manifests an ambivalent approach to the traditional values of a text such as viewing it as transmitting its author's message and constituting a valuable entity as a whole. Constantine VII did not think an important attribute of a passage how it was related to the whole work, namely the role of the original context provided by the correlation of the particle with the whole.<sup>446</sup> Instead of this "original context", Constantine believed that the redistribution of the textual units according to a set of subjects created a more comprehensible and valuable context than the author's intention to correlate a section with the whole by placing it to its definite location. According to this view, a piece of the whole shared the attributes of the whole by deriving from the same authors who were regarded as the parents of the passages (ὥς ἂν μὴ ὥσιν... μὴ γνήσιοι, ἀλλὰ νόθοι...). The act of removing textual sections by the excerptors required a careful attention in order to save the

<sup>446</sup>Constantine VII also seems to follow this concept in the treatises attributed to him (*De them.*, *DAI*, *De cerimoniis*).

Table 3.2.: Common elements between the iambic poem and the prooemium

iambic poem	prooemium
Αἰὼν ὁ μακρὸς (1) ὥσπερ ἄνθη τοὺς λόγους  ἀπανταχοῦ γῆς ἔσχεν ἐσκεδασμένους (1–2)	ἐκ τῆς τῶν τοσούτων ἐτῶν περιδρομῆς διεγέρσει βίβλους ἄλλοθεν ἄλλας <b>ἐξ ἀπάσης ἐκασταχοῦ οἰκουμένης</b> συλλέξασθαι παντοδαπῆς καὶ πολυειδοῦς ἐπιστήμης ἐγκύμονας
ὥσπερ ἄνθη τοὺς λόγους  Ἀνθοῦντας, οὐ πέμποντας εὐπνοον χάριν (1, 3)	βίβλους... παντοδαπῆς καὶ πολυειδοῦς ἐ- πιστήμης ἐγκύμονας [...] ἄπλετόν τι χρῆμα καὶ πραγμάτων ἐγίγνετο καὶ λόγων ἐπλέκετο, ἐπ’ ἄπειρόν τε καὶ ἀμήχανον ἢ τῆς ἱστορίας ηὔρυνετο συμπλοκή... ὥς ἐντεῦθεν ἀδηλὴν συσκιάζεσθαι τὴν τῆς ἱστορίας ἐφεύρεσιν
εὐστεφῆς Κωνσταντῖνος (4)	ὁ τῆς πορφύρας ἀπόγονος Κωνσταντῖνος, ὁ ὀρθοδοξότατος καὶ χριστιανικώτατος τῶν πώποτε βεβασιλευκότων
Δρέψας, ἀγείρας ἐμμελεῖ μουσουργία (5)	ὁ ζυωπέστερον πρὸς τὴν τῶν καλῶν κατανόησιν διακείμενος καὶ δραστήριον ἐσχηκὼς νοῦν ἔκρινε... <b>διεγέρσει... συλλέξασθαι</b> [...] ὥρθη καταμερίσαι τοῦτο εἰς λεπτομέρειαν
Προύθηκε (6)	ὥρθη... ἀνεπιφθόνως τε <b>προθεῖναι</b> κοινῇ τὴν ἐκ τούτων ἀναφυομένην ὠφέλειαν ἀκοὰς ἀποκναῖον... ὥρθη καταμερίσαι εἰς λεπτομέρειαν [...]
ἐμμελεῖ μουσουργία  Προύθηκε πᾶσιν θελκ- τικὴν εὐοσμίαν  Ὅσοις λόγου μέτεστιν, εὐ- ῶδεις λόγους. (5–7)	κοῦκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν τῶν ἐγκειμένων, ὃ δια- φεύξεται τὴν τοιαύτην τῶν ὑποθέσεων ἀπα- ρίθμησιν, <b>οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἀφαιρου- μένης τῆς τοῦ λόγου ἀκολουθίας</b> τῇ διαιρέσει τῶν ἐννοιῶν, ἀλλὰ σύσσωμον σωζούσης, καὶ ἐκάστη ὑποθέσει <b>προσαρ- μοζομένης</b> τῆς τηλικαύτης οὐ συνόψεως, ἀληθέστερον δ’ εἰπεῖν <b>οἰκειώσεως</b> .
Ἀσυγκρίτως γὰρ ἐν μέδουσιν ἐκπρέπει,  Λάμπων, προφαίνων χρηστότητα τοῦ κράτους (9–10)	ὁ ὀρθοδοξότατος καὶ χριστιανικώτατος τῶν πώποτε βεβασιλευκότων
Τιθωνὸν αὐτὸν δεῖξον ἄλλον ἐν χρόνοις,  Ὡς ἂν τὰ λῶστα τῷ βίῳ συνεισφέρῃ. (14–15)	τοῦτο μὲν τῆς σφῶν αὐτῶν πολυμαθίας δεῖ- γμα ἐναργὲς τοῖς μετέπειτα καταλιπεῖν ἱμι- ρόμενοι, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ εὐκλειαν ἀείμνηστον ἐκ τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων καρπώσασθαι μνῶ- μενοι [...] προθεῖναι κοινῇ τὴν ἐκ τούτων ἀναφυομένην ὠφέλειαν.

### 3.1. Prooemium to the Constantinian Excerpts

“inborn” vitality of the passages both by choosing the proper borderlines between units and creating micro-contexts by short introductory and concluding supplementary phrases (adaptation οἰκείωσις). By doing this, a systematic series of repertoires were created of the passages for prospective usage as intertexts such as citations or references in new contexts other than the original ones.

The poem, expresses the same idea in a condensed form. The image of the fertile nature also emerges here. The texts spread all over the world like the blossoms but without spreading odour. The emperor plucks and gathers these flowers and gives them the harmony of scents by weaving a delightful crown of them. The same depiction appears in Meleager’s introductory poem to his garlands of epigrams—and that of Philip who imitates Meleager—, transmitted in the *Palatine Anthology* (iv. 1–2),<sup>447</sup> a collection which was known to the excerptors (see ch. 1.5.9 on p. 86). Meleager developed the traditional image of the garland in Greek poetry in a way that he links each flower with a particular author. Since the same image pops up in the preface to the *De cerimoniis* with some identical expressions in the context of collecting the data on the various ceremonies,<sup>448</sup> Constantine VII and his scholars should have known these epigrams and were aware of their content. The arrangement of these blossom-texts or blossom-subjects (the double meaning of λόγος) reflects harmony as the attributes imply, such as euphonious, melodious, sweet fragrant, and adorns the glorious emperor in the form of his diadem. It is Emperor Constantine VII who was to be credited with the harmony of the various senses like smelling (θελκτικὴν εὐοσμίαν 6), hearing (ἐμμελεῖ μουσουργία 5, εὐώδεις λόγους 7, βοάτω 13), and sight (ἐν μέδουσιν 9, λάμπων, προφαίνων 10, Γίγας φεραυγῆς ὥσπερ ἡλίου φάος 11) as well as the distribution of the power of moving and changing to the texts (οὐ πέμποντας εὐπνοον χάριν 3, μουσουργία 5). The capability of creating

<sup>447</sup>Ed. Beckby, vol. 1, 222–226.

<sup>448</sup>Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De cerimoniis*, preface (ed. Vogt, v. 1, p. 2, l. 9–11): καὶ ὥσπερ τινὰ ἄνθη ἐκ λειμώνων δρεψαμένους εἰς ἀσύγκριτον εὐπρέπειαν τῇ βασιλικῇ παραθέσθαι λαμπρότητι.

### 3. A Data Management System

order (τάξις) and harmony was considered to be a significant attribute of a good emperor as expressed in the preface to the *De cerimoniis*.<sup>449</sup>

From the content of the poem as well as from the other prefaces included in Constantine VII's various other compilations, it follows that verse 8 is to be viewed as corrupted. The first person plural of στέφωμεν is difficult to accept, although Valois copied so and Salmasius has the form στέφοιμεν, with an accusative φίλον referring to the emperor. Constantine VII is always promoted as an active agent in compiling the various works claiming his authorship.<sup>450</sup> In this case, he is expected to wreath the crown of the historical excerpts. The harmonious composition of all text-flowers implies a single crown. My suggestion might be supported by the fact that it is metrically correct, has a sense fitting the ideological background as expressed in the prooemium, and can be explained by spelling mistakes characteristic of **T**. The verse in this reconstruction is as follows: Ὡν τοῖς λόγοις στέφων ἔν (sc. στέφος) ὡς λόγων φίλος. The implausible point of this argument is that it presumes three scribal slips in a single verse. All these spelling mistakes are, however, attested in **T**. The confusion of ω–ο appears abundant, aspiration is often missing or misused; the minuscule μ–ν of the main scribe are rather close in appearance. In addition, at the -ος word-endings are often abbreviated by suspension in **T**, while the ν at the end of the lines is sometimes also marked by a short stroke behind the abbreviated word.<sup>451</sup>

<sup>449</sup>Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De cerimoniis*, preface (ed. Vogt, vol.1, p.1): ἄτε διὰ τῆς ἐπαινετῆς τάξεως τῆς βασιλείου ἀρχῆς δεικνυμένης κοσμιωτέρας καὶ πρὸς τὸ εὐσχημονέστερον ἀνατρεχούσης καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θαυμαστῆς οὔσης ἔθνεσί τε καὶ ἡμετέροις... ἢ τῆς βασιλείου τάξεως ἔκθεσίς τε καὶ ὑποτύπωσις, ἥς παροραθείσης καί, οἷον εἰπεῖν, ἀπονεκρωθείσης, ἀκαλλώπιστον τῷ ὄντι καὶ δυσειδῇ τὴν βασιλείαν ἦν καθορᾶν. Ὡςπερ γὰρ σώματος μὴ εὐσχημόνως διαπεπλασμένου, ἀλλὰ φύρδην καὶ οὐκ εὐαρμόστως τῶν μελῶν αὐτῷ συγκειμένων ἀταξίαν ἂν τις τὸ τοιοῦτον προσείποι οὕτω καὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ πολιτεύματος μὴ τάξει ἀγομένου καὶ κυβερνωμένου, κατ' οὐδὲν διοίσει τῆς ἰδιωτικῆς καὶ ἀνελευθέρου διαγωγῆς.

<sup>450</sup>The prefaces appended to *DAI*, *De them.*, *De cerimoniis*, the *Vita Basilii*, and the foreword of the *CE* all give Constantine VII as the author of these compilations.

<sup>451</sup>E.g., there is an ν–ς confusion in **T**: EV 1,313,18 (κακοπάθειας – κακοπάθειαν, in the margin of f. 207v stands Αριστογεῖτο(ν) with a stroke abbreviating ν or in f. 253r margin final ς is omitted in Ποῦφο<ς>).

Besides the levels of styles, the simultaneous application of the spoken and high-brow Greek equivalents and meanings of the same word also deserves our attention. The image of texts scattered all around the world seems to play with the vernacular (text) and high brow meaning (lying) of the Greek κείμενον. By this analogy, the λόγοι... ἐσχεδάζμενοι (the texts scattered everywhere) become κείμενα. In addition, there is also an interplay between the various meanings of λόγος in the iambic poem (text and sense) as expressed in verses 6–7: Προύθηκε πᾶσιν θελκτικὴν εὐοσμίαν, ὅσοις λόγου μέτεστιν, εὐώδεις λόγους and both meanings in τοῦ λόγου ἀκολουθία in the prooemium. Judging by this play of meanings, the ἐγκείμενον as the content of the text seems, more or less, identical with the sense (λόγος) and develops this semantic play not only in a way as to bridge the various meanings of the same word but also succeeds in mediating between the spoken language and the literary one. In Constantine VII's court, although the imitation of classical styles was esteemed of utmost importance, the spoken elements of Greek were also tolerated.<sup>452</sup> Basil Lekapenos the *parakoimomenos*, an intimate person of Constantine VII and the subsequent emperors, a patron of arts, commissioned a military collection for himself, which was to be contain military texts with characteristics of the spoken Greek rather than their exemplars (see above, Ambrosianus B 119 sup.).<sup>453</sup>

## 3.2. The System of Marginal Indices

There is a considerable number of traces of the excerptors' activity in the form of short notes they copied in the margin. These editorial supplements, mainly emerge

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<sup>452</sup>Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De cerimoniis*, preface (ed. Vogt, vol. 1, p. 2): 'Ὡς ἂν δὲ σαφῆ καὶ εὐδιάνωστα εἶεν τὰ γεγραμμένα, καὶ καθωμιλημένη καὶ ἀπλουστέρα φράσει κεχρήμεθα καὶ λέξεσι ταῖς αὐταῖς καὶ ὀνόμασι τοῖς ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ πράγματι πάλαι προσαρμοσθεῖσι καὶ λεγομένοις. *DAI*, 1. 8–13: Οὐ γὰρ ἐπίδειξιν καλλιγραφίας ἢ φράσεως ἡττικισμένης καὶ τὸ διηρμένον διογκούσης καὶ ὑψηλὸν ποιῆσαι ἐσπούδασα, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον διὰ κοινῆς καὶ καθωμιλημένης ἀπαγγελίας διδάξαι σοι ἔσπευσα... This passage seems to rely partially on Polybius, *Historiae*, 38. 4, 1, ed. Büttner Wobst, vol. 4, 470 (ES 214,10–12, exc. 156); and partially on Hermogenes' rhetoric treatise (*Περὶ ἰδεῶν*), 1. 1, 6, 2. 9. ŠEVČENKO (1992), 183, n. 42. On how Constantine VII observed his principle in practice, see MORAVCSIK (1938).

<sup>453</sup>on this manuscript, see MAZZUCCHI (1978).

### 3. A Data Management System

as marginal notes or interpolations (insertions) in the body text, and prove essential in retrieving the excerptors' method of compiling *CE*. The function of these additions does not only seem to be coded in their separate location on the written page (margin and body text) but also in formal characteristics such as minuscule or majuscule scripts, colours of ink and decoration structure. The functional division between the various categories of annotations is well discernible in the (**T**), the single extant manuscript of *CE* which has come down to us from the tenth century.

Despite the significance of these editorial supplements, scholars have left a number of problems unsolved concerning their meaning and function. The modern editors of *CE*, who carefully examined the various details of the manuscripts, did not pay much attention to these annotations beyond the limits that their editorial works technically speaking required. By this attitude, they followed the tradition of their predecessors who chose only two categories of annotations they thought worth editing and used them according to their latest editorial needs: (1) a kind of heading always placed at the beginning and at the end of each author, which identify the excerpted historian and (2) the cross-references pointing to other—mostly lost—collections of *CE*. Thus, and somewhat ironically speaking, the editors themselves did not respect the principle of the Constantinian “editorial idea”.

The modern editors ignored the significance of the majuscule script as a sign of functional distinction in contrast with the minuscule. In **T**, the various textual parts that were copied in majuscule letters seem to have had a certain function. In the minuscule codices from the ninth-tenth centuries, majuscules were used in the margin, in the titles but not normally in the the main body text except for a few majuscule letters that were infiltrated among the minuscule ones starting from the tenth-century. The same functional division applies to the minuscule script that stayed removed from the margins and the titles. Modern editors usually do not pay attention to the possible functional importance of the visual differentiation of the written text in manuscripts. In my view, by observing the visual codes of the text within the manuscripts of *CE*, especially the relation between the visual code



and the functions this visual code implies, one can go beyond the results already achieved in the study of *CE*.

The limited and inconsistent availability of the marginal annotations and their visual code seems to form a major obstacle in examining the tenth-century editorial techniques practiced at Constantine VII's court. This shortcoming of the scholarly literature encouraged me to focus on the editorial supplements and their visual codes. Thus, after establishing the concordance between the editions of the text in **T** and the heavily intermingled leaves of this manuscript in a way as described above (see fig. 2.1 on p. 104), I classified the tenth-century supplements in various groups and edited them according to these groups (see app. A, p. 261). These marginal entries seem to have been copied mostly by the main scribe (if not so the apparatus will clearly indicate this to the reader). The spelling of these—often abridged—notes is inconsistent, which the appendix follows without intending to uniform them in terms of regularity. (a) Because of the significance of the visual codes, a separate level of apparatus indicates the spacial location (upper, outer, inner, lower margin, body of the text, interlinear gloss) and the form of the entries (minuscule, majuscule or calligraphic majuscule). (b) The second apparatus shows which place of the body text the marginal note refers to. (c) The third apparatus is used for two purposes. In the marginal notes functioning as indices, the entries of the *Suda lexicon* are indicated where the annotated passages were cited. In other categories of annotations, the edition of the annotation if any is given. Now, I give a brief overview on the separate groups of the Constantinian editorial additions. See examples of these levels of apparatus in fig. 3.3 on p. 209. The careful analysis of these editorial supplements resulted in the following observations.

### 3.2.1. Table of Contents and Main Headings

In all modern editions of *CE*, the clusters of the historical passages are quoted under the name of the historian as a main heading while the heading of the collection is

### 3. *A Data Management System*

always given as secondary information. This editorial tradition was adopted even by the editors who aimed to edit the text as it was structured in Constantine VII's court. In the editions prepared by Carl de Boor, Theodor Büttner-Wobst, Anton Gerard Roos and Ursul Philip Boissevain, the heading that informs on the author is consistently indicated as the main heading supplied with a number that defines a certain position within the collection; while the name of the collection is given each time as a subheading in a manner its secondary importance—for the modern readership—would justify.

The hierarchy of these data in Constantine VII's age, however, seems slightly different from what the modern editions denote. The decoration structure of **T**, as discussed above, demonstrates that the main heading was always the name of the Constantinian subject. At the same time, the position number within the volume was consistently gilded and decorated with blue, according to a pattern identical to the one applied to the Constantinian subject, which shows beyond doubt that these data were deliberately associated. The name of the author is always given in the margin in a secondary position, except for the first historian, Josephus Flavius in **T**. This visual code, therefore, seems to express the idea that the division of the texts according to subjects is of higher importance than the arrangement of the historians within the volumes.<sup>454</sup> Providing a reference pointing to the table of contents, the “position-number” does not necessarily seem to serve as a tool ordering the authors in a consistent sequence. In my view, the function of this number could not have gone beyond telling the reader which author's text was to follow. It was rather the key provided in the table of contents copied in the beginning of each volume that the position numbers refer to because the names of the authors are supplied here with identical numbering (see tables 3.3 and 3.4).

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<sup>454</sup>See the theory of paratexts by GENETTE (1997).

Table 3.3.: Table of contents in **T** (EV 1, 2–3)

	εἰσὶ δ' ἐκ τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων χρονικῶν·
A'	Ἰωσήπου ἀρχαιολογίας
B'	Γεωργίου μοναχοῦ
Γ'	Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐπίκλην Μαλέλα χρονικῆς
Δ'	Ἰωάννου Ἀντισθέως χρονικῆς ἱστορίας
E'	Διοδώρου Σικελιώτου καθολικῆς ἱστορίας
ς'	Νικολάου Δαμασκηνοῦ καθολικῆς ἱστορίας
Z'	Ἡροδότου Ἀλικαρνησέως
H'	Θουκυδίδου
Θ'	Ξενοφῶντος Κύρου παιδείας καὶ ἀναβάσεως Κύρου τοῦ Παρυσάτιδος
I'	Ἀρριανοῦ Ἀλεξ<άνδρου ἀναβάσεως> (explevit Büttner-Wobst EV 1,3, <i>app</i> )
IA'	Διονυσίου Ἀλικαρνησέως Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἱστορίας
IB'	Πολυβίου τοῦ Μεγαλοπολίτου Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἱστορίας
II'	Ἀππιανοῦ Ῥωμαϊκῆς τῆς ἐπίκλην βασιλικῆς
IAΔ'	Δίωνος Κοκκιανοῦ Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἱστορίας.
	καὶ οἱ ἐφεξῆς ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τεύχει ἐπιγράφονται.

Table 3.4.: Headings of historiographers in **T**

f.	No (margin)	headings in caligraphic majuscule	edition
2r	Ā	† ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαιολογίας Ἰωσήπου:	EV 1, 4, 1–2
64r	Ḃ	† περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας :	EV 1, 122, 25
79v	Γ̄	† περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας :	EV 1, 157, 2
83r	Δ̄	† περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας :	EV 1, 164, 2
101r	Ē	† περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας :	EV 1, 206, 7
160r	Ž	† περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας ∴	EV 2, 1, 2
185v	Ĥ	† περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας :	EV 2, 30, 1
233v	Θ̄	† περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας :	EV 2, 46, 2
256v	ĪḂ	† περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας :	EV 2, 45, 2
272r	ĪΓ̄	† περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας ∴	EV 2, 216, 2
287v	ĪΔ̄	† περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας ∴ †	EV 2, 235, 1



Table 3.6.: Two suggestions for the sequence of the historians in **V**

No	historian in ES	No	historian in ES
a (1)	Xenophon	–	John of Antioch
(2)	Agathias	b (7)	Polybius
(3)	Menander	d (1)	Dexippos
b (1)	Theophylaktos Simokattes	d (2)	Jamblichus
(2)	Prokopios	e (1)	Peter the Patrician
(3)	Arrian	f (1)	Diodorus Siculus
(4)	Appian (? cf. h)	g (1)	Cassius Dio
(5)	(Priscus?)	a (1)	Xenophon
(6)	Eunapios	a (2)	Agathias
(7)	Polybius	a (3)	Menander
c (1)	Dexippos	b (1)	Theophylaktos Simokattes
(2)	Iamblichus	b (2)	Prokopios
d (1)	Continuator Cassii Dionis	b (3)	Arrian
e (1)	Diodorus Siculus	b (4)	Appian
f (1)	Cassius Dio	b (6)	Eunapios
g (1)	Appian		
(i) Boissevain's reconstruction		(ii) Flusin's suggestion	

arrangement can be observed (see tab. 3.5), but in ELr and in ES the historians seem rather hazardously organized. On the one hand, Boissevain, the editor of the collection “On gnomonic statements” used the partially similar sequence of ELg in order to reconstruct the succession of quires in **V** from among the various alternatives of combining the seven codicological units.<sup>456</sup> Flusin, on the other hand, tried to reorganize the sequence within the limits of codicological options in order to assimilate the string to the pattern shared by EV and EI. His results are shown in tab. 3.6 in comparison with Boissevain's reconstruction.

At a certain point, Flusin's reconstruction seems fallacious.<sup>457</sup> He uses the concordance of the leaves with the historians as depicted in Boissevain's introduction (p. x–xiv). Here leaf p. 93–94 carries Eunapios but the critical edition as well as Boissevain's overview of the pages say that the excerpts from Polybius start on

<sup>456</sup>See tab. 2.1 on p. 138 with b, 1–7 on tab. 3.6

<sup>457</sup>FLUSIN (2002), 551.

### 3. A Data Management System

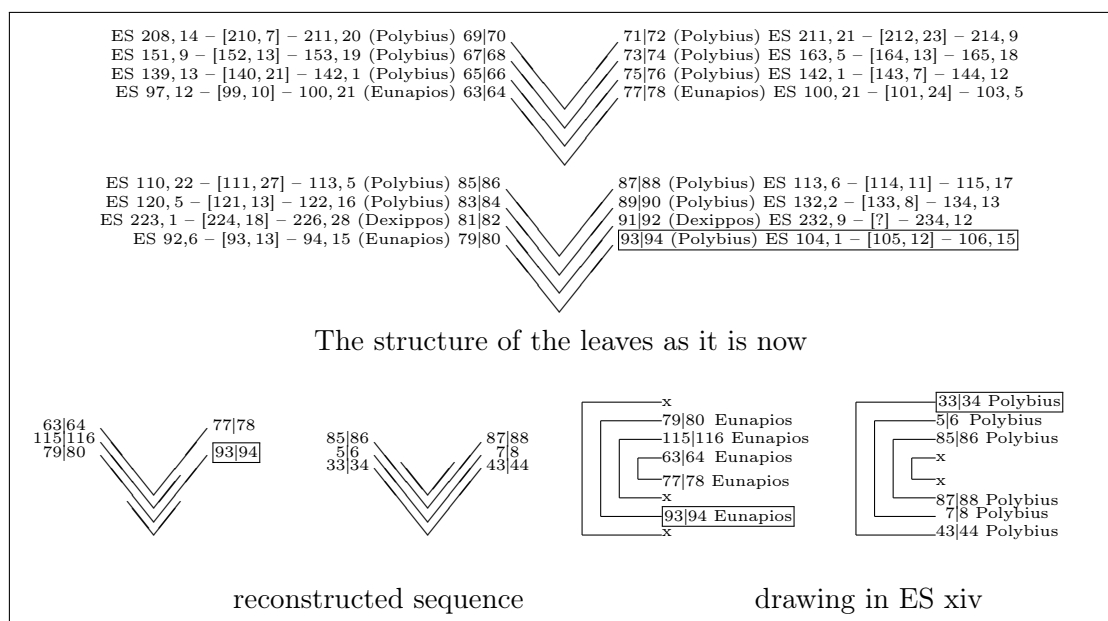


Figure 3.2.: The End of Eunapios and the beginning of Polybius in **V**

p. 93.<sup>458</sup> Boissevain who carefully examined the manuscript treats the leaves as carrying excerpts from Polybius and constituting a coherent unit following the string Theophylaktos Simokattes, Prokopios, Arrian, Appian, and Eunapios. If one observes the leaves in their present order (see fig. 3.2) the leaf numbered as p. 93–94 constitutes a bifolio with the leaf p. 79–80 which carried excerpts from Eunapios (ES 92, 6–94, 15). Probably, someone wrote mistakenly “Eunapius” instead of Polybius on ES p. xi in quire V<sup>b</sup> (p. 93–94). For this reason, I am reluctant to accept Flusin’s suggestion of separating Polybius from Eunapios and assimilating the structure of **V** (ES) to EV and EI. The codicological structure of the palimpsest does not allow this solution. Boissevain’s suggestion to connect unit ‘a’ and ‘b’ is supported by the fact that the *Haimodein Lexicon* has the rare words taken from historians in the sequence of Agathias, Menander, and Theophylaktos Simokattes.

In the collections other than EV and probably EI, therefore, there is no reason to suspect that Constantine’s excerptors had a scheme in mind when arranging the historians in the sequence as they have come down to us. Irigoien explains the

<sup>458</sup>ES xxv and 104, 1.

illogical succession of historians by the excerptors' working method.<sup>459</sup> The order of the historians in the final version of each Constantinian subject matter seems to have depended on the scribe whose task was to edit the draft versions into a final copy. The treatment may have varied in each case.

## Table of Contents

The table of contents attached in the front of each Constantinian volume (see tab.3.3) was in concordance with the headings (see tab.3.4) that always give the name of one single Constantinian subject. The table of contents has not been preserved in tenth-century copies but only in later transcriptions both in EV and ELr. For this reason, it is impossible to judge how they were decorated or in which script they were executed. In EI, the numbers accompanying the headings corroborate their sequence and give a clue for a partial reconstruction of its table of contents (see the facsimile in fig.C.12 on p.387). The letters of these headings, and only these, are executed in calligraphic majuscule and decorated in a higher variety of means (gilt and blue) than any other parts (see the facsimiles in fig.C.3 on p.381 and in fig.C.2 on p.380). Thus, they seem to have been designed to transmit the message of providing the most significant level of textual information in the collection. Each heading is preceded by an invocational cross and followed by a cross only at the last excerpted author who is—in **T**—Cassius Dio. These headings are suspended by a certain number of dots (eight times three, twice four, and once five dots). Whether this number of dots was put deliberately or not seems impossible to decide.

### 3.2.2. Former Paratexts in Secondary Position

The next definite group of editorial supplements is the paratexts such as headings (ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας/χρονικῆς [name], λόγος [number]) and ends of works (τέλος τῆς

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<sup>459</sup>IRIGOIN (1977a), 308, n. 8.

### 3. A Data Management System

ἱστορίας/χρονικῆς [name]), showing the original arrangement of the exemplars the excerptors used.<sup>460</sup> These supplements were copied in majuscule script by the main scribe. Since it was the emperor's conscious decision that the original structure of the historical narratives should be broken up and re-arranged, the information on the authors seems to be secondary in the hierarchy of *CE* but helpful for the excerptors in finding the historians and joining each of the sections. In the spatial hierarchy of the page they do not have a definite place. Whenever the name of the author competes with the Constantinian heading, the reference to the historian at the beginning of each author is “banished” to the margin (see the facsimile in fig. C.2 on p.380). However, when it is not in conflict with other data, it appears in the body text and is tolerated to cross the borderline separating the body text from the margin. These data do not only appear at the beginning and at the end of the section of a certain historian, but also when excerpts from a new work or a new book of the same work begins. There are often references pointing only to the book number that begins (λόγος...) <sup>461</sup> or finishes being excerpted (τέλος τοῦ...λόγου) <sup>462</sup>.

At a certain point of Josephus Flavius' *Jewish War*, 4.325 (4.5.2) (f.52v), the text τ(οῦ) εἰς β' το α' (part 1 of the text belonging to part/volume 2) emerges in majuscule letters in the margin. Interestingly enough, this passage is located approximately in the middle of the whole work and formed the last sentence of book 4 in the Latin translation by Rufinus of Aquileia (c.345–411/412).<sup>463</sup> Considering the divisions of extensive historical works in separate volumes and the reference to division within a book,<sup>464</sup> I would suggest that the exemplar that the excerptors

<sup>460</sup>On the paratexts in the manuscripts of Greek historians, see IRIGOIN (1997), 127–134.

<sup>461</sup>In **T**, see ff.58r, 63v, 117v, 304v, 309v, 311r, 313v, and 272v.

<sup>462</sup>In **T**, see ff.23r, 30v, 47v, 58v, 63v, 153r, 155v, and 306r.

<sup>463</sup>See the edition by Niese, vol.vi, p.xx–xxi, lix (on similar position of both in the textual tradition) and 390 in the apparatus.

<sup>464</sup>See the examples of division of a blocks into two scrolls in IRIGOIN (1997), 133, n.11. In ch.42 of the *Historiae* of Diodorus of Sicily, the two earliest manuscripts (Vat.gr.130 and 996) have the paratext (τοῦ α' το β') indicating the second scroll of the first book. In this case, the second part has the summary of the first part (see Vogel's edition, vol.i, 75). IRIGOIN (1997), 133 also mentions divisions of long historical works in block consisting of five books *pentades* which were sometimes



used preserved the trace of an earlier book and volume division, which is especially interesting for the textual tradition of *Bellum Iudaicum*. It indicates that the exemplars that the excerptors employed belonged to the tradition of the *Bellum Iudaicum* on which the Latin translation was based. The fact that the references to book division of *Bellum Iudaicum* in **T**, ff. 56v and 58r–v follow the tradition attested in all Greek manuscripts and different from that of the Latin translation suggests that the relation between the two divisions is contrary to Niese's view.<sup>465</sup> The evidence of **T** demonstrates that there was an early tradition of transferring the eight scrolls (but seven books) of *Bellum Iudaicum* in two codices and Rufinus followed this tradition in his translation. Because of the length of book 4 (633 short chs.), it seems probable to assume that book 4 was divided in two scrolls and, as it was the middle of the whole work, this division resulted in a tradition of transferring *Bellum Iudaicum* in two codices. It seems a later step that the two codices were copied in one volume and the division between scroll 4 and 5 was changed as book division, which is followed in all of the Greek codices. However, it cannot be excluded that there were two independent traditions of the division of *Bellum Iudaicum*, book 4, 6 and 7 before its transfer to the codex.

### 3.2.3. Cross-References

The modern editors of *CE* observed the phenomenon that the various manuscripts of the excerpts often have a reference saying ζῆται ἐν τῷ περὶ... (“search in the [volume]...”). At the places where these references appear there are extensive parts missing from the text. At the same time, whenever it is possible to compare a parallel transmission, the omission covers the subject that is mentioned in the reference saying ζῆται ἐν τῷ περὶ... For this reason, it is a commonly accepted view that these

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unified in units of ten books (*decades*) as was the case with Diodorus of Sicily, the first five books of Polybius' *Historiae* and the *Jewish Antiquities* of Josephus Flavius.

<sup>465</sup>Niese (vol. vi, xxi) regards the division of the Latin translation later in date than the division of the Greek manuscripts. In the system of Rufinus' translation, book 5 (f. 56v) would be numbered as book 6. The Latin translation considered book 6 (f. 56v) and 7 as a single unit (book 7).

### 3. A Data Management System

sentences are to be understood as cross-references pointing to other Constantinian collections and preserve some traces of the excerptors' principle of classification. There are only two instances when these cross-references point to still extant places in another collection, respectively. The single cross-reference to the collection "On virtue and vice" (περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας, no. 50) features in the collection "On ambushes" and points to exc. 38 of EV.<sup>466</sup> The other reference appears in the collection "On virtue and vice" and points to the collection "On gnomic statements".<sup>467</sup>

These references were put down in the hand of the main scribe of **T** and in majuscules with frequent abbreviations. In the range of visual distinctions, these references seem to belong to the same level as the previous group of former paratexts. Most frequently, they are located in the margin but a few times they merge with the body text (see few examples in the facsimile in fig C.16 on p. 391).<sup>468</sup> They occasionally cross the borderline separating the body text from the margin.<sup>469</sup> Sometimes, the cross-references are combined with the paratext saying that a very work terminates.<sup>470</sup> Therefore, the level of hierarchization seems identical with the paratexts of the exemplars (see previous group) and the varying location corroborate the suggestion that these data were taken from the model of the final copies and do not necessarily address the readers consulting the Constantinian collection in order to inform them on the location of the absent passages.

Despite certain indications implying that these supplements preserve precious information on the titles of the lost collections, it is unclear for what purpose they were copied next to the excerpts. It can hardly be argued that they were copied in order to notify the reader that the following passage was to be read in another

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<sup>466</sup>EI 87 (περὶ κακίας καὶ ἀρετῆς), at the end of John of Antioch exc. 48, fr. 203, ed. ROBERTO (2005a), 342–348.

<sup>467</sup>EV 1, 212, Diodorus of Sicily, exc. 28 (7.12.1). EV 1, 254: end of Diodorus of Sicily, fr. 188 (21.12.3–5) "On gnomic statements" exc. 1.

<sup>468</sup>In **T**, see, e. g. ff. 227v, 155v, 156r, 114r, 115v.

<sup>469</sup>In **T**, see, e. g. ff. 74r, 117r, 300r, 308v

<sup>470</sup>In the **T**, see f. 155v.

<p>(64r) ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς τὴν ἱερατικὴν στολὴν, <b>περὶ ἧς ἐν τῷ περὶ ἐκφράσεως τέθεται</b>,<sup>a1,b1,c1</sup> περιβαλλόμενος καὶ ποιησάμενος τὴν ἀπάντησιν εἰς τόπον ἐπίσημον, &lt;ἔστη&gt; ἔνθα μάλιστα ἡ περικαλλῆς τοῦ ναοῦ πρόσοψις ἐξεφαίνετο.</p>	<p>(109v) τούτου δ' ἐναργέστερον ἔτι δεῖγμα τῆς ἐκατέρου γνώμης τὸ περὶ τῆς ἄκρας συμβούλευμα <b>τὸ ρηθὲν ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς</b> πρὸς τὸ μὴδὲ περὶ τῶν κατ' Αἰτωλοῦς διαπορεῖν.<sup>a2,b2,c2</sup></p>
<p><sup>a1</sup>minuscule, part of exc. 3    <sup>a2</sup>minuscule in the body text, reference to περὶ πολιτικῶν διοικήσεως</p>	
<p><sup>b1</sup>EV 1, 123, 23–4 —    <sup>b2</sup>EV 2, 107, app.</p>	
<p><sup>c1</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor 26, 9–31, 5: ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἰαδδοὺς τὴν ἱερατικὴν ἐσθῆτα περιθέμενος <b>[lacuna: de Boor I. 26, 11–31, 3]</b> ποιησάμενος ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς τὴν ὑπάντησιν εἰς τόπον ἐπίσημον ἔστη, ἔνθα μάλιστα ἡ περικαλλῆς τοῦ ναοῦ πρόσοψις ἐξεφαίνετο; cf. Suda s. v. σάμβυκες (Σ 74) γένος μηχανήματος πολιορκητικοῦ, ὡς φησι Πολύβιος. περὶ δὲ τῆς κατασκευῆς αὐτοῦ γέγραπται <b>ἐν τῷ περὶ ἐκφράσεως</b> Polyb. 8. 6. 6; BZ 23 (1914–19): 27 —    <sup>c2</sup>Polyb. 7. 13. 8, ed. Büttner-Wobst v. 2, 326</p>	

Figure 3.3.: Minuscule cross-references in **T**

collection because the gaps were most often not indicated. This is the impression which arises from the omitted passages from the excerpts where parallel testimony provides the modern scholar with control material (see ch. 3.3 on p. 228). Thus, it would be extremely difficult to find the continuation of the very passage with the help of these references. Additionally, this purpose would be contrary to the idea of separating the various pieces of data in a “more logical structure”, as Constantine VII’s prooemium explicitly stated. It is more likely, in our view, that these notes are traces of the working method and served as references used in the process of preparing the draft copies of the final versions.

Some other traces also support the hypothesis that there were draft versions different from the exemplars. E. g., **T** contains two cross-references that are copied in minuscules as part of the body text. One of these references also appears in the Suda Lexicon, which extensively used *CE* (see fig. 3.3 and the facsimile, fig. C.15 on p. 390). There are significant consequences of this phenomenon for the analysis of *CE*. First of all, the excerpted passages should not be viewed as intact units of the text directly borrowed from the exemplar. Rather, it should be taken into account that extensive parts are missing within a single excerpt without being indicated by a cross-reference or any other sign. It seems possible to assert that this characteristic

### 3. A Data Management System

of *CE* have not been properly emphasized. Secondly, thematic similarity of the omissions rarely indicated by the cross-references may help expand the number of collections that have been identified so far. This method has not been used for this purpose yet.

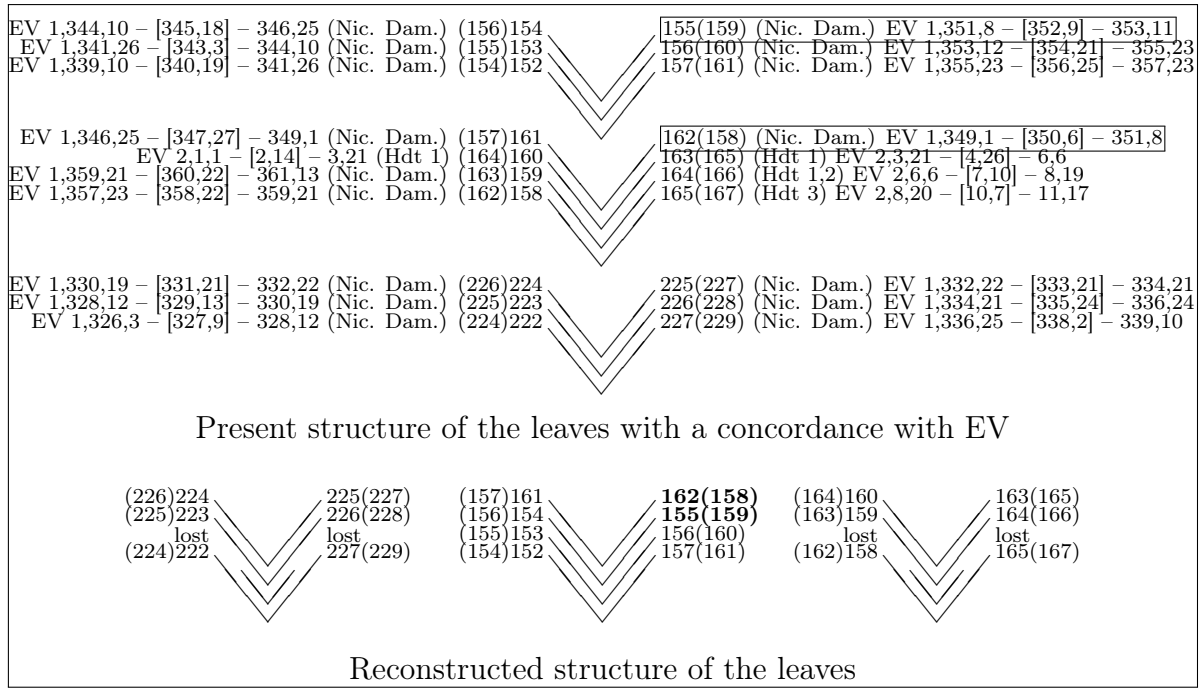
#### 3.2.4. Editorial Comments in T

There is another group of editorial supplements that have never been scrutinized in the context of *CE*. There are editorial supplements that do not fit any of the categories mentioned before. They were copied by the main scribe of **T** and mostly in majuscule letters. However, there is a considerable number of instances when these additions were copied in minuscules, which again supports the hypothesis that they were copied from a draft version because they should be copied in majuscule according to their function as they are in most cases. With regard to their function, they have certainly nothing to say to the reader of the final copy. The information they transmit seems informative only to a fellow excerptor who had to continue the job of somebody else.

A few examples seem to suffice to illustrate the function of these messages. E.g., they say that the continuation is unknown (f. 79v: καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς εἰσιν ἄπειρα “it is unknown what follows”; f. 321v: ζητεῖ· ὀλίγον διέλιπε “search, a bit of text is missing”, ff. 122v, 316v: ζητεῖ “search”) or that a certain number of leaves are missing from the exemplar (f. 318v: ζητεῖ· ἐνέλειπε γὰρ φύλλα μὴ ἐν οἷς περὶ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου ἐνεφύετο καὶ περὶ Ἀρσινόης “search because 48 leaves are missing which narrates on Ptolemy and Arsinoe”). The main scribe sometimes copied the word ζητεῖ (search!) without specification.<sup>471</sup>

Sometimes the excerptors quoted the passages in indirect speech, copied in minuscule letters as part of the body text. A few times the excerpts start with a reference to the historian, surprisingly within the section of the respective historian,

<sup>471</sup>See various functions of ζητεῖ in DEVRESSE (1954), 86.



### 3. A Data Management System

not one of the later bookbinders (see fig. 3.4).<sup>476</sup> The two excerpts narrate two episodes of the founders of Rome, Romulus and Remus directly following the passages on Cyrus' conquering Lydia. The possibility that the mistaken insertion of Dionysius of Halicarnassus' passages is inherited from Nicolas of Damascus' manuscript can be excluded. It is rather plausible to attribute the mistaken insertion of these passages to the excerptors.<sup>477</sup> Nevertheless, this interpolation seems to be the result of an "editorial slip" rather than a conscious intervention as the closing reference may imply: (f. 155v) "the end of book 7 of Nicolas of Damascus; search the remaining part in Greek history/pagan mythology".<sup>478</sup>

(2) The other example, however, shows a conscious attempt to improve the deficient text of Cassius Dio by inserting chapters from Plutarch's *Life of Sulla* on some events of the war against Mithridates.<sup>479</sup> The insertion of the same passages from Plutarch appears both in the collection "On virtues and vices" and in the one "On gnomic statements", which demonstrates that it took place in an earlier stage of the preparation of *CE*. Cassius Dio's editor, Boissevain, allowed for the option that the exemplar of the Cassius Dio excerpts had already contained the passages from Plutarch. In my view, both cases 1 and 2 testify to a more attentive preparation of *CE* than has been assumed and suggest that the final copies were made from drafts reflecting the excerptors efforts of establishing a strong basis as profound as possible to their editorial work.

The cases when longer expressions or sentences were copied in the body text in majuscules also deserve some considerations. As the pattern of the majority of the excerptors' supplements demonstrate, one can interpret the phenomenon of

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<sup>476</sup>See also PARMENTIER-MORIN (2002), 461–476.

<sup>477</sup>It is an interesting phenomenon that two passages with the same content and sequence appear in Par. suppl. gr. 607A, ff. 47v–55v, see TREU (1880), 33–37.

<sup>478</sup>T, f. 155v: τέλος τοῦ ζ' λόγου τῆς Νικολάου ἱστορίας, ζῆται τὰ λείποντα περὶ ἐλληνικῆς ἱστορίας.

<sup>479</sup>Cassius Dio, exc. 106–111, EV 2, 276–278 (ed. Roos)= Plutarchus, *Sulla* 12.3–4; 12.6–9; 13.1–3; 15.3; 22.1 Cassius Dio, exc. 24–27 ELg 416–417 (ed. de Boor) = Plutarchus, *Sulla* 22.5 – 23.2; 23.3–4; 24.1; 24.3–4. BÜTTNER-WOBST (1906), 98–99; Cassius Dio, ed. Boissevain, vol. 1, cvii–cx, 347.

copying editorial supplements in minuscule as later renderings of former majuscule texts. It could be the result, for instance, of the misinterpretation of the text by the scribe as regards its function. However, the scribal routine does not allow interpreting the opposite case when a complete phrase—not only one or few letters—are copied in majuscules in the body text as mistaken renderings of phrases that were copied originally in minuscules. Thus, the hypothesis that these texts were originally distinguished from the body text, possibly also reflecting functional differences, is corroborated by the spatial separation of the majuscule texts from the surrounding minuscule text. A few examples may well demonstrate the phenomenon.

In **T**, on f. 91v, there is a note saying “and we have copied the other brutalities earlier from Dio’s history on the murder of his mother, on Sporus the beloved etc.”<sup>480</sup> If one attributes this sentence to the excerptors instead of John of Antioch, unlike Umberto Roberto in his critical edition following Büttner-Wobst’s understanding, this hypothesis would suggest that the excerptors made an effort to avoid the double or triple rendering of the same passage in order to save work, time and parchment. One of the references may be identical with Cassius Dio exc. 250 (f. 128r, EV 2,350), which describes emperor Nero’s marriage with the libertine Sporus, who resembled his lost darling, Poppaea Sabina (Book 62.28.2–4). This coincidence demonstrates beyond doubt that the excerptors used Book 62 of Cassius Dio and admits the interpretation that this note originated from the excerptors and not from John of Antioch. Besides the functional separation of the references summarizing the content of the excerpts in **T** evident from the application of majuscules, the structural equivalence with the other summarizing indices in **T** also supports the conjecture that this sentence is to be assigned to the excerptors. When the same author, John of Antioch was quoted in the excerpts in the same way there was a reference to the content (98r Ὅτι φησὶν ὁ Ἰωάννης οὕτως περὶ τοῦ παραβάτου Ἰουλιανοῦ, ὥς<sup>481</sup>) (as

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<sup>480</sup>The editorial comment of the excerptors is in majuscules (**T**, f. 91v): Καὶ τὰς περιττὰς μιᾶς προεγράψαμεν ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας Δίωνος and continues in minuscules: περὶ τε τῆς μητροκτονίας καὶ τοῦ Σπόρου τοῦ ἐρωμένου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν, John of Antioch in the middle of exc. 26 in EV 1, 184, 17–18.

<sup>481</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 272, ed. ROBERTO (2005a), 456.

### 3. A Data Management System

in the problematic supplement); when there was a reference to the missing leaves in Polybius,<sup>482</sup> the content of the lost leaves was also given. I would suggest that the excerptors used the category of marginal annotations for referring to texts that were copied elsewhere during their work.

There are two more instances in which longer units in the body text were copied in majuscules and separated from the surrounding text by spatial distancing [f. 101v, EV 1,207,28–29, see the facsimile in fig. C.15 (1) on p. 390]. The epigram in Diodorus of Sicily is an insertion from an independent context. Alan Cameron demonstrated that **T** transmitted a version which is attested only in the coeval manuscript of the *Palatine Anthology* (see above in ch. 1.5.9 on p. 86).<sup>483</sup> The same version was copied in the excerpt taken from George the Monk but in minuscules [f. 64r, EV 1,123,13–5, see the facsimile in fig. C.15 (2) on p. 390]. The other instance is a phrase in Herodotus' Book 7 in majuscule (f. 185v: εἴ τις βούλοιτο Λακεδαιμονίων πρὸ τῆς Σπάρτης ἀποθνήσκειν “Who of the Lacedaimonians would be ready to die for Sparta?”). This phrase is an integral part of the body text. On the basis of the previous examples, one could suggest that the phrase was highlighted in majuscules during the editorial procedure of *CE* probably for the purpose of copying this sentence to another collection. The majuscules, in this case, may show some traces of the editors' work. All these examples lead us to another category of annotations copied exclusively in the margin.

#### 3.2.5. Indices Highlighting the Content

The outer margin of the *codex Peirescianus* (**T**) is full of certain sorts of marginal entries that were put down in majuscule letters by the main scribe. Abbreviations abound. They are most often personal names or other short words summarizing and specifying the content of the subsequent excerpts. Of the 736 short entries

<sup>482</sup>**T**, f. 318v: ζήτει· ἐνέλειπε γὰρ φύλλα μὴ ἐν οἷς περὶ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου ἐνεφέρετο καὶ περὶ Ἀρσινόης

<sup>483</sup>*AP* vii.325.1. CAMERON (1993), 295–296.



of this kind attested in **T**, there are only two which occur as a title in the upper margin (f. 115r: *περὶ Ποπλίου* and f. 154v: *περὶ Κύρου σὺν Κροίσῳ*). In addition to this proportional difference, the scribal attitude of always locating these entries in separation from the body text also justifies the interpretation that this type is to be viewed as a category different from the previous one.

The main scribe had to decide where he should copy the marginal note when different sorts of editorial entries came into conflict regarding the location into which they were to be copied. Whenever the entry reporting the historian's name clashed with the Constantinian subject and, at the same time, another entry was to be copied in the margin, the main scribe was forced to make spatial, i. e., hierarchical choices and to reveal which position these data were designed to occupy in the hierarchy of the excerptors' supplements. On f. 83r, at the beginning of the excerpts from John of Antioch, the Constantinian title † Δ' *περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας* : appears as the main heading in the text body; the note on the historian and his work is placed in the margin (*Ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας Ἰωάννου Ἀντιοχέως χρονικῆς ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ*), and the simple proper name referred to in order summarize the content of the first excerpt occupies the edge of the outer margin. Half of the word *Ἡρα<κλῆς>* was trimmed off when the manuscript was rebound. The same happened to the word *ἄρ<ετη>* on f. 101r, at the beginning of the excerpts from Diodorus of Sicily (see the facsimile in fig. C.2 on p. 380). These two instances help distinguish this group of marginal entries as a separate category because they were handled separately by the excerptors. It seems worth giving a short overview on the rich variety of these entries and to explain their significance as regards both the excerptors' activity and the purpose of giving an aid for the readers. For a more detailed analysis, the reader is advised to consult app. A, p. 261 for a complete transcription of the marginal entries in **T**.

The most frequent form of this category is a simple proper name in nominative case that states whom the excerpt is about. Some of these names appear as entries in the Suda Lexicon, especially from the texts of George the Monk, John of Antioch, Appian, and in the fragmentary books of Polybius. These instances are

### 3. A Data Management System

always indicated in apparatus ‘c’ in the appendix (see also tab. 3.8 on p. 221). De Boor suggested that the Suda Lexicon often used *CE* in biographical entries besides lexicographical ones.<sup>484</sup> The indexing system of *CE*, primarily spotlighting proper names, must have helped the editors of the Suda Lexicon in composing some of its entries.

Not only proper names but other words—characterizing the passage they refer to—also appear in the outer margin such as ἀνάστημα ψυ(χῆς) (f. 22r: the resurrection of the soul on Jesus Christ), θυσία (f. 5r: sacrifice or offering), κρίσις (on Daniel’s deciphering the dream of the Babylonian king, Nebuchadnezzar), ἰδέαι, πάθη, θυμός (forms, emotions, passion), γραμματεῖς, etc. When the index is complemented with a περὶ (on) and put in genitive case, the excerpt describes a property of an abstract notion such as περὶ ἀγάλατος (f. 6v: on honour), περὶ οἴνου (f. 11v: on wine in general), περὶ φιλοχρηματίας (f. 56r: on avarice) περὶ φθόνου (f. 171v: on envy), περὶ προδότων (f. 301r: on traitors). The same περὶ often precedes personal names such as περὶ Πτολεμαίου (f. 276r: on Ptolemy), περὶ Ἀριαράθους τοῦ βασιλέως Φιλοπάτορος ὀνομάσθεντος (f. 279r: on King Ariarathes called Philopator). Beyond the identification of the person, an aspect of the proper name is occasionally highlighted such as περὶ ἡθῶν καὶ τρόπου Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ τῶν καισάρων (f. 96v: on the habits and behaviour of Diocletian and the caesars), κακία Εὐαιφνου, κακία Ἀρχίου, etc. (the wickedness of XY); περὶ Θεμιστοκλέους οἷος ἦν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὸν τρόπον (f. 229r: On Themistocles what he was like concerning his virtue and character), περὶ τῆς Κύρου βασιλείας (f. 237v: on Cyrus’ reign), περὶ τῶν ἀεὶ παρθένων (f. 190r: on the perpetual virgins, on the Vesta priests), περὶ τῆς ἀποστάσεως τῶν δούλων ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ (f. 191v: on the rebellion of the slaves in Sicily).

In addition to the indices specifying the content of the excerpts, there are some words that are repeated several times. The following words belong to this group:

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<sup>484</sup>See DE BOOR (1912, 1914–19) and BECKER (1915).

ἀρετή<sup>485</sup> (virtue) appears forty-five times while κακία<sup>486</sup> (wickedness) twenty-seven times and both simultaneously twice.<sup>487</sup> They are terms defining which aspect of the collection “On virtue and vices” applies to the passage. The word γνώμη (wisdom sentence),<sup>488</sup> a frequent marginal note in Greek manuscripts, appears eight times in **T**. In addition, the word παροιμία (proverb or maxim) occurs five times but exclusively in Polybius excerpts. Two instances appear on the same page (f. 109v),<sup>489</sup> three more occur in the excerpts of Books 8, 23, and 38 of Polybius. In these three cases (see tab.3.7), the Suda Lexicon quotes Polybius’ sentence perhaps directly from the collection “On virtue and vice” (either from the draft copy or from **T**) because of the *verbatim* coincidences in each case. Two proverbs of the three are also quoted in the Constantinian collection “On gnomic statements” but—as the difference between ES and the Suda entry demonstrates in example c—it is not taken from this collection as one would expect from its subject. These examples manifest how the editors of the Suda Lexicon could have taken advantage of the system of annotations in *CE*.

In addition to the previous category, definitions of terms also appear a few times in the form of questions such as τί ἐστὶ... (what is...?): e.g. in Josephus Flavius’ work *On Maccabees*, on f. 60v, three questions occur in the margin τί ἐστὶ λογισμός· τί ἐστὶ πάθος· τί ἐστὶ σοφία (what is reasoning? what is emotion? what is wisdom?).<sup>490</sup>

<sup>485</sup>In **T**, see the marginal notes on ff. 25r, 30r, 101r, 101v, 102r, 207v, 208r, 214r, 214v, 215r, 217v, 219r, 220v, 329v, 175v, 277v, 278r–v, 283r, 244r, 261v, 262v, 264v, 265r, 266v, 227v, 160v, 229r, 230v, 252r–v, 107v, 270r, 273r, 288v, 291v, 167v, 169r, 191v, 148r, 136v.

<sup>486</sup>In **T**, see the marginal notes on ff. 26r, 84v, 101v, 103r, 206r, 207r, 208v, 214r, 215v, 216v, 217r, 220v, 221v, 323v, 177v, 281v, 246v, 251r, 185r, 237r, 274r, 173v, 191r–v, 202v, 125r.

<sup>487</sup>In **T**, see the marginal notes on ff. 244r, 190r.

<sup>488</sup>In **T**, see ff. 8v, 17r, 21v, 46v, 238r, 252v, 106v, 116r.

<sup>489</sup>In **T**, see two examples non f. 109v (1) EV 2,106,27–28 exc. 25 (Polyb. 7.13.7): οὐ λύκος ἐξ ἀνθρώπου κατὰ τὸν Ἀρκαδικὸν μῦθον, ὥς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, ἀλλὰ τύραννος ἐκ βασιλείας ἀπέβη πικρός. (2) EV 2,107,5–6 exc. 25 (Polyb. 7.14.2): καὶ μεγάλῳ, τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον, ἔλκει τῷ προγεγονότῳ περὶ τὰς σφαγὰς μικρὸν ἴαμα προσέθηκεν...

<sup>490</sup>EV 1,116,14–21 exc. 75 (Jos. *De Maccabaeis* 10–11): Ζητοῦμεν τοίνυν, εἰ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐστὶν τῶν παθῶν ὁ λογισμός, καὶ διακρίνομεν, τί ποτέ ἐστι λογισμός καὶ τί πάθος καὶ πόσαι παθῶν ιδέαι καὶ εἰ πάντων ἐπικρατεῖ τούτων ὁ λογισμός. λογισμός τοίνυν ἐστὶν νοῦς μετὰ ὀρθοῦ λόγου προτιμῶν τὸν σοφίας βίον, σοφία δὲ ἐστὶ γνώσις θείων τε καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων καὶ τῶν τούτων αἰτίων. αὕτη δὲ τοίνυν ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ νόμου παιδεία, δι’ ἧς τὰ θεῖα σεμνῶς καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα συμφερόντως μανθάνομεν.

Table 3.7.: Marginalia highlighting proverbs in Polybius

EV παροιμία in the margin	ES, ed. Boissvain	Suda
a (114r) exc.30 (EV 2,117,1–3 = Polyb. 8.25.3): ἐγχώριοι γὰρ οὐ μόνον τὰς τῶν ἀνέμων στάσεις κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἀνθρώπων ἦθη κάλλιστα γινώσκουσιν.	—	(A 2263) s.v. ἀνέμων στάσεις: [...] παροιμία: <Ἀνέμων στάσεις> ἐγχώριοι γὰρ οὐ μόνον τὰς τῶν ἀνέμων στάσεις κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἀνθρώπων ἦθη κάλλιστα γινώσκουσιν. (E 185) s.v. ἐγχώριον: <Ἐγχώριον> οἰκεῖον. ἐγχώριοι γὰρ οὐ μόνον τὰς τῶν ἀνέμων στάσεις κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἀνθρώπων ἦθη κάλλιστα γινώσκουσιν.
b (307v) exc.81 (EV 2,171,2–3 = Polyb. 23.10.3): διότι κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν ἔστι Δίχης ὀφθαλμός, ἥς μηδέποτε δεῖ καταφρονεῖν ἀνθρώπους ὑπάρχοντας.	ES 105, p.180 ὡς καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ὁμολογῆσαι διότι κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν ἔστι Δίχης ὀφθαλμός, ἥς μηδέποτε δεῖ καταφρονεῖν ἀνθρώπους ὑπάρχοντας.	(Δ 1096) s.v. Δίχης ὀφθαλμός: ὡς καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ὁμολογῆσαι, διότι κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν ἔστι Δίχης ὀφθαλμός, ἥς μηδέποτε καταφρονεῖν ἀνθρώπους ὑπάρχοντας.
c (270r) exc.120 (EV 2,210,23–25 (Polyb. 38.14.1): ἅπαντες δὲ τότε τὴν παροιμίαν ταύτην διὰ στόματος ἔσχον, ὡς [Εἰ μὴ ταχέως ἀπωλόμεθα, οὐκ ἂν ἐσώθημεν].	exc.163 (ES 220) Ὅτι τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἀπολομένων ὑπὸ Διαιίου παροιμία τις ἐξηνέχθη, ὡς εἰ μὴ ταχέως ἀπωλόμεθα, οὐκ ἂν ἐσώθημεν, ὡσανεῖ, εἰ μὴ οἱ κακοὶ ἀπώλοντο, οὐκ ἂν ἡ Ἑλλὰς διεσέσωστο.	(Ei 150) s.v. Εἰ μὴ ταχέως: [Εἰ μὴ ταχέως] ἀπωλόμεθα, οὐκ ἂν ἐσώθημεν. ἅπαντες δὲ τότε τὴν παροιμίαν διὰ στόματος εἶχον. οἱ κρημνιζόμενοι.

In the same excerpt (exc. 75), there are names of terms in the margin near passages with the definition such as ἰδέαι (forms),<sup>491</sup> πάθη (emotions),<sup>492</sup> θυμός (anger),<sup>493</sup> σωφροσύνη (temperance).<sup>494</sup> In one of the excerpts from George the Monk, there is a definition: τί ἐστὶ φαρισαῖος· (what does “Pharisee” mean?),<sup>495</sup> in Dionysius of Halicarnassus’ text on f. 252r, τί ἐστὶν ἀρετή (what is virtue?),<sup>496</sup> in Polybius on f. 302r, τίς ἐστὶ προδότης (what does “traitor” mean?).<sup>497</sup> Interestingly enough, despite the rich evidence that the text of the collection “On virtues and vices” was used in the Suda Lexicon, there is only one passage, defining a term, which is attested to have been used in the Suda.<sup>498</sup>

Rare words are also highlighted in the margin—occasionally with spelling mistakes—such as κομβωτ(ής) (swindler, impostor) (f. 82v),<sup>499</sup> ἐνασμ(ατα) (= ἐναύσματα stimulus, excitement) (f. 210v), κόμμος (!) (a kind of decoration applied on women’s dress) (f. 154v), σινάμορος (mischievous) (f. 182v), ἐνδουχία (household stock) (f. 303v), περιοδονίχης (one who has won in all the games) (f. 128r), and ροπαλωτή (club-shaped) (f. 137v), some of which were used as entries in the Suda Lexicon where

<sup>491</sup>EV 1,116,21 exc. 75 (Jos. *De Maccabaeis* 12): τῆς δὲ σοφίας ἰδέαι καθεστᾶσι φρόνησις δικαιοσύνη ἀνδρεία σωφροσύνη κυριωτάτη δὲ πάντων ἡ φρόνησις, ἐξ ἧς δὴ τῶν παθῶν ὁ λογισμὸς ἐπικρατεῖ.

<sup>492</sup>EV 1,116,23 exc. 75 (Jos. *De Maccabaeis* 13): παθῶν δὲ φύσεις εἰσὶν αἱ περιεκτικώταται β’, ἡδονή τε καὶ πόνος· τούτων δ’ ἐκάτερον καὶ περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν πέφυκεν.

<sup>493</sup>EV 1,116,28 exc. 75 (Jos. *De Maccabaeis* 14): θυμὸς δὲ κοινὸν πάθος ἐστὶν ἡδονῆς τε καὶ πόνου, ἐὰν ἐννοηθῇ τις ὅτε αὐτῷ περιέπεσεν.

<sup>494</sup>EV 1,117,5 exc. 75 (Jos. *De Maccabaeis* 17): σωφροσύνη δὴ τοίνυν ἐστὶν ἐπικράτεια τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν, τῶν δὲ ἐπιθυμιῶν αἱ μὲν εἰσι ψυχικαὶ αἱ δὲ σωματικαί, καὶ τούτων ἀμφοτέρων ὁ λογισμὸς φαίνεται ἐπικρατῶν, ἐπεὶ πόθεν κινούμενοι πρὸς τὰς ἀπειρημένας τροφὰς ἀποστρεφόμεθα τὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἡδονάς;

<sup>495</sup>EV 1,125,4 exc. 4 (Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p. 336,10): Φαρισαῖοι τοίνυν οἱ ἐρμηνευόμενοι ἀφωρισμένοι καὶ μεμερισμένοι παρὰ τὸ μερίζειν καὶ ἀφορίζειν ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἐλέγοντο εἰς τε τὸ καθαρώτατον τοῦ βίου καὶ ἀκριβέστατον καὶ εἰς τὰ τοῦ νόμου ἐντάλματα.

<sup>496</sup>EV 2,73,5–7 exc. 1 (Dionysius Hal. 8.51.2): ἔοικέ τ’ ἀληθὲς εἶναι τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων λεγόμενον φιλοσόφων, ὅτι μεσότητές εἰσιν, οὐκ ἀκρότητες αἱ τῶν ἡθῶν ἀρεταί, μάλιστα δὲ ἡ δικαιοσύνη.

<sup>497</sup>EV 2,157,22–26 exc. 64 (Polyb. 18.15.2): ὅσοι τῶν ἀνδρῶν κατὰ τὰς ὁλοσχερεῖς περιστάσεις ἡ τῆς ἰδίας ἀσφαλείας καὶ λυσitteλείας χάριν ἢ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιπολιτευομένους διαφορᾶς ἐγχειρίζουσι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς τὰς πόλεις...

<sup>498</sup>See τίς ἐστὶ προδότης on f. 302r, EV 2,157,22–26 exc. 64 (Polyb. 18.15.2) Suda s. v. προδότας.

<sup>499</sup>The word is not found in Malalas, ed. Thurn, p. 283 (EV 1,163,4 exc. 13). See the meaning in SOPHOCLES (1887), 677 and TRAPP (2001), 852.

### 3. A Data Management System

the marked passage is cited.<sup>500</sup> Notifying these unfamiliar words could have helped the compilers of the Suda Lexicon at the turn of the eleventh century, who mainly applied *CE* in lexicographical entries besides biographical ones. The hypothesis that the texts were borrowed from among *CE* is demonstrated in the shared pattern of the adaptation (οἰκείωσις) in both works as shown through some examples from Prokopios in tab.3.8.<sup>501</sup> The Suda Lexicon preserved the interventions of the excerptors, which they made at the beginnings and at the ends of the excerpts. The underlined words of column 1 show the passages which were modified by the excerptors in a way as marked with curved lines in columns 2 and 3. The excerptors' modifications that the editors of the Suda Lexicon preserved are equally framed in columns 2 and 3. These parallels demonstrate the dependence of the Suda on *CE* from Prokopios.

As regards their edifying function, a small group of notes constitutes a close category to the previous one. These notes provide aids for distinguishing terms within the excerpts such as (f.47v) A'B'T',<sup>502</sup> and (f.60r) A'B'<sup>503</sup>. The notes on properties of notions, proverbs, definitions and distinctions testify to the readers' preference focusing on the semantic aspects of the text. This set of tools placed in the margin demonstrates the self-edifying function of the excerptors' activity that required a profound understanding of the text and expanded their linguistic skills. This group may support the suggestion that the students of the Palace school of emperor Constantine VII participated in the preparation of the excerpts as the two categories of annotations discussed right now may demonstrate.

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<sup>500</sup>Suda (K 2009) s.v. κομμός; Suda s.v. (K 2666) κύλιξ ῥοπαλωτή.

<sup>501</sup>See the full exploration of this problem in DE BOOR (1912, 1914–19).

<sup>502</sup>EV 1,91,28 exc.60 (Jos. BJ 1.68) τρία γὰρ τὰ κρατιστεύοντα μόνος εἶχεν, τὴν τε ἀρχὴν τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην καὶ προφητείαν.

<sup>503</sup>EV 1,115,1–7 exc.74 (Jos. *Contra Apionem* 172): οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι νομοθέται ταῖς γνώμαις διέστησαν καὶ <τὸν> ἕτερον αὐτῶν ὃν ἔδοξεν ἐλόμενοι ἐκάστοις τὸν ἕτερον παρέλειπον καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους μὲν καὶ Κρήτας ἔθουσιν ἐπαίδευσον, οὐ λόγοις. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ σχεδὸν οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες Ἕλληνες, ἃ μὲν ἔδει πράττειν ἢ μὴ, προσέτασσον διὰ τῶν νόμων, τοῦ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὰ διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἐθίζουσιν ὠλιγόρησαν.

Table 3.8.: Shared patterns of adaptation in ELr and Suda Lexicon

Procopius, ed. Haury	Procopius ELr, ed. de Boor	Suda, ed. Adler
(1.2.11: Haury, 1.9) Ἐπεὶ δὲ Θεοδόσιος μὲν ἀνὴρ τε ἐγεγόνει καὶ ἡλικίας πόρρω ἀφίκτο, Ἰσδιγέρδης δὲ νοσήσας ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο, ἐπῆλθε μὲν ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν Οὐαραράνης ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς στρατῷ μεγάλῳ, ἔδρασε δὲ οὐδὲν ἄχαρι, ἀλλ' ἄπρακτος ἐπανήλθεν εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα τρόπῳ τοιῷδε.	exc.1 (ELr 90) Ὅτι Οὐαραράνης ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ἐπῆλθεν ἐς Ῥωμαίων γῆν, οὐδὲν δὲ ἔδρασεν ἄχαρι, ἀλλ' ἐπανήλθεν ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα.	s.v. Ἀχαρι (A 4673) Ἀχαρι· λυπηρόν. [...] καὶ αὐθις· ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων γῆν, οὐδὲν δὲ ἔδρασεν ἄχαρι. ἀχαρίστῳ νοσήματι τῷ θυμῷ χαρίζομενος, λύμαις ὅσαις ἐδύνατο παντοδαπαῖς τὸ σῶμα λυμηνάμενος.
(2.3.54: Haury, 1.162) ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Χοσρόης ἤκουσεν, ἤσθη τε καὶ ζυγκαλέσας εἴ τι ἐν Πέρσαις καθαρὸν ἦν ἐς πάντας ἐξήνεγκεν ἃ τε Οὐίτιγίς ἔγραψε καὶ ὅσα οἱ Ἀρμένιοι εἶπον, ἀμφὶ τε τῷ πρακτέῳ βουλὴν προϋθηνεν. (2.4.14: Haury, 1.164–5) Ἡνίκα Χοσρόου πολεμῆσειντος Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἤσθητο, παραίνεσιν τε ποιεῖσθαι τινα καὶ τῆς ἐγγχειρήσεως αὐτὸν ἀπαγαγεῖν ἤθελεν.	exc.5 (ELr 94) Ὅτι ὁ Χοσρόης ἀκούσας τὰ τῶν Ἀρμενίων καὶ τὰ [τὴν] Οὐίτιγίδος ἤσθη τε καὶ ζυγκαλέσας εἴ τι ἐν Πέρσαις καθαρὸν ἦν ἐς πάντας ἐξήνεγκε <u>περὶ τούτων</u> ἀμφὶ τε τῷ πρακτέῳ βουλὴν προϋθηνεν. [...] Χοσρόου <u>δὲ</u> πολεμῆσειντος ὡς ἤσθητο Ἰουστινιανὸς παραίνεσιν ἐποιήσατο καὶ πρέσβιν Ἀναστάσιον ἔπεμψε γράψας καὶ γράμματα.	s.v. καθαρῶς (K 37) Καθαρῶς· ἀκριβῶς. σαφῶς. εἴ τι ἐν Πέρσαις καθαρὸν ἦν ζυγκαλέσας ἐς πάντας ἐξήνεγκε <u>περὶ τούτων</u> .  s.v. πολεμῆσειντος (Π 1882) Πολεμῆσειντος· πολέμου ἐπιθυμοῦντος. Χοσρόου <u>δὲ</u> πολεμῆσειντος <u>ὡς</u> ἤσθητο Ἰουστινιανός.
(6.28.7: Haury, 2.276) γνόντες δὲ οἱ Φράγγων ἄρχοντες τὰ ποιούμενα προσποιεῖσθαι τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐθέλοντες, πρέσβεις παρὰ τὸν Οὐίτιγιν πέμπουσι, ζυμμάχιας ὑπόσχεσιν προτείνοντες, ἐφ' ᾧ τῆς χώρας ζῶν αὐτῷ ἄρξουσιν.	exc.20 (ELr 108) Ὅτι γνόντες οἱ Φράγγων ἄρχοντες τὰ ποιούμενα, <u>ὡς Βελισάριον εὐτυχεῖν</u> , προσποιεῖσθαι τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐθέλοντες πρέσβεις παρὰ τὸν Οὐίτιγιν πέμπουσι ζυμμάχιας ὑπόσχεσιν προτείνοντες, ἐφ' ᾧ τῆς χώρας ζῶν αὐτῷ ἄρχουσιν.	s.v. προσποιεῖται (Π 2797) αἰτιατικῇ. οἰκαιοποιεῖται, ἢ πλάττεται, καὶ ὑποκρίνεται. γνόντες οἱ Φράγγοι <u>ὡς Βελισάριος εὐτυχεῖ</u> καὶ προσποιεῖσθαι τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐθέλοντες περὶ συμμαχίας βουλευόμενοι.
(4.18.16: Haury, 2.582) Γήπαιδες δὲ τούτων δὴ τῶν βαρβάρων τῇ παρουσίᾳ ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀχθόμενοι, ἐπεὶ οὐπω ὁ τῆς μάχης ἐνειστήκει καιρὸς, ἀλλ' ἐνιαυτὸς ταῖς ζυνθήκαις ἔτι ἐλέλειπτο, πείθουσιν αὐτοὺς καταθεῖν μετὰ τὴν βασιλέως γῆν, πάρεργον τῆς σφετέρως ἀκαιρίας πεποιημένοι τὴν ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἐπιβουλήν.	exc.24 (ELr 117) Γήπαιδες δὲ τούτων δὴ βαρβάρων τῇ παρουσίᾳ ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀχθόμενοι, ἐπεὶ οὐπω ὁ τῆς μάχης ἐνειστήκει <u>καιρὸς, πείθουσιν</u> αὐτοὺς καταθεῖν μετὰ τὴν βασιλέως γῆν πάρεργον τῆς σφετέρως ἀκαιρίας πεποιημένοι τὴν ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἐπιβουλήν.	s.v. καταθεῖν (K 547) Καταθεῖν· κατατρέχειν. οἱ δὲ Γήπαιδες, ἐπεὶ οὐπω ὁ τῆς μάχης ἐνειστήκει <u>καιρὸς, πείθουσιν</u> αὐτοὺς καταθεῖν μετὰ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων χώραν, πάρεργον τῆς σφετέρως ἀκαιρίας πεποιημένοι τὴν ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἐπιβουλήν.

### 3. A Data Management System

At the same time, these entries may explain the origin of the short summaries within the internal references discussed in the previous section. The similarity between the marginal indices and the summaries within the cross-references suggests that this indexing system was an important element in the editorial procedure of the excerpts. Moreover, the fact that the summaries within the cross-references were copied both in majuscules and minuscules without a definite location being specified, while the indices were always copied in majuscule script and in the margins, reveals their chronological order and relationship: the indexing system seems to have preceded in time the cross-references because they frequently rely on the indices.

It often happens that the reference does not occur in the horizontal line pointing to the appropriate part of the body text. Moreover, such proper names emerge in the margin that are not specified in the text, for example, near pronouns.<sup>504</sup> One example can well illustrate how the excerptors abbreviated the body text and highlighted its content by indices. The text in George the Monks says: Γρηγόριος ὁ πάνσοφος καὶ θεολογίας ἐπώνυμος ἀποσεμνύνων αὐτοὺς ἔλεγε... (“Gregory of the utmost wisdom who was named after theology said, extolling them...”). In EV, the excerptors abbreviated the text in the manner “καὶ ὁ θεολόγος ἀποσεμνύνων αὐτοὺς λέγει...” (“the theologian says extolling them...”) and put the name Γρηγόριος in the margin.<sup>505</sup> This example suggests that at least some of the marginal notes were added to the texts during the οἰκείωσις (adaptation) procedure (see below) and not inherited from earlier manuscripts.

The systematic and uniform character of this category of annotations does not support the option that they all were copied from the different exemplars of the respective historians. At least some of the notes seem to have been added by the

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<sup>504</sup>A few examples from **T** seem to suffice: (f. 50r) Ἀλβῖνος, EV 1,96,1 exc. 64, Jos. *BJ* 2.274. (f. 75r) Κωνσταντῖνος, EV 1,148,2 exc. 17, George the Monk, ed. de Boor, p. 504,11. (f. 112r) Ἀντιστοχός, EV 2,108,26 exc. 26, Polyb. 8.11.3. (f. 112r) Ἀννίβας, EV 2,112,24 exc. 26, Polyb. 8.12.5.

<sup>505</sup>(f. 67r) EV 1,131,7 exc. 4, Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p. 347,17–18.



excerptors. The manuscripts in the tenth-century were either more heavily packed with various sorts of marginal entries or free of them. The systematisation of the entries seems to have been the part of the excerptors' tasks. For a manuscript of the mid-tenth century showing no sign of marginal notes, a copy of Diodorus of Sicily (Patmiacus 50), a type of a historical manuscript in 32 lines, is a good example.<sup>506</sup> There are, however, more examples for the opposite case, when a manuscript is full of marginalia of various sorts. For such manuscripts, three examples seem to suffice. Some historical manuscripts were full of marginal annotations of heterogeneous sorts like a Thucydides manuscript from the turn of the eleventh century.<sup>507</sup> This can explain the scholia copied in the margin or in the body text in **T**. The manuscript of Theophylaktos Simokattes from the first half of the tenth century (Vat. gr. 977) is also full of marginal entries of various kinds.<sup>508</sup> The Zosimos manuscript (Vat. gr. 156) copied by four hands dated from the second half of the tenth century up to the second half of the eleventh century is also full of marginalia.<sup>509</sup>

Besides the obvious differences, namely the lack of a systematic indexing system, these historical manuscripts on the other hand do show some similarities with **T** as regards the means of highlighting texts. In the outer margin, there are short marks underlining the significance of the content, which are frequent in Greek manuscripts, such as  $\acute{\omega}\rho(\alpha\tilde{\iota}\omicron\nu)$ ,  $\gamma\nu\acute{\omega}\mu\eta$ ,  $\sigma\eta(\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\sigma\alpha\iota)$ , obelos (—). The location of sign ( $\div$ ) is not defined; it appears usually in the outer margin but sometimes in the inner margin (ff. 14r, 31r, 31v). I failed to identify any functional difference between them. Their role seems to be to spotlight interesting and well formulated passages and expressions. These categories of annotations never cross the borderline separating the text body from the margin.

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<sup>506</sup>I saw the microfiche of the manuscript in I. R. H. T. in Paris.

<sup>507</sup>E. g., Par. suppl. gr. 255, a Thucydides manuscript dated to the late tenth or the early eleventh century.

<sup>508</sup>SCHREINER (1987), 1–29.

<sup>509</sup>FORCINA (1987), 30–37.

### 3. A Data Management System

Besides providing a tool in the preparation of *CE*, the system of marginal indices primarily helped the reader orientate him- or herself in the volume and find the names of historical or mythological figures about whom the text narrated or certain topics which could be of one's interest. This indexing system, therefore, seems to have been an innovative way of giving guidance within the volume by visually highlighting the content.

There is a fascinating example among the marginal notes of this category of annotations (see above) where the extensive reference points to a passage of Cassius Dio excerpted in the collection "On virtue and vice". On f. 128r, the marginal entry says *περὶ τοῦ Μουσαροῦ*<sup>510</sup> *καὶ βδελυροῦ κυνὸς τοῦ Νερωνος* ("On Nero's abominable and loathsome pet"). The excerpt in the body text contains an extract on Nero's homosexual relationship with Sporus, the libertine, which started after Poppaea Sabina's death.<sup>511</sup> This passage is Book 62.28.2–4 (Boissevain, 3.64) and coincides with one of the references copied within one of the excerpts from John of Antioch: *περὶ τε [...] καὶ τοῦ Σπόρου τοῦ ἐρωμένου [...]* (on [...] and Sporus the beloved) (see above). It cannot be excluded that a passage other than EV exc. 250 is referred to in the reference that appears in the excerpt taken from the chronicle of John of Antioch. However, the presence of Cassius Dio's passage on Sporus in **T** demonstrates that the excerptors, probably the same excerptor with the one who excerpted the chronicle of John of Antioch later, had access to the Cassius Dio volume and the note here might be interpreted as his own reference. The easiest explanation of the editorial reference to Cassius Dio in an excerpt taken from John of Antioch is to suppose that the excerpts and the marginal reference were associated with each other in an early phase of the editorial procedure of *CE*, probably during the separation of the excerpts that must have taken place in the margin of the exemplars of the historians. It then happened only at later stage that somebody else than the

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<sup>510</sup>The word *Μουσαρός* is to be understood as *μυσαρός* ("abominable") (also used in lxx Le. 18.23: *μυσερός*) which is synonymous to *βδελυρός* (cf. LJS 1155–1156). The pronunciation of "υ" as "u" in *Μουσαρός* is an interesting phenomenon from a linguistic point of view.

<sup>511</sup>EV 2, 350: Book 62.28.2–4.

person separating the excerpts did prepare the draft copies. This could also explain the misplacement of some information originating from the marginal notes, namely that of some *scholia*.

### 3.2.6. Scholia

Three pages with excerpts from Thucydides (T, ff. 228v–229v) contain five instances in which marginal *scholia* are transcribed from the exemplar (see tab.3.9). Two *scholia* were copied in the margin, in their appropriate place (see examples a–b). However, one *scholium* was excerpted as a separate excerpt in the body text (see example e: exc. 11b). Since there is only one another example of the same (see below on Josephus Flavius), the scribe or the excerptors do not seem to have consciously selected a *scholium* into the body text. The interpretation of these phenomena as editorial slips even more applies to two instances in which some words of the *scholia* were copied within the text they are commenting on (see the two examples: c–d).

The other instance in which is a *scholium* is excerpted as a separate excerpt is the legal explanation of the word ἔνδειξις (accusation, charge) that occurs in Josephus Flavius' *Jewish Antiquities* in a passage on Jesus Christ, which was probably inserted in Josephus' text at a later date. This passage is enclosed by two scholium-marks of ▷. Because this extract was of utmost interest for any reader, the exemplar may have been full of marginal entries of various sorts, which could easily cause confusion for the excerptors.<sup>512</sup> This scholium gives a precise definition of the legal term of ἔνδειξις (accusation, charge). There is a *scholium* by Arethas of Caesarea preceding the excerpts from Eunapios in the Vatican palimpsest of the collection “On gnomic statements” (ES 71).<sup>513</sup> In this case, the same could happen as demonstrated with the *scholia* appended to Thucydides' and Josephus Flavius' texts.

<sup>512</sup>See letter 88 of the anonymous professor [ed. MARKOPOULOS (2000), 78–80], who mentions that the manuscript he received for copying was full of annotations that seemed important in establishing the correct reading. On this letter, see also CORTASSA (2001).



<sup>513</sup>FLUSIN (2002), 552–553.

Table 3.9.: Scholia interpolated in the body text in T

	Tours, BM 980 C	Thucydides	Scholia ad Thuc. (ed. Haase)
a	228v (EV 2, 34, 22) Ὅτι οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρέσβεις πέμψαντες παρὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ξυνεπητιῶντο τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα, ὡς εὕρισκον ἐκ τῶν περὶ Πausanίαν ἐλέγχων, ἤξιουν τε τοῖς αὐτοῖς κολλάζεσθαι αὐτόν· οἱ δὲ πεισθέντες (ἔτυχε γὰρ ὠστρακισμένος) καὶ ἔχων δίκαιαν μὲν ἐν Ἄργει, ἐπιφοιτῶν δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν ἄλλην Πελοπόννησον) πέμπουσι μετὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐτοίμων ὄντων ξυνδιώκειν ἄνδρας οἷς εἴρητο ἄγειν ὅπου ἂν περιτύχωσιν.	(1.135.2–3) Τοῦ δὲ μηδισμού τοῦ Πausanίου οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρέσβεις πέμψαντες παρὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ξυνεπητιῶντο τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα, ὡς εὕρισκον ἐκ τῶν περὶ Πausanίαν ἐλέγχων, ἤξιουν τε τοῖς αὐτοῖς κολλάζεσθαι αὐτόν· οἱ δὲ πεισθέντες (ἔτυχε γὰρ ὠστρακισμένος) καὶ ἔχων δίκαιαν μὲν ἐν Ἄργει, ἐπιφοιτῶν δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν ἄλλην Πελοπόννησον) πέμπουσι μετὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐτοίμων ὄντων ξυνδιώκειν ἄνδρας οἷς εἴρητο ἄγειν ὅπου ἂν περιτύχωσιν.	228v (margin) Σχο. ἔτυχε γὰρ ὠστρακισμένος· διὰ τὸ φρόνημα, ὃ εἶχεν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς περὶ τῆς Σαλαμῖνος, ἐξωστρακίσθη ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, ἵνα τὸ φρόνημα αὐτοῦ καθέλωσιν
b	229r (EV 2, 35, 9) καὶ ἐλθόντος οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον τοῦ Ἀδμήτου δηλοῖ τε ὅς ἐστι καὶ οὐκ ἀξιοῖ, εἴ τι ἄρα αὐτὸς ἀντεῖπεν αὐτῷ Ἀθηναίων δεομένῳ, φεύγοντα τιμωρεῖσθαι.	(1.136.4) καὶ ἐλθόντος οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον τοῦ Ἀδμήτου δηλοῖ τε ὅς ἐστι καὶ οὐκ ἀξιοῖ, εἴ τι ἄρα αὐτὸς ἀντεῖπεν αὐτῷ Ἀθηναίων δεομένῳ, φεύγοντα τιμωρεῖσθαι.	229r (margin) Σχο. πέμψαντος γὰρ ποτε Ἀδμήτου Ἀθήναζε περὶ συμμαχίας αἰτήσεως ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀνέπεισε τὴν πόλιν μὴ δοῦναι αὐτῷ βοήθειαν
c	229r (EV 2, 35, 12) καὶ ἅμα αὐτὸς μὲν ἐκείνῳ <u>χρείας τινὸς</u> [ἔξωθεν] καὶ οὐκ ἐς τὸ σῶμα σώζεσθαι ἐναντιωθῆναι, ἐκείνον δ' ἂν εἰ ἐκδοίῃ αὐτόν (εἰπὼν ὅφ' ὦν καὶ ἐφ' ᾧ διώκεται), σωτηρίας ἂν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποστερήσῃ.	(1.136.4) καὶ ἅμα αὐτὸς μὲν ἐκείνῳ <u>χρείας τινὸς</u> καὶ οὐκ ἐς τὸ σῶμα σώζεσθαι ἐναντιωθῆναι, ἐκείνον δ' ἂν, εἰ ἐκδοίῃ αὐτόν (εἰπὼν ὅφ' ὦν καὶ ἐφ' ᾧ διώκεται), σωτηρίας ἂν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποστερήσῃ.	<u>χρείας τινὸς κτλ.</u> · χρείας τινὸς ἔξοθεν καὶ οὐχὶ περὶ ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου
d	229r (EV 2, 36, 8) ἦν γὰρ δὴ βεβαιότατα <u>τῆς κοινῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅσον δύναται</u> <u>φύσεως ἰσχύι</u> δηλώσας, καὶ διαφερόντως τι <u>ἐς αὐτὸ</u> <u>[τὰ εἰς τὴν φύσιν]</u> μᾶλλον ἐτέρου ἄξιος θαυμάσαι·	(1.138.3) Ἦν γὰρ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς βεβαιότατα δὴ <u>φύσεως ἰσχύι</u> δηλώσας καὶ διαφερόντως τι <u>ἐς αὐτὸ</u> μᾶλλον ἐτέρου ἄξιος θαυμάσαι·	<u>φύσεως ἰσχύι</u> · τῆς κοινῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅσον δύναται <u>ἐς αὐτό</u> · εἰς τὴν φύσιν
e	229v (EV 2, 36, 19–23) Ὅτι ποτὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Ἀλκαμένη ἐν προαστείῳ θεασάμενοι μετεωρίζοντα κακῶς ἐχρήσαντο· οὗτοι γὰρ σκυθρωποὶ ἦσαν διὰ παντὸς ἐπιείκειαν ὑποκρινόμενοι καὶ τοὺς ἀβροτέρους ἐκόλαζον, τὸ τερπνὸν τοῦ βίου κώλυμα τῶν ἀναγκαίων νομίζοντες εἶναι.	(2.37.2) ἐλευθέρως δὲ τά τε πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν πολιτεύομεν καὶ ἐς τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ὑποψίαν, οὐ δι' ὀργῆς τὸν πέλας, εἰ καθ' ἡδονήν τι δρᾷ, ἔχοντες, οὐ δὲ ἄζημιον μίον, λυπηρὰς δὲ τῇ ὄψει ἀχθηδόνας προστιθέμενοι.	<u>οὐδὲ ἀζημίους</u> [...] οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, Ἀλκαμένη ἐν προαστείῳ θεασάμενοι μετεωρίζοντα, κακῶς ἐχρήσαντο. οἱ γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι σκυθρωποὶ εἰσι, διὰ παντὸς ἐπιείκειαν ὑποκρινόμενοι, καὶ τοὺς ἀβροτέρους κολλάζουσι τὸ γὰρ τερπνὸν τοῦ βίου κώλυμα νομίζουσι τῶν ἀναγκαίων.

Table 3.10.: Scholium from Josephus Flavius in **T**

Tours, BM 980 C, f. 44r (EV 1, 84 app.)	Tours, BM 980 C, f. 44r, exc. 50	Iosephus Flavius, <i>AJ</i> , 18.64 (iii. 3), ed. Niese, 3. 151
<p>ὅτι ἔνδειξις ἐστὶ κατηγορίας ὄνομα κατὰ πλειόνων μὲν λαμβανόμενον, μάλιστα δὲ κατὰ τῶν ὀφειλόντων τῷ δημοσίῳ καὶ πολιτεύεσθαι τολμώντων.</p> <p>The word “ἔνδειξις” (charge) is the name of accusation applicable against most of the people, especially against public criminals or those who unduly claim (Roman) citizenship.</p>	<p>[...] ὁ Χριστὸς οὕτως ἦν. καὶ αὐτὸν ἔνδειξει τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν παρ’ ἡμῖν σταυρῷ ἐπιτετιμηκότος Πιλάτου, οὐκ ἐπαύσαντο οἱ τὸ πρῶτον ἀγαπήσαντες· ἐφάνη γὰρ αὐτοῖς τρίτην ἔχων ἡμέραν πάλιν ζῶν, τῶν θείων προφητῶν ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλα μυρία θαυμάσια περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰρηκότων. εἷς τε νῦν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀπὸ τοῦδε ὠνομασμένων οὐκ ἐπέλιπε τὸ φύλον.</p>	<p>the scholium has not been preserved in parallel transmission “He was [the] Christ. And when Pilate, at the [suggestion] of the principal men amongst us, had condemned him to the cross, (9) those that loved him at the first did not forsake him; for he appeared to them alive again the third day; (10) as the divine prophets had foretold these and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him. And the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day.” Tr. William Whiston.</p>

There are some of scholium-marks but without the *scholium* they refer to. Thus, these marks seem to originate from the exemplars. On f. 138v, the scholium-mark  is placed above the name Περτίνιακος.<sup>514</sup> On f. 275r, this scholium-mark appears above the word ἀγένειον and is repeated in the margin, but without the *scholium* next to it. In some cases, however, this scholium-mark appears in the margin without any text and any reference in the body text (ff. 63r, 145r, 154r) corresponding to it. Some other marks in the outer margin of **T** can be interpreted also as scholium-marks. For example, mark , which appears five times in the excerpts from Josephus Flavius (ff. 12r, 32r, 35r twice, and f. 44r) copied in the ink identical with that of the main scribe and twice in darker ink (f. 30r–v). As we saw before in the case of the excerpted *scholium*, the copy of the *Jewish Antiquities* the excerptors used may have been full of *scholia* of various sorts.

These instances suggest that the classification and partially the οἰκείωσις (adaptation) took place already in the margin of the exemplar. It seems to have been during a later phase of the project that someone other than the “scholar who classified the text” prepared the drafts according to the Constantinian subjects. To the user, these manuscripts may have presented an image of a “learned but chaotic

<sup>514</sup>EV 2,381,25 exc. 334, Cassius Dio 73.17.3.

### 3. A Data Management System

system of references” replete with rephrased sentences and various reference marks. This is the reason why Schreiner suggests that each manuscript was selected to be excerpted only for a limited number of Constantinian subjects.<sup>515</sup> First, the distribution of various tasks among various excerptors best explains the misunderstandings of the final copies. Second, these inaccurate features may be viewed as a hint at fairly inexperienced collaborators, probably the students of the palace school in the early phase of the project.<sup>516</sup> Nevertheless, despite the high number of historians and that of the Constantinian subjects, the number of editorial slips in the final copies is relatively small as far as it is possible to discern in the texts of these historians for whom we can rely on parallel transmission. The next section aims to show the basis of this surprising accuracy.

### 3.3. Adaptation (οἰκείωσις)

The aim of this section is to show the way the excerptors adapted the historical texts to the predefined fifty-three subject categories (see in ch.1.5 on p.65). It seems that the adaptation was carried out in two steps. First, the borderline between the artificially created units was defined. These units often did not correspond to the original articulation of the narrative and went beyond divisions between subsequent chapters or shorter text units. It was probably quite troublesome, therefore, to discover and create new coherence between short paragraphs that were sometimes placed quite far from each other in the exemplar. In addition to this first step of classification, the beginnings and the ends of the new units had to be modified in order that a coherent entity should emerge from the excerpt. All these changes seem

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<sup>515</sup>“Dies hätte zu einem Annotationschaos geführt, das der “Zentralstelle” unlösbare Probleme geschaffen hätte.” SCHREINER (1987), 25.

<sup>516</sup>Another example for an inexperienced excerptor, the reference mark ∴ appears on f.182v as a reference to the lower margin where the main scribe copied the text that he mistakenly (?) omitted in the body text. EV 2, 14, 8–10 exc. 31, Herodotus 4. 154: ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἐγγημεν ἄλλην γυναιῖκα. ἡ δὲ ἐπεισελθοῦσα ἐδικαίου καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ εἶναι μητρική τῇ Φρονίμῃ.

to have affected the excerpted text only to a limited extent and resulted in minor modifications that vary in each excerpt.

Table 3.12 shows how Book 2 of Prokopios' *Persian Wars* was adapted by the excerptors. I selected this book because in the collection of ELr and partially in ELg there is a considerable number of excerpts with extensive internal omissions. At the same time, there are a handful of coherent units that are absent from between the excerpts. These omissions may well demonstrate how extensive sections were classified and adapted to the various other collections. The Constantinian method of excerpting seems to have been the following: after each passage of a certain historian was classified to one of Constantine VII's fifty-three subjects, probably in the margin, the excerptors unified the shorter units to make a coherent section, following the historical narrative from the beginning to the end. While unifying the subsequent sections that belonged to one subject, the excerptors did not give summaries of the omitted passages.

In Book 2, Prokopios narrated the six years' period of the war between the Persian king Chosroes I (531–578/79) (Χοσρόης) and the Byzantine emperor Justinian I (527–565). I will show the excerptors' approach to the description of Chosroes' various campaigns against strongholds that belonged to Byzantine dominance roughly in five consecutive years, in the period between 540, when the Persian king broke the treaty on the "Eternal Peace" (agreed in 531), and 545, when next truce between Byzantium and Persia was concluded. As the main difference between Prokopios' structure and that imposed upon his narrative by the excerptors, the two arrangements have different focal points. Prokopios constantly struggles to maintain the coherence of his narrative and to simultaneously observe the principle of the annalistic tradition of historiography, while following Thucydides, his main model as historian, which means that he gave his account of the events year by year. As a result of this attempt, he occasionally reiterated certain events in case they took longer than one year. E. g., chapter 4 and chapter 5 alike start with a new year (539 and 540) and contain numerous digressions from the events discussing Anastasius'

### 3. A Data Management System

embassy to Chorsroes who decided to keep the Byzantine envoy at his court for quite a long time. There is a short phrase at the end of ch.5.27 saying that Chosroes finally let the envoy Anastasius leave. In this case the excerptors “extract” Anastasius’ embassy and create a relatively short account from Prokopios’ two extensive chapters with minor modifications.

As an apparent characteristic of *CE*, the excerptors often omitted extensive passages without including any summary of the omitted passages. However, they observed the coherence and the subject matter of the excerpt (cf. λόγου ἀκολουθία in the prooemium). As the example demonstrates (see tab.3.11), the imperial excerptors tried to purify the text of any digressions and any data that seemed to belong somewhere else. This attempt coincides with Photios’ literary criticism.<sup>517</sup> At the same time, the ambitions to rephrase the texts to be excerpted seem to have been restricted. However, when the excerptors omitted longer passages and simultaneously tried to maintain the coherence, they modified the text in a number of places.<sup>518</sup> The example I selected is one among the most abbreviated excerpts in the whole, driving evidence from *CE* full of shorter and longer omissions. Nevertheless, as an advantage of the excerptors’ serious intervention in the text, exc.5 of ELr allows to analyze their method of excerpting.

Modifications are usually applied to such places where the subsequent omissions would harm the cohesion of the new excerpt. In these cases, the excerptors had to make the text clear by inserting personal names or summarizing the background of a certain event from earlier passages. At the same time, they abbreviated phrases,

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<sup>517</sup>Photios (*Bibliotheca*, 92, 72b 40 – 73b 5) praises Arrian for his concise and clear writing and that he does not damage the continuity of his narrative with digression: Ἔστι μὲν οὖν ὁ ἀνὴρ οὐδενὸς τῶν ἄριστα συνταξαμένων ἱστορίας δεύτερος· ἀπαγγεῖλαι τε γὰρ καὶ μετὰ συντομίας κράτιστος, καὶ παρεκτροπαῖς ἀκαίροις οὐδὲ παρενθήκαις τὸ συνεχὲς τῆς ἱστορίας οὐδαμοῦ λυμαινόμενος, καινοπρεπῆς δὲ συνθήκη λόγου μᾶλλον ἢ λέξει, καὶ οὕτως ὥστε μὴ ἂν ἄλλως μήτε σαφέστερον μήτε ἐναργέστερον τὸ διήγημα δηλωθῇ.

<sup>518</sup>See an example for the excerptors’ change resulting in misunderstanding of the text of Diodorus of Sicily, book 9 in CALVAGNO (1996), 228–231.



Table 3.11.: The Prokopios excerpt 5 in ELr

ELr 5	Prokopios' text
<p>Ὅτι ὁ Χοσρόης ἀκούσας τὰ τῶν Ἀρμενίων καὶ τὰ [τὴν] Οὐίτιγιδος ἦσθη τε καὶ ξυγκαλέσας εἴ τι ἐν Πέρσαις καθαρὸν ἦν ἐς πάντας ἐξήνεγκε περὶ τούτων ἀμφὶ τε τῷ πρακτέῳ βουλὴν προϋθηνεν.</p> <p>ἔνθα δὴ ἐλέχθησαν γινῶμαι πολλαὶ ἐφ' ἐκάτερα φέρουσαι, καὶ πολεμητέα σφίσιν ἅμα ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἔδοξεν εἶναι.</p> <p>ἦν γὰρ τοῦ ἔτους μετόπωρον, τρίτον καὶ δέκατον ἔτος Ἰουστινιανοῦ ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος.</p> <p>οὐ μέντοι Ῥωμαῖοι τοῦτο ὑπώπτευνον, οὐδὲ δὴ Πέρσας λύσειν ποτὲ τὰς ἀπεράντους καλουμένας σπονδὰς ᾤοντο, καίπερ Χοσρόην ἀκούσαντες τῷ τε σφῶν αὐτῶν βασιλεῖ ἐγκαλεῖν οἷς εὐημέρησεν ἐν ταῖς ἡλίου δυσμαῖς καὶ τὰ ἐγκλήματα ἐπιφέρειν.</p>	<p>(2.3.54) ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Χοσρόης ἤκουσεν, ἦσθη τε καὶ ξυγκαλέσας εἴ τι ἐν Πέρσαις καθαρὸν ἦν ἐς πάντας ἐξήνεγκεν ἃ τε Οὐίτιγιδος ἔγραψε καὶ ὅσα οἱ Ἀρμένιοι εἶπον, ἀμφὶ τε τῷ πρακτέῳ βουλὴν προϋθηνεν.</p> <p>(2.3.55) ἔνθα δὴ ἐλέχθησαν μὲν γινῶμαι πολλαὶ ἐφ' ἐκάτερα φέρουσαι, τέλος δὲ πολεμητέα σφίσιν ἅμα ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἔδοξεν εἶναι.</p> <p>(2.3.56) ἦν γὰρ τοῦ ἔτους μετόπωρον, τρίτον καὶ δέκατον ἔτος Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλείᾳ τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος.</p> <p>(2.3.57) οὐ μέντοι Ῥωμαῖοι τοῦτο ὑπώπτευνον, οὐδὲ δὴ Πέρσας λύσειν ποτὲ τὰς ἀπεράντους καλουμένας σπονδὰς ᾤοντο, καίπερ Χοσρόην ἀκούσαντες τῷ τε σφῶν αὐτῶν βασιλεῖ ἐγκαλεῖν οἷς εὐημέρησεν ἐν ταῖς ἡλίου δυσμαῖς καὶ τὰ ἐγκλήματα ἐπιφέρειν ταῦτα, ὧν ἄρτι ἐμνήσθη.</p>
—	(2.4.1–3) appearance of the comet called “sword-fish” and its various interpretations
—	(2.4.4–11) the invasion of the Huns in all Europe
—	(2.4.13) Belisarius sends Vitingis, the Ostrogothic king to Byzantium
<p>Χοσρόου δὲ πολεμῆσειντος ὥς ἦσθητο Ἰουστινιανὸς παραίνεσιν ἐποίησατο καὶ πρέσβιν Ἀναστάσιον ἔπεμψε γράψας καὶ γράμματα.</p>	<p>(2.4.14) Ἦνίκα Χοσρόου πολεμῆσειντος Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἦσθητο, παραίνεσιν τε ποιῆσθαι τινα καὶ τῆς ἐγχειρήσεως αὐτὸν ἀπαγαγεῖν ἤθελεν.</p>
—	(2.4.17–25) Justinian's letter to Chosroes
<p>Ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Χοσρόης ἀπενεχθέντα εἶδεν, ἐν μὲν τῷ αὐτίκα οὔτε τι ἀπεκρίνατο οὔτε Ἀναστάσιον ἀπεπέμψατο, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ μένειν ἠνάγκαζεν.</p> <p>ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ χειμὼν ἦδη ὑπέληγεν, τρίτον δὲ καὶ δέκατον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν αὐτοκρατορικὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχοντι, Χοσρόης ὁ Καβάδου ἐς γῆν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἅμα ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ ἐπέβαλλε τὴν τε ἀπέραντον καλουμένην εἰρήνην λαμπρῶς ἔλυεν.</p>	<p>(2.4.26) ταῦτα ἐπεὶ ὁ Χοσρόης ἀπενεχθέντα εἶδεν, ἐν μὲν τῷ αὐτίκα οὔτε τι ἀπεκρίνατο οὔτε τὸν Ἀναστάσιον ἀπεπέμψατο, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ μένειν ἠνάγκαζεν.</p> <p>(2.5.1) ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ χειμὼν ἦδη ὑπέληγεν, τρίτον δὲ καὶ δέκατον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν αὐτοκρατορικὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχοντι, Χοσρόης ὁ Καβάδου ἐς γῆν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἅμα ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ ἐπέβαλλε τὴν τε ἀπέραντον καλουμένην εἰρήνην λαμπρῶς ἔλυεν.</p>
—	(2.5.2 – 2.5.26, 2.5.28–33) marching of the Persian army near the river Euphrates, the description of Circesium, Zenobia, siege of Sura
<p>κατεῖχε δὲ τὸν πρέσβιν μέχρις ἐπόρθησε Σοῦριν τὴν πόλιν, οὕτω τε τὸν Ἀναστάσιον ἀπεπέμψατο τὸν πρεσβευτὴν τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀπαγγέλλειν κελεύσας, ὅποι ποτὲ γῆς Χοσρόην τὸν Καβάδου ἀπολιπὼν εἴη.</p>	<p>(2.5.27) οὕτω τε τὸν Ἀναστάσιον ἀπεπέμψατο, Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ἀπαγγέλλειν κελεύσας ὅποι ποτὲ γῆς Χοσρόην τὸν Καβάδου ἀπολιπὼν εἴη.</p>

Table 3.12.: Coherent gaps in Prokopios excerpts in *Persian Wars*, book 2

exc.	locus	theme	gaps	theme
ELg 9	2.2.1–15	The Gothic king's envoys to Chosroes	2.2.11	wisdom on using the emerging opportunity
ELr 5	2.3.54–5.27	Iustinianus sends Anastasius to Chosroes (the breach of the piece treaty)	2.4.1–3	appearance of the comet called “swordfish” and its various interpretations
			2.4.4–11	the scourge of the Huns upon all Europe
			2.4.13	Belisarius sends Vitingis, the Ostrogothic king to Byzantium
			2.4.17–25	Justinian's letter to Chosroes
			2.5.2–2.5.26, 2.5.28–33	marching of the Persian army near the river Euphrates, the description of Circesium, Zenobia, siege of Sura
–	–	gap between ELr 5–6	2.6.1–8	the Roman commander Bouzes' speech to the Hieropolitans
ELr 6	2.6.9–2.7.36	Negotiations between Megas and Chosroes in Beroea	2.6.10–16, 2.7.18	Germanus' plans to secure Antioch against a Persian attack
–	–	gap between ELr 6 and 7	2.7.37	deserters of Beroea join the Persian Army
			2.8.1–3.	Chosroes moves his troops against Antioch
–	–	gap between ELr 7 and 8	2.8.8–29, 34–35, 9.14–10.9	Siege and sack of Antioch
			2.8.30–33, 9.1–13, 10.10–15	negotiations between Romans and Chosroes, Romans' speeches
			2.12.8–30	among others, Abgar story and his correspondence with Christ
–	–	gap between ELr 8–9	2.13.8–13	attempt to siege Edessa, siege of Constantina
–	–	gap between ELr 9–10	2.20.12–15	the siege of Sergiopolis by Chosroes
–	–	gap between ELr 11–12	2.26.32–37	peace negotiations
–	–	gap between ELr 14–15	2.26.23–34, 26.44–27.46	Persian tactics against Edessa: constructing an artificial hill, Roman response
			2.28.1–2	deaths of two Roman generals, Iustus and Peranius
–	–	gap between ELr 16 – ELg 11	2.28.21–30	considerations on Persian colonization strategy, characteristics of various nations in Cappadocia

but not only at the beginnings and the ends of the excerpts,<sup>519</sup> but also before and after internal omissions. For instance, in 2.3.54 Prokopios used complete sentences, while ELr applied participle structures abbreviating the previous chapters on the Armenians' negotiations with Chosroes (2.3.32–54) and the Gothic king's letter to Chosroes (2.2.4–11) (the events concerning the Armenians and Vittigis), and replaced Prokopios' summary with *περὶ τούτων* (on them). At the same time, it resolved the pronoun *ταῦτα*.

The excerptors had another solution for abbreviating texts. They often excluded the “surplus” particles, e.g., *μὲν*, *τέλος δὲ* or redundancies (*βασιλέως τὴν αὐτοκράτορα* after *Ἰουστινιανοῦ*), Prokopios' internal references are also omitted (e.g., *ταῦτα, ὧν ἄρτι ἐμνήσθην*: the events of which I have just given an account). In ELr 5, the underlining marks the text in Prokopios that was adjusted and the curly lines the words that were modified by the excerptors. The content of the omissions is summarized in column 2.

In this context, the marginal indexing system seems to be an integral part of the adjustments carried out by the excerptors. Proper names sometimes appear in the margin when the main text gives only a pronoun (see the examples above). In these cases, the excerptors clarified the text in the margin, which helped them avoid internal changes. On this basis, one can judge how the excerptors could have handled the passages that are omitted in the excerpts (see tab.3.12). Interestingly enough, most of the short omissions could be viewed as belonging to a subject that is attested among other collections of *CE*, which shows that the excerptors tried to classify every piece of text in any of the collections of *CE*. Justinian's letter to Chosroes (2.4.17–25) must have been classified to the collection “On the letters of sovereigns” (*περὶ ἐπιστολῶν*). The oration the Roman commander, Bouzes delivered to the citizens of Hieropolis was certainly classified to the collection “Public speeches” (*περὶ δημηγοριῶν*).

<sup>519</sup>Scholars studying *CE* emphasize that the excerptors modified the beginnings and the ends of the excerpts. See the most detailed summary on this by PITTIA (2006), 113–135. The internal modifications are usually neglected in the scholarly literature.

### 3. A Data Management System

The descriptions of sieges are abundant in Book 2 of Prokopios' *Wars*. It seems more likely that the leading of the army and moving troops was separated from the description of sieges (see a more profound discussion of the problem in ch. 2.5.3 on p. 161 and in ch. 1.5.8 on p. 85). In addition to other arguments, two examples of Book 2 may also support this hypothesis. The short gap between ELr 6 and 7 described that the deserters from the town of Beroea joined the Persian army and Chosroes moved his troops against Antioch. Between ELr 11 and 12 the short gap contains a text exclusively dedicated to the description of the siege of Sergioupolis. On this basis, it seems very likely that the descriptions of sieges of Antioch, Sura, Sergiopolis, Edessa in Book 2, especially those implying tactics (e.g., Edessa) were classified to the Constantinian collection "On sieges", while the movements of the troops were assigned to the collection "On leading of the army" (περὶ στρατηγημάτων).

By a thematic classification of the short gaps in *CE* of various historians, the limited number of the Constantinian collections would be expanded considerably; however, this is a play of thought which would go far beyond the scope of this thesis. Instead of trying to increase the number of identified Constantinian subjects, I would rather draw the reader's attention onto some very short and thematically coherent gaps within an excerpt or between two subsequent excerpts. The passages of 2. 4. 1–3 describes the appearance of a comet and the various interpretations of this strange phenomenon. This subject may have been part of the collection "On miraculous events" (περὶ παρὰδόξων) or rather may have belonged to a lost Constantinian subject discussing natural phenomena, which could be explained by the emperor's particular interest in this subject.

The deaths of two Roman generals in 2. 28. 1–2 could have been classified to a lost hypothetical collection "On deaths". Although this collection does not appear among the cross references of the extant collections, such a category would have suited the Constantinian system.<sup>520</sup> The Huns' invasion into Europe described in

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<sup>520</sup>SCHREINER (1987), 21–23.

detail in 2.2.4–11 seems to have satisfied the demands of the collection “On pagan peoples” (περὶ ἐθνῶν). This passage was probably classified to the identical category to which the text of 1.21.28, omitted from ELr 4 (p. 114), was excerpted. The short omission within ELr 6 (2.7.2) describes the geographical location of the city Beroea and the short gap in ELr 16 (2.28.4–5) equally is of geographic content, which suits the collection (περὶ οἰκισμῶν). De Boor suggested that some of the borrowings of the Suda Lexicon from *CE* suited a separate collection “On the preparation for the war” (περὶ προπαρασκευῆς πολέμου).<sup>521</sup> As regards the subject matter, the gaps of ELr 6 seem to belong to this collection (2.6.10–16, 2.7.12–13, 18). Many more examples could be given from other books of Prokopios where the repeated pattern of the omissions within and between *CE* seems similar to what Book 2 of Prokopios’ *Wars* demonstrates. However, discussing the thematic gaps in the excerpts from Prokopios in their entire complexity goes beyond the frame of this section.

### 3.4. Wise Usage of Human Resources

The significant but usually forgotten strength of producing *CE* is that this project evoked a successful cooperation among people of probably various backgrounds in order to achieve a major intellectual aim. One may call this studious goal the idiosyncrasy of the emperor but the efficiency of the way this end managed to move numerous minds and hands for the same purpose would convince any critics of Constantine VII’s systematization that the organization behind it must have been exceptional. With regard to the tenth-century resources in Constantinople, both material and human, the excerptors’ teamwork seems a great achievement of human mind and management.

It was Theodor Büttner-Wobst who distinguished two phases that characterized the preparation of *CE*. He differentiated the task of an intelligent mind who classified the entire work of a definite historian according to the fifty-three subject categories

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<sup>521</sup>See DE BOOR (1914–19), 126.

### 3. A Data Management System

from the task of the excerptor who applied the necessary adjustments (οἰκειώσεις) at the beginnings and at the ends of the excerpts and copied the selected parts into the final volumes.<sup>522</sup> His suggestion is based on the note in a copy of the collection “On the embassies sent by the Romans to the Barbarians” (Cod. Bruxellensis 11301–16, f. 2r) saying “Theodosios the Younger assembled the present [volume]” (ὁ ἐρανίσας τὸ παρὸν Θεοδοσίος ὁ μικρός) (see ch. 2.4.1 on p. 140). According to Büttner-Wobst, Theodosios accomplished the second step of the work. Büttner-Wobst’s idea that each work (or volume) was appointed to a certain learned man for classifying a certain historical work seems rather likely. However, I am not convinced that this note on Theodosios originates from the burnt archetype of ELg-r (Θ.I.4). Instead of postulating an excerptor behind the name of Theodosios the Younger, I would rather accept Moore’s idea that Theodosios was a sixteenth-century scribe employed by Darmarios in whose workshop cod. Bruxellensis 11301–16 was copied.<sup>523</sup>

As Schreiner pointed out,<sup>524</sup> it must have been difficult even to the sharpest mind to operate fifty-three subjects simultaneously when classifying an entire volume and apply marginal notes for selecting passages without evoking confusion. Therefore, on the basis of the single extant Theophylaktos Simokattes manuscript of the period (Vat. gr. 977), Schreiner suggests that each scholar classified only a limited number of themes for Constantine VII in each volume while other categories must have been classified in other volumes. This hypothesis necessitates that each work had to be available at least in two copies for the excerptors’ classifying in the margin.

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<sup>522</sup>BÜTTNER-WOBST (1906), 99–100.

Jeder für das Werk zu bearbeitende Autor war der Zentralstelle einem bestimmten Gelehrten zugeteilt, der die einzelnen abzuschreibenden Abschnitte für die 53 Kategorien bezeichnete und die nötigen Verweise eintrug, um sodann seine Arbeit der Zentralstelle wieder zuzustellen. [...] dieser Theodosios der Kleine den zweiten untergeordneten Teil der Redaktionsgeschäfte führte, insofern er die von den betr. Gelehrten bereits bearbeiteten Schriftsteller in der von der Zentralstelle getroffenen Auswahl übernahm und die exc. de legationibus aussondern und abschreiben ließ, nachdem er die etwa nötigen Anfangs- und Endworte den einzelnen Abschnitten hinzugefügt hatte.

<sup>523</sup>MOORE (1965), 165 and ch. 2.4.1.

<sup>524</sup>SCHREINER (1987), 25.

Producing new or multiple copies of the assembled manuscripts would have slowed the excerptors' work so much that the procedure would hardly have reached the step of copying the extracts according to separate collections, testified by the extant final copies. Another hypothesis, however, may solve the contradiction by reducing the number of re-copying and simultaneously increasing that of the learned men involved.

The basis of this theory is the contradiction between two phenomena in *CE*. On the one hand, every single passage of the whole historical texts seems to have been excerpted into one of the Constantinian collections and the majority of omissions can be explained by their belonging to another Constantinian collection rather than by their content not belonging to any of the Constantinian subject categories.<sup>525</sup> In the cases of longer omissions, thus, the content of the gap should have been excerpted into another subject category instead of being entirely neglected on the part of the excerptors. The careful observance of preserving the entire text necessitates a single mind. For this reason, not more than one manuscript seems to have been enough for classifying the historical texts into fifty-three categories. However, I admit that in a few cases more than one manuscript were used.

On the other hand, the fact that the patterns of omitting longer units differ between various collections of *CE* suggests that the text of a single volume was scrutinized by more than one person each of whom could have been responsible for a definite number of subject categories within a limited amount of texts. The varying omissions of longer passages seem the result of the clashes between simultaneous activities of the excerptors who were responsible for a group of coherent subject categories and were using the same quires that their colleagues were awaiting to employ. It was first Irigoin who suggested that the varying sequence of the historians in different collections of *CE* can be explained by the working method of the excerptors. According to him, the excerptors developed a method somewhat resembling the "pecia" system of rapidly producing large quantity of textbooks for

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<sup>525</sup>See the term "hors sujet" in PITTIA (2006), 119.

Table 3.13.: Distribution of excerpts in Prokopios’s *Wars*

(book)	<b>ELr</b> (exc.)	<b>ELg</b> (exc.)	<b>ES</b> (exc.)
1	1–4	1–7	—
2	5–16	8–13	—
3	—	14–15	1–18
4	—	—	19–38
5	17–19	16–19	39–49
6	20	20–22	50–64
7	21–22	23–26	65–78
8	23–25	27–31	—

Table 3.14.: Distribution of excerpts in Theophylaktos Simokattes

(book)	<b>ELr</b> (exc.)	<b>ELg</b> (exc.)	<b>ES</b> (exc.)
Dial.	—	—	1.
Proem	—	—	2.
1	1–3	1–3	3–15
2	—	—	16–27
3	4	4	28–32
4	—	5–7	33–44
5	—	8–11	—
6	5	12–13	45
7	6	14–15	46–47
8	8–9	16	48–53

universities in the medieval West.<sup>526</sup> Here the idea was that the university provided students with a reliable copy of the textbook in the following way. They could borrow a part (in medieval Latin *pecia*, the etymological ancestor of the English word ‘piece’) from the stationary for being copied normally by professional scribes. The copy was certified finally by the university. In this way, the student could have access to a reliable and affordable copy relatively quickly because separate parts could be used simultaneously.<sup>527</sup> Flusin also raises the possibility of simultaneous copying because of the high number of the fifty-three subject categories.<sup>528</sup>

<sup>526</sup>IRIGOIN (1977a), 308, n. 8.

<sup>527</sup>BISCHOFF (1990), 42–43.

<sup>528</sup>FLUSIN (2002), 541.



Table 3.15.: Distribution of excerpts in Polybius

(book)	<b>EV</b> (exc.)	<b>EI</b> (exc.)	<b>ELr</b> (exc.)	<b>ELg</b> (exc.)	<b>ES</b> (exc.)
1	—	—	1	—	1–2–(1 lost f.)–3–12
2	1–4	—	—	—	13–(2 lost f.)–15
3	5	—	2–4	—	16–24–(1 lost f.)
4	6–14	—	—	—	25–32
5	15–18	—	—	—	33–35–(1 lost f.)–37
6	19–20	—	—	—	38–42
7	21–25	—	—	—	43–44
8	26–28	—	8	—	44–46–(1 lost f.)–49
9	29–30	—	9	—	50–58
10	31–36	—	—	—	59–63
11	37–38	—	λόγος α'	—	64–72
12	39–44	—	—	—	73–78–(1 lost f.)–85
13	45–49	—	—	—	86–88
14	50+(48 lost f.)	—	—	—	89
15	51–56	1	10	—	90–95
16	57–63	—	11–14	—	96
17	—	—	—	—	—
18	64–70	—	15	1–4	—
19	—	—	—	—	—
20	71–72	—	—	5–7	(1 lost f.)–97–98
21	73–75	—	16–17	8–28	99–101
22	76–79	—	18–20	29–37	102–104
23	80–85	—	21	38–44	105–110
24	86–87	—	22–23	45–49	111–112
25	88–89	—	—	50–53	—
26	—	—	—	—	—
27	90–97	—	24–25	54–60	113–115
28	98–101	—	26	61–72	116–118
29	?	—	27	73–78	119–127
30	?	—	28	79–85, 89	128–133
31	102–104	—	29	87–88, 90–99	134–138
32	105–109	—	30	100–109	139–143
33	111–112	—	31–33	110–117	144–146
34	113	—	—	—	—
35	—	—	—	118	—
36	114–115	—	—	119	147–148
37	—	—	—	—	149–155
38	116–119	—	34–35	—	156
39	120–124	—	—	—	157–166
40	—	—	—	—	—

### 3. A Data Management System

The fact that the pattern of longer units that were omitted varies in each collection offers a hint at simultaneous copying and at the editorial solution that manuscript sections were distributed among several excerptors undertaking various duties. I compared three authors' texts—those of Prokopios, Theophylaktos Simokattes, and Polybios—in terms of how the excerpts are distributed in their various books in the extant collections of *CE*. The findings are summarized in three tables. The most astonishing result of this comparison is that various collections have huge gaps in various coherent places. The omission cannot be explained by the hypothesis that the omitted lengthy sections do not suit any of the subject categories. First, for example, the collection “On gnomic statements” embraces a lot of short excerpts that one would expect to be more or less proportionally dispersed among the various books. However, book 1–2, 9 of Prokopios' *Wars* are completely clear of such excerpts. There is not a single excerpt from book 5 of Theophylaktos Simokattes' *Historiae*, and not from books 17, 18, 19, 25, 26, 34, 35, and 40 of Polybios' *Historiae* while all his other books gave material to this collection.

A more detailed overview will demonstrate how Prokopios' *Vandalic wars* were employed in the collections “On embassies”. Book 4 of Prokopios' *Wars*, narrating the events of the Vandalic wars in North Africa, was not at all used in ELr and ELg; moreover, ELr also set Book 3 completely aside. Despite the omissions of these entire books—ELr disregards both books of the *Vandalic Wars*—, one can find appropriate passages for both collections. Prokopios speaks about Maiorinus who went to the Vandalic king, Gizeric as a disguised imperial envoy.<sup>529</sup> In a later chapter, Prokopios describes Justinian's two unsuccessful attempts to convince Gelimer through envoys to release the former Vandalic king, Gizeric's imprisoned kinsman.<sup>530</sup> A third example from book 3 that would well fit the collection “On embassies sent by the Romans to the Barbarians” is Eulogius' embassy whom Justinian sent to Godas, the sovereign of Sardinia, in order to accept the alliance he offered against

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<sup>529</sup>Prokopios, *Wars*, 3.7.4–15, in Haury, vol. 1, 340–342.

<sup>530</sup>Prokopios, *Wars*, 3.9.10–24, in Haury, vol. 1, 351–355.

the Vandals.<sup>531</sup> The unsuccessful Roman embassy to Gizeric also would belong to this collection.<sup>532</sup> Interestingly enough, there is a passage in book 3 of Prokopios' *Wars* that would suit the collection "On embassies sent by the Barbarians". Gelimer, king of the Vandals sends envoys to Spain, to Theudis, king of the Visigoths with a request of an alliance against the Romans.<sup>533</sup> At the same time, both excerpts from book 3 in ELg is a short description of a peace treaty with the Romans, initiated by the Vandals, and not an embassy: Gizeric makes a treaty with emperor Valentinian<sup>534</sup> and the same Gizeric forces an "eternal peace" with the Romans.<sup>535</sup>

At this point, it is worth spotlighting an interesting phenomenon. While both ELr and ELg disregard the embassies described in Prokopios' *Vandalic Wars*, which may demonstrate that the excerptor responsible for copying these extracts did not have access to the appropriate books, in ELg there are short excerpts on peace treaties from book 3. Considering the fact that the embassies are separately classified on the basis of who sent them, whether the Romans or the Barbarians and, at the same time, there is a group of excerpts, those of Herodotus (ELg 435–6), Thucydides (ELg 436–8), Agathias (ELg 438–41), and Appian (ELg 516–68) that were classified under the title "On the embassies", one would suspect a teamwork even behind the single collection of ELg. The excerpts on peace treaties from book 3 of Prokopios' *Wars* and the group of historians under the heading "On the embassies" seem to have been united only in a later phase. How can this teamwork fit the model of the excerptors' working method?

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<sup>531</sup>Prokopios, *Wars*, 3. 10. 32–34 in Haury, vol. 1, 360.

<sup>532</sup>Prokopios, *Wars*, 3. 22. 6–11 in Haury, vol. 1, 405–406.

<sup>533</sup>Prokopios, *Wars*, 3. 24. 7–16 in Haury, vol. 1, 411–412.

<sup>534</sup>Prokopios exc. 14 in ELg 497–498: 3. 4. 12–14 (Haury, vol. 1, 327).

<sup>535</sup>Prokopios exc. 15 in ELg 498: 3. 7. 26–27 (Haury, vol. 1, 344).

### 3.5. Reconstructed Methodology of the Excerptors

The editorial work of the excerptors was preceded by the accumulation of books. It probably took place in two channels, (1) via collecting volumes from various libraries or (2) preparing new copies especially for being excerpted. On the one hand, the majuscule mistakes in some authors<sup>536</sup> and the mistaken infiltration of *scholia* in the excerpts<sup>537</sup> provide evidence for manuscripts that were not copied especially for being used by Constantine's team. On the other hand, the fact that some passages from the *Life of Sulla* by Plutarch was inserted in the exemplar of Cassius Dio, which was applied for, at least, two independent Constantinian collections (EV and ES) would lead to the conclusion that some manuscripts were compiled especially for *CE*. This option holds true for the historians whose texts survived in incomplete and fragmentary state already in the tenth century. Irigoin observed that *CE* and some historical manuscripts copied on a layout with 32 lines to page in the tenth-early eleventh century preserve texts which belong to the same branch of the transmission of particular historians.<sup>538</sup> With regard to the different positions in the textual tradition of certain historians, the variant readings attested in *CE* indicate that

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<sup>536</sup>Most of the final copies show mainly minuscule mistakes but some of the historical texts give evidence of majuscule errors as well. Books 20–24 of Diodorus' *Bibliotheca*, for instance, preserved a number of scribal errors that can be explained by the similar shape of the majuscule letters. Diodorus, 2.33.3: exc. εἰσβολαῖς, tradition: ἐχβολαῖς, confusion of majuscule IC–K. See BERTRAC (2002), cxxxvi, n.168. Diodorus, 25.4: METAMEΛOC instead of METAΓΓΕΛOC, see GOUKOWSKY (2006), xx, n.48. Zosimus, 5.36.1: Ἀέτιον, in Vat.gr.156: ἄτιον, in ELg 379,8: δέτιον. FORCINA (1987), 99–102, especially 100, n.2. This may indicate that the excerptors mostly worked from minuscule copies.

<sup>537</sup>See above ch.3.2.6. As far as it possible to judge from the corpus of *CE*, the *scholia* were not designed for being included among the excerpts. As the classification must have taken place in the margin, the high number of *scholia* made the excerptors' work even more difficult as was the case with Thucydides and Josephus Flavius.

<sup>538</sup>For this reason, Irigoin suggested that manuscripts from the group with “32 lines to a page” were used by the excerptors. As was shown above, the excerptors should have used separate quires circulating among them, which would have resulted in the disappearance of exemplars. In addition to the huge gaps, this hypothesis can also explain why the variant readings in *CE* do not fit almost any branch of the textual transmission except for a few cases IRIGOIN (1977a), 237–245 noticed: Diodorus of Sicily (Patmiacus Graecus 50), Thucydides (Pal.gr.252, Par.suppl.gr.255, Monacensis gr.430), and George the Monk (Coislinianus 310, Leidensis Vossianus gr.F 66).

more than one manuscript may occasionally have been involved.<sup>539</sup> Textual scholars usually cannot relate the excerpts from the various Constantinian collections to the textual tradition of the historians in question. The excerpts do not preserve passages of sufficient length to deduce conclusive results and the few decisive places seem to contradict each other.<sup>540</sup>

The classification of the passages took place in the margin of the unbound groups of quires. The fact that various paratexts with a definite location in the margin such as editorial comments, indices, and scholia were mistakenly infiltrated in the body text of the final copies demonstrates that the margin of the exemplars were full of annotations with various kinds, mostly produced by the excerptors themselves. It is difficult to remodel the excerpting method with precision. Each scholar engaged in the project seems to have read the historical work in its original coherence and supplied it with marginal notes indicating which was the appropriate category of each passage. These notes could have been similar to those applied in the Aristodemos fragments in Par. suppl. gr. 607, ff. 81v, 83v, 86v (o—o and o—x—o).

There are a fair number of indications that support the existence of draft copies. Some final copies were probably executed a couple of decades after the historical passages had been classified in the margin of the exemplars. These final copies have a clear layout. For example, **T** was copied with neat minuscules by a single hand and were decorated according to high standards characteristic of Constantinopolitan luxury manuscripts around 1000. The annotation system in the final copies were also clearly designed with a hierarchy expressed both in functions, form, and locations in the written page. The contrast between the presumably overannotated exemplars and the clarity of the final copies does not allow the hypothesis of a direct transmission between the two. At the same time, there are a few annotations which do not correspond to the hierarchy of the annotation system with regard to the form

<sup>539</sup>For Diodorus of Sicily, see BERTRAC (2002), cxxxiv–cxxxvii and GOUKOWSKY (2006), x–xii.

<sup>540</sup>KLEINLOGEL (1965), 158, 168. ROSÉN (1987), xlvi–xlvii, lv–lvi. HAURY (1905), xxxiii. WIRTH (1964), 163–167, 210 and WIRTH (1965), 435.

### 3. A Data Management System

and location their function would require. A few words functioning as indices and editorial comments are copied in minuscules or in majuscules in the body text of the final Constantinian copies instead of the margin in majuscules.<sup>541</sup> These editorial elements also infiltrate in the Suda lexicon. The only explanation for these phenomena seems the hypothesis that similar annotation system was applied in the intermediary copies of *CE*.<sup>542</sup> In addition to the probability of a similar annotation system, it can also be said about these draft copies that they differed from the final ones. The indexing system was probably extensively reduced in favour of biographical indices against lexicographical ones, which should have existed as suggested by a large number of such entries in the Suda.<sup>543</sup> The expressions introducing indirect citations from John of Antioch and Cassius Dio also demonstrate that the excerpts from these authors do not derive directly from the exemplars of their complete works. In addition, the interpolation of excerpts from Dionysius of Halicarnassus among the excerpts from Nicolas of Damascus testifies to a slip probably inherited from an intermediary copy.

It was the most demanding step with the task of copying the excerpts of each subject from a definite historian in a separate quire or onto parchment leaf. This work required contextualizing the text of the new excerpt (οἰκείωσις) according to the subject category and supplying the text with indices and instructions to the

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<sup>541</sup>One of these instances provides a further proof. The reference to Cassius Dio in the text of John of Antioch, for example, seems to originate in such an excerptor's copy who had already finished excerpting Cassius Dio when he found the same stories in the *Chronicle* by John of Antioch. He indicated that he did not want to reiterate the same texts he already copied elsewhere and gave a reference to the content. Since Cassius Dio came later (no. 14) in the final copy than John of Antioch (no. 4), the *codex Peirescianus* (**T**) cannot be identical with the manuscript copied directly from the complete texts of separate historians.

<sup>542</sup>As was shown in ch. 1.1, this annotation system was useful for producing compilations requiring a simultaneous research for three elements. The evidence found in Par. suppl. gr. 607 and *De them.*, ii. 5–12 show that some draft copies were available as early as in the mid-940s.

<sup>543</sup>The exemplars the Suda used seem different in some cases from the final copies of *CE*. For such an example, see ROBERTO (2005a), lxxxvii, n. 100. The proportional difference of the abbreviation within **T**, copied by a single scribe, also demonstrates that the layout of the draft was different from the final copies. The scribe could not calculate with the length of the text. The main headings are often in the middle of the page, and at the end of excerpts originating from a single volume, 33 lines are copied on a page instead of the usual 32 as on f. 117r (end of Book 10 of Polybius) and f. 306r (end of Book 20 of Polybius).

fellow excerptors. This phase involved a sophisticated cooperation of a high number of learned men who had to carefully circulate the various parts of the manuscripts in order to minimize omissions and confusion. The outcome of this activity could have provided pieces of drafts for the final copies, in which finally the aesthetic aspects would received the most attention.

It is difficult to judge to what extent Constantine's project was accomplished. The classification according to the Constantinian subject categories was presumably fully brought to the end. The preparation of the draft copies also seems to have been accomplished to a remarkable extent. Nevertheless, the step of preparing the deluxe copies was probably not completely finished. The process of their production lasted for decades after Constantine's death, an interval which would make the accomplishment of the project feasible, even if we calculate with a few hired scribes. However, without more extant final copies being preserved, it is impossible to give a definite answer to this question.

### 3. *A Data Management System*



## Conclusion

The new results achieved in this thesis will help scholars better understand the *Constantinian excerpts* both in general and in particular regard to aspects of its systematization by Constantine VII and his circle. Assessments of the *Constantinian excerpts* have been monopolized by the observations of scholars who focused on historians whose works only survive in the excerpts and have failed to judge the tenth-century project in its Byzantine and imperial context. The small number of recent attempts to locate the historical excerpts in their Byzantine milieu have focused only on certain historians with regard to the way they were incorporated among the excerpts. As far as a comprehensive view of the excerpts is concerned, the scholars have not managed to improve much upon the results of C. de Boor and Th. Büttner-Wobst who edited the historical excerpts one hundred years ago. Lemerle's theory that the historical excerpts should be viewed as products of Byzantine "encyclopedism" was recently questioned as an appropriate concept for describing tenth-century intellectual developments.

In the last century, this massive corpus of earlier historical texts was used as a quarry of precious textual treasures. In this scholarly approach, regrets upon the way the Byzantine excerptors chopped up Roman and Late Antique historical texts in order to serve some idiosyncratic scheme of Constantine VII has proved to be an obstacle to understanding his excerpting policy. Thus the method applied in *CE* was either accused of sentencing a large mass of historical texts to oblivion or was given

## CONCLUSION

credit for saving a fair proportion of it; the methodology behind its compilation, however, has been commonly viewed as unoriginal and disappointing.

Within the field of manuscript studies, J. Irigoin further developed earlier views interpreting the manuscripts of the excerpts as the single copies prepared for Constantine VII. Following this research trajectory and relying on physical and palaeographical characteristics, Irigoin assigned two manuscripts (**T** and **V**) as having been written in the imperial *scriptorium* and dated to Constantine VII's sole reign.<sup>544</sup> This view primarily depended on the dedication to Constantine VII in **T** and convinced N. Wilson to conclude that Constantine's project was not finished. In addition to the notion of the "imperial scriptorium", Irigoin added another new concept concerning the sources of the excerpts. He postulated that the group of historical manuscripts with 32 lines to a page, a frequent layout for historical manuscripts in the tenth-century, formed the exemplars for Constantine VII's project.

As far as the excerptors' methodology is concerned, there have been no major attempts to extend our knowledge on the complex procedure involved in choosing, annotating, cross-referencing and, above all, ordering the historical excerpts, except for two minor details.<sup>545</sup> By careful study of the manuscript, this thesis succeeded in disproving some of Irigoin's concepts. The analysis of the script (ch. 2.2.5) and the decoration structure of **T** (ch. 2.2.4) provided good reasons to assume that some manuscripts of the historical excerpts such as **T** were produced after Constantine VII's death probably with the assistance of Basil Lekapenos the *parakoimoneos*.<sup>546</sup>

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<sup>544</sup>IRIGOIN (1959), 177–181.

<sup>545</sup>There were two such attempts; however, both relied in earlier views and drew conclusions which do not seem convincing. When analyzing the single manuscript with the historical work by Theophylaktos Simokattes (Vat. gr. 977) as an exemplar used by Constantine's excerptors, P. Schreiner leant on Irigoin's views and de Boor's findings concerning the way the Suda lexicon relied on the excerpts. SCHREINER (1987). Moreover, B. Flusin tried to rearrange the historians within the final imperial copies (**V** and **EL**) and, following the steps of Th. Büttner-Wobst, intended to view a deliberate pattern behind all extant collections. FLUSIN (2002), 545–553. As I demonstrated above, the latter concept was based on a mistaken drawing of the reconstructed quires of **V** in the edition of ES (Berlin, 1906) (see p. 203).

<sup>546</sup>Irigoin viewed all these manuscripts as originating in Constantine VII's "imperial scriptorium", although the Leipzig copy of *De cerimoniis* describes the coronation of Nikephoros II Phokas which took place after Constantine VII's and Romano II's death in 963. See KRESTEN (2000a), 474–475, n. 6 and KRESTEN (2005).

At the same time, it is argued that the historical excerpts on sieges in **P**, copied around the early 940s, were assembled in the framework of a large project, apparently identical with *CE*.<sup>547</sup>

By suggesting a date for the launch of Constantine's enterprise as early as his ascent to the throne (945) and to extend the production of the final copies as late as the 970s or 980s, this thesis offered an alternative temporal framework for a new analysis. The extended interval in particular makes the project of restructuring such a huge number of historical texts more feasible than has been assumed so far by scholars. This new proposal weakens the concept of direct transmission from the complete historical texts to the final copies, a hypothesis which, although widely accepted, has never before been appropriately explored. In addition, the later date of some final copies may explain how the editors of the *Suda* lexicon could have had access to certain drafts or certain final copies of *CE* during the reign of Basil II (976–1025). Moreover, the earlier date ascribed to the launch of the project here provides the probability of establishing links between the excerptors' methods and data management behind Constantine's treatises.

In order to identify the elements characteristic of the activities of Constantine VII's team, my thesis engaged new sources, namely the editorial supplements for the final copies. These editorial supplements, published in app.A for the first time, display definite patterns in terms of the interdependence of their function and visual appearance on the page, that is to say, the hierarchical presentation of data, a phenomenon which have been neglected by scholars so far. The anomalies in these supplements helped me demonstrate that the indexing system and cross-references were used in the process of excerpting and partially originate from the draft copies (chs. 3.2.3 and 3.2.3). The proportional reduction of annotations of indexing rare words and definitions (ch. 3.2.5), if compared to the high number of such entries

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<sup>547</sup>The closest parallel to hand of the historical excerpts in *P* dates to 939 which allows to date **P** to the early years of Constantine VII's reign. Contrary to commonly held scholarly views, the pattern of gaps revealed that these excerpts were prepared within the framework of Constantine VII's project (see ch. 2.5.3, p. 167, and App. B, p. 317).

## CONCLUSION

in the Suda lexicon (ch. 1.2.3), convinced me that students, probably those at the palace school were engaged in preparation of the draft copies which differed from the final versions (ch. 2.1.1).

By showing the pattern of gaps within the excerpts, I suggested two explanations for them which may help scholars better understand the nature of the excerpts in general. First, I view the absence of massive blocks of original text as a signal that the exemplars were disbound or unbound. The unbound quires were separately circulated among the excerptors. This explanation entails the consequence that the exemplars disappeared during the excerptors' activity.<sup>548</sup> Second, the internal omissions of shorter length, both within the excerpts and between them, may be informative about other lost collections as demonstrated with examples taken from Prokopios and Arrian. To the best of my knowledge, the potential of the systematic analysis of the gaps within the excerpts has not been recognized so far. On the one hand, such an investigation can tell us much about the lost and, as yet, unidentified Constantinian collections if analyzed in the context of the corpus of historians whose texts survive in parallel transmission. On the other hand, these gaps should serve as a warning to future editors of the fragmentary works of these historians that there were likely internal gaps within the excerpts.

The analysis of the organizational theory as expressed in the prooemium to the excerpts and in the dedication to Constantine VII as well as the compilation practices observed in the historical excerpts resulted in a characterization of Constantine's method. Contrary to common scholarly opinion, my thesis demonstrates that Constantine VII's team was innovative in terms of way they combined traditional compilation and excerpting techniques. The re-organization based on subject matters and an attempt to preserve the entire text had never been applied at the same time before Constantine VII. The key to this innovative idea is the simultaneous

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<sup>548</sup>In addition to the annotation system revealed in Vat. gr. 977, which seems inappropriate for producing the excerpts, as FLUSIN (2002), 540–541 has already noted, the unbinding and the over-annotation of the exemplars make it highly improbable that Vat. gr. 977 was an exemplar used by Constantine VII's team.

realization of both meanings of the expression in the prooemium τοῦ λόγου ἀκολουθεία: (1) the “sequence of the text according to its sense” by correlating passages of identical context and (2) “the sequence of the narrative”. Both interpretations differ from the usual understanding of “logic in a narrative” which is the internal correlation of the passages of various contexts within a text, which is disregarded in *CE*. By this method, *CE* provided a vast amount of historical material in a more easy-to-use arrangement than in either the abridged summaries of complete works or traditional lexicographic collections. It seems probable that the invention of the triple reference system assisted Constantine VII’s team in the collection of data for the treatises such as *De them.*, *DAI*, and *De cerimoniis*.

The triple reference system featuring in the manuscripts of the excerpts clearly explains how the imperial team was able to manage such a large quantity and variety of short excerpts with surprising accuracy. First, reshuffling the excerpts based on (1) a defined number of subjects reduced the scope of separate books to be consulted. In addition to the regrouping of historical passages according to their subject, the excerpts were also arranged under the heading of (2) their authors while maintaining the sequence of the narrative where they were excerpted from. By virtue of this method, the new corpus achieved a double authority: it preserved the authority of the original text and gained that of the Byzantine emperor. Finally, the number of (3) focused indices in the margins was reduced usually as a single word for each excerpt.

As these indices highlighted personal and geographical names, the main concern beyond the contents of the particular excerpt was to help contemporary readers scan the imperial volumes to spot certain details such as historical figures, towns, peoples, institutions, etc. Traditional structures could not provide criteria for more than two aspects during data collection. This statement holds true both for complete historical works and their abridged summaries, even if they were furnished with indices; and the lexicographic works arranged alphabetically when these contained *verbatim* citations. As Constantine VII instructed his excerptors to avoid applying

## CONCLUSION

either of the two traditional organizing principles, chronology and alphabetization, he showed himself to be conscious of the need to improve traditional methods of presenting large quantities of data.

In addition to providing a fresh view on tenth-century Byzantine excerpting methodology, my work has located Constantine's project in its conceptual frame. The historical models employed in Constantine's treatises (*De them.*, *DAI*, and *De cerimoniis*) seem, in general, identical with the selected historical periods in the excerpts. Constantine VII followed in the footsteps of his father, Leo VI, when selecting the period from Justinian I (527–565) to Heraklios (610–641) as a main model. Detailed historical accounts on contemporary events were preferred against chronographies; George Synkellos and Theophanes Confessor do not feature in the final copies of the excerpts. Proportionally, late antique historians prevailed. From this point of view, Constantine's selection of authors was larger than that of Photios as he also excerpted from works by Menander Protector, Priskos and Agathias in his project.

Compared to traditional compilation techniques, Constantine VII not only seems to make improvements in terms of data management in other ways as well. He created a system of fifty-three subject categories which aimed to cover all aspects of history. The selection of this number has been explained for the first time in my research. It is argued that Polybios' concept of viewing the interval of fifty-three years as the crucial period when Rome conquered the inhabited world played a major role in the selection of the number of fifty-three, an extraordinary prime number in arithmetics as well.<sup>549</sup> Conceptual phrases in *Theophanes Continuatus* and *Vita Basilii* occasionally include citations from passages by Polybios which appear in the collection of "gnomic statements" (ES). In addition to these phrases, the privileged position of the collection "On inauguration of emperors" (no. 1) which included

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<sup>549</sup>The number fifty-three is a special number in mathematics, too. As a special prime, it is only divisible only by two numbers, one and itself and is also the sum of five consecutive primes (5 + 7 + 11 + 13 + 17).

passages on the translation of power,<sup>550</sup> from the Babylonians to the Assyrians, Persians, Macedonians, and finally to the Roman Empire, also support this idea. From this point of view, the interval of fifty-three years for the last translation of power into the hands of the Romans seems to have been momentous enough to serve as the basis of a conceptual system.

My thesis demonstrates that the subjects, as far as it is possible to reconstruct them, share an interest in aspects of imperial power which appear in the treatises ascribed to Constantine VII. The attention given to the person of the emperor such as his inauguration, marriage, successions in the power, his death, and ambushes against him appear in *De cerimoniis* and partially in *DAI*. The analysis of a passage from Arrian demonstrates that specific aspects of warfare were distinguished more carefully than has been assumed so far. This fine distinction seems a phenomenon that parallels the creation of military collections in the tenth-century with works grouped according to thematic principle. The geographical, political, ethnographic, and diplomatic categories as separate subjects seem to parallel some of the main concerns of *De them.* and *DAI*. The extraction of separate literary genres from historical writings such as public speeches, epistles, epigrams, object descriptions (*ekphraseis*), mythical stories, and gnomic statements served as a rhetoric repertory which could be used in various compositions. The story of Sardanapalus, as applied in *DAI* and in *Vita Basilii* respectively, suggests that *CE* were partially used for their rhetorical merits.

As far as their content is concerned, certain functional elements in *De them.* and in *DAI* may have been borrowed from *CE*. There are three extensive citations in *De them.* from historians (Polybius and Nicolas of Damascus), all providing a mythical explanation of the origin of certain geographical names. In the same functional position, instead of a citation, reference is made to the sources where the

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<sup>550</sup>The only cross-reference which is informative on its content points to a passage on Daniel's interpretation of the dream of the Babylonian king on the translation of power: **T**, f. 39r contains a cross reference pointing to a passage from the "Jewish Antiquities" by Josephus Flavius, 10. 207–210.

## CONCLUSION

author of *De them.* searched in vain in order to find the origin and the attestations of a certain geographical name (ii. 5–12). This reference provides information on the sources used for the first redaction of *De them.* probably not later than the Constantine VII's accession to the throne. The reference includes a list of historians from the age of Justinian I, whose works were selected for excerpting in *CE*. The triple reference system of the excerpts would have facilitated any research aiming at finding a passage from a certain author with a particular context, and expressed in a certain kind of way. This reference, in parallel to the evidence from **P**, provides a reason to postulate that historical texts were available in a restructured arrangement according to subject categories by the mid-940s.

Constantine's selection of historians and historical periods goes beyond the world of Byzantine chronicles composed in the ninth century. The main novelty of the historical excerpts is the inclusion of Roman Republican history, the period between the origins of Rome and Julius Caesar. The main emphasis is placed on the Punic wars and the conquest of the Mediterranean world, especially in the East; the civil war of the second and first centuries BC receives less attention. For this purpose, historical accounts by Polybius, Appian, Arrian, John of Antioch and Cassius Dio were used. The selection of Diodorus of Sicily for Constantine's project shows a deeper interest in the archaic history of Greece than the perspective usually found in chronicles of the ninth century. However, the compilation of a rich corpus of instructive examples from the past must have been more important for the excerptors than the historical reality of events, something demonstrated by the complete neglect of the chronological framework and the surprising inclusion of fiction, Iamblichus's historical novel, the "Babylonian History". All these phenomena lead to the conclusion that collecting and restructuring huge quantities of historical excerpts using the method described in this thesis resulted in an expansion of the Byzantine view of history as primarily Roman and Biblical.

*CE* are regarded in my thesis as a rich repertory of historical examples. The neglect of the chronological framework of events demonstrates that the historical



example was more significant than its position in a chronology. The grouping according to subject has the advantage of highlighting the edifying pattern behind similar events, a method of learning which was suggested by Constantine VII to his son, Romanos in *DAI* (46. 146–149).

By drawing the attention to possible links between the historical excerpts and Constantine's treatises and suggesting a model for their production and use, my thesis aimed to clarify some of the basic questions which seem preconditions for studying other significant literary problems of the tenth-century. In this sense, the major achievement of the thesis may lie in paving the way for future research. The limits of this thesis did not permit me to go into more detail on the relationship, either direct or methodological, between the sources for Constantine's treatises and *CE*. A careful study of the continuation of Theophanes' chronicle and *Vita Basilii* may help uncover many more pieces of evidence on direct citations taken from the works of particular historians directly from *CE* as was suggested for Polybios. The lack of a critical edition of *Theophanes continuatus* will make this investigation difficult for a long time to come.<sup>551</sup>

The other possible direction for future research will be the careful study of Byzantine lexicography. In the ninth and tenth centuries, Greek lexicographical works made extensively use of the historians who were also selected for Constantine's historical collections. The fact that the *Suda* lexicon used the vocabulary of the historians featured in Constantine's excerpts from a lexicographical point of view suggests that lexicographic lists were created during the procedure of excerpting the historical writings. The structure of the rare words taken from Prokopios, Agathias, Menander Protector, and Theophylaktos Simokattes in the *Haimodein Lexicon* support the hypothesis that such collection did take place and may have assisted the compilers of the *Suda*. The study of the lexicographic collections of the tenth-eleventh century may help to reveal a direct link between the two.

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<sup>551</sup>There is a hope that a critical edition of *Vita Basilii* by Ihor Ševčenko will be published within a reasonable time.

## CONCLUSION

The systematic study of the short gaps within *CE* in those historical writings which survive in parallel transmission may help extend the number of the subject categories of known Constantinian collections and their content. My thesis showed the potential of such an analysis in Prokopios and Arrian. In addition, the careful study of the summarizing techniques, although restricted in *CE*, may reveal other patterns. However, this investigation would require the simultaneous analysis of more historians from this point of view. As far as is possible to judge from the few attempts that have been made, even such a huge work would probably not reveal patterns of alterations made by the excerptors. The functional analysis of the selection of the excerpts may complement the philological methods used in this survey.

Moreover, the analysis of the marginal supplements of the other manuscripts of the *CE* may complement the findings in **T**. The careful study of the margins of **V** would result in a rich corpus of marginal annotations, similar to what was found in **T**. Although **V** is a palimpsest, the margins were not overwritten by the fourteenth-century script so the study of the margins seems technically feasible. In the critical edition of **ES**, Boissevain mentions some marginal supplements, indicating that the same types of marginal entries can be expected in **V**. The two manuscripts of **EI**, both copied in the sixteenth-century, contain similar types of marginal supplements which seem derive from the tenth century exemplar. The same sort of marginal supplements can be expected in the sixteenth-century copies of **ELg-r**.

Finally, the results of my thesis will serve the work of philologists and historians who study the fragmentary historical texts which survive in *CE*.<sup>552</sup> The method of excerpting and the system of indices my thesis has explored should provide additional clues for how to distinguish what comes from the original authors and what derives from the excerptors. The expansion of the time frame for the excerpts and

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<sup>552</sup>In the study of the *paratexts* and the editorial comments in **T**, this thesis displays some interesting data on the early textual traditions of some authors: the sole attestation in a Greek manuscript for the division of Book 4 of *Bellum Iudaicum* by Josephus Flavius, going back to the fourth and fifth centuries; the re-attribution of a sentence to the excerptors instead of the original author in the chronicles by John of Antioch.

the hypothesis that an intermediary version and word lists existed before the final copies were produced may provide grounds for discovering new types of relationships between the various intellectual achievements of the Macedonian dynasty.

## *CONCLUSION*

# Part II.

## Appendices





# Editorial Supplements in T

## A.1. Paratexts from the Exemplars

ἐκ τῆς ἰουδαϊκῆς ἀρχαιολο(γί)ας Ἰωσήπου <sup>a3,b3</sup>	2r
τέλος τοῦ γ' λόγου τῆς ἀρχαιολογίας Ἰωσήπου <sup>a4,b4</sup>	23r
τέλος τοῦ ζ' λόγου <sup>a5,b5</sup>	30v
τέλος τοῦ κ' λόγου <sup>a6,b6</sup>	47v
Ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαϊκῆς ἀλώσεως λόγος α' <sup>a7,b7</sup>	
τ(οῦ) εἰς β' το α' <sup>a8,b8,c3</sup> cf. Niese, vol. vi, xxi and 390, the division follows Rufinus' Latin translation	52v
τέλος τοῦ ε' λόγου ἀλώσεως Ἰωσήπου <sup>a9,b9</sup>	56v
λόγος ς' <sup>a10,b10</sup>	
λόγος ζ' <sup>a11,b11</sup>	58r
Πέρας τῆς ἱστορίας λόγου ζ' Ἰουδαϊκῆς ἀλώσεως <sup>a12,b12</sup>	58v
Ἐκ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ ἐπιγραφομένου περὶ παντὸς ἢ κατὰ Ἑλλήνων λόγος β' τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰωσήπου <sup>a13,b13</sup>	
Ἐκ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ εἰς τοὺς Μακκαβαίους τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰωσήπου <sup>a14,b14</sup>	60r
Ἐκ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ ἐπιγραφομένου περὶ γένους Ἰωσήπου καὶ πολιτείας αὐτοῦ <sup>a15,b15</sup>	62v

<sup>a3</sup>majuscule, margin <sup>a4</sup>majuscule, margin <sup>a5</sup>majuscule, margin <sup>a6</sup>majuscule <sup>a7</sup>majuscule, margin <sup>a8</sup>majuscule, margin <sup>a9</sup>majuscule, body text, lighter ink <sup>a10</sup>majuscule, margin <sup>a11</sup>majuscule, margin <sup>a12</sup>minuscule, body text <sup>a13</sup>majuscule, margin <sup>a14</sup>majuscule, margin <sup>a15</sup>majuscule, margin

<sup>b3</sup>EV 1, 4, app. <sup>b4</sup>EV 1, 43, 6 <sup>b5</sup>EV 1, 58, 10 <sup>b6</sup>EV 1, 91, 16 after exc. 59 <sup>b7</sup>EV 1, 91, 18–9 preceding exc. 60 <sup>b8</sup>EV 1, 101 app at the end of exc. 66 — <sup>b9</sup>EV 1, 109, 5 at the end of exc. 70 <sup>b10</sup>EV 1, 109, 7 preceding exc. 71 <sup>b11</sup>EV 1, 111, 11 at the beginning of exc. 73, ed. in app., book 7 starts in exc. 72 <sup>b12</sup>EV 1, 112, 24 at the end of exc. 73 <sup>b13</sup>EV 1, 112, 25–7 preceding exc. 74 <sup>b14</sup>EV 1, 115, 14–5 preceding exc. 75 <sup>b15</sup>EV 1, 120, 11–12 preceding exc. 76

<sup>c3</sup>Jos. BJ 4. 325 –

- 63v τέλος τῆς Ἰωσήπου ἀρχαιολογίας  
λόγοι κ' καὶ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ περὶ τοῦ βίου Ἰωσήπου καὶ τῆς πολιτείας αὐτοῦ<sup>a16,b16</sup>
- 64r Ἐκ τῆς χρονικῆς ἱστορίας Γεωργίου μοναχοῦ<sup>a17,b17</sup>
- 79v τέλος τῆς ἱστορίας Γεωργίου μοναχοῦ περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας.<sup>a18,b18</sup>  
Ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας Ἰωάννου τοῦ Μαλέλα<sup>a19,b19</sup>
- 83r τέλος ἱστορίας Ἰωάννου τοῦ Μαλέλα περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας.<sup>a20b20</sup>
- 83r Ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας Ἰωάννου Ἀντιοχέως χρονικῆς ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ<sup>a21,b21</sup>
- 100v τέλος τῆς ἱστορίας Ἰωάννου μοναχοῦ περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας.<sup>a22,b22</sup>
- 101r ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας Διοδώρου Σικελιώτου<sup>a23,b23</sup>
- 153r τέλος τοῦ ς' λόγου Νικολάου Δαμασκηνοῦ<sup>a24,b24</sup>
- 155v τέλος τοῦ ζ' λόγου τῆς Νικολάου ἱστορίας<sup>a25,b25,c4</sup>
- 156r Τοῦ αὐτοῦ περὶ πρώτης Καίσαρος ἀγωγῆς<sup>a26,b26</sup>
- 159v τέλος τῆς ἱστορίας Νικολάου Δαμασκηνοῦ καὶ τοῦ βίου Καίσαρος τοῦ νέου  
περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας.<sup>a27,b27</sup>
- 160r Ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας Ἡροδότου Ἀλικαρνησσεως<sup>a28,b28</sup>
- 188v τέλος τῆς ἱστορίας Ἡροδότου  
περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας<sup>a29,b29</sup>  
Ἐκ τοῦ Μαρχελλίνου εἰς τὸν Θουκυδίδου βίον<sup>a30,b30</sup>

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<sup>a16</sup>majuscule <sup>a17</sup>majuscule, margin <sup>a18</sup>majuscule, body text <sup>a19</sup>majuscule, margin <sup>a20</sup>majuscule, margin <sup>a21</sup>majuscule, margin <sup>a22</sup>majuscule <sup>a23</sup>majuscule, margin <sup>a24</sup>majuscule, body text <sup>a25</sup>majuscule <sup>a26</sup>majuscule <sup>a27</sup>majuscule, body text <sup>a28</sup>majuscule, margin <sup>a29</sup>majuscule, body text <sup>a30</sup>majuscule, margin

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<sup>b16</sup>EV 1, 122, 22–3 following exc. 77 <sup>b17</sup>EV 1, 122, 24 <sup>b18</sup>EV 1, 156, 24–5 <sup>b19</sup>EV 1, 157, 1 <sup>b20</sup>EV 1, 163, 18 <sup>b21</sup>EV 1, 164, 1 <sup>b22</sup>EV 1, 206, 5–6 <sup>b23</sup>EV 1, 206, 8 <sup>b24</sup>EV 1, 342, 21 at the end of Nic. Damasc. exc. 22 <sup>b25</sup>EV 1, 353, 10 at the end of Nic. Damasc. exc. 31 <sup>b26</sup>EV 1, 353, 12 preceding Nic. Damasc. exc. 32 <sup>b27</sup>EV 1, 361, 11–12 preceding Nic. Damasc. exc. 32 <sup>b28</sup>EV 2, 1, 1 <sup>b29</sup>EV 2, 29, 17–8 <sup>b30</sup>EV 2, 30, 2

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<sup>c4</sup>Nic. Damasc. exc. 30–31 are taken from Dion. Hal. *AR* 1.82.3ff and 2.82.1ff *Historiae* after FGrHist 90.68–69



Ἐκ τῆς στορίας θυκυδίδου αθηναίου <sup>a31, b31</sup>	228r
τέλος τῶν Θουκυδίδου ιστοριῶν	233r
περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας <sup>a32, b32</sup>	
Ἐκ τῆς ιστορίας Ξενοφῶντος· Κύρου παιδείας <sup>a33, b33</sup>	233v
Ἐκ τῆς ἀναβάσεως Κύρου Παρυσάτιδος <sup>a34, b34</sup>	239v
τέλος τῆς ιστορίας Διονυσίου Ἀλικαρνησσέως <sup>a35, b35</sup>	256v
Ἐκ τῆς ιστορίας Πολυβίου Μεγαλοπολίτου <sup>a36, b36</sup>	
τέλος τοῦ δεκάτου λόγου τῆς Πολυβίου ιστορίας <sup>a37, b37</sup>	117r
λόγος ια <sup>a38, b38</sup>	117v
Ὅτι φησὶν ὁ Πολύβιος ἐν τῷ ιη' λόγῳ ὅτι <sup>a39, b39</sup>	304r
λόγος κ <sup>a40, b40</sup>	304v
τέλος τοῦ κ' λόγου τῆς Πολυβίου ιστορίας <sup>a41, b41</sup>	306r
λόγος κζ <sup>a42, b42</sup>	309v
λόγος κη <sup>a43, b43</sup>	311r
λόγος λα <sup>a44, b44</sup>	313v
τέλος ιστορίας Πολυβίου Μεγαλοπολίτου <sup>a45, b45</sup>	272r
Ἐκ τῆς ιστορίας Ἀππιανοῦ τῆς ἐπιγραφομένης βασιλικῆς <sup>a46, b46</sup>	
λόγος γ <sup>a47, b47</sup>	272v
τέλος τῆς ιστορίας Ἀππιανοῦ τῆς ἐπιγραφομένης βασιλικῆς <sup>a48, b48</sup>	287r
ἐκ τῆς ιστορίας Δίωνος Κορκιανοῦ Ῥωμαϊκῆς <sup>a49, b49</sup>	287v

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<sup>a31</sup>majuscule, margin, in red ink, by another corrector scribe    <sup>a32</sup>majuscule, in the lower margin  
<sup>a33</sup>majuscule, margin    <sup>a34</sup>majuscule, margin    <sup>a35</sup>majuscule, body text    <sup>a36</sup>majuscule, upper margin  
<sup>a37</sup>majuscule, in the lower margin    <sup>a38</sup>majuscule, margin    <sup>a39</sup>minuscule, body text    <sup>a40</sup>majuscule, margin  
<sup>a41</sup>majuscule, lower margin    <sup>a42</sup>majuscule, margin    <sup>a43</sup>majuscule, margin    <sup>a44</sup>majuscule, margin  
<sup>a45</sup>majuscule, margin    <sup>a46</sup>majuscule, margin    <sup>a47</sup>majuscule, margin    <sup>a48</sup>majuscule, margin  
<sup>a49</sup>majuscule, margin

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<sup>b31</sup>EV 2, 33, 21    <sup>b32</sup>EV 2, 45, 14–5    <sup>b33</sup>EV 2, 46, 1    <sup>b34</sup>EV 2, 62, 11    <sup>b35</sup>EV 2, 84, 11    <sup>b36</sup>EV 2, 85, 1    <sup>b37</sup>EV 2, 124, 26    <sup>b38</sup>EV 2, 125, 1    <sup>b39</sup>EV 2, 161, 25 in exc. 69    <sup>b40</sup>EV 2, 163, 4 between exc. 70–71    <sup>b41</sup>EV 2, 166, 18 after exc. 72    <sup>b42</sup>EV 2, 176, 5 between exc. 89–90    <sup>b43</sup>EV 2, 179, 22 mistakenly before exc. 97 but should follow it    <sup>b44</sup>EV 2, 185, 18 before exc. 102    <sup>b45</sup>EV 2, 215, 7  
<sup>b46</sup>EV 2, 216, 1    <sup>b47</sup>EV 2, 217, 22 before exc. 4    <sup>b48</sup>EV 2, 234, 8    <sup>b49</sup>EV 2, 235, 2

## A.2. Cross References

- 5r ζήτει ἐν τῷ περὶ ἀνακλήσεως ἡττητῆς<sup>a50,b50,c5</sup>
- 20r ζήτει ἐν τῷ περὶ οἰκισμῶν<sup>a51,b51,c6</sup>
- 22r ζήτει ἐν τῷ περὶ παραδόξων<sup>a52,b52,c7</sup>
- 33r ζήτει ἐν τῷ περὶ ἐπιβουλήs<sup>a53,b53,c8</sup>  
ζήτει ἐν τῷ περὶ δημηγορίων<sup>a54,b54,c9</sup>
- 39r ζήτει ἐν τῷ περὶ ἀναγορεύσεως βασιλέων<sup>a55,b55,c10</sup>
- 44r ζήτει ἐν τῷ περὶ ἐθνῶν<sup>a56,b56,c11</sup>
- 51v ζήτει ἐν τῷ περὶ συμβολῆs<sup>a57,b57,c12</sup>
- 62v ζήτει ἐν τῷ περὶ παραδόξων<sup>a58,b58</sup>
- 64r ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς τὴν ἱερατικὴν στολὴν, περὶ ἧς ἐν τῷ περὶ ἐκφράσεως τέθιται,<sup>a59,b59,c13</sup>  
περιβαλλόμενος καὶ ποιησάμενος τὴν ἀπάντησιν εἰς τόπον ἐπίσημον, <ἔστη> ἔνθα μάλιστα ἡ  
περικαλλὴς τοῦ ναοῦ πρόσοψις ἐξεφαίνετο.
- 74r ζήτει ἐν τῷ περὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῶν<sup>a60,b60,c14</sup>
- 101r ζήτει ἐν τῷ περὶ πολιτικῶν διοικήσεως<sup>a61,b61,c15</sup>
- 101v (ταῦτ' ἔχω ὅσος' ἔφαγον τε καὶ ἔπιον καὶ μετ' ἐρώτων καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς)<sup>a62,b62,c16</sup>  
ζήτει ἐν τοῖς ἐπιγράμμασι<sup>a63,b63</sup>  
ζήτει ἐν τῷ περὶ γνῶμων<sup>a64,b64,c17</sup>

<sup>a50</sup>majuscule, cross ref., margin <sup>a51</sup>majuscule, cross ref., margin <sup>a52</sup>majuscule, cross ref., margin  
<sup>a53</sup>majuscule, cross ref. to *De insidiis*, margin <sup>a54</sup>majuscule, cross ref., margin <sup>a55</sup>majuscule,  
cross ref., margin <sup>a56</sup>majuscule, cross ref., margin <sup>a57</sup>majuscule, cross ref., margin <sup>a58</sup>majuscule,  
body text <sup>a59</sup>minuscule, part of exc. 3 <sup>a60</sup>majuscule, body text – margin <sup>a61</sup>majuscule, margin  
<sup>a62</sup>majuscule, quoted epigram in body text <sup>a63</sup>majuscule, margin <sup>a64</sup>majuscule, margin

<sup>b50</sup>EV 1, 9, 20 in exc. 3 <sup>b51</sup>EV 1, 36, 33–4 at the end of exc. 9 <sup>b52</sup>EV 1, 40, 25–6 at the end of  
exc. 9 — <sup>b53</sup>EV 1, 62, 17 in mid. of exc. 27 — <sup>b54</sup>EV 1, 63, 2 at the end of exc. 27 — <sup>b55</sup>EV  
1, 75, 14 at the end of exc. 41 — <sup>b56</sup>EV 1, 84, 17–26 at the end of exc. 49 — <sup>b57</sup>EV 1, 99, 8–9 at  
the end of exc. 64 — <sup>b58</sup>EV 1, 120, 9–10 at the end of exc. 75 — <sup>b59</sup>EV 1, 123, 23–4 — <sup>b60</sup>EV  
1, 145, 18 at the end of exc. 11 — <sup>b61</sup>EV 1, 207, 6–7 — <sup>b62</sup>EV 1, 207, 28–9 — <sup>b63</sup>EV 1, 207, 27  
— <sup>b64</sup>EV 1, 212, 10–11 at the end of exc. 28 —

<sup>c5</sup>Jos. *AJ* 1. 175–9 <sup>c6</sup>Jos. *AJ* 2. 190–7 <sup>c7</sup>Jos. *AJ* 2. 226–8 — <sup>c8</sup>Jos. *AJ* 8. 204–24 — <sup>c9</sup>Jos. *AJ*  
8. 227–42 — <sup>c10</sup>Jos. *AJ* 10. 208–10 — <sup>c11</sup>Jos. *AJ* 18. 10–17 — <sup>c12</sup>Jos. *BJ* 3. 301– — <sup>c13</sup>George  
the Monk, ed. de Boor 26, 9–31, 5: ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἰαδδοὺς τὴν ἱερατικὴν ἐσθῆτα περιθέμενος  
[lacuna: de Boor I. 26, 11–31, 3] ποιησάμενος ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς τὴν ὑπάντησιν εἰς τόπον ἐπίσημον ἔστη,  
ἔνθα μάλιστα ἡ περικαλλὴς τοῦ ναοῦ πρόσοψις ἐξεφαίνετο; cf. Suda s. v. σάμβυκες (Σ 74) γένος  
μηχανήματος πολιορκητικοῦ, ὡς φησι Πολύβιος. περὶ δὲ τῆς κατασκευῆς αὐτοῦ γέγραπται ἐν τῷ  
περὶ ἐκφράσεως Polyb. 8. 6. 6; BZ 23 (1914–19): 27 — <sup>c14</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor 473, 21  
– 475, 4 — <sup>c15</sup>Diod. 2. 21. 4–22. 2 ed. Vogel 1. 204 20–206, 14 — <sup>c16</sup>Diod. 2. 23. 3 ed. Vogel  
1. 208, 12–3 but not from here (ταῦτ' ἔξω, ὅσος' ἔφαγον καὶ ἐφύβρισα καὶ μετ' ἔρωτος) cf. f. 64r EV  
1, 123, 13–15 Georg. mon. exc. 2 (τόσος' ἔξω, ὅσος' ἔφαγον τε καὶ ἔπιον καὶ μετ' ἐρώτων τέρπν' ἐδάην,  
τὰ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ὄλβια πάντα λείλειπται) AP vii. 325. 1: Τόσος' ἔχω, ὅσος' ἔφαγον τε καὶ ἔκπιον καὶ  
μετ' ἐρώτων | τέρπν' ἐδάην· τὰ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ὄλβια πάντα λείλειπται. see Al. Cameron, *The Greek  
Anthology*, p. 295–6 — <sup>c17</sup>Diod. 7. 12. 1, ref. to Diod. exc. 1 of *ES* 272, 1–3 —

ζήτει ἐν τῷ περὶ γάμων <sup>a65, b65, c18</sup>	246r
ζήτει ἐν τῷ περὶ στρατηγημάτων <sup>a66, b66, c19</sup>	226r
ζήτει ἐν τῷ περὶ ἀνδραγαθημάτων <sup>a67, b67, c20</sup>	227v
ζήτει τὰ λείποντα περὶ ἐλληνικῆς ἱστορίας <sup>a68, b68, c21</sup>	155v
ζήτει ἐν τῷ περὶ ἀνδραγαθημάτων <sup>a69, b69, c22</sup>	156r
τούτου δ' ἐναργέστερον ἔτι δεῖγμα τῆς ἐκατέρου γνώμης τὸ περὶ τῆς ἄκρας συμβούλευμα τὸ ρηθὲν ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς <sup>a70, b70, c23</sup> πρὸς τὸ μηδὲ περὶ τῶν κατ' Αἰτωλοὺς διαπορεῖν.	109v
ζήτει τὰ λοιπὰ ἐν τῷ περὶ στρατηγημάτων <sup>a71, b71, c24</sup>	114r
ζήτει ἐν τῷ περὶ ἀνδραγαθημάτων <sup>a72, b72, c25</sup>	115v
ζήτει ἐν τῷ περὶ στρατηγημάτων <sup>a73, b73, c26</sup>	117r
ζήτει ἐν τῷ περὶ δημηγορίων <sup>a74, b74, c27</sup>	300r
ζήτει ἐν τῷ περὶ δημηγορίων <sup>a75, b75, c28</sup>	308v

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<sup>a65</sup>majuscule, margin <sup>a66</sup>majuscule, margin <sup>a67</sup>majuscule, body text <sup>a68</sup>majuscule, body text, followed by a shorthand? note <sup>a69</sup>majuscule, body text <sup>a70</sup>minuscule in the body text, reference to περὶ πολιτικῶν διοικήσεως <sup>a71</sup>majuscule, body text <sup>a72</sup>majuscule, body text <sup>a73</sup>majuscule, body text – margin <sup>a74</sup>majuscule, lower margin <sup>a75</sup>majuscule, body text – margin

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<sup>b65</sup>EV 1, 298, 15–6 at the end of exc. 316 — <sup>b66</sup>EV 1, 335, 18–9 at the end of Nic. Damasc. exc. 8 — <sup>b67</sup>EV 1, 338, 7–8 at the end of Nic. Damasc. exc. 12 — <sup>b68</sup>EV 1, 353, 11–12 at the end of Nic. Damasc. exc. 31 — <sup>b69</sup>EV 1, 354, 3–4 at the end of Nic. Damasc. exc. 32 — <sup>b70</sup>EV 2, 107, app. <sup>b71</sup>EV 2, 116, 18–19 — <sup>b72</sup>EV 2, 120, 6–7, at the end of exc. 31 — <sup>b73</sup>EV 2, 123, 26 at the end of exc. 34 — <sup>b74</sup>EV 2, 153, 9–10 at the end of exc. 60 — <sup>b75</sup>EV 2, 172, 16–7 at the end of exc. 81 —

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<sup>c18</sup>between Diod. 33.13 and 14.1 — <sup>c19</sup>Nic. Damasc. *Historiae* between FGrHist 90.4–5 — <sup>c20</sup>Nic. Damasc. *Historiae* between FGrHist 90.13–14 — <sup>c21</sup>shorthand note? is rendered in EV 1, 353, app. and Parmentier–Morin, p. 479; cf. *De thematibus* on Greek mythology ch. 17, 3–4 ed. Pertusi p. 82 Οὐκ ἔστιν δὲ νῦν χρεῖα τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἱστορίας, διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὴν μετεστωμένην — <sup>c22</sup>Nic. Damasc. *Vita Caesaris* between FGrHist 90.124 (99) and 126 (99) — <sup>c23</sup>Polyb. 7. 13. 8, ed. Büttner-Wobst v. 2, 326 <sup>c24</sup>lacuna between Polyb. 9.24.6–7 ed. Büttner-Wobst v. 3. p. 30 — <sup>c25</sup>Polyb. 10.3.3–7 ed. Büttner-Wobst v. 3. p. 59–60 — <sup>c26</sup>lacuna after Polyb. 10.22.10 ed. Büttner-Wobst v. 3. p. 87 — <sup>c27</sup>lacuna after Polyb. 16.22.10 ed. Büttner-Wobst v. 3. p. 342 — <sup>c28</sup>lacuna after Polyb. 23.10.15 ed. Büttner-Wobst v. 4. p. 141 —

### A.3. Scholia

- 44r ὅτι ἔνδειξις ἐστὶ κατηγορίας ὄνομα κατὰ πλειόνων μὲν λαμβανόμενον, μάλιστα δὲ κατὰ τῶν ὀφειλόντων τῷ δημοσίῳ καὶ πολιτεύεσθαι τολμώντων<sup>a76,b76,c29</sup>
- 228v Σχο. ἔτυχε γὰρ ὡστρακισμένος· διὰ τὸ φρόνημα, ὃ εἶχεν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς περὶ τῆς Σαλαμῖνος, ἐξωστρακίσθη ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, ἵνα τὸ φρόνημα αὐτοῦ καθέλωσιν<sup>a77,b77,c30</sup>
- 229r Σχο. πέμψαντος γάρ ποτε Ἀδμήτου Ἀθήναζε περὶ συμμαχίας αἰτήσεως ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀνέπεισε τὴν πόλιν μὴ δοῦναι αὐτῷ βοήθειαν<sup>a78,b78,c31</sup>  
καὶ ἅμα αὐτὸς μὲν ἐκείνῳ χρείας τινὸς [ἔξωθεν] καὶ οὐκ ἐς τὸ σῶμα σώζεσθαι ἐναντιωθῆ-  
ναι<sup>a79,b79,c32</sup>
- 229v ἦν γὰρ δὴ βεβαιότατα [τῆς κοινῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅσον δύναται] φύσεως ἰσχὺν δηλώσας, καὶ  
διαφερόντως τι ἐς αὐτὸ [τὰ εἰς τὴν φύσιν] μᾶλλον ἐτέρου ἄξιος θαυμάσαι.<sup>a80,b80,c33</sup>  
Ὅτι ποτὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Ἀλκαμένη ἐν προαστείῳ θεασάμενοι μετεωρίζοντα κακῶς ἐχρήσαντο·  
οὗτοι γὰρ σκυθρωποὶ ἦσαν διὰ παντός ἐπιείκειαν ὑποκρινόμενοι καὶ τοὺς ἀβροτέρους ἐκόλαζον,  
τὸ τερπνὸν τοῦ βίου κώλυμα τῶν ἀναγκαίων νομίζοντες εἶναι.<sup>a81,b81,c34</sup>

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<sup>a76</sup>minuscule, scholium from source ms, mistakenly placed exc. after exc. 50, the annotated passage is marked with two signs — <sup>a77</sup>majuscule, margin, scholium to ἔτυχε γὰρ ὡστρακισμένος (Thuc. 1. 135. 3) taken from the source ms — <sup>a78</sup>majuscule, margin, scholium to οὐ φίλον (Thuc. 1. 136. 2) taken from the source ms — <sup>a79</sup>minuscule, body text, mistakenly taken from scholium to χρείας τινὸς (Thuc. 1. 136. 4: καὶ ἅμα αὐτὸς μὲν ἐκείνῳ χρείας τινὸς καὶ οὐκ ἐς τὸ σῶμα σώζεσθαι ἐναντιωθῆναι) <sup>a80</sup>minuscule, body text, mistakenly taken from scholium to (Thuc. 1. 138. 3: ἦν γὰρ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς βεβαιότατα δὴ φύσεως ἰσχὺν δηλώσας καὶ διαφερόντως τι ἐς αὐτὸ μᾶλλον ἐτέρου ἄξιος θαυμάσαι) taken from the source ms — <sup>a81</sup>minuscule, separate exc. mistakenly taken from scholium to Thuc. 2. 37. 2 (Λυπηρὰς δὲ τῇ ὀψει ἀχθηδόνας)

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<sup>b76</sup>EV 1, 84, app. <sup>b77</sup>EV 2, 34, app to Thuc. exc. 9 <sup>b78</sup>EV 2, 35, app to Thuc. exc. 9 <sup>b79</sup>EV 2, 35, app to Thuc. exc. 9 — <sup>b80</sup>EV 2, 36, 7–9 <sup>b81</sup>EV 2, 36, 19–23 as Thuc. exc. 11b —

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<sup>c29</sup>Jos. *AJ* 18. 64 (ἐνδείξει) — <sup>c30</sup>Thuc. 1. 135. 3 ed. Haase p. 38 — <sup>c31</sup>Thuc. 1. 136. 2 ed. Haase p. 38 — <sup>c32</sup>Thuc. 1. 136. 4 (χρείας τινὸς... χρείας τινὸς ἔξωθεν καὶ οὐχι περὶ ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου) ed. Haase p. 38 — <sup>c33</sup>Thuc. 1. 138. 3 φύσεως ἰσχὺν· τῆς κοινῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅσον δύναται and ἐς αὐτό· εἰς τὴν φύσιν ed. Haase p. 38 — <sup>c34</sup>Thuc. 2. 37. 2 ed. Haase p. 45 —

## A.4. Notes: the Excerptors' Working Method

τόσσ' ἔξω, ὅσσ' ἔφαγόν τε καὶ ἔπιον καὶ μετ' ἐρώτων τέρπν' ἐδάην, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ὄλβια πάντα λέλειπται <sup>a82, b82, c35</sup>	64r
καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς εἰσιν ἄπειρα <sup>a83, b83, c36</sup>	79v
Καὶ τὰς περιττὰς μιαιρίας προεγράψαμεν ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας Δίωνος <sup>a84, b84</sup>	91v
περὶ τε τῆς μητροκτονίας καὶ τοῦ Σπόρου τοῦ ἐρωμένου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν <sup>a85, b85, c37</sup>	
Ὅτι <Κωνσταντῖνος>, ὥς φησιν οὗτος ὁ Ἰωάννης <sup>a86 b86, c38</sup>	97r
Ὅτι φησὶν ὁ Ἰωάννης οὗτοσι περὶ τοῦ παραβάτου Ἰουλιανοῦ, ὥς <sup>a87 b87 c39</sup>	98r
ταῦτ' ἔχω ὅσσ' ἔφαγόν τε καὶ ἔπιον καὶ μετ' ἐρώτων καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς <sup>a88, b88, c40</sup> (ζῆται ἐν τοῖς ἐπιγράμμασι) <sup>a89</sup>	101v
τὸ ρηθὲν ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς <sup>a90, b89, c41</sup>	109v
∴ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἔγχετο ἄλλην γυναῖκα. ἡ δὲ ἐπεισελθοῦσα ἐδικαίου καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ εἶναι μητρική τῇ Φρονίμῃ <sup>a91, b90 c42</sup>	182v
<Ὅ>τι ἐπὶ Ξανθίππου τοῦ Ἀρίφρονος στρατηγοῦ Ἀθηναίων, Ἀρταύκτην ἄνδρα Πέρσην λαβόντες Σηστοῦ ὑπαρχον ζῶντα πρὸς σανίδα διεπασσάλευσαν, ὃς καὶ ἐς τοῦ Πρωτεσίλεω τὸ ἱερὸν ἀγινεόμενος γυναῖκας ἀθέμιστα ἔρδεσκε. <sup>a92, b91</sup>	185r
εἴ τις βούλοιο Λακεδαιμονίων πρὸ τῆς Σπάρτης ἀποθνήσκειν <sup>a93, b92, c43</sup>	185v
ζῆται <sup>a94, b93, c44</sup>	316v

<sup>a82</sup>minuscule, quoted epigram in body text <sup>a83</sup>minuscule, body text <sup>a84</sup>majuscule, body text <sup>a85</sup>minuscule, body text <sup>a86</sup>minuscule, body text <sup>a87</sup>minuscule, body text <sup>a88</sup>majuscule, quoted epigram in body text <sup>a89</sup>majuscule, margin <sup>a90</sup>minuscule in the body text <sup>a91</sup>minuscule, in the lower margin, self corr. by the scribe <sup>a92</sup>minuscule, body text, mistakenly located exc. 44 (Hdt 7.33) after exc. 42–3 (Hdt 7.34–6, 39), ὃ of ὅτι is missing <sup>a93</sup>majuscule, body text, preceded by a colon and followed by 3 letters blank space <sup>a94</sup>majuscule, margin

<sup>b82</sup>EV 1, 123, 13–5 — <sup>b83</sup>EV 1, 156, 22–3 — <sup>b84</sup>EV 1, 184, 17–18 part of exc. 26 — <sup>b85</sup>EV 1, 184, 18–19 part of exc. 26 — <sup>b86</sup>EV 1, 197, 17 exc. 55 (not in the text) — <sup>b87</sup>EV 1, 199, 30 exc. 62 — <sup>b88</sup>EV 1, 207, 28–9 — <sup>b89</sup>between συμβούλευμα and πρὸς (EV 2, 107, 1), reference to περὶ πολιτικῶν διοικήσεως ed. in EV 2, 107, app. — <sup>b90</sup>EV 2, 14, 8–10 — <sup>b91</sup>EV 2, 20, 20–23 — <sup>b92</sup>EV 2, 21, 5–6 — <sup>b93</sup>EV 2, 135, 24 at the end of exc. 44: ταῦτα γὰρ οὐχ οἷον Τίμαιον εἰρηκέναι τίς ἂν πιστεύσειεν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸν λεγόμενον Μαργίτην ἔκεῖνον. τίς γὰρ οὕτως ἐστὶν ἀδράης, οὐ λέγω τῶν πρὸς ὑπομνήμασι γεγονότων. —

<sup>c35</sup>Georg. Mon. ed. de Boor p. 13, 18–14, 2 but not quoted from here (ταῦτ' ἔξω, ὅσσ' ἔφαγόν τε καὶ ἐφύβρισα καὶ μετ' ἔρωτος τέρπνου ἐπολιτευσάμην, παθόντα δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ὄλβια πάντα λέλειπται) cf. f. 101v EV 1, 207, 28–29 Diod. exc. 6 (ταῦτ' ἔχω ὅσσ' ἔφαγόν τε καὶ ἔπιον καὶ μετ' ἐρώτων καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς) AP vii. 325. 1: Τόσσ' ἔχω, ὅσσ' ἔφαγον τε καὶ ἔκπιον καὶ μετ' ἐρώτων | τέρπν' ἐδάην· τὰ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ὄλβια πάντα λέλειπται. see Al. Cameron, *The Greek Anthology*, p. 295–6 — <sup>c36</sup>absent in Georg. Mon. ed. de Boor p. 799, 7 — <sup>c37</sup>Ioan. Ant. fr. 172 ed. Roberto p. 304–5, ref. to Cass. Dio 61. 12 and 62. 28 cf. Boissevain 3. p. 35–36 and 67, 5–11 taken from Vat. gr. 73 p. 205/206, 343 and ed. as exc. 48 and 63 of Petrus Patricius in *ES* 248–250 — <sup>c38</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 254, ed. Roberto, p. 438 — <sup>c39</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 272, ed. Roberto, p. 456 — <sup>c40</sup>Diod. 2. 23. 3 ed. Vogel 1. 208, 12–3 but not from here (ταῦτ' ἔξω, ὅσσ' ἔφαγόν τε καὶ ἐφύβρισα καὶ μετ' ἔρωτος) cf. f. 64r EV 1, 123, 13–15 Georg. mon. exc. 2 (τόσσ' ἔξω, ὅσσ' ἔφαγόν τε καὶ ἔπιον καὶ μετ' ἐρώτων τέρπν' ἐδάην, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ὄλβια πάντα λέλειπται) AP vii. 325. 1: Τόσσ' ἔχω, ὅσσ' ἔφαγον τε καὶ ἔκπιον καὶ μετ' ἐρώτων | τέρπν' ἐδάην· τὰ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ὄλβια πάντα λέλειπται. see Al. Cameron, *The Greek Anthology*, p. 295–6 — <sup>c41</sup>Polyb. 7. 13. 8, ed. Büttner-Wobst v. 2, 326 — <sup>c42</sup>Hdt 4. 154 — <sup>c43</sup>Hdt 7. 134 ed. Rosen l. 1361–2 — <sup>c44</sup>lacuna after Polyb. 12. 25. 9 ed. Büttner-Wobst v. 3. p. 209 —

- 318v ζήτει· ἐνέλειπε γὰρ φύλλα μῆ'  
ἐν οἷς περὶ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου ἐνεφέρετο καὶ περὶ Ἀρσινόης<sup>a95, b94, c45</sup>
- 320v Ὅτι φησὶν ὁ Πολύβιος<sup>a96, b95, c46</sup>
- 304r Ὅτι φησὶν ὁ Πολύβιος ἐν τῷ ιη' λόγῳ<sup>a97, b96, c47</sup>
- 321v ζήτει· ὀλίγον διέλιπε<sup>a98, b97, c48</sup>
- 311r Ὅτι φησὶν ὁ Πολύβιος<sup>a99, b98</sup>
- 287v Ὁ δὲ Δίων φησὶν ὅτι<sup>a100, b99, c49</sup>
- 203v Ὁ σίλιον δὲ δὴ Γέταν<sup>a101, b100, c50</sup>
- 122v ζήτει<sup>a102, b101, c51</sup>
- 122v Ὅτι ὁ Δίων φησὶν ὅτι<sup>a103, b102, c52</sup>

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<sup>a95</sup>majuscule, body text   <sup>a96</sup>minuscule, body text   <sup>a97</sup>minuscule, body text   <sup>a98</sup>majuscule, body text – margin   <sup>a99</sup>minuscule, body text   <sup>a100</sup>minuscule, body text, mistakenly placed after exc. 1  
<sup>a101</sup>majuscule, body text in exc. 142   <sup>a102</sup>majuscule, margin in exc. 212   <sup>a103</sup>minuscule, body text

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<sup>b94</sup>EV 2, 140, 6–8 in exc. 50 cf. Vat. gr. 73 p. 30 ES, exc. 89, ed. Boissevain p. 167 (margin): ἰστέον ὅτι τὸ προοίμιον μόνον διεσάφει τοῦ τεσσαρισκαίδεκάτου λόγου· τὰ δ' ἐφεξῆς πάντα ἐνέλειπεν μέχρι λ' φύλλων — <sup>b95</sup>EV 2, 144, 28 in exc. 59 — <sup>b96</sup>EV 2, 161, 25 in exc. 69   <sup>b97</sup>EV 2, 148, 2 in exc. 59  
<sup>b98</sup>EV 2, 180, 1 in exc. 98   <sup>b99</sup>EV 2, 235, 7 as exc. 2 although in ms not separated from exc. 1 and exc. 3   <sup>b100</sup>EV 2, 299, 5   <sup>b101</sup>EV 2, 333, app. to μόνον   <sup>b102</sup>EV 2, 379, 17 in exc. 327

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<sup>c45</sup>after Polyb. 14.12.4– ed. Büttner-Wobst v.3. p.263 — <sup>c46</sup>Polyb. 16.14 — <sup>c47</sup>Polyb. 18.41   <sup>c48</sup>lacuna after Polyb. 16.17.7 ed. Büttner-Wobst v.3. p.335   <sup>c49</sup>Cass. Dio Fr.1.1 Boissevain edited after Fr.6,2 (v.1 p.12) following cod. Peirescianus   <sup>c50</sup>Cass. Dio Fr. 47.10.6 ed. Boissevain v.2 p.217   <sup>c51</sup>Cass. Dio Fr. 59.27. ed. Boissevain v.2 p.653   <sup>c52</sup>Cass. Dio 73.3.2–4 ed. Boissevain v.3 p.308

## A.5. Marginal Indices

In the outer margin, in majuscule letter by the main scribe

### A.5.1. Josephus Flavius

Σηθος <sup>a104,b103</sup>	2v
περὶ Ἀβράμου <sup>a105,b104</sup>	3v
Σοδομίται <sup>a106,b105</sup>	4v
Μελχισεδεκ <sup>a107,b106</sup>	5r
Ἰησοῦ <sup>a108,b107</sup>	
Σοδομίται <sup>a109,b108</sup>	
Λῶτος <sup>a110,b109</sup>	5v
Ἀβραμο(ς) <sup>a111,b110</sup>	6r
περὶ ἀγαλματος <sup>a112,b111</sup>	6v
Ἰώσηφ <sup>a113,b112</sup>	7v
περὶ οἴνου <sup>a114,b113</sup>	11v
Ἰώσηπος <sup>a115,b114</sup>	20r
Αἰγύπτιοι <sup>a116,b115</sup>	
Ἰ(σρα)ηλ(ι)ται <sup>a117,b116</sup>	
ἱερογραμματεῖς <sup>a118,b117</sup>	20v
ξ' μυρίαδ(ων) <sup>a119,b118</sup>	21r
ἀνάστημα ψυ(χης) <sup>a120,b119,c53</sup>	22r
Χοσβία <sup>a121,b120</sup>	23v
Φινεές <sup>a122,b121,c54</sup>	24r
Ὅφνι καὶ Φινεές <sup>a123,b122</sup>	24v

<sup>a104</sup>EV 1,5,29, exc. 2 <sup>a105</sup>EV 1,6,34, exc. 3 <sup>a106</sup>EV 1,9,7–8, exc. 3 <sup>a107</sup>EV 1,9,23, exc. 4 <sup>a108</sup>EV 1,10,7 exc. 5 <sup>a109</sup>EV 1,10,13, exc. 6 <sup>a110</sup>EV 1,11,6, exc. 6 <sup>a111</sup>EV 1,11,32, exc. 7 <sup>a112</sup>EV 1,14,1–6 exc. 8 <sup>a113</sup>EV 1,14,17 exc. 9 <sup>a114</sup>EV 1,22,3–7 exc. 8: καρπὸν γὰρ ἐσήμαινεν ἀμπέλινον ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τὸν θεὸν ἀνθρώποις παρασχεῖν, ὃς αὐτῷ τε ἐκεῖνῳ σπένδεται καὶ πίστιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ φιλίαν ὁμηρεῦει, διαλύων μὲν ἔχθρας, τὰ πάθη δὲ καὶ τὰς λύπας ἐξαίρων τοῖς προσφερομένοις αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ὑποφέρων. <sup>a115</sup>EV 1,36,35 exc. 10 <sup>a116</sup>EV 1,37,4 exc. 11 <sup>a117</sup>EV 1,37,7 exc. 11 <sup>a118</sup>EV 1,37,24 exc. 11 <sup>a119</sup>EV 1,38,31–32 exc. 11 <sup>a120</sup>EV 1,40,25–41,2 exc. 11: καὶ τριετὶ μὲν αὐτῷ γεγενημένῳ θαυμαστὸν ὁ θεὸς τὸ τῆς ἡλικίας ἐξῆρεν ἀνάστημα· πρὸς δὲ κάλλος οὐδεὶς ἀφιλότιμος ἦν οὕτως, ὥς Μωϋσῆν θεασάμενος μὴ ἐκπλαγῆναι τῆς εὐμορφίας. πολλοῖς τε συνέβαινε καθ' ὁδὸν φερομένῳ συντυγχάνουσιν ἐπιστρέφειν αὐτοῦ· καὶ γὰρ ἡ χάρις ἡ παιδικὴ πολλὴ καὶ ἀκρατος περὶ αὐτὸν οὕσα κατεῖχετο τοὺς ὁρῶντας. <sup>a121</sup>EV 1,43,13 exc. 13 <sup>a122</sup>EV 1,44,23 exc. 13, in the text: Φινε εἰς, ed. in app. <sup>a123</sup>EV 1,45,12–13 exc. 14, ed. in app.

<sup>b103</sup>Jos. AJ 1.68 <sup>b104</sup>Jos. AJ 1.154 <sup>b105</sup>Jos. AJ 1.171 <sup>b106</sup>Jos. AJ 1.104 <sup>b107</sup>Jos. AJ 1.184 <sup>b108</sup>Jos. AJ 1.194 <sup>b109</sup>Jos. AJ 1.200 <sup>b110</sup>Jos. AJ 1.222 <sup>b111</sup>Jos. AJ 1.342 <sup>b112</sup>Jos. AJ 2.9 <sup>b113</sup>Jos. AJ 2.66 <sup>b114</sup>Jos. AJ 2.198 <sup>b115</sup>Jos. AJ 2.202 <sup>b116</sup>Jos. AJ 2.202 <sup>b117</sup>Jos. AJ 2.205 <sup>b118</sup>Jos. AJ 2.215 <sup>b119</sup>Jos. AJ 2.231 <sup>b120</sup>Jos. AJ 4.141 <sup>b121</sup>Jos. AJ 4.152 <sup>b122</sup>Jos. AJ 5.338

<sup>c53</sup>Suda s.v. Μωϋσῆς, ἀνάστημα ἡλικίας, ἀφιλοτίμος, προσευοχλεῖν <sup>c54</sup>Suda s.v. Φινεές

	περὶ Σαμουήλου τοῦ προφήτου <sup>a124, b123</sup>
25r	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">ἄρετη</span> <sup>a125, b124</sup> Σαμουήλ <sup>a126, b125, c55</sup>
25v	περὶ Σαούλ <sup>a127, b126, c56</sup>
26r	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">καχίω</span> <sup>a128, b127</sup>
26v	Νάβαλος <sup>a129, b128</sup>
27r	ση(μείωσαι) Σαουλ <sup>a130, b129</sup>
28v	Σαουλός <sup>a131, b130</sup>
29r	αρετη Δαυιδου <sup>a132, b131</sup> Οζας <sup>a133, b132, c57</sup>
30r	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">ἄρετη</span> <sup>a134, b133</sup> Οροννας <sup>a135, b134</sup>
30v	Οροννας <sup>a136, b135</sup>
31r	Σολομῶν <sup>a137, b136</sup>
32r	Σολομων <sup>a138, b137</sup>
32v	Αδερ <sup>a139, b138, c58</sup>
33v	Ἰεροβαμος <sup>a140, b139</sup>
34v	Αχάβος <sup>a141, b140</sup> Ναβουθός <sup>a142, b141</sup>
35r	Οχοζίας <sup>a143, b142, c59</sup> Ἰωραμος <sup>a144, b143, c60</sup> Ἰώασος <sup>a145, b144</sup>
35v	Ἰεροβοαμος <sup>a146, b145, c61</sup> Οζίας <sup>a147, b146</sup>

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<sup>a124</sup>EV 1,45,23 exc. 14    <sup>a125</sup>EV 1,47,14–15 exc. 15: Σαμουήλου δ' ἤϋξετο ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἢ δόξα, πάντων ὧν προεφήτευσεν ἀληθινῶν βλεπομένων.    <sup>a126</sup>EV 1,46,17 exc. 15    <sup>a127</sup>EV 1,46,17 exc. 15    <sup>a128</sup>EV 1,49,10 exc. 17    <sup>a129</sup>EV 1,49,23 exc. 18    <sup>a130</sup>EV 1,51,17 exc. 19 — <sup>a131</sup>EV 1,53,15 exc. 19: — <sup>a132</sup>EV 1,54,16 exc. 20: — <sup>a133</sup>EV 1,55,3 exc. 20: — <sup>a134</sup>EV 1,56,33–34 exc. 20 cf. sign ∴. <sup>a135</sup>EV 1,57,4 exc. 21: — <sup>a136</sup>EV 1,57,31 exc. 22: — <sup>a137</sup>EV 1,59,1 exc. 24: — <sup>a138</sup>EV 1,60,18 exc. 26 — <sup>a139</sup>EV 1,61,30 exc. 26 — <sup>a140</sup>EV 1,63,29 exc. 30 — <sup>a141</sup>EV 1,65,16 exc. 31 — <sup>a142</sup>EV 1,65,21 exc. 32 — <sup>a143</sup>EV 1,67,7 exc. 33 — <sup>a144</sup>EV 1,67,11 exc. 34 — <sup>a145</sup>EV 1,67,14 exc. 35 — <sup>a146</sup>EV 1,68,7 exc. 36 — <sup>a147</sup>EV 1,68,12 exc. 37 —

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<sup>b123</sup> Jos. AJ 5. 340	<sup>b124</sup> Jos. AJ 5. 351	<sup>b125</sup> Jos. AJ 5. 346	<sup>b126</sup> Jos. AJ 6. 261	<sup>b127</sup> Jos. AJ 6. 270
<sup>b128</sup> Jos. AJ 6. 297	<sup>b129</sup> Jos. AJ 6. 327	<sup>b130</sup> Jos. AJ 6. 344	<sup>b131</sup> Jos. AJ 7. 78	<sup>b132</sup> Jos. AJ 7. 81
<sup>b133</sup> Jos. AJ 6. 270	<sup>b134</sup> Jos. AJ 7. 331	<sup>b135</sup> Jos. AJ 7. 390	<sup>b136</sup> Jos. AJ 8. 42	<sup>b137</sup> Jos. AJ 8. 190
<sup>b138</sup> Jos. AJ 8. 199	<sup>b139</sup> Jos. AJ 8. 265	<sup>b140</sup> Jos. AJ 8. 318	<sup>b141</sup> Jos. AJ 8. 355	<sup>b142</sup> Jos. AJ 9. 18
<sup>b143</sup> Jos. AJ 9. 27	<sup>b144</sup> Jos. AJ 9. 166	<sup>b145</sup> Jos. AJ 9. 205	<sup>b146</sup> Jos. AJ 9. 216	

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<sup>c55</sup>Suda s.v. Σαμουήλ    <sup>c56</sup>Suda s.v. Σαμουήλ    <sup>c57</sup>Suda s.v. Ὀζάν    <sup>c58</sup>Suda s.v. Ἄδερ Büttner-Wobst: from EI    <sup>c59</sup>Suda s.v. Ὀχοζίας    <sup>c60</sup>Suda s.v. Ἰώραμ    <sup>c61</sup>Suda s.v. Ἰεροβοάμ



Οζιας <sup>a148, b147</sup>	36r
Μανασης <sup>a149, b148</sup>	36v
Ἰωσίας <sup>a150, b149</sup>	37r
Σαχχίας <sup>a151, b150</sup>	
περὶ Δανήλ καὶ τῶν γ' παίδων <sup>a152, b151</sup>	37v
χρίσις <sup>a153, b152</sup>	39r
Εσδρας <sup>a154, b153</sup>	39v
Ἀντίοχος εὐσεβ(ής) <sup>a155, b154</sup>	41r
Ἀντίοχος ἐπιφρ(νής) <sup>a156, b155</sup>	41v
Ηρώδης <sup>a157, b156</sup>	
Κλεοπάτρα <sup>a158, b157</sup>	42v
Γαυλαν(ιτης) <sup>a159, b158</sup>	43v
περὶ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτηρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ <sup>a160, b159</sup>	44r
περὶ Ἰωάννου του βαπτιστου <sup>a161, b160</sup>	
Αγρίππας <sup>a162, b161</sup>	44v
Γάϊος <sup>a163, b162</sup>	45r
περὶ Ἀσινάιου τοῦ Ανιλαίου ἀδελφοῦ <sup>a164, b163</sup>	
Γάϊος <sup>a165, b164</sup>	46r
Σικάριοι <sup>a166, b165</sup>	47r
Κοστόβαρος <sup>a167, b166</sup>	
Φλώρος <sup>a168, b167</sup>	

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<sup>a148</sup>EV 1,69,25 (not in the text) exc. 37 — <sup>a149</sup>EV 1,70,8 exc. 38 — <sup>a150</sup>EV 1,71,14 exc. 39  
— <sup>a151</sup>EV 1,71,26 exc. 40 — <sup>a152</sup>EV 1,72,9–10 exc. 41 — <sup>a153</sup>EV 1,75,3–14 exc. 41: σοὶ  
τοῖνυν φροντίζοντι περὶ τοῦ τίς ἄρξει τοῦ κόσμου παντός μετὰ σέ, κοιμηθέντι βουλόμενος δηλῶσαι  
πάντας ὁ θεὸς τοὺς βασιλεύσοντας, ὃναρ ἔδειξε τοιοῦτο. ἔδοξας ὁρᾶν ἀνδριάντα μέγαν ἐστῶτα, οὗ  
τὴν κεφαλὴν συνέβαινε εἶναι χρυσήν, τοὺς δ' ὤμους καὶ τοὺς βραχίονας ἀργυροῦς, τὴν δὲ γαστέρα  
καὶ τοὺς μηρούς χαλκέους, κνήμας δὲ καὶ πόδας σιδηροῦς. ἔπειτα λίθον εἶδες ἐξ ὅρους ἀπορραγέντα  
ἐμπεσεῖν τῷ ἀνδριάντι καὶ τοῦτον καταλαβόντα συντρίψαι καὶ μηδὲν αὐτοῦ μέρος ὀλόκληρον ἀφεῖναι,  
τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον καὶ τὸν χαλκὸν καὶ τὸν σίδηρον ἀλεύρου λεπτότερον γενέσθαι, καὶ  
τὸ μὲν ἀνέμου πνεύσαντος σφοδροτέρου ὑπὸ τῆς βίας ἀρπαγέντα διασπαρῆναι. <sup>a154</sup>EV 1,76,4 exc. 43  
— <sup>a155</sup>EV 1,79,22 exc. 46 — <sup>a156</sup>EV 1,79,30 exc. 46 — <sup>a157</sup>EV 1,80,19 exc. 47 — <sup>a158</sup>EV  
1,81,27 exc. 48 — <sup>a159</sup>EV 1,83,20 exc. 49 — <sup>a160</sup>EV 1,84,16 exc. 50 — <sup>a161</sup>EV 1,85,1 exc. 51  
— <sup>a162</sup>EV 1,85,8 exc. 52 — <sup>a163</sup>EV 1,86,33 exc. 53 — <sup>a164</sup>EV 1,87,5 exc. 54 — <sup>a165</sup>EV  
1,88,29 exc. 55 — <sup>a166</sup>EV 1,90,3 exc. 56 — <sup>a167</sup>EV 1,90,9 exc. 57 — <sup>a168</sup>EV 1,90,20 exc. 59

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<sup>b147</sup>Jos. AJ 9.216 <sup>b148</sup>Jos. AJ 10.37 <sup>b149</sup>Jos. AJ 10.49 <sup>b150</sup>Jos. AJ 10.103 <sup>b151</sup>Jos. AJ  
10.189 <sup>b152</sup>Jos. AJ 8.20 <sup>b153</sup>Jos. AJ 11.140 <sup>b154</sup>Jos. AJ 13.242 <sup>b155</sup>Jos. AJ 13.243  
<sup>b156</sup>Jos. AJ 14.158 <sup>b157</sup>Jos. AJ 15.88 <sup>b158</sup>Jos. AJ 18.4 <sup>b159</sup>Jos. AJ 18.63 <sup>b160</sup>Jos. AJ  
18.117 <sup>b161</sup>Jos. AJ 18.289 <sup>b162</sup>Jos. AJ 18.303 <sup>b163</sup>Jos. AJ 18.340 <sup>b164</sup>Jos. AJ 19.201  
<sup>b165</sup>Jos. AJ 20.186 <sup>b166</sup>Jos. AJ 20.214 <sup>b167</sup>Jos. AJ 20.252

47v	Υρκανὸς ὁ καὶ Ἰωάννης <sup>a169, b168</sup> <span style="border: 1px solid black;">ΑΒΤ</span> <sup>a170, b169</sup>
48v	Ἰουδα <sup>a171, b170</sup>
49r	Ἀντώνιος Κλεοπάτρα <sup>a172, b171</sup> Ἡρώδης <sup>a173, b172</sup>
49v	Γάϊος <sup>a174, b173</sup> Νέρων <sup>a175, b174</sup>
50r	Ἀλβῖνος <sup>a176, b175</sup> Φλῶρος <sup>a177, b176</sup>
52v	Ἀνανας <sup>a178, b177</sup> Ἰησοῦς <sup>a179, b178</sup>
53r	Ἰωάννης <sup>a180, b179</sup>
53v	Σικάριοι <sup>a181, b180</sup>
54r	Σίμων καὶ Ἰωάννης <sup>a182, b181</sup>
56r	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">περὶ φιλοχρηματίας</span> <sup>a183, b182</sup>
56v	Ἰωάννης <sup>a184, b183</sup>
57r	Σικάριοι <sup>a185, b184</sup>
57v	Ἰωάννης <sup>a186, b185</sup> Σίμων <sup>a187, b186</sup>
58r	Ἰωνάθης <sup>a188, b187</sup>

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<sup>a169</sup>EV 1,91,20 exc. 60 — <sup>a170</sup>EV 1,91,28 exc. 60 τρία γὰρ τὰ κρατιστεύοντα μόνος εἶχεν, τὴν τε ἀρχὴν τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην καὶ προφητείαν. — <sup>a171</sup>EV 1,93,13 exc. 60 — <sup>a172</sup>EV 1,94,17 exc. 61 — <sup>a173</sup>EV 1,95,6 exc. 62 — <sup>a174</sup>EV 1,95,25 exc. 63 — <sup>a175</sup>EV 1,96,1 exc. 63 — <sup>a176</sup>EV 1,96,1 exc. 64, the name is not written next to the word where it appears — <sup>a177</sup>EV 1,96,28 exc. 64 — <sup>a178</sup>EV 1,100,32 exc. 66 — <sup>a179</sup>EV 1,101,7 exc. 66 — <sup>a180</sup>EV 1,102,9 exc. 67 — <sup>a181</sup>EV 1,102,36 exc. 67 — <sup>a182</sup>EV 1,103,30–33 exc. 68 — <sup>a183</sup>EV 1,108,6–8 exc. 70: κατεφρόνει δέ, ὡς ἔοικε, φιλοχρηματία πάσης κολάσεως, καὶ δεινὸς ἐμπέφυκεν τοῦ κερδαίνειν ἔρως, οὐδέν τε οὕτω πάθος πλεονεξία προβάλλεται. — <sup>a184</sup>EV 1,108,18 exc. 70 — <sup>a185</sup>EV 1,109,20 exc. 72 — <sup>a186</sup>EV 1,110,10 exc. 72 — <sup>a187</sup>EV 1,110,19 exc. 72 — <sup>a188</sup>EV 1,111,11 exc. 73 —

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<sup>b168</sup>Jos. BJ 1.67 <sup>b169</sup>Jos. BJ 1.68 <sup>b170</sup>Jos. BJ 1.78 <sup>b171</sup>Jos. BJ 1.359 <sup>b172</sup>Jos. BJ 1.429  
<sup>b173</sup>Jos. BJ 2.184 <sup>b174</sup>Jos. BJ 2.250 <sup>b175</sup>Jos. BJ 2.274 <sup>b176</sup>Jos. BJ 2.277 <sup>b177</sup>Jos. BJ 4.319  
<sup>b178</sup>Jos. BJ 4.322 <sup>b179</sup>Jos. BJ 4.389 <sup>b180</sup>Jos. BJ 4.400 <sup>b181</sup>Jos. BJ 4.558–559 <sup>b182</sup>Jos. BJ 5.558 <sup>b183</sup>Jos. BJ 5.562 <sup>b184</sup>Jos. BJ 7.254 <sup>b185</sup>Jos. BJ 7.262 <sup>b186</sup>Jos. BJ 7.265 <sup>b187</sup>Jos. BJ 7.438

ΑΒ <sup>a189, b188</sup>	60r
τί ἐστι λογισμός, τί ἐστι πάθος, τί ἐστι σοφία <sup>a190, b189</sup>	60v
ἰδέσθαι <sup>a191, b190</sup>	
πάθη <sup>a192, b191</sup>	
θυμός <sup>a193, b192</sup>	
σωφροσύνη <sup>a194, b193</sup>	61r
περὶ Βανου <sup>a195, b194</sup>	63r
Αλιτυρός <sup>a196, b195</sup>	63v

### A.5.2. George the Monk

Σαρδαναπαλλος <sup>a197, b196, c62</sup>	64r
τί ἐστι φαρισαῖος <sup>a198, b197</sup>	65r
γραμματεῖς <sup>a199, b198</sup>	
Νείλου <sup>a200, b199</sup>	65vbis
Γρηγόριος <sup>a201, b200</sup>	67r
Χρυσόστομος <sup>a202, b201</sup>	67v
Πλάτων <sup>a203, b202</sup>	68r

<sup>a189</sup>EV 1,115,1–7 exc. 74: οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι νομοθέται ταῖς γνώμας διέστησαν καὶ <τὸν> ἕτερον αὐτῶν ὃν ἔδοξεν ἐλόμενοι ἐκάστοις τὸν ἕτερον παρέλειπον καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους μὲν καὶ Κρήτας ἔθεσιν ἐπαίδευσον, οὐ λόγοις. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ σχεδὸν οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες Ἕλληνες, ἃ μὲν ἔδει πράττειν ἢ μή, προσέτασσον διὰ τῶν νόμων, τοῦ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὰ διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἐθίζειν ὠλιγόρησαν. — <sup>a190</sup>EV 1,116,14–21 exc. 75: Ζητοῦμεν τοίνυν, εἰ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐστὶν τῶν παθῶν ὁ λογισμός, καὶ διακρίνομεν, τί ποτέ ἐστι λογισμός καὶ τί πάθος καὶ πόσαι παθῶν ἰδέαι καὶ εἰ πάντων ἐπικρατεῖ τούτων ὁ λογισμός. λογισμός τοίνυν ἐστὶν νοῦς μετὰ ὀρθοῦ λόγου προτιμῶν τὸν σοφίας βίον, σοφία δὲ ἐστὶ γνώσις θείων τε καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων καὶ τῶν τούτων αἰτίων. αὕτη δὴ τοίνυν ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ νόμου παιδεία, δι’ ἧς τὰ θεῖα σεμνῶς καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα συμφερόντως μανθάνομεν. — <sup>a191</sup>EV 1,116,21 exc. 75: τῆς δὲ σοφίας ἰδέαι καθεστᾶσι φρόνησις δικαιοσύνη ἀνδρεία σωφροσύνη· κυριωτάτη δὲ πάντων ἡ φρόνησις, ἐξ ἧς δὴ τῶν παθῶν ὁ λογισμός ἐπικρατεῖ. — <sup>a192</sup>EV 1,116,23 exc. 75: παθῶν δὲ φύσεις εἰσὶν αἱ περιεκτικώταται β’, ἡδονή τε καὶ πόνος· τούτων δ’ ἐκάτερον καὶ περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν πέφυκεν. — <sup>a193</sup>EV 1,116,28 exc. 75: θυμός δὲ κοινὸν πάθος ἐστὶν ἡδονῆς τε καὶ πόνου, ἐὰν ἐννοηθῇ τις ὅτε αὐτῷ περιέπεσεν. — <sup>a194</sup>EV 1,117,5 exc. 75: σωφροσύνη δὴ τοίνυν ἐστὶν ἐπικράτεια τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν, τῶν δὲ ἐπιθυμιῶν αἱ μὲν εἰσι ψυχικαὶ αἱ δὲ σωματικαί, καὶ τούτων ἀμφοτέρων ὁ λογισμός φαίνεται ἐπικρατῶν, ἐπεὶ πόθεν κινούμενοι πρὸς τὰς ἀπειρημένας τροφὰς ἀποστρεφόμεθα τὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἡδονάς; — <sup>a195</sup>EV 1,121,4 exc. 76 — <sup>a196</sup>EV 1,121,27 exc. 76 — <sup>a197</sup>EV 1,123,10 exc. 2 — <sup>a198</sup>EV 1,125,4 exc. 4 — <sup>a199</sup>EV 1,125,4 exc. 4 — <sup>a200</sup>EV 1,128,19 exc. 4 — <sup>a201</sup>EV 1,131,7 exc. 4, θεολόγος in the exc. — <sup>a202</sup>EV 1,132,4 exc. 4 — <sup>a203</sup>EV 1,133,17 exc. 4 —

<sup>b188</sup>Jos. *Contra Apionem* 172 <sup>b189</sup>Jos. *De Maccabaeis* 10–11 <sup>b190</sup>Jos. *De Maccabaeis* 12 <sup>b191</sup>Jos. *De Maccabaeis* 13 <sup>b192</sup>Jos. *De Maccabaeis* 14 <sup>b193</sup>Jos. *De Maccabaeis* 17 <sup>b194</sup>Jos. *De vita sua* 11 <sup>b195</sup>Jos. *De vita sua* 16 <sup>b196</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p. 13,14 <sup>b197</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p. 336,10 <sup>b198</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p. 336,14 <sup>b199</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p. 343,1 <sup>b200</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p. 347,17–18: Γρηγόριος ὁ πάνσοφος καὶ θεολογίας ἐπώνυμος... <sup>b201</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p. 349,9 <sup>b202</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p. 356,4

<sup>c62</sup>Suda s.v. Σαρδανάπαλλος

- 69v Νέρων<sup>a204, b203, c63</sup>  
 Τίτος<sup>a205, b204</sup>
- 70r Δομετιανός<sup>a206, b205, c64</sup>  
 Τραϊανός<sup>a207, b206, c65</sup>  
 Ωριγένης<sup>a208, b207, c66</sup>
- 71v Ἄρειος<sup>a209, b208, c67</sup>
- 72r περὶ Μάνεντος καὶ τοῦ καὶ Σκυθιανός<sup>a210, b209, c68</sup>  
 Βουδδᾶς<sup>a211, b210, c69</sup>
- 72v Κούβρικος<sup>a212, b211</sup>
- 73r Παῦλος<sup>a213, b212, c70</sup>  
 Απολινάριος<sup>a214, b213, c71</sup>  
 Θεόδωρος<sup>a215, b214, c72</sup>
- 73v Νεστόριος<sup>a216, b215, c73</sup>  
 Εὐτυχής<sup>a217, b216, c74</sup>  
 Σευήρος<sup>a218, b217, c75</sup>
- 74r Ἰουλιανός<sup>a219, b218, c76</sup>
- 74v Διοκλητιανὸς ὁ τρισαθλίος<sup>a220, b219, c77</sup>  
 Μαξιμῖνος<sup>a221, b220, c78</sup>
- 75r Ελένη<sup>a222, b221, c79</sup>  
 Κωνσταντῖνος<sup>a223, b222</sup>
- 75v Σπυρίδων<sup>a224, b223</sup>
- 76r ση(μείωσαι) περὶ ἐπισκοπῶν κατηγορηθέντων (different hand)  
τι ἐποίησεν ὁ μέγας βασιλεὺς ὁ ἅγιος Κωνσταντῖνος (different hand)<sup>a225, b224</sup>

<sup>a204</sup>EV 1,136,1 exc. 6 — <sup>a205</sup>EV 1,136,1 exc. 7 — <sup>a206</sup>EV 1,136,20 exc. 8 — <sup>a207</sup>EV 1,136,30 exc. 9 — <sup>a208</sup>EV 1,137,5 exc. 10 — <sup>a209</sup>EV 1,139,12 exc. 10 οὗτος — <sup>a210</sup>EV 1,141,7 exc. 11 — <sup>a211</sup>EV 1,141,16 exc. 11 — <sup>a212</sup>EV 1,141,19 exc. 11 — <sup>a213</sup>EV 1,142,21 exc. 11 — <sup>a214</sup>EV 1,143,4 exc. 11 — <sup>a215</sup>EV 1,143,4 exc. 11 — <sup>a216</sup>EV 1,144,1 exc. 11 — <sup>a217</sup>EV 1,144,13 exc. 11 — <sup>a218</sup>EV 1,144,24 exc. 11 — <sup>a219</sup>EV 1,145,7 exc. 11 — <sup>a220</sup>EV 1,146,14 exc. 13 — <sup>a221</sup>EV 1,146,26 exc. 15: Μαξιμῖνος — <sup>a222</sup>EV 1,147,11 exc. 16: — <sup>a223</sup>EV 1,148,2 exc. 17 — <sup>a224</sup>EV 1,148,18 exc. 18 — <sup>a225</sup>EV 1,149,13– exc. 19 (not much later hand) —

<sup>b203</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p. 381,19 <sup>b204</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p. 437,9 <sup>b205</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p. 443,18 <sup>b206</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p. 450,7 <sup>b207</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p. 452,18 <sup>b208</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p. 456,22–457,1 <sup>b209</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p. 468,5 <sup>b210</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p. 468,14 <sup>b211</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p. 468,18 <sup>b212</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p. 470,10 <sup>b213</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p. 470,21 <sup>b214</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p. 470,21 <sup>b215</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p. 471,25 <sup>b216</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p. 472,12 <sup>b217</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p. 472,24 <sup>b218</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p. 473,7 <sup>b219</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p. 477,9 <sup>b220</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p. 482,5 <sup>b221</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p. 501,15 <sup>b222</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p. 504,11 without this name <sup>b223</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p. 506,7–8 <sup>b224</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p. 508

<sup>c63</sup>Suda s.v. Νέρων <sup>c64</sup>Suda s.v. Δομετιανός <sup>c65</sup>Suda s.v. Τραϊανός <sup>c66</sup>Suda s.v. Ωριγένης <sup>c67</sup>Suda s.v. Ωριγένης <sup>c68</sup>Suda s.v. Μάνης <sup>c69</sup>Suda s.v. Μάνης <sup>c70</sup>Suda s.v. Παῦλος <sup>c71</sup>Suda s.v. Απολινάριος <sup>c72</sup>Suda s.v. Θεόδωρος <sup>c73</sup>Suda s.v. Νεστόριος <sup>c74</sup>Suda s.v. Εὐτυχής <sup>c75</sup>Suda s.v. Σευήρος <sup>c76</sup>Suda s.v. Ἰουλιανός <sup>c77</sup>Suda s.v. Διοκλητιανός <sup>c78</sup>Suda s.v. Μαξιμῖνος <sup>c79</sup>Suda s.v. Ἐλένη

περὶ τοῦ Προδρόμου <sup>a226, b225</sup>	76v
Ἰοβιανός <sup>a227, b226, c80</sup>	77r
Ουαλλής <sup>a228, b227, c81</sup>	
Λούκιος <sup>a229, b228</sup>	
Μαυία <sup>a230, b229</sup>	77v
Ουαλεντινιανός <sup>a231, b230, c82</sup>	
Θεοδόσιον <sup>a232, b231</sup>	
Αρσένιος <sup>a233, b232</sup>	78r
Πουλχερία <sup>a234, b233</sup>	
Θεοδόσιος <sup>a235, b234</sup>	
Πέτρος ὁ Μογγός <sup>a236, b235, c83</sup>	78v
Ηρακλείος ὁ βασιλεὺς <sup>a237, b236, c84</sup>	
Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ Κοπρωνυμὸς <sup>a238, b237, c85</sup>	
Μιχαὴλ Ἀμορραῖος <sup>a239, b238, c86</sup>	79r
Θεοφίλος <sup>a240, b239, c87</sup>	79v

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<sup>a226</sup>EV 1,150,11 exc. 23: Ὅτι ἐν τῇ Σεβαστοπόλει τοῦ προδρόμου τὴν θήκην ἀνοίξαντες πυρί τε παρέδωκαν τὰ λείψανα καὶ τὴν κόνιν διεσχέδασαν. — <sup>a227</sup>EV 1,151,6 exc. 25 — <sup>a228</sup>EV 1,151,12 exc. 18 — <sup>a229</sup>EV 1,151,25 exc. 27 — <sup>a230</sup>EV 1,152,13 exc. 28 — <sup>a231</sup>EV 1,152,13 exc. 29 — <sup>a232</sup>EV 1,152,26 exc. 30 — <sup>a233</sup>EV 1,153,22 exc. 31 — <sup>a234</sup>EV 1,153,31 exc. 32 — <sup>a235</sup>EV 1,154,7 exc. 32: αὐτὸν — <sup>a236</sup>EV 1,154,16 exc. 34 — <sup>a237</sup>EV 1,154,19 exc. 35 — <sup>a238</sup>EV 1,154,22 exc. 36: Κωνσταντῖνος in the body text — <sup>a239</sup>EV 1,155,21 exc. 37: — <sup>a240</sup>EV 1,156,3 exc. 38:

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<sup>b225</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p. 540,6 <sup>b226</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p. 549,20 <sup>b227</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p. 550,19 <sup>b228</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p. 552,9–10 <sup>b229</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p. 555,1 <sup>b230</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p. 557–558 <sup>b231</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p. 565,15 <sup>b232</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p. 573,15 <sup>b233</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p. 610,10 <sup>b234</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p. 611,5 <sup>b235</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p. 623,17–18 <sup>b236</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p. 673,9 <sup>b237</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p. 750,15 <sup>b238</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p. 792,7 <sup>b239</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p. 797,18

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<sup>c80</sup>Suda s.v. Ἰοβιανός <sup>c81</sup>Suda s.v. Οὐαλλής <sup>c82</sup>Suda s.v. Οὐαλεντινιανός <sup>c83</sup>Suda s.v. Πέτρος <sup>c84</sup>Suda s.v. Ἡράκλειος <sup>c85</sup>Suda s.v. Κωνσταντῖνος <sup>c86</sup>Suda s.v. Μιχαὴλ <sup>c87</sup>Suda s.v. Θεόφιλος

### A.5.3. John Malalas

	Nῶε <sup>a241, b240</sup>
81r	Φαιδῶρα <sup>a242, b241</sup>
	Δομετιανός <sup>a243, b242, c88</sup>
81v	Νερβας <sup>a244, b243</sup>
	Δέκιος <sup>a245, b244</sup>
	Μάξιμος <sup>a246, b245</sup>
	Σαλούστιος <sup>a247, b246, c89</sup>
	Βερονίκη <sup>a248, b247</sup>
82r	Δέσποινα <sup>a249, b248</sup>
82v	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">περὶ τοῦ μήλου τοῦ Φρυγιατικοῦ</span> <sup>a250, b249</sup>
	Παυλίνος <sup>a251, b250</sup>
	Χρυσάφιος Κουβικουλάριος <sup>a252, b251</sup>
	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">κομβωτ(ης)</span> <sup>a253, b252</sup>
	Βαγουλας <sup>a254, b253</sup>

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<sup>a241</sup>EV 1,157,2 exc. 1 — <sup>a242</sup>EV 1,159,26 exc. 4 — <sup>a243</sup>EV 1,160,10 exc. 5 — <sup>a244</sup>EV 1,160,18 exc. 6 — <sup>a245</sup>EV 1,160,20 exc. 7 — <sup>a246</sup>EV 1,160,27 exc. 8 — <sup>a247</sup>EV 1,160,30 exc. 9 — <sup>a248</sup>EV 1,161,10 exc. 10 — <sup>a249</sup>EV 1,161,25 exc. 10 — <sup>a250</sup>EV 1,162,14 exc. 12 — <sup>a251</sup>EV 1,162,20 exc. 12 — <sup>a252</sup>EV 1,162,25 exc. 13 — <sup>a253</sup>EV 1,163,4 exc. 13 — <sup>a254</sup>EV 1,163,4 exc. 13 —

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<sup>b240</sup>Malalas, ed. Thurn, p. 6,82 <sup>b241</sup>Malalas 4.18, ed. Thurn, p. 63,95 <sup>b242</sup>Malalas, 10.48, ed. Thurn, p. 199,42 <sup>b243</sup>Malalas, ed. Thurn, p. 203,59–60 <sup>b244</sup>Malalas, ed. Thurn, p. 227 in app. <sup>b245</sup>Malalas, ed. Thurn, p. 241 <sup>b246</sup>Malalas, ed. Thurn, p. 260 <sup>b247</sup>Malalas, 13.31, ed. Thurn, p. 262,77 <sup>b248</sup>Malalas, ed. Thurn, p. 263,95 <sup>b249</sup>Malalas, ed. Thurn, p. 276,16 <sup>b250</sup>Malalas, ed. Thurn, p. 276,16 <sup>b251</sup>Malalas, 13.19, ed. Thurn, p. 283 <sup>b252</sup>Malalas, ed. Thurn, p. 283 <sup>b253</sup>Malalas, ed. Thurn, p. 323

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<sup>c88</sup>Suda s.v. Ἰουβενάλιος <sup>c89</sup>Suda s.v. Σαλούστιος

## A.5.4. John of Antioch

Ηρα<κλῆς> <sup>a255, b254, c90</sup>	83r
Σερούχ <sup>a256, b255, c91</sup>	
Αβρααμ <sup>a257, b256, c92</sup>	
Σαμψών <sup>a258, b257, c93</sup>	83v
Σαούλ <sup>a259, b258, c94</sup>	
Δαβίδ <sup>a260, b259, c95</sup>	
Δαβίδ <sup>a261, b260, c96</sup>	
Βελλεροφοντης <sup>a262, b261, c97</sup>	
Ἀλέξανδρος <sup>a263, b262</sup>	
Βελλεροφοντης <sup>a264, b263, c98</sup>	
ⲕⲟⲕⲓⲁ <sup>a265, b264, c99</sup>	84v
Ταρκύνιος Σούπερβος <sup>a266, b265, c100</sup>	85r
Ἀλέξανδρος <sup>a267, b266, c101</sup>	
Λούκιος <sup>a268, b267, c102</sup>	
Κύντιος Κικιννάτος <sup>a269, b268, c103</sup>	

<sup>a255</sup>EV 1,164,3 exc. 1 (trimmed off) — <sup>a256</sup>EV 1,164,14 exc. 2 — <sup>a257</sup>EV 1,164,18 exc. 2 — <sup>a258</sup>EV 1,165,14 exc. 3 — <sup>a259</sup>EV 1,165,23 exc. 4 — <sup>a260</sup>EV 1,165,26 exc. 5 — <sup>a261</sup>EV 1,165,26 exc. 5 — <sup>a262</sup>EV 1,166,16–17 exc. 7 — <sup>a263</sup>EV 1,166,26 exc. 8 — <sup>a264</sup>EV 1,166,16–17 exc. 7 — <sup>a265</sup>EV 1,168,5–13 exc. 9 “Οτι Μανασσῆς ὁ τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ βασιλεὺς ἐξέκλινεν ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἀγάλατα τὸν νοῦν ἐπλανήθη, τὰ τῶν καλουμένων Ἑλλήνων ἀποδεχόμενος δόγματα· διεπολέμει δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ, τὸν τε Ἡσαΐαν ξυλίνῳ πρίονι διελὼν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους προφήτας φυγάδας καταστήσας τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ. διὸ παρεδόθη εἰς χεῖρας τῶν ἐναντίων αὐτοῦ. καὶ βασανισθεὶς ἐν πέδαις σιδηραῖς ἐπέγνωσε τὸν θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ προσελθὼν οὐ παρώφη. βασιλεύσας δὲ ἔτη ε’ καὶ ν’ μετήλλαξε τὸν βίον. — <sup>a266</sup>EV 1,168,14 exc. 10 — <sup>a267</sup>EV 1,168,24 exc. 11 — <sup>a268</sup>EV 1,169,6 exc. 12 — <sup>a269</sup>EV 1,169,11 exc. 13 —

<sup>b254</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 6.2, ed. Roberto, p. 16 <sup>b255</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 17, ed. Roberto, p. 42 <sup>b256</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 17, ed. Roberto, p. 42 <sup>b257</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 29, ed. Roberto, p. 68 <sup>b258</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 31, ed. Roberto, p. 70 <sup>b259</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 33, ed. Roberto, p. 72 <sup>b260</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 33, ed. Roberto, p. 72 <sup>b261</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 38, ed. Roberto, p. 76 <sup>b262</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 40, ed. Roberto, p. 80 <sup>b263</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 38, ed. Roberto, p. 76 <sup>b264</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 50, ed. Roberto, p. 114 <sup>b265</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 67,2, ed. Roberto, p. 134 <sup>b266</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 76, ed. Roberto, p. 142 <sup>b267</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 78, ed. Roberto, p. 148 <sup>b268</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 85, ed. Roberto, p. 156

<sup>c90</sup>Suda H 475 s.v. Ἡρακλῆς <sup>c91</sup>Suda Σ 253 s.v. Σερούχ <sup>c92</sup>om. Suda Σ 253 s.v. Σερούχ <sup>c93</sup>Suda Σ 87 s.v. Σαμψών <sup>c94</sup>Suda Σ 96 s.v. Σαούλ <sup>c95</sup>Suda Δ 95 s.v. Δαβίδ <sup>c96</sup>Suda Δ 95 s.v. Δαβίδ <sup>c97</sup>Suda Σ 515 s.v. Σθενέβοια <sup>c98</sup>Suda Σ 515 s.v. Σθενέβοια <sup>c99</sup>Suda Σ 515 s.v. Σθενέβοια <sup>c100</sup>Suda T 125 s.v. Ταρκύνιος Σούπερβος Σ 798 s.v. Σούπερβος <sup>c101</sup>Suda A 1121 s.v. Ἀλέξανδρος <sup>c102</sup>Suda M 751 s.v. Μέταιτος <sup>c103</sup>Suda K 2732 s.v. Κύντιος Κικιννάτος δικτάτωρ

85v	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">ἄρετη</span> <sup>a270, b269, c104</sup> Αιμίλιος <sup>a271, b270, c105</sup>
86r	Σύλλας <sup>a272, b271</sup> Σούλπιχιος <sup>a273, b272</sup>
87r	Σέργιος <sup>a274, b273, c106</sup>
87v	Φολουΐα <sup>a275, b274, c107</sup>
88r	Τιβέριος <sup>a276, b275, c108</sup>
89r	Γάϊος <sup>a277, b276, c109</sup>
89v	Κλαύδιος <sup>a278, b277, c110</sup>
90r	Νέρων <sup>a279, b278, c111</sup> Χριστός <sup>a280, b279, c112</sup>
91r	Κατελλα <sup>a281, b280</sup>
91v	᾽Οθων (!) <sup>a282, b281, c113</sup> Βιτέλλιος <sup>a283, b282, c114</sup>
92r	Βεσπασιανός <sup>a284, b283, c115</sup> Τίτος <sup>a285, b284, c116</sup> Δομετιανός <sup>a286, b285, c117</sup>
92v	Τραϊανός <sup>a287, b286, c118</sup> Ἀδριανός <sup>a288, b287, c119</sup>

<sup>a270</sup>EV 1,170,5–14 exc. 14 Ὅτι Μάρκελλος καὶ Σκιπίων οἱ ὕπατοι μετὰ τὴν νίκην τὴν κατὰ Γαλατῶν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν καὶ Οὐολσινίους δόλῳ κρατηθέντας τε καὶ αἰκίζομένους πικρῶς ἠλευθέρωσαν. οἱ γὰρ ταύτην οἰκοῦντες τὴν χώραν ἐν πολλῇ τρυφῇ τοῦ σώματος διατρώμενοι αὐτοὶ τε τῶν ὅπλων καταφρονήσαντες τοῖς οἰκέταις ταῦτα χειρίζειν ἐπέτρεψαν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ δυνάμειος ἐπελάβοντο, πρῶτα μὲν τὰς ἑαυτῶν δεσποῖνας πρὸς βίαν κατήσχυναν· ἔπειτα τοῖς δεσπότης χεῖρας ἐπιβαλόντες τοὺς μὲν ὡς ἔτυχεν διαφθεύροντες, τοὺς δὲ τιμωρίας αἰσχίσταις ὑποβαλόντες κατηνάλωσαν. — <sup>a271</sup>EV 1,170,19 exc. 16 — <sup>a272</sup>EV 1,171,18 exc. 17 — <sup>a273</sup>EV 1,171,23 exc. 17 — <sup>a274</sup>EV 1,173,27 exc. 19 — <sup>a275</sup>EV 1,174,23 exc. 20 — <sup>a276</sup>EV 1,176,10 exc. 22 — <sup>a277</sup>EV 1,178,6 exc. 23 — <sup>a278</sup>EV 1,179,15 exc. 24 — <sup>a279</sup>EV 1,181,14 exc. 26 — <sup>a280</sup>EV 1,181,14 exc. 26 — <sup>a281</sup>EV 1,183,3 exc. 26 — <sup>a282</sup>EV 1,184,22 exc. 28 — <sup>a283</sup>EV 1,184,27 exc. 29 — <sup>a284</sup>EV 1,185,27 exc. 30 — <sup>a285</sup>EV 1,186,1 exc. 31 — <sup>a286</sup>EV 1,186,13 exc. 33 — <sup>a287</sup>EV 1,187,1 exc. 34 — <sup>a288</sup>EV 1,187,9 exc. 35 —

<sup>b269</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 115, ed. Roberto, p. 188 <sup>b270</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 133.2, ed. Roberto, p. 204 <sup>b271</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 145.2, ed. Roberto, p. 224 <sup>b272</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 145.2, ed. Roberto, p. 228 <sup>b273</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 149, ed. Roberto, p. 252 <sup>b274</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 152, ed. Roberto, p. 268 <sup>b275</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 159, ed. Roberto, p. 278 <sup>b276</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 162, ed. Roberto, p. 284 <sup>b277</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 165, ed. Roberto, p. 290 <sup>b278</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 172, ed. Roberto, p. 298 <sup>b279</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 172, ed. Roberto, p. 298 <sup>b280</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 172, ed. Roberto, p. 300 <sup>b281</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 176, ed. Roberto, p. 310 <sup>b282</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 179, ed. Roberto, p. 314 <sup>b283</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 182, ed. Roberto, p. 318 <sup>b284</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 186, ed. Roberto, p. 320 <sup>b285</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 189, ed. Roberto, p. 324 <sup>b286</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 193, ed. Roberto, p. 330 <sup>b287</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 195, ed. Roberto, p. 332

<sup>c104</sup>Suda M 751 s.v. Μέταιτος <sup>c105</sup>Suda Αι 200 s.v. Αιμίλιος <sup>c106</sup>Suda Λ 686 s.v. Λούκιος Σέργιος Κατιλῖνος <sup>c107</sup>Suda Φ 567 s.v. Φολουΐα <sup>c108</sup>Suda Τ 552 s.v. Τιβέριος <sup>c109</sup>Suda Γ 12 s.v. Γάϊος <sup>c110</sup>Suda Κ 1708 s.v. Κλαύδιος, Φ 142 s.v. Φάυλος <sup>c111</sup>Suda Ν 254 s.v. Νέρων <sup>c112</sup>Suda Ν 254 s.v. Νέρων, also Κ 122 <sup>c113</sup>Suda Ο 82 s.v. ᾽Οθων <sup>c114</sup>Suda Ο 82 s.v. Βιτέλλιος, Η 500 s.v. Ἡρεῖτο, Α 3089 s.v. Ἀπετρώετο <sup>c115</sup>Suda Β 246 s.v. Βεσπασιανός <sup>c116</sup>Suda Τ 691 s.v. Τίτος <sup>c117</sup>Suda Δ 1351 s.v. Δομετιανός <sup>c118</sup>Suda Τ 902 s.v. Τραϊανός <sup>c119</sup>Suda Α 527 s.v. Ἀδριανός



Ἀντωνίνος (!) <sup>a289, b288, c120</sup>	
Μάρκος <sup>a290, b289, c121</sup>	93r
Κομοδος <sup>a291, b290, c122</sup>	93v
Ίουλιανός <sup>a292, b291, c123</sup>	
Σεβῆρος <sup>a293, b292, c124</sup>	94r
Ἀντωνίνος <sup>a294, b293, c125</sup>	
Ἀδυνέντιος Μακρινός <sup>a295, b294</sup>	94v
Ἀλέξανδρος <sup>a296, b295, c126</sup>	95r
Ἀλέξανδρος <sup>a297, b296, c127</sup>	95v
Μαξιμῖνος <sup>a298, b297, c128</sup>	
Δέκιος <sup>a299, b298, c129</sup>	96r
Αυρηλιανός <sup>a300, b299, c130</sup>	
Καρίνος <sup>a301, b300, c131</sup>	96v
Διοκλητιανός <sup>a302, b301, c132</sup>	
<div>περὶ τῶν καὶ τροποῦ Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ τῶν καيسάρων<sup>a303, b302, c133</sup></div>	
Ερκουλιος <sup>a304, b303, c134</sup>	
Κωνστάντιος <sup>a305, b304, c135</sup>	

<sup>a289</sup>EV 1,187,13 exc. 36 — <sup>a290</sup>EV 1,188,11 exc. 37 — <sup>a291</sup>EV 1,189,3 exc. 38 — <sup>a292</sup>EV 1,189,22 exc. 39 — <sup>a293</sup>EV 1,190,1 exc. 40 — <sup>a294</sup>EV 1,190,11 exc. 42 — <sup>a295</sup>EV 1,191,25 exc. 42 — <sup>a296</sup>EV 1,192,28 exc. 44 — <sup>a297</sup>EV 1,193,16 exc. 45 — <sup>a298</sup>EV 1,194,1 exc. 46 — <sup>a299</sup>EV 1,195,9 exc. 49 — <sup>a300</sup>EV 1,195,12 exc. 50 — <sup>a301</sup>EV 1,195,22 exc. 51 — <sup>a302</sup>EV 1,196,3 exc. 52 — <sup>a303</sup>EV 1,196,11–16 exc. 52: Διοκλητιανὸς μὲν ποικίλος τις καὶ πανοῦργος ἦν, τῷ δὲ λίαν συνετῷ καὶ ὀξεῖ τῆς γνώμης ἐπεκάλυπτε πολλάκις τὰ τῆς οἰκείας φύσεως ἐλαττώματα, πᾶσαν σκληρὰν πρᾶξιν ἐτέροις ἀνατιθεῖς. ἐπιμελὴς δὲ ὅμως καὶ ταχὺς ἐν ταῖς τῶν πρακτέων ἐπιβολαῖς καὶ πολλὰ τῶν τῆς βασιλικῆς θεραπείας ἐπὶ τὸ αὐθαδέστερον παρὰ τὰ καθεστηκότα Ῥωμαῖοις πάτρια μετεσκεύασεν. — <sup>a304</sup>EV 1,196,17 exc. 53 — <sup>a305</sup>EV 1,196,22 exc. 54 —

<sup>b288</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 198, ed. Roberto, p. 334 <sup>b289</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 199, ed. Roberto, p. 336 <sup>b290</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 203, ed. Roberto, p. 342 <sup>b291</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 206, ed. Roberto, p. 354 <sup>b292</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 206, ed. Roberto, p. 356 <sup>b293</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 214, ed. Roberto, p. 372 <sup>b294</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 214, ed. Roberto, p. 374 <sup>b295</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 218, ed. Roberto, p. 384 <sup>b296</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 219, ed. Roberto, p. 386 <sup>b297</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 221, ed. Roberto, p. 392 <sup>b298</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 227, ed. Roberto, p. 408 <sup>b299</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 235, ed. Roberto, p. 416 <sup>b300</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 246, ed. Roberto, p. 408 <sup>b301</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 248, ed. Roberto, p. 428 <sup>b302</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 248, ed. Roberto, p. 428 <sup>b303</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 249, ed. Roberto, p. 430 <sup>b304</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 252, ed. Roberto, p. 432

<sup>c120</sup>Suda A 527 s.v. Ἀντωνῖνος <sup>c121</sup>Suda M 215 s.v. Μάρκος, Υ 592 <sup>c122</sup>Suda K 2007 s.v. Κόμοδος <sup>c123</sup>Suda I 438 s.v. Ίουλιανός <sup>c124</sup>Suda Σ 182 s.v. Σεβῆρος <sup>c125</sup>Suda A 2762 s.v. Ἀντωνῖνος <sup>c126</sup>Suda A 1124 s.v. Ἀλέξανδρος, M 123 <sup>c127</sup>Suda A 1124 s.v. Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μαμαίας <sup>c128</sup>Suda M 172 s.v. Μαξιμῖνος <sup>c129</sup>Suda Δ 193 s.v. Δέκιος <sup>c130</sup>Suda A 4458 s.v. Αὐρηλιανός, E 281 s.v. Ἐζημίωσεν <sup>c131</sup>Suda K 391 s.v. Καρίνος, Π 424 s.v. Παρανάλωμα <sup>c132</sup>Suda Δ 1156 s.v. Διοκλητιανός <sup>c133</sup>Suda Δ 1156 s.v. Διοκλητιανός <sup>c134</sup>Suda E 3018 s.v. Ἐρκουλίος <sup>c135</sup>Suda K 2541 s.v. Κοῖλον, Π 815 s.v. Παῦπερ

97r	Κωνσταντίνος <sup>a306, b305, c136</sup>
97v	Κωνστας <sup>a307, b306</sup> Κωνστας <sup>a308, b307</sup> Κωνστάντιος <sup>a309, b308</sup> Βετρανίων <sup>a310, b309, c137</sup>
98r	περὶ Ἰουλιανου <sup>a311, b310</sup>
98v	Ἰοβιανός <sup>a312, b311, c138</sup>
99r	Ἰοβιανός <sup>a313, b312, c139</sup> Ουαλεντιανός <sup>a314, b313, c140</sup> Ουάλες <sup>a315, b314, c141</sup> Γρατιανός <sup>a316, b315, c142</sup>
99v	Ρουφίνος, Στελίχων <sup>a317, b316</sup> Εὐτρόπιος <sup>a318, b317, c143</sup> Θεοδόσιος <sup>a319, b318, c144</sup>
100r	Θεοδόσιος <sup>a320, b319, c145</sup>
100v	Αναστασιος <sup>a321, b320, c146</sup> Φωχάς <sup>a322, b321</sup>

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<sup>a306</sup>EV 1,197,17 exc. 55 (not in the text) — <sup>a307</sup>EV 1,198,16 exc. 56 — <sup>a308</sup>EV 1,198,22 exc. 57 (not in the body text) — <sup>a309</sup>EV 1,198,26 exc. 57 (not in the body text) — <sup>a310</sup>EV 1,198,29 exc. 58 — <sup>a311</sup>EV 1,199,14 exc. 61 — <sup>a312</sup>EV 1,200,22 exc. 63 — <sup>a313</sup>EV 1,201,27 exc. 64 — <sup>a314</sup>EV 1,201,29 exc. 65 — <sup>a315</sup>EV 1,202,4 exc. 65 — <sup>a316</sup>EV 1,202,11 exc. 66 — <sup>a317</sup>EV 1,202,19–20 exc. 67 — <sup>a318</sup>EV 1,203,3 exc. 68 — <sup>a319</sup>EV 1,203,18 exc. 69 — <sup>a320</sup>EV 1,204,20 exc. 72 — <sup>a321</sup>EV 1,205,5 exc. 73 — <sup>a322</sup>EV 1,206,4 exc. 75 —

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<sup>b305</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 254, ed. Roberto, p. 438 <sup>b306</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 257, ed. Roberto, p. 440 <sup>b307</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 258, ed. Roberto, p. 442 <sup>b308</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 258, ed. Roberto, p. 442 <sup>b309</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 259, ed. Roberto, p. 442 <sup>b310</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 271, ed. Roberto, p. 454 <sup>b311</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 273, ed. Roberto, p. 456 <sup>b312</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 273.2, ed. Roberto, p. 460 <sup>b313</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 274, ed. Roberto, p. 462 <sup>b314</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 274, ed. Roberto, p. 462 <sup>b315</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 278, ed. Roberto, p. 466 <sup>b316</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 281, ed. Roberto, p. 474 <sup>b317</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 283, ed. Roberto, p. 476 <sup>b318</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 285, ed. Roberto, p. 482 <sup>b319</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 288, ed. Roberto, p. 484 <sup>b320</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 312, ed. Roberto, p. 542 <sup>b321</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 320, ed. Roberto, p. 550

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<sup>c136</sup>Suda Π 278 s.v. Παραβαλλόμενος, Α 3654 s.v. Ἀποχρησάμενος <sup>c137</sup>Suda Γ 422 s.v. Γραμματιστής <sup>c138</sup>Suda Ι 401 s.v. Ἰοβιανός <sup>c139</sup>Suda Ι 401 s.v. Ἰοβιανός <sup>c140</sup>Suda Ο 762 s.v. Οὐαλεντιανός <sup>c141</sup>Suda Ο 762 s.v. Οὐαλεντιανός <sup>c142</sup>Suda Γ 427 s.v. Γρατιανός <sup>c143</sup>Suda Ε 3777 s.v. Εὐτρόπιος, Υ 169 s.v. Ὑπατος <sup>c144</sup> <sup>c145</sup>Suda Θ 145 s.v. Θεοδόσιος <sup>c146</sup>Suda Α 2077 s.v. Ἀναστάσιος

### A.5.5. Diodorus of Sicily

ἀρ<ετη> <sup>a323, b322</sup>	101r
χαχίω <sup>a324, b323, c147</sup>	101v
ἀρετη <sup>a325, b324</sup>	
ἀρετή <sup>a326, b325</sup>	102r
Μήδεια <sup>a327, b326</sup>	
ἀρετή <sup>a328, b327</sup>	
Μινως <sup>a329, b328</sup>	102v
Ραδαμανθυς <sup>a330, b329</sup>	
Ραδαμανθυς <sup>a331, b330</sup>	
αρετ(αι) <sup>a332, b331</sup>	
Καστωρ, Πολυδευχης <sup>a333, b332</sup>	
Επωπευς <sup>a334, b333</sup>	
Σαλμωνεύς <sup>a335, b334</sup>	

<sup>a323</sup>EV 1,207,7 exc. 5 (trimmed off): Ὅτι τὸν Μέμνονα τὸν Ἀσσυρίων στρατηγὸν τὸν πεμφθέντα εἰς τὴν Τροίαν φασὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀκμάζοντα διαφέρειν ἀνδρεία τε καὶ ψυχῆς λαμπρότητι. — <sup>a324</sup>EV 1,207,28 exc. 6: ταῦτ' ἔχω ὅσσ' ἔφαγόν τε καὶ ἔπιον καὶ μετ' ἐρώτων. καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. — <sup>a325</sup>EV 1,208,10 exc. 7: αἱ δὲ χολωσάμεναι πηρὸν θέσαν, αὐτὰρ αἰοιδὴν|θεσπεσίην ἀφέλονται καὶ ἐκλέλανθον κιθαριστύν. — <sup>a326</sup>EV 1,208,25 exc. 10: Ὅτι οἱ Φινεΐδαι δεσμοῖς καὶ μάστιγι παρὰ τῆς μητρυᾶς καθυποβληθέντες, καὶ τοῦ Φινέως τελευτήσαντος καὶ βουλομένων αὐτῶν μετ' αἰκίας τὴν μητρυὰν ἀποκτείνειν, πείσαι τῆς μὲν τιμωρίας ἀποστῆναι, πρὸς δὲ τὸν πατέρα πέμψαντας εἰς τὴν Σκυθίαν ἐκεῖνον παρακαλέσαι τῶν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀνομημάτων λαβεῖν κόλασιν. οὗ γεννηθέντος τὸν μὲν Σκύθην τῆς θυγατρὸς καταγνῶναι θάνατον, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας υἱοὺς ἀπενέγκασθαι παρὰ τοῖς Θραξὶ δόξαν ἐπιεικείας. — <sup>a327</sup>EV 1,209,3 exc. 11: — <sup>a328</sup>EV 1,209,14 exc. 12: Ὅτι Αἰόλον τὸν Ἰππότου, πρὸς δὲ μυθολογοῦσι τὸν Ὀδυσσεά κατὰ πλάνην ἀφικέσθαι, φασὶ γενέσθαι εὐσεβῆ καὶ δίκαιον, ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ξένους φιλάνθρωπον. καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ ὑπήκουον οἱ Σικελιῶται διὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς διαβεβοημένην εὐσέβειαν καὶ διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐπιείκειαν. πάντες δὲ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ μμησάμενοι τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς εὐσέβειαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην μεγάλης τιμῆς παρὰ πάντων ἐτύγχανον. — <sup>a329</sup>EV 1,209,28 exc. 15 — <sup>a330</sup>EV 1,209,30 exc. 16 — <sup>a331</sup>EV 1,209,30 exc. 16 — <sup>a332</sup>EV 1,210,10 exc. 18 Ὅτι παραδέδονται Κάστωρ καὶ Πολυδεύκης, οἱ καὶ Διόσκουροι, πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῇ διενεγκεῖν καὶ συστρατεῦσαι τοῖς Ἀργοναύταις ἐπιφανέστατα· πολλοῖς δὲ δεομένοις ἐπικουρίας βεβοηθηκέναι. καθόλου δὲ ἐπ' ἀνδρεία καὶ δικαιοσύνη, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις στρατηγία καὶ εὐσεβεία παρὰ πᾶσι σχεδὸν ἀνθρώποις ἔσχον δόξαν, ἐπιφανεῖς βοηθοὶ τοῖς παρὰ λόγον κινδυνεύουσι γινόμενοι. διὰ δὲ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς Διὸς υἱοὺς νενομίσθαι καὶ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων μεταστάντας τιμῶν τυχεῖν ἀθανάτων. — <sup>a333</sup>EV 1,210,10 exc. 18 — <sup>a334</sup>EV 1,210,19 exc. 19 — <sup>a335</sup>EV 1,210,25 exc. 21 —

<sup>b322</sup> Diod. Sic. 2. 22. 3	<sup>b323</sup> Diod. Sic. 2. 23. 3	<sup>b324</sup> Diod. Sic. 3. 67. 3	<sup>b325</sup> Diod. Sic. 4. 44. 3
<sup>b326</sup> Diod. Sic. 4. 46. 1	<sup>b327</sup> Diod. Sic. 5. 7. 7	<sup>b328</sup> Diod. Sic. 5. 76. 4	<sup>b329</sup> Diod. Sic. 5. 79. 1
<sup>b330</sup> Diod. Sic. 5. 79. 1	<sup>b331</sup> Diod. Sic. 6. 6. 1	<sup>b332</sup> Diod. Sic. 6. 6. 1	<sup>b333</sup> Diod. Sic. 6. 6. 2
<sup>b334</sup> Diod. Sic. 6. 6. 4			

<sup>c147</sup>Suda s.v. Σαρδανάπαλος

- 103r Ἀδμητος<sup>a336, b335</sup>  
 Μελάμπους<sup>a337, b336</sup>  
κακία<sup>a338, b337</sup>  
 Μάλακος<sup>a339, b338</sup>
- 103v Ρωμουλος καὶ Ρεμος<sup>a340, b339</sup>
- 206r κακία Εὐαιφνου<sup>a341, b340</sup>  
κακία Αρχιου<sup>a342, b341</sup>
- 206v Αγαθοκλῆς<sup>a343, b342</sup>  
 Πομπήλ<ι>ος (!)<sup>a344, b343</sup>
- 207r Συβαρῖται<sup>a345, b344</sup>  
 Ἴππομένης<sup>a346, b345</sup>  
κακία<sup>a347, b346</sup>
- 207v αρετη<sup>a348, b347</sup>  
 Λευκιος<sup>a349, b348</sup>  
 Σόλων<sup>a350, b349</sup>  
 Αρμόδιος, Αριστογεῖτο(ν) (!)<sup>a351, b350</sup>

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<sup>a336</sup>EV 1,211,3 exc. 23 — <sup>a337</sup>EV 1,211,9 exc. 24 — <sup>a338</sup>EV 1,211,26 exc. 26 Ὅτι Ῥωμύλος Σιλούιος παρ' ὅλον τὸν βίον ὑπερήφανος γενόμενος ἡμιλλᾶτο πρὸς τὸν θεόν. βροντῶντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ κελεύειν τοὺς στρατιώτας ταῖς σπάθαις τύπτειν τὰς ἀσπίδας ὑφ' ἐνὸς συνθήματος καὶ λέγειν, ὡς ὁ παρ' ἑαυτῶν γινόμενος ψόφος εἴη μείζων. διὸ κεραυνωθῆναι. — <sup>a339</sup>EV 1,212,4 exc. 27 — <sup>a340</sup>EV 1,213,5 exc. 31, not in the text (ed. im app.) — <sup>a341</sup>EV 1,213,17 exc. 32 — <sup>a342</sup>EV 1,214,13 exc. 33 — <sup>a343</sup>EV 1,215,3 exc. 34 — <sup>a344</sup>EV 1,215,3 exc. 34 — <sup>a345</sup>EV 1,215,20 exc. 37 — <sup>a346</sup>EV 1,216,9 exc. 39 — <sup>a347</sup>EV 1,216,17 exc. 40: ἔχρησεν δὲ ὅτι θεός ἐστιν μῆνις· τοὺς γὰρ ὕστερον βασιλεῖς οὐχ ὁμοίως ἄρχειν τῷ πρώτῳ Βάττῳ. — <sup>a348</sup>EV 1,216,23 exc. 41: Ὅτι τῆς τῶν Κυρηναίων στάσεως διαιτητὴς ἐγένετο Δημῶναξ Μαντινεύς, συνέσει καὶ δικαιοσύνη δοκῶν διαφέρειν οὗτος οὖν πλεύσας εἰς Κυρήνην καὶ παρὰ πάντων λαβὼν τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν διέλυσε τὰς πόλεις ἐπὶ τούτοις. — <sup>a349</sup>EV 1,216,27 exc. 42: — <sup>a350</sup>EV 1,217,5 exc. 43: — <sup>a351</sup>EV 1,217,5 exc. 45 —

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<sup>b335</sup>Diod. Sic. 6.8.1   <sup>b336</sup>Diod. Sic. 6.8.2   <sup>b337</sup>Diod. Sic. 7.7.1   <sup>b338</sup>Diod. Sic. 7.10.1  
<sup>b339</sup>Diod. Sic. 8.4.1   <sup>b340</sup>Diod. Sic. 8.7.1   <sup>b341</sup>Diod. Sic. 8.10.1   <sup>b342</sup>Diod. Sic. 8.11.1  
<sup>b343</sup>Diod. Sic. 8.11.1   <sup>b344</sup>Diod. Sic. 8.18.1   <sup>b345</sup>Diod. Sic. 8.22   <sup>b346</sup>Diod. Sic. 8.30.1  
<sup>b347</sup>Diod. Sic. 8.30.2   <sup>b348</sup>Diod. Sic. 8.31   <sup>b349</sup>Diod. Sic. 9.1.1   <sup>b350</sup>Diod. Sic. 9.1.4

Χίλων <sup>a352, b351</sup>	208r
ἀρετῇ <sup>a353, b352</sup>	
Βίας <sup>a354, b353</sup>	
κακίᾳ <sup>a355, b354</sup>	208v
Κύρος <sup>a356, b355</sup>	
Ευρύβατος <sup>a357, b356</sup>	209r
Πυθαγορας <sup>a358, b357</sup>	
Πυθαγορας <sup>a359, b358</sup>	
Κλινίας (!) Πρώρος <sup>a360, b359</sup>	209v
Φιντίας <sup>a361, b360</sup>	
Δάμων <sup>a362, b361</sup>	
Κύλων <sup>a363, b362</sup>	210v
ἐνασμ(ατα) (!) <sup>a364, b363</sup>	
Πολυκρατης <sup>a365, b364</sup>	211r
Θετταλος <sup>a366, b365</sup>	
περὶ Αριστογειτονος καὶ Αρμοδιου <sup>a367, b366</sup>	
περὶ Ζηνωνος τοῦ φιλοσώφου <sup>a368, b367</sup>	211v
Λουκρ(ητια) <sup>a369, b368</sup>	
Θήρων <sup>a370, b369</sup>	
Λεωνιδας <sup>a371, b370</sup>	212v
Θεμιστοκλῆς <sup>a372, b371</sup>	
Γέλων <sup>a373, b372</sup>	
Παυσανιας <sup>a374, b373</sup>	213r
Θρασυδᾶος <sup>a375, b374</sup>	

<sup>a352</sup>EV 1,218,1 exc. 47 — <sup>a353</sup>EV 1,218,15 exc. 49: Ὅτι Πιπτακὸς βαθυὺς ἦν καὶ ἡμερος καὶ τὴν παραίτησιν ἔχων αὐτὸς ἐν αὐτῷ. διὸ δὴ πᾶσιν ἐδόκει τέλειος ἀνὴρ εἶναι πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ὁμολογουμένως. κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν νομοθεσίαν ἐφαίνετο πολιτικὸς καὶ φρόνιμος, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πίστιν δίκαιος, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὑπεροχὴν ἀνδρείος, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς τὸ κέρδος μεγαλοψυχίαν ἀφιλάργυρος. — <sup>a354</sup>EV 1,218,22 exc. 50 — <sup>a355</sup>EV 1,219,12 exc. 54 — <sup>a356</sup>EV 1,219,23 exc. 55 — <sup>a357</sup>EV 1,220,10 exc. 57 — <sup>a358</sup>EV 1,220,27 exc. 60 — <sup>a359</sup>EV 1,220,27 exc. 60 — <sup>a360</sup>EV 1,221,21 exc. 63 — <sup>a361</sup>EV 1,222,1 exc. 63 — <sup>a362</sup>EV 1,222,1 exc. 63 — <sup>a363</sup>EV 1,223,23 exc. 70 — <sup>a364</sup>EV 1,224,3 exc. 71 (ed. in app.) — <sup>a365</sup>EV 1,225,11 exc. 76 — <sup>a366</sup>EV 1,225,14 exc. 77 — <sup>a367</sup>EV 1,225,20 exc. 77 (ed. in app.; gap in the text) — <sup>a368</sup>EV 1,225,27 exc. 78 (ed. in app.) — <sup>a369</sup>EV 1,226,24 exc. 79 — <sup>a370</sup>EV 1,227,24 exc. 81 — <sup>a371</sup>EV 1,228,6 exc. 84 — <sup>a372</sup>EV 1,228,18 exc. 85 — <sup>a373</sup>EV 1,228,22 exc. 86 — <sup>a374</sup>EV 1,229,4 exc. 88 — <sup>a375</sup>EV 1,229,27 exc. 89 —

<sup>b351</sup>Diod. Sic. 9.9 <sup>b352</sup>Diod. Sic. 9.11.2 <sup>b353</sup>Diod. Sic. 9.13.2 <sup>b354</sup>Diod. Sic. 9.23 <sup>b355</sup>Diod. Sic. 9.24 <sup>b356</sup>Diod. Sic. 9.32 <sup>b357</sup>Diod. Sic. 10.3.1 <sup>b358</sup>Diod. Sic. 10.3.1 <sup>b359</sup>Diod. Sic. 10.4.1 <sup>b360</sup>Diod. Sic. 10.4.3 <sup>b361</sup>Diod. Sic. 10.4.3 <sup>b362</sup>Diod. Sic. 10.11.2 <sup>b363</sup>Diod. Sic. 10.11.2: ἐναύσματα <sup>b364</sup>Diod. Sic. 10.16.4 <sup>b365</sup>Diod. Sic. 10.17.1 <sup>b366</sup>Diod. Sic. 10.17.1 — 18.1 <sup>b367</sup>Diod. Sic. 10.18.2 <sup>b368</sup>Diod. Sic. 10.20.1 <sup>b369</sup>Diod. Sic. 10.28.3 <sup>b370</sup>Diod. Sic. 11.11.1 <sup>b371</sup>Diod. Sic. 11.12.4 <sup>b372</sup>Diod. Sic. 11.25.5 <sup>b373</sup>Diod. Sic. 11.44.1 <sup>b374</sup>Diod. Sic. 11.53.2

213v	ἄρετῇ, Γέλων <sup>a376, b375</sup>
214r	Ἰερων <sup>a377, b376</sup> Θρασύβουλος <sup>a378, b377</sup> Ἄθ(ηναῖοι) <sup>a379, b378</sup> ἄρετῇ <sup>a380, b379</sup> κακίᾳ <sup>a381, b380</sup>
214v	ἄρετῇ <sup>a382, b381</sup> Διοκλῆς <sup>a383, b382</sup> Αλκιβιάδης <sup>a384, b383</sup> ἄρε(τῇ) <sup>a385, b384</sup>
215r	ἄρετῇ <sup>a386, b385</sup> Ἀλκιβιαδης <sup>a387, b386</sup> Αλκιβιαδης <sup>a388, b387</sup> κακίᾳ <sup>a389, b388</sup>
215v	Γύλιπος <sup>a390, b389</sup> Κλεαρχος <sup>a391, b390</sup> κακίᾳ <sup>a392, b391</sup>
216v	Καμπανοί <sup>a393, b392</sup> κακίᾳ <sup>a394, b393</sup> Κλέαρχος <sup>a395, b394</sup> Κύρος <sup>a396, b395</sup> Φαρνάβαζος <sup>a397, b396</sup> Γαος <sup>a398, b397</sup>

<sup>a376</sup>EV 1,230,23 exc. 92 — <sup>a377</sup>EV 1,230,28 exc. 93 — <sup>a378</sup>EV 1,230,31 exc. 94 — <sup>a379</sup>EV 1,231,6 exc. 95 — <sup>a380</sup>EV 1,231,16–18 exc. 95: καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀρετὴν τυχόντες τῆς σωτηρίας ἀπῆλθον ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου, <καὶ> παραδόξως ἐσώθησαν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα — <sup>a381</sup>EV 1,231,19–25 exc. 96: Ὅτι οἱ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ δέκα εἴλαντο νομοθέτας· εἷς δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐρασθεὶς εὐγενοῦς παρθένου πενιχρᾶς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον χρήμασι διαφθεῖραι τὴν παρθένον ἐπεβάλετο, ὥς δὲ οὐδείς αὐτῷ προσεῖχεν, ἐπαπέστειλε συκοφάντας ἐπ’ αὐτήν, προστάξας ἄγειν εἰς δουλείαν. τοῦ δὲ συκοφάντου φήσαντος ἰδίαν αὐτοῦ εἶναι δούλην καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα καταστήσαντος δουλαγωγεῖν, προσαγαγὼν κατηγορήσεν ὡς δούλης. — <sup>a382</sup>EV 1,231,16–18 exc. 95: καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀρετὴν τυχόντες τῆς σωτηρίας ἀπῆλθον ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου, <καὶ> παραδόξως ἐσώθησαν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα — <sup>a383</sup>EV 1,232,1 exc. 97 — <sup>a384</sup>EV 1,232,12 exc. 98 — <sup>a385</sup>EV 1,232,16 exc. 99 — <sup>a386</sup>EV 1,233,3 exc. 102 — <sup>a387</sup>EV 1,233,3 exc. 102 — <sup>a388</sup>EV 1,233,13 exc. 103 — <sup>a389</sup>EV 1,233,23 exc. 104 — <sup>a390</sup>EV 1,234,13 exc. 107 — <sup>a391</sup>EV 1,234,20 exc. 107 — <sup>a392</sup>EV 1,234,25 exc. 108 — <sup>a393</sup>EV 1,235,32 exc. 113 — <sup>a394</sup>EV 1,236,1 exc. 113 — <sup>a395</sup>EV 1,236,3 exc. 114 — <sup>a396</sup>EV 1,236,10 exc. 115 — <sup>a397</sup>EV 1,236,16 exc. 117 — <sup>a398</sup>EV 1,236,22 exc. 117 —

<sup>b375</sup> Diod. Sic. 11.67.2	<sup>b376</sup> Diod. Sic. 11.67.3	<sup>b377</sup> Diod. Sic. 11.67.5	<sup>b378</sup> Diod. Sic. 11.77.3
<sup>b379</sup> Diod. Sic. 11.77.5	<sup>b380</sup> Diod. Sic. 12.24.2	<sup>b381</sup> Diod. Sic. 11.77.5	<sup>b382</sup> Diod. Sic. 13.35.4
<sup>b383</sup> Diod. Sic. 13.37.2	<sup>b384</sup> Diod. Sic. 13.38.2	<sup>b385</sup> Diod. Sic. 13.68.5	<sup>b386</sup> Diod. Sic. 13.68.5
<sup>b387</sup> Diod. Sic. 13.74.3	<sup>b388</sup> Diod. Sic. 13.76.2	<sup>b389</sup> Diod. Sic. 13.106.8	<sup>b390</sup> Diod. Sic. 13.106.8
<sup>b391</sup> Diod. Sic. 13.108.2	<sup>b392</sup> Diod. Sic. 14.9.8	<sup>b393</sup> Diod. Sic. 14.9.8	<sup>b394</sup> Diod. Sic. 14.12.3
<sup>b395</sup> Diod. Sic. 14.19.2	<sup>b396</sup> Diod. Sic. 14.35.2	<sup>b397</sup> Diod. Sic. 14.35.3	

Ψαμμιτίχως <sup>a399, b398</sup>	
<del>χοχοχο</del> <sup>a400, b399</sup>	217r
Τιρίβαζος <sup>a401, b400</sup>	
Τιμασιθεος <sup>a402, b401</sup>	
Διονύσιος <sup>a403, b402</sup>	217v
αρε(τη) <sup>a404, b403</sup>	
Λακεδαιμονιοι <sup>a405, b404</sup>	
Διονύσιος <sup>a406, b405</sup>	218r
Τιμόθεος <sup>a407, b406</sup>	
Ἰφικρατης <sup>a408, b407</sup>	
Πολύδωρος <sup>a409, b408</sup>	
Αλεξανδρος <sup>a410, b409</sup>	
Επαμινωνδας <sup>a411, b410</sup>	
Χάρις <sup>a412, b411</sup>	219r
αρετη <sup>a413, b412</sup>	
Δίων <sup>a414, b413</sup>	
αρετη <sup>a415, b414</sup>	
Νικόστρατος <sup>a416, b415</sup>	220r
<del>χοχοχο</del> <sup>a417, b416</sup>	220v
αρετη <sup>a418, b417</sup>	
Φίλιππος <sup>a419, b418</sup>	
Αλεξανδρος <sup>a420, b419</sup>	221r
<del>χοχοχο</del> <sup>a421, b420</sup>	221v
Αρπαλος <sup>a422, b421</sup>	323r
Πτολεμαῖος <sup>a423, b422</sup>	
Ἀντίγονος <sup>a424, b423</sup>	323v

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a<sup>399</sup>EV 1,236,24 exc. 117 — a<sup>400</sup>EV 1,236,30 exc. 118 — a<sup>401</sup>EV 1,237,11 exc. 120 — a<sup>402</sup>EV 1,237,19 exc. 121 — a<sup>403</sup>EV 1,237,29 exc. 122 — a<sup>404</sup>EV 1,238,6 exc. 123 — a<sup>405</sup>EV 1,238,21 exc. 126 — a<sup>406</sup>EV 1,239,7 exc. 127 — a<sup>407</sup>EV 1,240,8 exc. 130 — a<sup>408</sup>EV 1,240,13 exc. 131 — a<sup>409</sup>EV 1,240,16 exc. 132 — a<sup>410</sup>EV 1,240,21 exc. 133 — a<sup>411</sup>EV 1,240,26 exc. 134, not in the main text (ed. in app.) — a<sup>412</sup>EV 1,241,20 exc. 136, in the body text Χάρης — a<sup>413</sup>EV 1,241,23 exc. 137 Ὅτι Φίλιππος ὁ Ἀμύντου μὲν υἱὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ πατὴρ γέγονεν ἀγχινόα καὶ στρατηγία καὶ ἀνδρεία καὶ λαμπρότητι ψυχῆς διαφέρων. ἣν δὲ κατὰ τὴν ρε' Ὀλυμπιάδα ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Καλλιμάχου. — a<sup>414</sup>EV 1,242,8 exc. 140 — a<sup>415</sup>EV 1,242,29 exc. 145 — a<sup>416</sup>EV 1,243,3 exc. 147 — a<sup>417</sup>EV 1,244,10 exc. 151 — a<sup>418</sup>EV 1,244,14 exc. 152 — a<sup>419</sup>EV 1,244,14 exc. 152 — a<sup>420</sup>EV 1,244,24 exc. 153 — a<sup>421</sup>EV 1,246,10 exc. 160 — a<sup>422</sup>EV 1,246,28 exc. 162 — a<sup>423</sup>EV 1,247,9 exc. 163 — a<sup>424</sup>EV 1,247,22 exc. 165 —

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b<sup>398</sup>Diod. Sic. 14.35.5 b<sup>399</sup>Diod. Sic. 14.63.1 b<sup>400</sup>Diod. Sic. 14.85.4 b<sup>401</sup>Diod. Sic. 14.93.3  
b<sup>402</sup>Diod. Sic. 14.105.3 b<sup>403</sup>Diod. Sic. 14.109.6 b<sup>404</sup>Diod. Sic. 15.1.3 b<sup>405</sup>Diod. Sic. 15.7.3  
b<sup>406</sup>Diod. Sic. 15.36.6 b<sup>407</sup>Diod. Sic. 15.44.1 b<sup>408</sup>Diod. Sic. 15.61.2 b<sup>409</sup>Diod. Sic. 15.75.1  
b<sup>410</sup>Diod. Sic. 15.88.1 b<sup>411</sup>Diod. Sic. 15.95.3 b<sup>412</sup>Diod. Sic. 15.95.3 b<sup>413</sup>Diod. Sic. 16.11.2  
b<sup>414</sup>Diod. Sic. 16.38.1–2 b<sup>415</sup>Diod. Sic. 16.44.3 b<sup>416</sup>Diod. Sic. 16.81.2 b<sup>417</sup>Diod. Sic. 16.95.2  
b<sup>418</sup>Diod. Sic. 16.95.2 b<sup>419</sup>Diod. Sic. 17.1.3 b<sup>420</sup>Diod. Sic. 17.77.4 b<sup>421</sup>Diod. Sic. 17.108.4  
b<sup>422</sup>Diod. Sic. 18.28.4 b<sup>423</sup>Diod. Sic. 18.47.3

- ~~χοχίω~~<sup>a425, b424</sup>  
 324r Μιθριδατης<sup>a426, b425</sup>  
 325r Αγαθοκλῆς<sup>a427, b426</sup>  
 327r Τίμαιος<sup>a428, b427, c148</sup>  
 328r Δέκιος<sup>a429, b428</sup>  
 328v Απολλοδωρος<sup>a430, b429</sup>  
 329v Ξανθίππος<sup>a431, b430</sup>  
~~αρετή~~<sup>a432, b431</sup>  
 330r Αμίλκας<sup>a433, b432</sup>  
 175r Ἰερωνυμος<sup>a434, b433</sup>  
 175v ~~αρετή~~<sup>a435, b434</sup>  
 Ναβις<sup>a436, b435</sup>  
 176r Κρητες<sup>a437, b436</sup>  
 177v ~~χοχίω~~<sup>a438, b437</sup>  
 179v Αντίοχος<sup>a439, b438</sup>  
 Φιλοποίμην<sup>a440, b439</sup>  
 Φιλοποίμην<sup>a441, b440</sup>

<sup>a425</sup>EV 1,248,7 exc. 167: Ὅτι Ἀγαθοκλῆς γενόμενος χιλιάρχος δόξαν ἑαυτῷ περιποιήσατο, φιλοκίνδυνος μὲν ὢν καὶ παράβολος ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, ἰταμὸς δὲ καὶ πρόχειρος ἐν ταῖς δημηγορίαις. καὶ ποτὲ μὲν ἰδιώτης ὢν, ποτὲ δὲ ἐφ' ἡγεμονίας τεταγμένος ὑπελήφθη δραστηκὸς εἶναι καὶ φιλότεχνος ἐν τῷ πρὸς ἕκαστον τῶν καιρῶν ἐπινοεῖσθαι τι τῶν χρησίμων. — <sup>a426</sup>EV 1,248,23 exc. 171 — <sup>a427</sup>EV 1,250,30 exc. 178 — <sup>a428</sup>EV 1,254,19 exc. 191 not in the text (ed. in app.) οὗτος ἱστορικὸς — <sup>a429</sup>EV 1,256,21 exc. 195 — <sup>a430</sup>EV 1,257,17 exc. 198 — <sup>a431</sup>EV 1,259,17 exc. 201 — <sup>a432</sup>EV 1,259,32–260,4 exc. 202: Ὅτι Ἀμίλκας ὁ Βάρκας καλούμενος ὁ Καρχηδόνιος καὶ Ἀννίβας ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ μέγιστοι στρατηγοὶ Καρχηδονίων οὐ μόνον ὄντες τῶν προτέρων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν μεταγενεστέρων ὁμολογουμένως οὗτοι διελήφθησαν καὶ ταῖς ἰδίαις πράξεσιν ἠύξησαν μάλιστα τὴν πατρίδα. — <sup>a433</sup>EV 1,260,21 exc. 204 — <sup>a434</sup>EV 1,264,26 exc. 219 — <sup>a435</sup>EV 1,265,28–33 exc. 224: Ὅτι οὐκ εἶασε τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν, φημί δὴ τοῦ Ἀσδρούβου, ἀνεπισήμαντον, ἀλλὰ φησιν, ἦν γὰρ υἱὸς Ἀμίλκου τοῦ Βάρκα μὲν ἐπικαλουμένου, μεγίστην δὲ δόξαν ἐσχηκότος τῶν καθ' ἑαυτόν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ Σικελικῷ πολέμῳ μόνος τῶν ἡγεμόνων πολλὰς ἐνίκησε Ῥωμαίους καὶ τὸν ἐμφύλιον καθελὼν πόλεμον πρῶτος διεβίβασε δύναμιν εἰς Ἰβηρίαν. — <sup>a436</sup>EV 1,266,9 exc. 225 — <sup>a437</sup>EV 1,266,19 exc. 226 — <sup>a438</sup>EV 1,270,13–16 exc. 236: Ὅτι Φίλιππος ὁ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς χωρὶς τῆς πλεονεξίας οὕτως ὑπερήφανος ἦν ἐν ταῖς εὐτυχίαις, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν φίλους ἀκρίτως ἀποσφάζει, τοὺς δὲ τάφους τῶν προτετελευτηκότων καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἱερῶν κατασκάπτειν. — <sup>a439</sup>EV 1,273,7 exc. 247 — <sup>a440</sup>EV 1,273,13 exc. 248 — <sup>a441</sup>EV 1,273,13 exc. 248 —

<sup>b424</sup>Diod. Sic. 19.3.2   <sup>b425</sup>Diod. Sic. 19.40.2   <sup>b426</sup>Diod. Sic. 20.71.1   <sup>b427</sup>Diod. Sic. 21.17.1  
<sup>b428</sup>Diod. Sic. 22.1.3   <sup>b429</sup>Diod. Sic. 22.5.1   <sup>b430</sup>Diod. Sic. 23.15.5   <sup>b431</sup>Diod. Sic. 23.22  
<sup>b432</sup>Diod. Sic. 24.5.1   <sup>b433</sup>Diod. Sic. 26.15   <sup>b434</sup>Diod. Sic. 26.24.1   <sup>b435</sup>Diod. Sic. 27.1.1  
<sup>b436</sup>Diod. Sic. 27.3   <sup>b437</sup>Diod. Sic. 28.3   <sup>b438</sup>Diod. Sic. 29.15   <sup>b439</sup>Diod. Sic. 29.18   <sup>b440</sup>Diod. Sic. 29.18

<sup>c148</sup>Suda s.v. Τίμαιος



Αἰμίλιος (!) <sup>a442, b441</sup>	180v
Πύθων <sup>a443, b442</sup>	181v
περὶ Πτολεμαίου <sup>a444, b443</sup>	276r
αρετη <sup>a445, b444</sup>	277v
αρετῇ <sup>a446, b445</sup>	278r
αρετῇ <sup>a447, b446</sup>	278v
περὶ Αριαραθους τοῦ βασιλεως Φιλοπάτορος ονομασθεντος <sup>a448, b447</sup>	279r
Πολύβιος <sup>a449, b448</sup>	280r
Χαροψ <sup>a450, b449</sup>	281v
Φιλωτας <sup>a451, b450</sup>	
καρχία <sup>a452, b451</sup>	
Κρητες <sup>a453, b452</sup>	282r
Ρωμαῖοι <sup>a454, b453</sup>	283r
αρετῇ <sup>a455, b454</sup>	
αρετῇ <sup>a456, b455</sup>	244r
Υριάθιος <sup>a457, b456</sup>	
αρετη καὶ καρχία <sup>a458, b457</sup>	
Δημήτριος <sup>a459, b458</sup>	245v

<sup>a442</sup>EV 1,275,19 exc. 255 — <sup>a443</sup>EV 1,277,14 exc. 261 — <sup>a444</sup>EV 1,278,21 exc. 267 — <sup>a445</sup>EV 1,282,3–5 exc. 279: Ὅτι ὁ Εὐμένης ξενολογήσας τά τε ὀφώνια ἅπασιν ἀπέδωκε καὶ δωρεαῖς ἐτίμησε καὶ ἐπαγγελίας ἐψυχαγωγεί πάντας, ἐκκαλούμενος τὴν εὐνοίαν, οὐχ ὁμοίως τῷ Περσεῖ. — <sup>a446</sup>EV 1,282,16–19 exc. 280: Ὅτι ἔναι τῶν ἐπιβολῶν τοῦ Ἀντιόχου καὶ τῶν πράξεων βασιλικαὶ καὶ θαυμάσιαι τελέως ἦσαν, τινὲς δὲ πάλιν οὕτως εὐτελεῖς καὶ ληρώδεις, ὥσθ' ὁλοσχερῶς ὑπὸ πάντων καταφρονεῖσθαι. συντελῶν γὰρ τοὺς ἀγῶνας πρῶτον μὲν ἐναντίαν τοῖς ἄλλοις βασιλεῦσιν ἔσχε προαίρεσιν. — <sup>a447</sup>EV 1,284,3–9 exc. 283: Ὅτι τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκπεσόντος καὶ πεζῇ ἀπερχομένου εἰς Ῥώμην, ἐγνώρισεν αὐτὸν ὁ Δημήτριος ὁ τοῦ Σελεύκου καὶ θαυμάσας τὸ παράδοξον ἐποίησέ τι βασιλικὸν καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὲς δαῖμα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ προαιρέσεως. παραχρῆμα <γὰρ> προχειρισάμενος βασιλικὴν ἐσθήτα καὶ διάδημα, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ ἵππον πολυτελῆ χρυσοφάλαρρον μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων παίδων ἀπήνητσε τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ. — <sup>a448</sup>EV 1,284,25 exc. 285 — <sup>a449</sup>EV 1,286,24 exc. 288 — <sup>a450</sup>EV 1,289,9 exc. 290 — <sup>a451</sup>EV 1,289,15 exc. 290 — <sup>a452</sup>EV 1,289,16–18 exc. 290: (πάνυ γὰρ εὐφυνὲς ἐγένετο καὶ τοῦτο τὸ πρόσωπον εἰς ὠμότητα καὶ παρανομίαν πλείονα ἢ κατὰ γυναικα), καὶ πολλοὺς εἰσῆγαγεν εἰς τὸν δῆμον, κατατιασάμενος φρονεῖν ἀλλότρια Ῥωμαίων. καὶ πάντων κατέγνωσαν θάνατον. — <sup>a453</sup>EV 1,290,30 exc. 295 — <sup>a454</sup>EV 1,292,15 exc. 297 — <sup>a455</sup>EV 1,292,18–25 exc. 298 — <sup>a456</sup>EV 1,294,9–13 exc. 305: καθόλου δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος εὐγενεῖα τε καὶ λόγου δεινότητι καὶ στρατηγίᾳ πολεμικοῖς καὶ ἀφιλαργυρίᾳ ἀποδοχῆς δίκαιός ἐστιν ἀξιουσθαι, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἱστορίας ἄξιον ἀπονέμειν αὐτῷ τὸν τῆς χρηστότητος ἔπαινον. μεγέθει γὰρ πράξεων ἅπαντας τοὺς πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ Ῥωμαίους ὑπερέθετο. — <sup>a457</sup>EV 1,294,14 exc. 306 — <sup>a458</sup>EV 1,294,27–295,29 exc. 309 — <sup>a459</sup>EV 1,297,19 exc. 313 —

<sup>b441</sup>Diod. Sic. 29.27 <sup>b442</sup>Diod. Sic. 30.6 <sup>b443</sup>Diod. Sic. 30.17 <sup>b444</sup>Diod. Sic. 31.14 <sup>b445</sup>Diod. Sic. 31.16.1 <sup>b446</sup>Diod. Sic. 31.18.1 <sup>b447</sup>Diod. Sic. 31.21 <sup>b448</sup>Diod. Sic. 31.26.5 <sup>b449</sup>Diod. Sic. 31.31 <sup>b450</sup>Diod. Sic. 31.31 <sup>b451</sup>Diod. Sic. 31.31 <sup>b452</sup>Diod. Sic. 31.45 <sup>b453</sup>Diod. Sic. 32.5 <sup>b454</sup>Diod. Sic. 32.7 <sup>b455</sup>Diod. Sic. 32.27.3 <sup>b456</sup>Diod. Sic. 33.1.5 <sup>b457</sup>Diod. Sic. 33.4.1–4 <sup>b458</sup>Diod. Sic. 33.9

246v	<del>XXXXXX</del> <sup>a460, b459</sup>
249r	Δαμόφιλος <sup>a461, b460</sup>
249v	Μεταλλίς <sup>a462, b461</sup>
251r	<del>XXXXXX</del> <sup>a463, b462</sup>
	Ευήμερος <sup>a464, b463</sup>

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<sup>a460</sup>EV 1,299,20–23 exc. 318: Ὅτι ὁ Ἄτταλος ἀκούων τὸν Διήγγυλιν παρὰ τοῖς ὑποτεταγμένοις διαβεβλήσθαι διὰ τε τὴν πλεονεξίαν καὶ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ὠμότητος ἐζήλωσε τὴν ἐναντίαν προαίρεσιν. διὸ καὶ τοὺς ἀλίσκομένους τῶν Θρᾱκῶν ἀπολύων μετὰ φιλανθρωπίας πολλοὺς ἔσχε κήρυκας τῆς ἰδίας ἐπεικειάς. — <sup>a461</sup>EV 1,304,1 exc. 328 — <sup>a462</sup>EV 1,304,27 exc. 329 (Μεγαλλίς in Diod.) — <sup>a463</sup>EV 1,308,9–15 exc. 340: Ὅτι ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀντιόχου Ἀθήναιος πλεῖστα ἐν ταῖς ἐπισταθμίαις εἰργασμένος κακὰ, τῆς φυγῆς κατάρξας καὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἐγκαταλιπὼν τῆς προσηκούσης καταστροφῆς ἔτυχε. διεκπεσόντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τινας κώμας ἡδικοημένους ἐν ταῖς ἐπισταθμίαις οὐδεὶς αὐτὸν ἐδέξατο εἰς οἰκίαν οὐδὲ τροφῆς μετέδωκεν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἀλώμενος λιμῷ κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον. — <sup>a464</sup>EV 1,308,24 exc. 342 —

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<sup>b459</sup>Diod. Sic. 33.15.1 <sup>b460</sup>Diod. Sic. 34 and 35.2.34 <sup>b461</sup>Diod. Sic. 34 and 35.2.37 <sup>b462</sup>Diod. Sic. 34 and 35.17.2 <sup>b463</sup>Diod. Sic. 34 and 35.21

Κρατων <sup>a465, b464</sup>	251v
Νασικας <sup>a466, b465</sup>	260v
Μικίψας <sup>a467, b466</sup>	261v
αρετη <sup>a468, b467</sup>	
Μαριος <sup>a469, b468</sup>	
αρετη <sup>a470, b469</sup>	262v
Ρωμαῖοι <sup>a471, b470</sup>	
Λευκιος <sup>a472, b471</sup>	263v
αρετη <sup>a473, b472</sup>	264v
Συλλας <sup>a474, b473</sup>	265r
αρετη <sup>a475, b474</sup>	
Συλλας <sup>a476, b475</sup>	266r
αρετη <sup>a477, b476</sup>	266v

<sup>a465</sup>EV 1,309,6 exc. 344 — <sup>a466</sup>EV 1,310,22 exc. 348 — <sup>a467</sup>EV 1,312,28 exc. 350 — <sup>a468</sup>EV 1,313,5–10 exc. 351: Ὅτι Κοντωνιατός τις ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς Γαλατικῆς πόλεως τῆς οὕτω καλουμένης Ἰοντώρας συνέσει καὶ στρατηγία διάφορος ἦν, φίλος δὲ <καὶ> σύμμαχος Ῥωμαίων, ὡς ἂν ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις διατετριφώς ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ κεκοινωνηκώς ἀρετῆς καὶ ἀγωγῆς νομίμου, διὰ Ῥωμαίων δὲ παρειληφώς τὴν ἐν Γαλατίᾳ βασιλείαν. — <sup>a469</sup>EV 1,313,11 exc. 352 — <sup>a470</sup>EV 1,315,4–13 exc. 355: Ὅτι περὶ τῆς τοῦ Μετέλλου φυγῆς ἐπ’ ἔτη δύο γινομένων λόγων ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ κόμην ὑποτρέφων καὶ πώγωνα καὶ πιναρὰν ἔχων ἐσθλῆτα περιῆει κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν, δεόμενος τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ μετὰ δακρύων προσπίπτων τοῖς ἐκάστου γόνασιν ἠτεῖτο τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς κάθοδον. ὁ μὲν οὖν δῆμος καίπερ οὐ βουλόμενος ἀφορμὴν διδόναι τοῖς φυγάσι τῆς καθόδου παρὰ τοὺς νόμους, ὁμῶς διὰ τὸν ἔλεον τοῦ νεανίσκου καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ γονέως σπουδὴν κατήγαγε τὸν Μέτελλον καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν περὶ τὸν γεννήσαντα γεγεννημένην φιλοτιμίαν Εὐσεβῆ προσηγόρευσεν. — <sup>a471</sup>EV 1,315,14 exc. 356 — <sup>a472</sup>EV 1,316,28 exc. 358 — <sup>a473</sup>EV 1,318,20–21 exc. 362: διὸ καὶ μόνος ἔδοξεν ἔσεσθαι προστάτης τῆς συγκλήτου. — <sup>a474</sup>EV 1,319,21 exc. 366 — <sup>a475</sup>EV 1,320,8–12 exc. 368: Ὅτι κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπικρατοῦντος Μιθριδάτου καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἀφισταμένων ἀκατασχέτως ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων, οἱ ἐν τῇ Λέσβῳ διέγνωσαν οὐ μόνον ἑαυτοὺς ἐγχειρίσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Ἀκύλλιον εἰς Μιτυλήνην συμπεφευγότα καὶ νοσοκομούμενον παραδοῦναι τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ. — <sup>a476</sup>EV 1,322,16 exc. 372 — <sup>a477</sup>EV 1,324,16–19 exc. 377: Ὅτι καταλειφθέντος τοῦ Σκιπίωνος μόνου μετὰ τὸ διαφθαρῆναι χρήμασι καὶ ἀποστῆναι πάντας καὶ ἀπεγνωστός τὴν σωτηρίαν, ὁ Σύλλας ἱππεῖς ἀπέστειλε πρὸς αὐτὸν τοὺς παραπέμψοντας μετ’ ἀσφαλείας ὅποι βούλοιο. —

<sup>b464</sup>Diod. Sic. 34 and 35.23 <sup>b465</sup>Diod. Sic. 34 and 33.1 <sup>b466</sup>Diod. Sic. 34 and 35.35 <sup>b467</sup>Diod. Sic. 34 and 35.36 <sup>b468</sup>Diod. Sic. 34 and 35.38.1 <sup>b469</sup>Diod. Sic. 34 and 36.16 <sup>b470</sup>Diod. Sic. 37.3.1 <sup>b471</sup>Diod. Sic. 37.5.2 <sup>b472</sup>Diod. Sic. 37.10.1 <sup>b473</sup>Diod. Sic. 37.25 <sup>b474</sup>Diod. Sic. 37.27 <sup>b475</sup>Diod. Sic. 38 and 39.7 <sup>b476</sup>Diod. Sic. 38 and 39.16

## A.5.6. Nicolas of Damascus

- 222r Νικολαοῦ<sup>a478, b477</sup>  
 222v περὶ Νικολαου του Δαμασκενου<sup>a479, b478</sup>  
 223v Σαρδαναπαλος<sup>a480, b479</sup>  
 Σαρδαναπαλος<sup>a481, b480</sup>  
 226v [επιστολη]<sup>a482, b481, c149</sup>  
 227r Ὑψιπύλη<sup>a483, b482</sup>  
 227v [χωρος Αναιδείας]<sup>a484, b483</sup>  
 [αρετη]<sup>a485, b484</sup>  
 Μόξος<sup>a486, b485</sup>  
 Καμβλίτας<sup>a487, b486</sup>  
 152r Λυχάων<sup>a488, b487</sup>  
 Ἰππομενης<sup>a489, b488</sup>  
 152v Λυκοῦργος<sup>a490, b489</sup>  
 153v Μαγνης<sup>a491, b490, c150</sup>  
 Κροῖσος<sup>a492, b491, c151</sup>  
 154r Παμφαης<sup>a493, b492</sup>  
 Κῦρος<sup>a494, b493, c152</sup>  
 154v περὶ Κύρου συν Κροίσωι<sup>a495, b494</sup>  
 [κόμμος] (!)<sup>a496, b495, c153</sup>  
 161r Σίβυλλα<sup>a497, b496</sup>  
 162r περὶ Ρώμ(ου) και Ρωμύλου<sup>a498, b497</sup>  
 156r Καίσαρ<sup>a499, b498</sup>

<sup>a478</sup>EV 1,326,5–6 exc. 2 — <sup>a479</sup>EV 1,327,18 exc. 4 — <sup>a480</sup>EV 1,329,16 exc. 7 — <sup>a481</sup>EV 1,330,5 exc. 8 — <sup>a482</sup>EV 1,336,17–22 exc. 9: „Στρυαγγαῖος Ζαριναίᾳ λέγει τάδε· ἐγὼ μὲν σὲ ἔσωσά τε καὶ τῶν νῦν παρόντων ἀγαθῶν αἴτιος γέγονα· σὺ δὲ με ἀπέκτεινας καὶ πάντων ἀνόνητον πεποίηκας. εἰ μὲν οὖν σοι ταῦτα πέπρακται δικαίως, σὺ δὲ πάντων τύχοις τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ εἷης μακαρία· εἰ δὲ ἀδίκως, σὺ τε τοῦ αὐτοῦ πάθους ἐμοὶ πείραν λάβοις· σὺ γάρ μοι παρήνεσας τοιοῦτον γενέσθαι.“ — <sup>a483</sup>EV 1,337,5 exc. 11 — <sup>a484</sup>EV 1,338,16 exc. 13 ὁ χωρος ἀνομάσθη — <sup>a485</sup>EV 1,338,17–27 exc. 14 — <sup>a486</sup>EV 1,338,17 exc. 14 — <sup>a487</sup>EV 1,339,5 exc. 16 — <sup>a488</sup>EV 1,340,4 exc. 19 — <sup>a489</sup>EV 1,340,16 exc. 20 — <sup>a490</sup>EV 1,341,6 exc. 22 — <sup>a491</sup>EV 1,343,6 exc. 27 Μαγνις — <sup>a492</sup>EV 1,344,9 exc. 27 — <sup>a493</sup>EV 1,345,3 exc. 27 — <sup>a494</sup>EV 1,345,14 exc. 28 — <sup>a495</sup>EV 1,345,19 exc. 29 (upper margin as a title) — <sup>a496</sup>EV 1,346,9 exc. 29 (ed. in app.) — <sup>a497</sup>EV 1,347,14 exc. 29 — <sup>a498</sup>EV 1,349,9 exc. 30 — <sup>a499</sup>EV 1,353,13 exc. 32 —

<sup>b477</sup>Nic. Dam. FGrHist A 90 F 134 <sup>b478</sup>Nic. Dam. FGrHist A 90 F 137 <sup>b479</sup>Nic. Dam. FGrHist A 90 F 2 <sup>b480</sup>Nic. Dam. FGrHist A 90 F 4 <sup>b481</sup>Nic. Dam. FGrHist A 90 F 5 <sup>b482</sup>Nic. Dam. FGrHist A 90 F 11 <sup>b483</sup>Nic. Dam. FGrHist A 90 F 14 <sup>b484</sup>Nic. Dam. FGrHist A 90 F 16 <sup>b485</sup>Nic. Dam. FGrHist A 90 F 16 <sup>b486</sup>Nic. Dam. FGrHist A 90 F 22 <sup>b487</sup>Nic. Dam. FGrHist A 90 F 38 <sup>b488</sup>Nic. Dam. FGrHist A 90 F 49 <sup>b489</sup>Nic. Dam. FGrHist A 90 F 56 <sup>b490</sup>Nic. Dam. FGrHist A 90 F 62 <sup>b491</sup>Nic. Dam. FGrHist A 90 F 65 <sup>b492</sup>Nic. Dam. FGrHist A 90 F 65 <sup>b493</sup>Nic. Dam. FGrHist A 90 F 67 <sup>b494</sup>Nic. Dam. FGrHist A 90 F 68 <sup>b495</sup>Nic. Dam. FGrHist A 90 F 68 <sup>b496</sup>Nic. Dam. FGrHist A 90 F 68 <sup>b497</sup>Nic. Dam. FGrHist A 90 F 69 = Dionysius Halicarnasseus AR 1. 82 <sup>b498</sup>Nic. Dam. FGrHist A 90 F 125

<sup>c149</sup>Suda s.v. ὠμή <sup>c150</sup>Suda s.v. Μάγνης <sup>c151</sup>Suda s.v. Ἀλυάττης <sup>c152</sup>Suda s.v. Κῦρος <sup>c153</sup>Suda (K 2009) s.v. κομμός

## A.5.7. Herodotus

ἄρετη <sup>a500, b499</sup>	160v
Τέλλος <sup>a501, b500</sup>	
Ἀστυάγης <sup>a502, b501</sup>	163v
Ἀριστοδικός <sup>a503, b502</sup>	164r
Μενελαός <sup>a504, b503</sup>	164v
Χεοψ <sup>a505, b504</sup>	
Καμβύσης <sup>a506, b505</sup>	165r
Ἰερανοῦσος <sup>a507, b506</sup>	
Δαρεῖος, Καμβύσης, Κύρος <sup>a508, b507, c154</sup>	165v
Δημοκλήδης <sup>a509, b508, c155</sup>	182r
Ζωπυρός <sup>a510, b509</sup>	182v
συναμωρός <sup>a511, b510</sup>	183v
Ἄρισταγόρης <sup>a512, b511</sup>	184r
Κλεομένης <sup>a513, b512</sup>	
Δᾶτις <sup>a514, b513, c156</sup>	
Ἀλκμεωνίδαι <sup>a515, b514</sup>	184v
Ἀρταύκτης <sup>a516, b515</sup>	185r
ῥοχια <sup>a517, b516</sup>	
Σπερτιθίης καὶ Βούλις <sup>a518, b517</sup>	185v
Καδμός <sup>a519, b518</sup>	
Παντίτης <sup>a520, b519</sup>	186v
Ἄριστείδης <sup>a521, b520</sup>	
Πανιώνιος <sup>a522, b521</sup>	187r
Τισαμενός <sup>a523, b522</sup>	

<sup>a500</sup>EV 2,2,20–27 exc. 2 — <sup>a501</sup>EV 2,2,20 exc. 2 — <sup>a502</sup>EV 2,5,7 exc. 7 — <sup>a503</sup>EV 2,6,11 exc. 8  
 — <sup>a504</sup>EV 2,7,20 exc. 11 — <sup>a505</sup>EV 2,8,14 exc. 13 — <sup>a506</sup>EV 2,9,5 exc. 15 — <sup>a507</sup>EV 2,9,15  
 exc. 16 — <sup>a508</sup>EV 2,10,19–22 exc. 20 — <sup>a509</sup>EV 2,12,3 exc. 23 — <sup>a510</sup>EV 2,13,10 exc. 29 —  
<sup>a511</sup>EV 2,16,14 exc. 35 — <sup>a512</sup>EV 2,17,6 exc. 36 — <sup>a513</sup>EV 2,17,14 exc. 38 — <sup>a514</sup>EV 2,18,1  
 exc. 39 — <sup>a515</sup>EV 2,19,3 exc. 41 — <sup>a516</sup>EV 2,20,21 exc. 44 — <sup>a517</sup>EV 2,20,24–21,2 exc. 45:  
 Ὅτι Δαρείου πέμψαντος ἐς Σπάρτην ἐπὶ γῆς αἴτησιν καὶ ὕδατος, οἱ μὲν αὐτέων τοὺς αἰτέοντας ἐς τὸ  
 βάραθρον, οἱ δὲ ἐς φρέαρ ἐσβαλόντες ἐκέλευον γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐκ τούτων φέρειν παρὰ βασιλέα. —  
<sup>a518</sup>EV 2,21,6 exc. 45 — <sup>a519</sup>EV 2,21,12 exc. 46 — <sup>a520</sup>EV 2,23,20 exc. 51 — <sup>a521</sup>EV 2,24,12  
 exc. 53 — <sup>a522</sup>EV 2,25,6 exc. 54 — <sup>a523</sup>EV 2,26,14 exc. 56 —

<sup>b499</sup>Hdt 1.30   <sup>b500</sup>Hdt 1.30   <sup>b501</sup>Hdt 1.119   <sup>b502</sup>Hdt 1.158   <sup>b503</sup>Hdt 2.119   <sup>b504</sup>Hdt 2.120  
<sup>b505</sup>Hdt 3.30   <sup>b506</sup>Hdt 3.33   <sup>b507</sup>Hdt 3.89   <sup>b508</sup>Hdt 3.131   <sup>b509</sup>Hdt 3.160   <sup>b510</sup>Hdt 5.92. η  
<sup>b511</sup>Hdt 5.124   <sup>b512</sup>Hdt 5.74   <sup>b513</sup>Hdt 6.15   <sup>b514</sup>Hdt 6.125   <sup>b515</sup>Hdt 7.33   <sup>b516</sup>Hdt 7.133   <sup>b517</sup>Hdt  
 7.134   <sup>b518</sup>Hdt 7.164   <sup>b519</sup>Hdt 7.232   <sup>b520</sup>Hdt 8.79   <sup>b521</sup>Hdt 8.106   <sup>b522</sup>Hdt 9.33

<sup>c154</sup>Suda s.v. Κύρος   <sup>c155</sup>Suda s.v. Δημοκλήδης   <sup>c156</sup>Suda s.v. Δᾶτις

- 188r Αριστοδημος<sup>a524, b523</sup>  
 Τιτακος<sup>a525, b524</sup>  
 Σωφάνης<sup>a526, b525</sup>  
 Αρταύκτης<sup>a527, b526</sup>

### A.5.8. Thucydides

- 189v Φίλιστος<sup>a528, b527</sup>  
 Ξενοφῶν<sup>a529, b528</sup>  
 Θουκυδιδης<sup>a530, b529</sup>  
 228r Αθηναῖοι<sup>a531, b530</sup>  
 Πανσανίας<sup>a532, b531</sup>  
 229r περὶ Θεμιστοκλέους οἷος ἦν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὸν τροπον<sup>a533, b532</sup>  
 230v Βρασίδας<sup>a534, b533</sup>  
ἀρετῇ<sup>a535, b534</sup>  
 231v Αλκιβιάδης<sup>a536, b535</sup>  
 232v περὶ Αλκιβιάδου<sup>a537, b536</sup>  
 Αριστογείτων<sup>a538, b537</sup>  
 Ἴππαρχος<sup>a539, b538</sup>  
 Ερμοκράτης<sup>a540, b539</sup>

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<sup>a524</sup>EV 2,27,17 exc. 57 — <sup>a525</sup>EV 2,28,5 exc. 58 — <sup>a526</sup>EV 2,28,5 exc. 58 — <sup>a527</sup>EV 2,28,27 exc. 61 — <sup>a528</sup>EV 2,31,19 exc. 3 — <sup>a529</sup>EV 2,31,20 exc. 3 — <sup>a530</sup>EV 2,31,23 exc. 4 — <sup>a531</sup>EV 2,33,22–23 exc. 7 — <sup>a532</sup>EV 2,34,6 exc. 8 — <sup>a533</sup>EV 2,36,6–17 exc. 10 — <sup>a534</sup>EV 2,38,22 exc. 14 — <sup>a535</sup>EV 2,39,9–10 exc. 14: πρῶτος γὰρ ἐξεληθὼν καὶ δόξας εἶναι κατὰ πάντα ἀγαθὸς ἐλπίδα ἐγκατέλειπε βέβαιον ὥς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τοιοῦτοί εἰσιν. — <sup>a536</sup>EV 2,41,24 exc. 16 — <sup>a537</sup>EV 2,43,8 exc. 17 — <sup>a538</sup>EV 2,43,18–19 exc. 18 — <sup>a539</sup>EV 2,43,24 exc. 19 — <sup>a540</sup>EV 2,44,4 exc. 20

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<sup>b523</sup>Hdt 9.71 <sup>b524</sup>Hdt 9.73 <sup>b525</sup>Hdt 9.73 <sup>b526</sup>Hdt 9.116 <sup>b527</sup>Marcellinus, *Vita Thucydidis* 27 <sup>b528</sup>Marcellinus, *Vita Thucydidis* 27 <sup>b529</sup>Marcellinus, *Vita Thucydidis* 34 <sup>b530</sup>Thuc. 1.99.1 <sup>b531</sup>Thuc. 1.130 <sup>b532</sup>Thuc. 1.138.2–3 <sup>b533</sup>Thuc. 4.81 <sup>b534</sup>Thuc. 4.81 <sup>b535</sup>Thuc. 5.45 <sup>b536</sup>Thuc. 6.15.3 <sup>b537</sup>Thuc. 6.54.2 <sup>b538</sup>Thuc. 6.54.5 <sup>b539</sup>Thuc. 6.72.2

## A.5.9. Xenophon

Κῦρος <sup>a541, b540</sup>	233v
Κῦρος <sup>a542, b541</sup>	234v
καχίᾳ <sup>a543, b542</sup>	237r
ἀρετῇ <sup>a544, b543</sup>	
περὶ τῆς Κύρου βασιλείας <sup>a545, b544</sup>	237v
εὐχῇ Κύρου <sup>a546, b545, c157</sup>	240r
Βικος <sup>a547, b546</sup>	241r
Κλέαρχος <sup>a548, b547</sup>	241v
Πρόξενος <sup>a549, b548</sup>	242r
Μενων <sup>a550, b549</sup>	242v
Ξενοφῶν <sup>a551, b550</sup>	243r

## A.5.10. Dionysius of Halicarnassus

τί ἐστὶν ἀρετῇ <sup>a552, b551</sup>	252r
περὶ ψυχῆς <sup>a553, b552</sup>	
ἀρετῇ <sup>a554, b553</sup>	252v
Μάρκος <sup>a555, b554</sup>	252v
Ρωμαῖοι <sup>a556, b555</sup>	

<sup>a541</sup>EV 2,46,8 exc. 2 — <sup>a542</sup>EV 2,49,8 exc. 6 — <sup>a543</sup>EV 2,56,9–21 exc. 13 — <sup>a544</sup>EV 2,56,22–57,10 exc. 14 — <sup>a545</sup>EV 2,57,14 exc. 16: — <sup>a546</sup>EV 2,63,25–27 exc. 17: καὶ εὐχὴν δέ τινες αὐτοῦ ἐξέφερον, ὥς εὐχοίτο τοσοῦτον χρόνον ζῆν, ἔστε νικῶν καὶ τοὺς εὖ καὶ κακῶς ποιοῦντας ἀλεξόμενος. — <sup>a547</sup>EV 2,65,22 exc. 17 — <sup>a548</sup>EV 2,66,22 exc. 18 — <sup>a549</sup>EV 2,68,16 exc. 18 — <sup>a550</sup>EV 2,69,14 exc. 18 — <sup>a551</sup>EV 2,71,7 exc. 19 — <sup>a552</sup>EV 2,73,5–7 exc. 1: ἔοικέ τ' ἀληθὲς εἶναι τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων λεγόμενον φιλοσόφων, ὅτι μεσότητές εἰσιν, οὐκ ἀκρότητες αἱ τῶν ἡθῶν ἀρεταί, μάλιστα δὲ ἡ δικαιοσύνη. — <sup>a553</sup>EV 2,74,16–19 exc. 1: Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἅμα τοῖς σώμασι διαλυομένοις καὶ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς, ὅτιδῆποτε ἐστὶν ἐκεῖνο, συνδιαλύεται, καὶ οὐδαμῇ οὐθὲν ἔτι ἐστίν, οὐκ οἶδα πῶς μακαρίους ὑπολάβω τοὺς μὴθὲν μὲν ἀπολάυσαντας τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀγαθόν, δι' αὐτὴν δὲ ταύτην ἀπολομένους. — <sup>a554</sup>EV 2,75,8–10 exc. 1: ὁ μὲν δὴ κατασχὼν Ῥωμαίους κίνδυνος ἐκ τῆς Οὐολούσκων τε καὶ Αἰκανῶν ἐπιστρατείας Μάρκιον λαβούσης ἡγεμόνα τοιοῦτον ἔσχε τέλος. — <sup>a555</sup>EV 2,75,11 exc. 2 — <sup>a556</sup>EV 2,75,14 exc. 3 —

<sup>b540</sup>Xen. *Cyr.* 1.2.1 <sup>b541</sup>Xen. *Cyr.* 3.1.41 <sup>b542</sup>Xen. *Cyr.* 7.2.5 <sup>b543</sup>Xen. *Cyr.* 8.3.49–50 <sup>b544</sup>Xen. *Cyr.* 8.8 <sup>b545</sup>Xen. *An.* 1.9.11 <sup>b546</sup>Xen. *An.* 1.9.25 <sup>b547</sup>Xen. *An.* 2.6.1 <sup>b548</sup>Xen. *An.* 2.6.16 <sup>b549</sup>Xen. *An.* 2.6.21 <sup>b550</sup>Xen. *An.* 3.1.6 <sup>b551</sup>Dionysius Hal. 8.51.2 <sup>b552</sup>Dionysius Hal. 8.52.1 <sup>b553</sup>Dionysius Hal. 8.51.3 <sup>b554</sup>Dionysius Hal. 14.3 (8) <sup>b555</sup>Dionysius Hal. 14.6 (8)

<sup>c157</sup>Suda s.v. ἀλεξόμενος

- 253r ῥοῦφο<ς><sup>a557, b556</sup>  
 Ποστόμιος<sup>a558, b557</sup>
- 254r Γάιος<sup>a559, b558</sup>
- 254v Κλεινίας<sup>a560, b559</sup>
- 255r Ανάξιλας<sup>a561, b560</sup>  
 Διονυσίος<sup>a562, b561</sup>  
 Πύρρος<sup>a563, b562</sup>

### A.5.11. Polybius

- 256v Θεαρχης<sup>a564, b563</sup>
- 257r Αριστομαχος<sup>a565, b564</sup>
- 259r Ἀνίβας<sup>a566, b565</sup>
- 259v Βαρβύτας<sup>a567, b566</sup>  
 Αρατος<sup>a568, b567</sup>
- 104r Αἰτωλοί<sup>a569, b568</sup>  
 Δωριμαχος<sup>a570, b569</sup>  
 Απελλῆς<sup>a571, b570</sup>
- 105v Δῖον<sup>a572, b571</sup>  
 Αντίγονος ὁ σωτηρ<sup>a573, b572</sup>
- 106r Φίλιππος<sup>a574, b573</sup>  
 Αλεξανδρος<sup>a575, b574</sup>
- 107v Κλεομενης<sup>a576, b575, c158</sup>  
 ᾠρετῆ<sup>a577, b576</sup>  
 Πτολεμαῖος<sup>a578, b577, c159</sup>  
 Ερμείας<sup>a579, b578</sup>  
 Λεύκιος<sup>a580, b579, c160</sup>

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<sup>a557</sup>EV 2,76,32 exc. 4 — <sup>a558</sup>EV 2,77,3 exc. 5 — <sup>a559</sup>EV 2,79,9 exc. 7 — <sup>a560</sup>EV 2,80,23 exc. 8 — <sup>a561</sup>EV 2,80,24 exc. 8 — <sup>a562</sup>EV 2,81,1 exc. 8 — <sup>a563</sup>EV 2,81,13 exc. 9 — <sup>a564</sup>EV 2,85,7 exc. 2 — <sup>a565</sup>EV 2,86,26 exc. 4 — <sup>a566</sup>EV 2,91,21 exc. 5 (cf. ELr p. 21) — <sup>a567</sup>EV 2,92,4 exc. 7 — <sup>a568</sup>EV 2,92,8 exc. 8 — <sup>a569</sup>EV 2,93,9 exc. 9 — <sup>a570</sup>EV 2,94,4 exc. 12 — <sup>a571</sup>EV 2,94,12 exc. 13 (ed. in app.) Ἀπελλῆς elsewhere — <sup>a572</sup>EV 2,97,19 exc. 15 — <sup>a573</sup>EV 2,97,26 exc. 15 — <sup>a574</sup>EV 2,98,9 exc. 15 — <sup>a575</sup>EV 2,98,23 exc. 15 — <sup>a576</sup>EV 2,101,7 exc. 16 — <sup>a577</sup>EV 2,101,10 exc. 16: καὶ συλλήβδην ἡγεμονικὸς καὶ βασιλικὸς τῇ φύσει. — <sup>a578</sup>EV 2,101,11 exc. 17 (not in the sequence of the narrative) — <sup>a579</sup>EV 2,101,16 exc. 18 — <sup>a580</sup>EV 2,102,1 exc. 19 —

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<sup>b556</sup>Dionysius Hal. 14.7 (11) <sup>b557</sup>Dionysius Hal. 17 and 18.4 (16.15) <sup>b558</sup>Dionysius Hal. 16.4 (8) <sup>b559</sup>Dionysius Hal. 20.7 (4) <sup>b560</sup>Dionysius Hal. 20.7 (4) <sup>b561</sup>Dionysius Hal. 20.7 (5) <sup>b562</sup>Dionysius Hal. 20.8 (6) <sup>b563</sup>Polyb. 2.55.9 <sup>b564</sup>Polyb. 2.59.1 <sup>b565</sup>Polyb. 3.15.6 <sup>b566</sup>Polyb. 4.4.5 <sup>b567</sup>Polyb. 4.8.1 <sup>b568</sup>Polyb. 4.16.4 <sup>b569</sup>Polyb. 4.67.1 <sup>b570</sup>Polyb. 4.82.2 <sup>b571</sup>Polyb. 5.9.5 <sup>b572</sup>Polyb. 5.9.8 <sup>b573</sup>Polyb. 5.10.1 <sup>b574</sup>Polyb. 5.10.6 <sup>b575</sup>Polyb. 5.39.6 <sup>b576</sup>Polyb. 5.39.6 <sup>b577</sup>Polyb. 5.34.10 <sup>b578</sup>Polyb. 5.54.10 <sup>b579</sup>Polyb. 6.11a. 7

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<sup>c158</sup>Suda s.v. Κλεομένης <sup>c159</sup>Suda s.v. Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Φιλοπάτωρ <sup>c160</sup>Suda s.v. Λεύκιος



Ἰερώνυμος <sup>a581, b580, c161</sup>	108r
Φαλαρης (!), Απολλοδωρος <sup>a582, b581</sup>	
Ἰερων <sup>a583, b582, c162</sup>	
Γέλων <sup>a584, b583</sup>	108v
Γοργος <sup>a585, b584, c163</sup>	
Φίλιππος <sup>a586, b585</sup>	
περὶ Φιλιππου <sup>a587, b586</sup>	109v
<u>παροιμία</u> <sup>a588, b587</sup>	
<u>παροιμία</u> <sup>a589, b588</sup>	
Θεοπομπος <sup>a590, b589</sup>	110v
Θουκυδιδης <sup>a591, b590</sup>	111v
Αντιοχος <sup>a592, b591</sup>	112r
Αρατος <sup>a593, b592</sup>	
Αννίβας <sup>a594, b593</sup>	
Κυαρος <sup>a595, b594</sup>	112v
Αντίοχος <sup>a596, b595</sup>	
Αντιοχίς <sup>a597, b596</sup>	
Ασδρουβας <sup>a598, b597</sup>	113r
Αννίβας <sup>a599, b598</sup>	
Αγαθοκλης <sup>a600, b599</sup>	113v
Κλεομένης <sup>a601, b600</sup>	
Κλεων, Χάρης <sup>a602, b601</sup>	
Φίλιππος <sup>a603, b602</sup>	
<u>παροιμία</u> <sup>a604, b603, c164</sup>	114r

<sup>a581</sup>EV 2,102,21 exc. 21 — <sup>a582</sup>EV 2,103,2–3 exc. 21 — <sup>a583</sup>EV 2,103,20 exc. 21 — <sup>a584</sup>EV 2,104,11 exc. 22 — <sup>a585</sup>EV 2,104,14 exc. 23 — <sup>a586</sup>EV 2,104,26 exc. 22 — <sup>a587</sup>EV 2,106,4 exc. 25 — <sup>a588</sup>EV 2,106,27–28 exc. 25: οὐ λύκος ἐξ ἀνθρώπου κατὰ τὸν Ἀρκαδικὸν μῦθον, ὥς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, ἀλλὰ τύραννος ἐκ βασιλέως ἀπέβη πικρός. — <sup>a589</sup>EV 2,107,5–6 exc. 25: καὶ μεγάλῳ, τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον, ἔλκει τῷ προγεγονότι περὶ τὰς σφαγὰς μικρὸν ἵαμα προσέθηκεν... — <sup>a590</sup>EV 2,108,21 exc. 26 — <sup>a591</sup>EV 2,111,24 exc. 26 — <sup>a592</sup>EV 2,108,26 exc. 26 (his name is not in the text) — <sup>a593</sup>EV 2,112,15–16 exc. 26 — <sup>a594</sup>EV 2,112,24 exc. 26 (his name is not in the text) — <sup>a595</sup>EV 2,113,3 exc. 27 — <sup>a596</sup>EV 2,113,10 exc. 28 — <sup>a597</sup>EV 2,113,25 exc. 28 — <sup>a598</sup>EV 2,114,2 exc. 29 — <sup>a599</sup>EV 2,114,25 exc. 30 — <sup>a600</sup>EV 2,115,9 exc. 30 — <sup>a601</sup>EV 2,115,9 exc. 30 — <sup>a602</sup>EV 2,115,25 exc. 30 — <sup>a603</sup>EV 2,115,29 exc. 30 — <sup>a604</sup>EV 2,117,1–3 exc. 30: ἐγχώριοι γὰρ οὐ μόνον τὰς τῶν ἀνέμων στάσεις κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἀνθρώπων ἦθη κάλλιστα γινώσκουσιν. —

b580 Polyb. 7.7.1	b581 Polyb. 7.7.2	b582 Polyb. 7.8.1	b583 Polyb. 7.8.9	b584 Polyb. 7.10.2
b585 Polyb. 7.11.1	b586 Polyb. 7.13.14	b587 Polyb. 7.13.7	b588 Polyb. 7.14.2	b589 Polyb. 8.9.1
b590 Polyb. 8.11.3	b591 Polyb. 8.11.3	b592 Polyb. 8.12.2	b593 Polyb. 8.12.5	b594 Polyb. 8.22.1
b595 Polyb. 8.23.1	b596 Polyb. 8.23.1	b597 Polyb. 9.11.3	b598 Polyb. 9.22.7	b599 Polyb. 8.23.2
b600 Polyb. 8.23.3	b601 Polyb. 8.23.6	b602 Polyb. 8.23.9	b603 Polyb. 8.25.3	

<sup>c161</sup>Suda s.v. Ἰερώνυμος <sup>c162</sup>Suda s.v. Ἰέρων <sup>c163</sup>Suda s.v. Γόργος <sup>c164</sup>Suda s.v. ἀνέμων στάσεις and ἐγχώριον

115r	περὶ Ποπλίου <sup>a605, b604</sup>
115v	Νηπτης <sup>a606, b605</sup>
116r	Ευρυλέων, Φιλοποιμην <sup>a607, b606</sup>
117r	Φιλιππος <sup>a608, b607</sup>
117v	Φιλιππος <sup>a609, b608</sup> Φιλοποίμην <sup>a610, b609</sup> Τίμαιος <sup>a611, b610</sup>
119v	Δημόχαρης <sup>a612, b611, c165</sup>
315v	Αγαθοκλής <sup>a613, b612</sup> Τίμαιος <sup>a614, b613</sup>
315v	Αγαθοκλής <sup>a615, b614</sup>
316r	Φάλαρις <sup>a616, b615</sup>
317r	Σκόπας <sup>a617, b616, c166</sup> Ηρακλειδης <sup>a618, b617</sup> Ναβιστετος <sup>a619, b618</sup>
318v	Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Φιλοπάτωρ <sup>a620, b619</sup> Μολπαγορας <sup>a621, b620, c167</sup>
319v	Φιλιππος <sup>a622, b621</sup> Σωσίβιος <sup>a623, b622, c168</sup> Αγαθοκλῆς <sup>a624, b623</sup>
320r	Αντιοχος ο βασιλευς <sup>a625, b624, c169</sup> Φιλιππος <sup>a626, b625</sup> Ναβις <sup>a627, b626</sup>
299v	Τληπολεμος <sup>a628, b627, c170</sup>
300r	Σωσίβιος <sup>a629, b628</sup>
300v	Γαζαῖοι <sup>a630, b629</sup>

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<sup>a605</sup>EV 2,118,15 exc. 31 (in the upper margin as a title) — <sup>a606</sup>EV 2,119,26 exc. 31 — <sup>a607</sup>EV 2,121,17–19 exc. 34 — <sup>a608</sup>EV 2,123,27 exc. 35 — <sup>a609</sup>EV 2,125,1 exc. 37 — <sup>a610</sup>EV 2,125,8 exc. 38 — <sup>a611</sup>EV 2,125,22 exc. 39 — <sup>a612</sup>EV 2,125,1 exc. 41 — <sup>a613</sup>EV 2,132,13 exc. 41 — <sup>a614</sup>EV 2,133,1 exc. 42 — <sup>a615</sup>EV 2,132,13 exc. 41 — <sup>a616</sup>EV 2,134,17 exc. 44 — <sup>a617</sup>EV 2,136,6 exc. 46 — <sup>a618</sup>EV 2,136,18 exc. 47 — <sup>a619</sup>EV 2,137,15 exc. 49 — <sup>a620</sup>EV 2,140,3 exc. 50 — <sup>a621</sup>EV 2,140,16 exc. 51 — <sup>a622</sup>EV 2,142,13 exc. 53 — <sup>a623</sup>EV 2,142,17 exc. 54 — <sup>a624</sup>EV 2,142,23 exc. 55 (cf. EI p. 226) — <sup>a625</sup>EV 2,143,163 exc. 56 — <sup>a626</sup>EV 2,143,20 exc. 57 — <sup>a627</sup>EV 2,144,16 exc. 58 — <sup>a628</sup>EV 2,151,11 exc. 60 — <sup>a629</sup>EV 2,152,13 exc. 60 — <sup>a630</sup>EV 2,153,14 exc. 62 —

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<sup>b604</sup>Polyb. 8.23.9 <sup>b605</sup>Polyb. 10.3.1 <sup>b606</sup>Polyb. 10.21.1 <sup>b607</sup>Polyb. 10.26.1 <sup>b608</sup>Polyb. 11.7.2 <sup>b609</sup>Polyb. 11.10.3 <sup>b610</sup>Polyb. 12.7.1 <sup>b611</sup>Polyb. 12.13.1 <sup>b612</sup>Polyb. 12.15.8 <sup>b613</sup>Polyb. 12.23.1 <sup>b614</sup>Polyb. 12.15.8 <sup>b615</sup>Polyb. 12.25.1 <sup>b616</sup>Polyb. 13.2.1 <sup>b617</sup>Polyb. 13.4.4 <sup>b618</sup>Polyb. 13.6.1 <sup>b619</sup>Polyb. 14.12.3 <sup>b620</sup>Polyb. 15.21.1 <sup>b621</sup>Polyb. 15.24.1 <sup>b622</sup>Polyb. 15.25.1 <sup>b623</sup>Polyb. 15.25.20 <sup>b624</sup>Polyb. 15.37 <sup>b625</sup>Polyb. 16.1.1 <sup>b626</sup>Polyb. 16.13 <sup>b627</sup>Polyb. 16.21.1 <sup>b628</sup>Polyb. 16.22.2 <sup>b629</sup>Polyb. 16.22.1

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<sup>c165</sup>Suda s.v. Δημόχαρης <sup>c166</sup>Suda s.v. Σκόπας <sup>c167</sup>Suda s.v. Μολπαγόρας <sup>c168</sup>Suda s.v. Σωσίβιος <sup>c169</sup>Suda s.v. Ἀντίοχος (ὁ βασιλεύς) later add. <sup>c170</sup>Suda s.v. Τληπόλεμος

Τίτος <sup>a631, b630, c171</sup>	301r
περὶ προδοτῶν <sup>a632, b631, c172</sup>	
τίς ἐστὶ προδότης <sup>a633, b632, c173</sup>	302r
Ἄτταλος <sup>a634, b633</sup>	303r
Φίλιππος <sup>a635, b634</sup>	
περὶ Ῥωμαίων <sup>a636, b635</sup>	303v
Λευχιος <sup>a637, b636, c174</sup>	
ἐνδουχία <sup>a638, b637</sup>	
Ατταλος <sup>a639, b638, c175</sup>	304r
Πολυκράτης <sup>a640, b639, c176</sup>	304v
περὶ Βοιωτῶν <sup>a641, b640</sup>	
περὶ Νέωνος <sup>a642, b641</sup>	305r
Ὀφέλτας <sup>a643, b642</sup>	305v
Μεγαρεῖς <sup>a644, b643</sup>	306r
Παμφιλίδης <sup>a645, b644, c177</sup>	306v
Διοφάνης <sup>a646, b645, c178</sup>	
Μοαγετης <sup>a647, b646</sup>	
Πτολεμαῖος <sup>a648, b647</sup>	
Πολυκράτης <sup>a649, b648</sup>	
Απολλωνίας <sup>a650, b649, c179</sup>	
Ὀρτιάγων <sup>a651, b650, c180</sup>	307r
Αριστόνικος <sup>a652, b651, c181</sup>	
Δεινοκράτης <sup>a653, b652, c182</sup>	
Φίλιππος <sup>a654, b653</sup>	307v
παροιμία <sup>a655, b654, c183</sup>	

<sup>a631</sup>EV 2,155,1 exc. 64 — <sup>a632</sup>EV 2,155,10 exc. 65 — <sup>a633</sup>EV 2,157,22–26 exc. 64 — <sup>a634</sup>EV 2,159,4 exc. 66 — <sup>a635</sup>EV 2,159,23 exc. 68 — <sup>a636</sup>EV 2,160,7–11 exc. 68 (cf. ELr p. 229) — <sup>a637</sup>EV 2,160,21 exc. 68 — <sup>a638</sup>EV 2,161,6 exc. 68 — <sup>a639</sup>EV 2,161,25 exc. 69 — <sup>a640</sup>EV 2,162,23 exc. 70 — <sup>a641</sup>EV 2,163,5 exc. 71 — <sup>a642</sup>EV 2,164,6 exc. 71 — <sup>a643</sup>EV 2,165,13 exc. 71 in the body text Ὀφέλτας — <sup>a644</sup>EV 2,165,13 exc. 71 — <sup>a645</sup>EV 2,166,19 exc. 73 — <sup>a646</sup>EV 2,167,1 exc. 74 — <sup>a647</sup>EV 2,167,9 exc. 75 (cf. ELg 23, p. 265) — <sup>a648</sup>EV 2,167,12 exc. 76 — <sup>a649</sup>EV 2,167,12 exc. 76 — <sup>a650</sup>EV 2,168,6 exc. 77 — <sup>a651</sup>EV 2,169,1 exc. 78 — <sup>a652</sup>EV 2,169,8 exc. 79 — <sup>a653</sup>EV 2,169,16 exc. 80 — <sup>a654</sup>EV 2,170,17 exc. 81 — <sup>a655</sup>EV 2,171,2–3 exc. 81 (cf. ES 105, p. 180): διότι κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν ἔστι Δίκης ὀφθαλμός, ἥς μηδέποτε δεῖ καταφρονεῖν ἀνθρώπους ὑπάρχοντας. —

<sup>b630</sup>Polyb. 18.12.2 <sup>b631</sup>Polyb. 18.13.1 <sup>b632</sup>Polyb. 18.15.2 <sup>b633</sup>Polyb. 18.16 <sup>b634</sup>Polyb. 18.33.4 <sup>b635</sup>Polyb. 18.34.7 <sup>b636</sup>Polyb. 18.35.4 <sup>b637</sup>Polyb. 18.35.6 <sup>b638</sup>Polyb. 18.41.1 <sup>b639</sup>Polyb. 18.55.7 <sup>b640</sup>Polyb. 20.4.1 <sup>b641</sup>Polyb. 20.4.5 <sup>b642</sup>Polyb. 20.6.4 <sup>b643</sup>Polyb. 20.6.8 <sup>b644</sup>Polyb. 21.7.5 <sup>b645</sup>Polyb. 21.9.1 <sup>b646</sup>Polyb. 21.34.1 <sup>b647</sup>Polyb. 22.17.1 <sup>b648</sup>Polyb. 22.17.2–3 <sup>b649</sup>Polyb. 22.20 <sup>b650</sup>Polyb. 22.21 <sup>b651</sup>Polyb. 22.22 <sup>b652</sup>Polyb. 23.5.4 <sup>b653</sup>Polyb. 23.10.1 <sup>b654</sup>Polyb. 23.10.3

<sup>c171</sup>Suda s.v. Τίτος <sup>c172</sup>Suda s.v. προδότας <sup>c173</sup>Suda s.v. προδότας <sup>c174</sup>Suda s.v. Λεύχιος Αἰμίλιος <sup>c175</sup>Suda s.v. Ἄτταλος <sup>c176</sup>Suda s.v. Πολυκράτης <sup>c177</sup>Suda s.v. Παμφιλίδης <sup>c178</sup>Suda s.v. Διοφάνης <sup>c179</sup>Suda s.v. Απολλωνίας <sup>c180</sup>Suda s.v. Ὀρτιάγων <sup>c181</sup>Suda s.v. Αριστόνικος <sup>c182</sup>Suda s.v. Δεινοκράτης, ῥωπικός <sup>c183</sup>Suda s.v. Δίκης ὀφθαλμός

308v	Φιλοποίμην <sup>a656, b655</sup> Αννίβας <sup>a657, b656, c184</sup> Ποπλιος <sup>a658, b657, c185</sup> Χαίρων <sup>a659, b658, c186</sup>
309r	Ἀρίσταινος <sup>a660, b659, c187</sup> Περσεύς <sup>a661, b660, c188</sup>
309v	Κοτυς ὁ Θράξ <sup>a662, b661, c189</sup> Κέφαλος <sup>a663, b662</sup> Χάροψ <sup>a664, b663</sup> Κέφαλος <sup>a665, b664</sup>
311r	Φαρνάκης <sup>a666, b665</sup> Ἀντίοχος <sup>a667, b666</sup>
311v	Ἀντίνοῦς, Θεόδοτος <sup>a668, b667</sup>
313r	Αἰτολοί <sup>a669, b668</sup>
313v	Χάροψ <sup>a670, b669</sup>
314r	Ἀντίοχος <sup>a671, b670</sup> Αἰμίλιος <sup>a672, b671, c190</sup>
292v	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">σῶφ&lt;ρ&gt;οσύνη</span> (!) <sup>a673, b672</sup> <span style="border: 1px solid black;">αφιλοχρηματία</span> <sup>a674, b673</sup>
293r	Αἰμίλια <sup>a675, b674, c191</sup>
294r	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">ανδρεία</span> <sup>a676, b675</sup>
295r	Λυκίσκος, Μνασίππος <sup>a677, b676</sup> Χάροψ <sup>a678, b677</sup>
295v	Μαρκος <sup>a679, b678</sup>

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<sup>a656</sup>EV 2,172,12 exc. 83 (cf. ES 108, p. 181) — <sup>a657</sup>EV 2,172,19 exc. 84 — <sup>a658</sup>EV 2,173,1 exc. 85 — <sup>a659</sup>EV 2,173,12 exc. 86 — <sup>a660</sup>EV 2,174,8 exc. 87 — <sup>a661</sup>EV 2,175,1 exc. 88 — <sup>a662</sup>EV 2,176,6 exc. 90 — <sup>a663</sup>EV 2,176,20 exc. 92 — <sup>a664</sup>EV 2,176,20 exc. 92 — <sup>a665</sup>EV 2,177,18 exc. 92 — <sup>a666</sup>EV 2,178,24 exc. 94 — <sup>a667</sup>EV 2,179,23 exc. 97 — <sup>a668</sup>EV 2,180,24 exc. 98 — <sup>a669</sup>EV 2,184,12 exc. 99 — <sup>a670</sup>EV 2,184,31 exc. 100 — <sup>a671</sup>EV 2,186,3 exc. 103 — <sup>a672</sup>EV 2,186,11 exc. 100 in the text Αἰμιλίου — <sup>a673</sup>EV 2,189,17 exc. 104 — <sup>a674</sup>EV 2,190,9–10 exc. 104: Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα κατὰ τὸ συνεχὲς ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸ περὶ τὰ χρήματα μεγαλοψυχία καὶ καθαρότητι διενεργεῖν τῶν ἄλλων. — <sup>a675</sup>EV 2,191,8 exc. 104 — <sup>a676</sup>EV 2,194,8 exc. 104 — <sup>a677</sup>EV 2,195,26–27 exc. 105 — <sup>a678</sup>EV 2,196,1 exc. 105 — <sup>a679</sup>EV 2,197,15 exc. 106 —

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<sup>b655</sup>Polyb. 23.12.3 <sup>b656</sup>Polyb. 23.10.1 <sup>b657</sup>Polyb. 23.14.1 <sup>b658</sup>Polyb. 24.7.1 <sup>b659</sup>Polyb. 24.11.1 <sup>b660</sup>Polyb. 25.1.1 <sup>b661</sup>Polyb. 27.12 <sup>b662</sup>Polyb. 27.15.1 <sup>b663</sup>Polyb. 27.15.2 <sup>b664</sup>Polyb. 27.15.10 <sup>b665</sup>Polyb. 27.17 <sup>b666</sup>Polyb. 28.18 <sup>b667</sup>Polyb. 30.7.2 <sup>b668</sup>Polyb. 30.11 <sup>b669</sup>Polyb. 30.12 <sup>b670</sup>Polyb. 31.9 <sup>b671</sup>Polyb. 31.22.1 <sup>b672</sup>Polyb. 31.25.2 <sup>b673</sup>Polyb. 31.25.9 <sup>b674</sup>Polyb. 31.26.7 <sup>b675</sup>Polyb. 31.29.1 <sup>b676</sup>Polyb. 32.5.1–2 <sup>b677</sup>Polyb. 32.5.4 <sup>b678</sup>Polyb. 32.6.5

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<sup>c184</sup>Suda s.v. Αννίβας <sup>c185</sup>Suda s.v. Πόπλιος <sup>c186</sup>Suda s.v. Χαίρων <sup>c187</sup>Suda s.v. Ἀρίσταινος <sup>c188</sup>Suda s.v. Περσεύς, κατακαλῶν <sup>c189</sup>Suda s.v. Κοτυς <sup>c190</sup>Suda s.v. Λεύκιος Αἰμίλιος <sup>c191</sup>Suda s.v. Αἰμίλια

Εὐμένης <sup>a680, b679, c192</sup>	296r
Ἀτταλος <sup>a681, b680, c193</sup>	
Προυσίας <sup>a682, b681, c194</sup>	
Ἀριστοκρατης <sup>a683, b682, c195</sup>	297r
Ἀρχίας <sup>a684, b683, c196</sup>	
παροιμία <sup>a685, b684, c197</sup>	
Ἀριαραθης <sup>a686, b685, c198</sup>	
Ἀντιφάνης <sup>a687, b686</sup>	297v
Προυσίας <sup>a688, b687, c199</sup>	
Μασανάσσης <sup>a689, b688, c200</sup>	
Ἀσδρούβας <sup>a690, b689, c201</sup>	
Πυθέας <sup>a691, b690</sup>	268r
Δαίιος <sup>a692, b691</sup>	
ἄρετη <sup>a693, b692</sup>	270r
παροιμία <sup>a694, b693, c202</sup>	
Πολύβιος <sup>a695, b694</sup>	271r
Λεύκιος <sup>a696, b695</sup>	271v
Πτολεμαῖος <sup>a697, b696</sup>	

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<sup>a680</sup>EV 2,197,28 exc. 107 — <sup>a681</sup>EV 2,198,13 exc. 108 — <sup>a682</sup>EV 2,198,16 exc. 109 — <sup>a683</sup>EV 2,200,1 exc. 110 — <sup>a684</sup>EV 2,200,8 exc. 111 — <sup>a685</sup>EV 2,200,10–11 exc. 111 τῷ γὰρ ὄντι διὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας κενοὶ κενὰ λογίζονται κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν. — <sup>a686</sup>EV 2,200,17 exc. 112 — <sup>a687</sup>EV 2,201,15 exc. 113 — <sup>a688</sup>EV 2,201,17 exc. 114 — <sup>a689</sup>EV 2,202,10 exc. 115 — <sup>a690</sup>EV 2,202,10 exc. 116 — <sup>a691</sup>EV 2,206,11 exc. 116 — <sup>a692</sup>EV 2,206,19 exc. 116 — <sup>a693</sup>EV 2,210,21–23 exc. 119: τί γὰρ εἰκὸς ἦν πρᾶξαι τούτους κατὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπιλαβομένους ἀφορμῆς τινος ἢ προτερήματος δῆλόν ἐστιν ἐκ τῶν προειρημένων διὰ τὸ κατὰ λόγον. — <sup>a694</sup>EV 2,210,23–25 exc. 120 (cf. ES 163, p. 220): ἅπαντες δὲ τότε τὴν παροιμίαν ταύτην διὰ στόματος ἔσχον, ὥς ‘Εἰ μὴ ταχέως ἀπωλόμεθα, οὐκ ἂν ἐσώθημεν’. — <sup>a695</sup>EV 2,213,4 exc. 122 — <sup>a696</sup>EV 2,214,3 exc. 123 (not mentioned in the text) — <sup>a697</sup>EV 2,214,15 exc. 124 —

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<sup>b679</sup>Polyb. 32.8.1 <sup>b680</sup>Polyb. 32.12 <sup>b681</sup>Polyb. 32.15 <sup>b682</sup>Polyb. 33.4 <sup>b683</sup>Polyb. 33.5.2 <sup>b684</sup>Polyb. 33.5.2 <sup>b685</sup>Polyb. 33.6.3 <sup>b686</sup>Polyb. 34.6.15 <sup>b687</sup>Polyb. 36.15 <sup>b688</sup>Polyb. 36.16.1 <sup>b689</sup>Polyb. 38.7.1 <sup>b690</sup>Polyb. 38.14.1 <sup>b691</sup>Polyb. 38.14.1 <sup>b692</sup>Polyb. 38.18.11 <sup>b693</sup>Polyb. 38.14.1 <sup>b694</sup>Polyb. 39.4.1 <sup>b695</sup>Polyb. 39.6.1 <sup>b696</sup>Polyb. 39.7.1

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<sup>c192</sup>Suda s.v. Εὐμένης <sup>c193</sup>Suda s.v. Ἀτταλος <sup>c194</sup>Suda s.v. Προυσίας <sup>c195</sup>Suda s.v. Ἀριστοκράτης, Ῥοδίων στρατηγός <sup>c196</sup>Suda s.v. Ἀρχίας <sup>c197</sup>Suda s.v. κενοί <sup>c198</sup>Suda s.v. Ἀρχίας <sup>c199</sup>Suda s.v. Προυσίας <sup>c200</sup>Suda s.v. Μασανάσσης <sup>c201</sup>Suda s.v. Ἀσδρούβας <sup>c202</sup>Suda s.v. Εἰ μὴ ταχέως

## A.5.12. Appian

272r	Κλαύδιος <sup>a698, b697</sup>
273r	αρετη <sup>a699, b698</sup>
272v	Μαλλιος Τορκουάτος <sup>a700, b699</sup>
273v	Δέκιος <sup>a701, b700</sup>
274r	κακια <sup>a702, b701</sup>
274v	Κελτοι <sup>a703, b702</sup> Ἐπικύδης <sup>a704, b703, c203</sup>
275r	Ἴπποκρατης <sup>a705, b704</sup> Ἀννίβας <sup>a706, b705, c204</sup>
284r	Κάτων <sup>a707, b706, c205</sup> Γάλβας <sup>a708, b707</sup>
284v	Δάσιος <sup>a709, b708</sup> Αννίβας <sup>a710, b709, c206</sup>
285v	Μασσανάσσης <sup>a711, b710, c207</sup> αρετη <sup>a712, b711, c208</sup> κακια Ασρούβας <sup>a713, b712, c209</sup>
286r	Μέτελος <sup>a714, b713</sup> Περσεύς <sup>a715, b714, c210</sup>
287r	Παυλος <sup>a716, b715</sup>

<sup>a698</sup>EV 2,216,8 exc. 1 — <sup>a699</sup>EV 2,218,28–31 exc. 4: οἷς ἡ βουλή πεισθεῖσα τὰς μὲν τῶν χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς ἐψηφίσατο πᾶσι Ῥωμαίοις, τοῖς δὲ τότε ἐχθροῖς καὶ ἄδειαν. οἱ μὲν δὴ τὰ ὅπλα ἀποθέμενοι κατήρσαν ἐς τὴν πόλιν. — <sup>a700</sup>EV 2,219,1 exc. 5 — <sup>a701</sup>EV 2,219,27 exc. 7 — <sup>a702</sup>EV 2,220,1–15 exc. 7: ὁ δ' ἐς πολὺ τῆς ὁδύνης ἀνασχόμενος ἀπενίψατο, καὶ εὔρε τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς δεδαπανημένους. Φαβρίκιος δὲ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ διορθώσει τῶνδε πεμφθεὶς τὴν τε πόλιν τοῖς ἔτι Ῥηγίνοις λοιποῖς ἀπεδίδου, καὶ τῶν φρουρῶν τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμψεν· οἱ μαστιγωθέντες ἐν ἄγορᾳ μέση τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀπεκόπησαν καὶ ἐξερρίφησαν ἅταφοι. — <sup>a703</sup>EV 2,221,21 exc. 10 — <sup>a704</sup>EV 2,222,14 exc. 12 — <sup>a705</sup>EV 2,222,23 exc. 13 — <sup>a706</sup>EV 2,224,1 exc. 16 — <sup>a707</sup>EV 2,225,26 exc. 19 — <sup>a708</sup>EV 2,226,7 exc. 21 — <sup>a709</sup>EV 2,226,24 exc. 24 — <sup>a710</sup>EV 2,227,10 exc. 25 — <sup>a711</sup>EV 2,229,12 exc. 30 — <sup>a712</sup>EV 2,229,21–23 exc. 30: ἔφυ δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα μέγας τε καὶ εὐρωστος ἐς γῆρας πολὺ, καὶ μάχης ἐπειρᾶτο μέχρι τοῦ θανάτου, ἵππου τε χωρὶς ἀναβολέως ἐπέβαινε. — <sup>a713</sup>EV 2,230,6 exc. 31 — <sup>a714</sup>EV 2,231,4 exc. 33 — <sup>a715</sup>EV 2,231,11 exc. 34 — <sup>a716</sup>EV 2,231,11 exc. 34 —

<sup>b697</sup>Appian, *Basilica* Fr. 12 <sup>b698</sup>Appian, *Samnica* Fr. 1 <sup>b699</sup>Appianus, *Samnica* Fr. 5 <sup>b700</sup>Appianus, *Samnica* Fr. 5 <sup>b701</sup>Appian, *Samnica* Fr. 5 <sup>b702</sup>Appian, *Celtica* Fr. 6 <sup>b703</sup>Appian, *Celtica* Fr. 6 <sup>b704</sup>Appian, *Sicilica* Fr. 4 <sup>b705</sup>Appian, *Hispaniaca* c. 6 <sup>b706</sup>Appian, *Hispaniaca* c. 39 <sup>b707</sup>Appian, *Hispaniaca* c. 60 <sup>b708</sup>Appian, *Hannibaica* c. 31 <sup>b709</sup>Appian, *Hannibaica* c. 43 <sup>b710</sup>Appian, *Punica* c. 106 <sup>b711</sup>Appian, *Punica* c. 106 <sup>b712</sup>Appian, *Punica* c. 118 <sup>b713</sup>Appian, *Numidica* Fr. 3 <sup>b714</sup>Appian, *Numidica* Fr. 16 <sup>b715</sup>Appian, *Macedonica* Fr. 19

<sup>c203</sup>Suda s.v. Ἐπικύδης <sup>c204</sup>Suda s.v. Ἀννίβας <sup>c205</sup>Suda s.v. Κάτων <sup>c206</sup>Suda s.v. Αννίβας <sup>c207</sup>Suda s.v. Μασσανάσσης <sup>c208</sup>Suda s.v. Μασσανάσσης <sup>c209</sup>Suda s.v. Ἀσρούβας <sup>c210</sup>Suda s.v. Περσεύς Μακεδῶν

### A.5.13. Cassius Dio

Ταρχυνιος <sup>a717, b716</sup>	287v
αρετη <sup>a718, b717</sup>	288v
Οράτιος <sup>a719, b718</sup>	289v
αρετη <sup>a720, b719</sup>	288v
Καπιτωλίνος <sup>a721, b720</sup>	290v
Τορκουατος <sup>a722, b721</sup>	291r
αρετη <sup>a723, b722</sup>	291v
Πύρρος <sup>a724, b723</sup>	166v
Ρηγοῦλος(!) <sup>a725, b724</sup>	
Αννίβας <sup>a726, b725</sup>	167r
αρετη <sup>a727, b726</sup>	167v
Σκιπίων <sup>a728, b727</sup>	168r
Μαρκελλος <sup>a729, b728</sup>	168v
Σκιπίων <sup>a730, b729</sup>	
αρετη <sup>a731, b730</sup>	169r

<sup>a717</sup>EV 2,236,6 exc. 5 — <sup>a718</sup>EV 2,238,6 exc. 7: Ὅτι ὁ Βροῦτος τοὺς Ταρχυνίους ἐκ τοιαύσδε αἰτίας κατέλυσε. — <sup>a719</sup>EV 2,239,18 exc. 8 — <sup>a720</sup>EV 2,239,25 exc. 9: — <sup>a721</sup>EV 2,242,6 exc. 15 — <sup>a722</sup>EV 2,243,10 exc. 18 (cf. ES 54, p. 422) — <sup>a723</sup>EV 2,244,9–12 exc. 20: οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἔνδηλος ἦν δι' ἑαυτοῦ τὰ πράγματα ποιούμενος, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ὄντως ἐν τε συμβούλου καὶ ἐν ὑπάρχου μέρει τῷ παιδὶ συνὼν αὐτός τε ἐμετρίαζεν καὶ τὴν δόξαν τῶν ἔργων προσετίθει. — <sup>a724</sup>EV 2,246,25 exc. 26 — <sup>a725</sup>EV 2,247,8 exc. 28 (cf. ES exc. 123, p. 442) — <sup>a726</sup>EV 2,243,4 exc. 31 (cf. ES exc. 133, p. 426) — <sup>a727</sup>EV 2,249,31–250,1 exc. 32: Ὅτι Ἀννίβαλ ἦτοι χαριζόμενος τῷ Φαβίῳ ὡς καὶ ἐπιτηδείῳ σφίσιν ὄντι, ἧ καὶ ἐπὶ διαβολῇ αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲν τῶν προσηκόντων οἱ κατέδραμεν. — <sup>a728</sup>EV 2,250,25 exc. 33 — <sup>a729</sup>EV 2,251,18 exc. 35 — <sup>a730</sup>EV 2,251,18 exc. 40 — <sup>a731</sup>EV 2,252,27–253,3 exc. 41: Ὅτι ὁ Σκιπίων καὶ μὴ ἐννόμου ἡγεμονίας λαβὼν ὄνομα ἐξ ὧν ἐχειροτονήθη, τὸ στρατόπεδον προσφιλὲς ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ἥσκησεν ἐξηρηγηκός ἐκ τῆς ἀναρχίας καὶ ἀνεκτήσατο κατεπτηχός ἐκ τῶν συμφορῶν. —

<sup>b716</sup>Cassius Dio Fr. 9, ed. Boissevain p. 32

<sup>b718</sup>Cassius Dio Fr. 13,3 ed. Boissevain p. 38

<sup>b720</sup>Cassius Dio Fr. 26,1 ed. Boissevain p. 83

<sup>b722</sup>Cassius Dio Fr. 36,31 ed. Boissevain p. 108

<sup>b724</sup>Cassius Dio Fr. 43,19 ed. Boissevain p. 141

<sup>b726</sup>Cassius Dio Fr. 57,15 ed. Boissevain p. 215

<sup>b728</sup>Cassius Dio Fr. 57,32 ed. Boissevain p. 227

<sup>b730</sup>Cassius Dio Fr. 57,40 ed. Boissevain p. 241

<sup>b717</sup>Cassius Dio Fr. 11,13, ed. Boissevain p. 32

<sup>b719</sup>Cassius Dio Fr. 21,3, ed. Boissevain p. 59

<sup>b721</sup>Cassius Dio Fr. 35,4 ed. Boissevain p. 91

<sup>b723</sup>Cassius Dio Fr. 40,48 ed. Boissevain p. 137

<sup>b725</sup>Cassius Dio Fr. 54,3 ed. Boissevain p. 192

<sup>b727</sup>Cassius Dio Fr. 57,28 ed. Boissevain p. 224

<sup>b729</sup>Cassius Dio Fr. 57,38 ed. Boissevain p. 240

- 169v Μασινισσας<sup>a732, b731</sup>  
 Λικιννιος<sup>a733, b732</sup>
- 170r Αντίοχος<sup>a734, b733</sup>
- 170v Ρωμαιοι<sup>a735, b734</sup>  
 Γράκχος<sup>a736, b735</sup>
- 171r περὶ Σχιπιωνος τοῦ Ἀφρικανου<sup>a737, b736</sup>
- 171v περὶ φθόνου<sup>a738, b737</sup>
- 172r Κλαυδιος<sup>a739, b738</sup>
- 172v περὶ Πομπη<ι>ου<sup>a740, b739</sup>  
 Καπιων<sup>a741, b740</sup>
- 173r Γρακχος<sup>a742, b741</sup>
- 173v καρχια<sup>a743, b742</sup>
- 190r περὶ των αει παρθενων<sup>a744, b743</sup>  
 Μαρχια<sup>a745, b744</sup>  
 Μάνιος<sup>a746, b745</sup>  
αρετή καὶ κακία<sup>a747, b746</sup>

<sup>a732</sup>EV 2,254,6 exc. 44 — <sup>a733</sup>EV 2,251,18 exc. 40 — <sup>a734</sup>EV 2,256,1 exc. 52 — <sup>a735</sup>EV 2,256,19 exc. 55 — <sup>a736</sup>EV 2,257,1 exc. 56 — <sup>a737</sup>EV 2,258,20 exc. 61 — <sup>a738</sup>EV 2,259,24–26 exc. 61: ἴσος μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ὑποδεεστέροις, οὐκ ἀμείνων δὲ τῶν ὁμοίων, ἀσθενέστερος δὲ τῶν μειζόνων ἀξιῶν εἶναι, κρεῖττων καὶ τοῦ φθόνου τοῦ μόνου τοὺς ἀρίστους ἄνδρας λυμαιομένου ἐγένετο. — <sup>a739</sup>EV 2,261,3 exc. 64 — <sup>a740</sup>EV 2,261,22 exc. 66 (ι is inserted in red by rubricator) — <sup>a741</sup>EV 2,262,1 exc. 67 — <sup>a742</sup>EV 2,263,4 exc. 70 — <sup>a743</sup>EV 2,264,19–20 exc. 73 Ὅτι Σχιπίων ὁ Ἀφρικανὸς φιλοτιμίᾳ πλείονι παρὰ τὸ προσῆκον τό τε ἀρμόζον τῇ ἄλλῃ αὐτοῦ ἀρετῇ ἐχρῆτο. — <sup>a744</sup>EV 2,265,24–266,9 exc. 75: — <sup>a745</sup>EV 2,266,10 exc. 76 — <sup>a746</sup>EV 2,266,10 exc. 76 — <sup>a747</sup>EV 2,267,6–15 exc. 78: Ὅτι ὁ Μάριος ἦν μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὴν ἄλλως καὶ στασιώδης καὶ ταραχώδης, καὶ παντὸς μὲν τοῦ συρφετώδους, ἀφ' οὐπὲρ καὶ ἐπεφύκει, φίλος, παντὸς δὲ τοῦ γενναίου καθαρέτης. καὶ γὰρ εἰπεῖν τι καὶ ὑποσχέσθαι καὶ ψεύσασθαι καὶ ἐπιорκῆσαι, ἐν ᾧ πλεονεκτῆσειν ἤλπιζεν, ἐτοιμότατα ἐτόλμα. τό τε συκοφαντῆσαι τινα τῶν ἀρίστων καὶ τὸ ἐπαινέσαι αὐτῶν κακίστων ἐν παιδιᾷ ἐτίθετο. καὶ μοι μηδεὶς θαυμάσῃ εἰ τοιοῦτός τις ὢν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἔλαθεν ἐφ' οἷς ἐκακούργει· ἔκ τε γὰρ τῆς περιτεχνήσεως καὶ ἐκ τῆς τύχης, ἥ παράπαν τὰ πρῶτα ἀγαθῇ ἐχρήσατο, καὶ ἀρετῆς δόξαν ἐκτήσατο. —

<sup>b731</sup>Cassius Dio Fr. 57,50 ed. Boissevain p. 253 <sup>b732</sup>Cassius Dio Fr. 57,52 ed. Boissevain p. 257  
<sup>b733</sup>Cassius Dio Fr. 62,1 ed. Boissevain p. 286 <sup>b734</sup>Cassius Dio Fr. 64 ed. Boissevain p. 292  
<sup>b735</sup>Cassius Dio Fr. 65,1 ed. Boissevain p. 292 <sup>b736</sup>Cassius Dio Fr. 70,4 ed. Boissevain p. 309  
<sup>b737</sup>Cassius Dio Fr. 70,9 ed. Boissevain p. 309 <sup>b738</sup>Cassius Dio Fr. 74,2 ed. Boissevain p. 322  
<sup>b739</sup>Cassius Dio Fr. 76 ed. Boissevain p. 323 <sup>b740</sup>Cassius Dio Fr. 78 ed. Boissevain p. 323 <sup>b741</sup>Cassius Dio Fr. 83,1 ed. Boissevain p. 327 <sup>b742</sup>Cassius Dio Fr. 84 ed. Boissevain p. 328 <sup>b743</sup>Cassius Dio Fr. 87,1–2 ed. Boissevain p. 331 <sup>b744</sup>Cassius Dio Fr. 87,3 ed. Boissevain p. 331 <sup>b745</sup>Cassius Dio Fr. 87,5 ed. Boissevain p. 331 <sup>b746</sup>Cassius Dio Fr. 89,2 ed. Boissevain p. 332



Τόλοσσαν <sup>a748, b747</sup>	191r
Χοχίαν <sup>a749, b748</sup>	
αρετή, <span>περὶ τῆς αποστασεως τῶν δοῦλων ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ</span> <sup>a750, b749</sup>	191v
Χοχίαν <sup>a751, b750</sup>	
Αθηνίων <sup>a752, b751</sup>	192r
Μάκελλα <sup>a753, b752</sup>	
<span>περὶ ἐλευθέρου τρόπου</span> <sup>a754, b753</sup>	192v
Πῖος <sup>a755, b754</sup>	
<span>ομοιον καὶ διαφορον</span> <sup>a756, b755</sup>	
Γάιος Ἀγοραῖος ἄνθρωπος <sup>a757, b756</sup>	193r
Κίννας <sup>a758, b757</sup>	193v
Μάριος <sup>a759, b758</sup>	194r
Συλλας <sup>a760, b759</sup>	

<sup>a748</sup>EV 2,268,1 exc. 81 — <sup>a749</sup>EV 2,268,11–14 exc. 82: Ὅτι ὁ Σερουίλιος ὑπὸ τοῦ πρὸς τὸν συνάρχοντα φθόνου τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐξ ἴσου οἱ ἐπετέτραπτο, τῷ δὲ δὴ ἀξιώματι οἷα ὑπατεύοντος αὐτοῦ ἡλαττοῦτο πολλῶν καὶ κακῶν αἴτιος τῷ στρατεύματι ἐγένετο. — <sup>a750</sup>EV 2,269,8–16 exc. 85 (ed. in app.): Ὅτι Πούπλιος Λικίνιος Νέρουας στρατηγῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, καὶ μαθὼν ὅτι οὐκ ἐν δίκῃ τινὰ περὶ τοὺς δούλους γίγνοιτο, ἥ καὶ λημμάτων ἀφορμὰς ζητῶν (καὶ γὰρ ἦν οὐκ ἄδωρος), περιήγγειλεν ἀφικνεῖσθαι πρὸς ἑαυτὸν πάντας τοὺς αἰτιωμένους τι τοὺς δεσπότης σφῶν, ὡς καὶ βοηθήσων αὐτοῖς. ἐξ οὖν τούτου καὶ ἐκείνων τε πολλοὶ συνιστάμενοι οἱ μὲν ἀδικεῖσθαι τι ἔλεγον, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τι τοῖς δεσπότης ἐνεκάλουν, νομίζοντες εἰληφέναι τοῦ πάντα ὅσα ἐβούλοντο αὐτοὺς ἀναμωτὶ διαπράξασθαι· καὶ οἱ ἐλεύθεροι συμφρονήσαντες ἀνθίσταντό σφισι καὶ οὐδαμῇ ὑφίεντο. — <sup>a751</sup>EV 2,269,19–23 exc. 85: οὐδέναν τῶν δούλων προσεδέξατο, ἀλλ' ἀπέπεμψεν αὐτοὺς ὡς μηδὲν κακὸν πεισομένους ἢ μηδὲν γε ἔτι ταράξει τῷ διασκεδασθῆναι δυνησομένους. οἱ δὲ δείσαντες τοὺς δεσπότης, ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπικαλέσαι τι αὐτοῖς ἐτόλμησαν, συνεστράφησαν καὶ κοινολογησάμενοι πρὸς ληστείας ἐτράποντο. — <sup>a752</sup>EV 2,270,22 exc. 88 — <sup>a753</sup>EV 2,270,26 exc. 88 — <sup>a754</sup>EV 2,272,9–14 exc. 91: καὶ οὐδὲν γε παρὰ τοῦτο ἤττον οὔτε ἐν εὐκλείᾳ οὔτε ἐν περιουσίᾳ ἐγένετο· πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Μούκιος, πλεῖστα δὲ καὶ δῆμοι καὶ βασιλεῖς ὅσοι ποτὲ ἐπεπείραντο αὐτοῦ ἐχαρίσαντο, ὥστε πολὺ πλείω αὐτὸν τῆς ἀρχαίας οὐσίας ἔχειν. — <sup>a755</sup>EV 2,272,15 exc. 92 — <sup>a756</sup>EV 2,272,29–31 exc. 95: Ὅτι ὁ Δροῦσος καὶ ὁ Καπίων ἰδίαν ἀλλήλοις ἔχθραν ἐκ φιλίας πολλῆς καὶ γάμων ἐπαλλαγῆς ποιησάμενοι καὶ ἐς τὰ πολιτικὰ αὐτὴν προήγαγον. — <sup>a757</sup>EV 2,274,2–3 exc. 99 — <sup>a758</sup>EV 2,274,14 exc. 102 — <sup>a759</sup>EV 2,276,3 exc. 105 — <sup>a760</sup>EV 2,276,9 exc. 106 —

<sup>b747</sup> Cassius Dio Fr. 90 ed. Boissevain p. 334	<sup>b748</sup> Cassius Dio Fr. 91,1 ed. Boissevain p. 334
<sup>b749</sup> Cassius Dio Fr. 93,1–2 ed. Boissevain p. 335	<sup>b750</sup> Cassius Dio Fr. 93,3 ed. Boissevain p. 335
<sup>b751</sup> Cassius Dio Fr. 93,4 ed. Boissevain p. 337	<sup>b752</sup> Cassius Dio Fr. 93,4 ed. Boissevain p. 337
<sup>b753</sup> Cassius Dio Fr. 97,4 ed. Boissevain p. 339	<sup>b754</sup> Cassius Dio Fr. 95,1 ed. Boissevain p. 338
<sup>b755</sup> Cassius Dio Fr. 96,3 ed. Boissevain p. 340	<sup>b756</sup> Cassius Dio Fr. 100 ed. Boissevain p. 344
<sup>b757</sup> Cassius Dio Fr. 102,1 ed. Boissevain p. 345	<sup>b758</sup> Cassius Dio Fr. 102,12 ed. Boissevain p. 347
<sup>b759</sup> Plutarchus, <i>Sulla</i> 12,3	

195r	Ορτήσιος <sup>a761, b760</sup>
195v	Θέρμος <sup>a762, b761</sup>
198v	Πούπλιος <sup>a763, b762</sup> Σαλούστιος <sup>a764, b763</sup>
199r	περὶ Καίσαρος Ἰουλίου <sup>a765, b764</sup>
202v	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">αααα</span> <sup>a766, b765</sup>
202v	Τανουσία <sup>a767, b766</sup>
203r	Φουλβία <sup>a768, b767</sup>
203v	Πόπλιος <sup>a769, b768</sup>
205v	Μάρκου <sup>a770, b769</sup>
143v	περὶ Αντωνίου καὶ Κλεοπατρας <sup>a771, b770</sup>
148r	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">αρετη</span> <sup>a772, b771</sup> Κορινθιος <sup>a773, b772</sup>
148v	Γάιος <sup>a774, b773</sup> Μούσας <sup>a775, b774</sup>
149r	περὶ Βηδίου του κακοτρόπου <sup>a776, b775</sup>
149v	Αγρίππας <sup>a777, b776</sup>
150r	Κάστωρ <sup>a778, b777</sup> Γερμανικος <sup>a779, b778</sup>
150v	Απικίου <sup>a780, b779</sup> Σιανος <sup>a781, b780</sup>
120r	Αππε<λλης> <sup>a782, b781</sup>
121r	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">περὶ πλεονεξίας</span> <sup>a783, b782</sup>

<sup>a761</sup>EV 2,278,16 exc. 110 — <sup>a762</sup>EV 2,279,29 exc. 114 — <sup>a763</sup>EV 2,287,1 exc. 126 — <sup>a764</sup>EV 2,287,7 exc. 127 — <sup>a765</sup>EV 2,287,6 exc. 135 — <sup>a766</sup>EV 2,296,1–7 exc. 137: Ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν οἱ στρατιῶται τὸν Ἀντώνιον φιλοφρόνως ἐδέξαντο, προσδοκήσαντες πλείω παρὰ τῶν προτεινομένων σφίσι παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος λήψεσθαι. ὥς μέντοι ῥ' ἐκάστω δώσειν δραχμὰς ὑπέσχετο, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ θορυβησάντων σφαγῆναι ἄλλους τέ τινες καὶ ἑκατοντάρχους ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τῆς γυναικὸς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐκέλευσεν, ἐνεωτέρισαν καὶ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα μετέστησαν· ὁ δὲ τούτους παρέλαβεν καὶ κατὰ φ' δραχμὰς ἔδωκεν. — <sup>a767</sup>EV 2,297,5 exc. 138 — <sup>a768</sup>EV 2,297,23 exc. 141 — <sup>a769</sup>EV 2,299,14 exc. 144 — <sup>a770</sup>EV 2,304,17 exc. 157 — <sup>a771</sup>EV 2,307,7 exc. 165 — <sup>a772</sup>EV 2,308,10–13 exc. 167: Ὅτι ὁ Ἀγρίππας τὰ Ἰούλια κατασκευάσας οὐχ ὅπως φθόνον τινὰ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὠφλίσκαεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ καὶ πρὸς τοῦ Αὐγούστου καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἐτιμᾶτο. — <sup>a773</sup>EV 2,308,18 exc. 168 — <sup>a774</sup>EV 2,309,20 exc. 170 — <sup>a775</sup>EV 2,309,24 exc. 171 — <sup>a776</sup>EV 2,311,13 exc. 174 — <sup>a777</sup>EV 2,312,1 exc. 175 — <sup>a778</sup>EV 2,318,10 exc. 187 — <sup>a779</sup>EV 2,318,14 exc. 188 — <sup>a780</sup>EV 2,319,2 exc. 189 — <sup>a781</sup>EV 2,320,5 exc. 192 — <sup>a782</sup>EV 2,326,3 exc. 199 — <sup>a783</sup>EV 2,329,4–8 exc. 208: Ὅτι ἐπεὶ ὁ Γάιος πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ χρήματα ἀναλώκει καὶ πόρος ἀξιόχρεως οὐκ ἦν καὶ αἱ δαπάναι υπερῆπειγον αὐτόν, ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν ἀφώρμησε, πρόφασιν μὲν τοὺς Κελτοὺς ὡς καὶ παρακινουντάς τι ποιησάμενος, ἔργῳ δὲ ὅπως καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων ἀνθοῦντα τοῖς πλούτοις καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἰβήρων ἐκχρημάτισηται. —

<sup>b760</sup>Plutarchus, *Sulla* 15,3 <sup>b761</sup>Cassius Dio Fr. 104,4 ed. Boissevain p. 347 <sup>b762</sup>Cassius Dio 43.3.1 <sup>b763</sup>Cassius Dio 43.9.2 <sup>b764</sup>Cassius Dio 44.38.5 <sup>b765</sup>Cassius Dio 45.13.1–3 <sup>b766</sup>Cassius Dio 47.7.4 <sup>b767</sup>Cassius Dio 47.8.2 <sup>b768</sup>Cassius Dio 47.11.1 <sup>b769</sup>Cassius Dio 47.11.1 <sup>b770</sup>Cassius Dio 51.8.1 <sup>b771</sup>Cassius Dio 53.23.3 <sup>b772</sup>Cassius Dio 53.23.5 <sup>b773</sup>Cassius Dio 53.27.6 <sup>b774</sup>Cassius Dio 53.30.3 <sup>b775</sup>Cassius Dio 54.23.1 <sup>b776</sup>Cassius Dio 54.29.1 <sup>b777</sup>Cassius Dio 57.14.9 <sup>b778</sup>Cassius Dio 57.16.6 <sup>b779</sup>Cassius Dio 57.19.5 <sup>b780</sup>Cassius Dio 58.3.8 <sup>b781</sup>Cassius Dio 59.5.2 <sup>b782</sup>Cassius Dio 59.21.1–2

Κλαύδιος <sup>a784, b783</sup>	146r
Μεσσαλινά <sup>a785, b784</sup>	123v
Σιλανός <sup>a786, b785</sup>	124v
Χαλκί <sup>a787, b786</sup>	125r
περὶ λίμνης <sup>a788, b787</sup>	
Λαιλιανός <sup>a789, b788</sup>	126r
Τιγελλινός <sup>a790, b789</sup>	127v
Κουρβουλών <sup>a791, b790</sup>	
περὶ τοῦ Μουσαροῦ καὶ βδελυροῦ κυνὸς τοῦ Νερωνος <sup>a792, b791</sup>	128r
περιοδονικῆς <sup>a793, b792</sup>	
Βίνδιξ <sup>a794, b793</sup>	129r
Νερων <sup>a795, b794</sup>	129v
Ροῦφος <sup>a796, b795</sup>	
Ώθων <sup>a797, b796</sup>	131r
Βιτέλλιος <sup>a798, b797</sup>	
Μουκιανός <sup>a799, b798</sup>	130v
περὶ Δομιτιανου οἷος ἦν τὸν τροπον <sup>a800, b799</sup>	130v
Δεκεβάλ <sup>a801, b800</sup>	133r
Λούσιος <sup>a802, b801</sup>	133v
Αδριανός <sup>a803, b802, c211</sup>	134r
Σεβήρος <sup>a804, b803</sup>	
Τούρβων <sup>a805, b804</sup>	134v
περὶ Μάρκου <sup>a806, b805</sup>	
περὶ Μάρκου τοῦ εὐσεβους <sup>a807, b806</sup>	135r
Πουδης <sup>a808, b807</sup>	
Μαρκός <sup>a809, b808</sup>	

<sup>a784</sup>EV 2,335,1 exc. 215 — <sup>a785</sup>EV 2,338,3 exc. 221 — <sup>a786</sup>EV 2,341,14 exc. 226 — <sup>a787</sup>EV 2,342,20-23 exc. 230: καὶ τούτου παραδοῦσα αὐτὸν οἷς ἤθελεν, ἐκάκου ὅσον ἐδύνατο, καὶ οὕτε τῷ πατρὶ συνεῖναι οὔτε ἐς τὸ δημόσιον προΐεναι εἶα, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀδέσμῳ τρόπον τινὰ <φυλακῇ εἶχεν>. — <sup>a788</sup>EV 2,343,4 exc. 232 — <sup>a789</sup>EV 2,345,14 exc. 237 — <sup>a790</sup>EV 2,349,10 exc. 244 — <sup>a791</sup>EV 2,350,7 exc. 248 — <sup>a792</sup>EV 2,350,23 exc. 250 (seemingly does not refer to this excerpt) — <sup>a793</sup>EV 2,351,15 exc. 251 — <sup>a794</sup>EV 2,354,10 exc. 256 — <sup>a795</sup>EV 2,354,16 exc. 257 — <sup>a796</sup>EV 2,354,16 exc. 257 — <sup>a797</sup>EV 2,356,13 exc. 263 — <sup>a798</sup>EV 2,354,18 exc. 264 — <sup>a799</sup>EV 2,360,12 exc. 272 — <sup>a800</sup>EV 2,361,5–21 exc. 274 — <sup>a801</sup>EV 2,364,7 exc. 284 — <sup>a802</sup>EV 2,366,4 exc. 290 — <sup>a803</sup>EV 2,368,10 exc. 295 — <sup>a804</sup>EV 2,369,1 exc. 296 — <sup>a805</sup>EV 2,369,8 exc. 297 — <sup>a806</sup>EV 2,370,14 exc. 302 — <sup>a807</sup>EV 2,371,7 exc. 305 — <sup>a808</sup>EV 2,371,23 exc. 307 — <sup>a809</sup>EV 2,372,23 exc. 310 —

<sup>b783</sup>Cassius Dio 60.2.1 <sup>b784</sup>Cassius Dio 60.18 <sup>b785</sup>Cassius Dio 60.31.7 <sup>b786</sup>Cassius Dio 60.32.6 <sup>b787</sup>Cassius Dio 60.33.6 <sup>b788</sup>Cassius Dio 61.6.6 <sup>b789</sup>Cassius Dio 62.13.3 <sup>b790</sup>Cassius Dio 62.23.5 <sup>b791</sup>Cassius Dio 62.28.2–4 <sup>b792</sup>Cassius Dio 63.8.3 <sup>b793</sup>Cassius Dio 63.22.1 <sup>b794</sup>Cassius Dio 63.26.1 <sup>b795</sup>Cassius Dio 63.26.1 <sup>b796</sup>Cassius Dio 64.14.1 <sup>b797</sup>Cassius Dio 65.1.3 <sup>b798</sup>Cassius Dio 66.2.4 <sup>b799</sup>Cassius Dio 67.1.1–4 <sup>b800</sup>Cassius Dio 67.6.1 <sup>b801</sup>Cassius Dio 68.32.4 <sup>b802</sup>Cassius Dio 69.11.3 <sup>b803</sup>Cassius Dio 69.14.4 <sup>b804</sup>Cassius Dio 69.18.1 <sup>b805</sup>Cassius Dio 71.5.2 <sup>b806</sup>Cassius Dio 71.28.1 <sup>b807</sup>Cassius Dio 71.29.1 <sup>b808</sup>Cassius Dio 71.34.2

<sup>c211</sup>Suda s.v. Ἀδριανός

- περὶ Μάρκου τοῦ εὐσεβούς<sup>a810,b809</sup>
- 136v Κομμοδος<sup>a811,b810</sup>  
 ἀρετῇ<sup>a812,b811,c212</sup>
- 137r Βικτωρινός<sup>a813,b812</sup>  
 Κλεανδρός<sup>a814,b813</sup>
- 137v ῥοπαλωτῇ<sup>a815,b814,c213</sup>  
 Κλαύδιος<sup>a816,b815</sup>
- 138v Σεβήρος<sup>a817,b816</sup>  
 Φλούβιος<sup>a818,b817</sup>
- 139r Περτιναξ<sup>a819,b818</sup>
- 139v Λαῖτος<sup>a820,b819</sup>  
 Σεβήρος<sup>a821,b820,c214</sup>
- 140r περὶ βιβλίων απορρητῶν<sup>a822,b821</sup>  
 Κυντιλλός<sup>a823,b822</sup>  
 Σεβήρος<sup>a824,b823</sup>
- 332r Ἀντίοχος<sup>a825,b824,c215</sup>  
 Μαχρινός<sup>a826,b825</sup>
- 332v Ψευδαντωνίνος<sup>a827,b826</sup>  
 περὶ Ψευδαντωνίνου<sup>a828,b827</sup>

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<sup>a810</sup>EV 2,372,24–374,24 exc. 311 — <sup>a811</sup>EV 2,375,7 exc. 313 — <sup>a812</sup>EV 2,375,9–26 exc. 315 — <sup>a813</sup>EV 2,377,6 exc. 319 — <sup>a814</sup>EV 2,378,4 exc. 320 — <sup>a815</sup>EV 2,379,1 exc. 324 — <sup>a816</sup>EV 2,379,8 exc. 325 — <sup>a817</sup>EV 2,381,19 exc. 333 — <sup>a818</sup>EV 2,381,24 exc. 334 (not in the body text) — <sup>a819</sup>EV 2,383,17 exc. 338 — <sup>a820</sup>EV 2,385,9 exc. 345 — <sup>a821</sup>EV 2,385,13 exc. 346 — <sup>a822</sup>EV 2,385,18 exc. 345: ἦν γὰρ οἷος μηδὲν μήτ' ἀνθρώπειον μήτε θεῖον ἀδιερεύνητον ἔαν· καὶ τοῦτο τά τε βιβλία πάντα τὰ ἀπόρρητόν τι ἔχοντα, ὅσα γε καὶ εὐρεῖν ἡδυνήθη, ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἀδύτων ἀνείλε καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου μνημεῖον συνέχλυσεν, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἔτι μήτε τὸ τοῦτου σῶμα ἴδῃ μήτε τὰ ἐν ἐκείνοις γεγραμμένα ἀναλέξηται. — <sup>a823</sup>EV 2,388,6 exc. 352 — <sup>a824</sup>EV 2,388,14 exc. 353 — <sup>a825</sup>EV 2,388,6 exc. 352 — <sup>a826</sup>EV 2,401,1 exc. 400 — <sup>a827</sup>EV 2,402,9–11 exc. 406–407 — <sup>a828</sup>EV 2,403,3 exc. 408 —

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<sup>b809</sup>Cassius Dio 71. 34. 2–36. 3 <sup>b810</sup>Cassius Dio 72. 3. 3 <sup>b811</sup>Cassius Dio 72. 6. 4–5 <sup>b812</sup>Cassius Dio 72. 11 <sup>b813</sup>Cassius Dio 72. 12. 5 <sup>b814</sup>Cassius Dio 72. 18. 2 <sup>b815</sup>Cassius Dio 72. 20. 1 <sup>b816</sup>Cassius Dio 73. 15. 1 <sup>b817</sup>Cassius Dio 73. 17. 3 <sup>b818</sup>Cassius Dio 74. 5. 6 <sup>b819</sup>Cassius Dio 75. 9. 2 <sup>b820</sup>Cassius Dio 75. 13. 1 <sup>b821</sup>Cassius Dio 75. 13. 2 <sup>b822</sup>Cassius Dio 76. 7. 4 <sup>b823</sup>Cassius Dio 76. 16. 1 <sup>b824</sup>Cassius Dio 77. 19. 1 <sup>b825</sup>Cassius Dio 78. 11. 3 <sup>b826</sup>Cassius Dio 79. 5. 5–6 <sup>b827</sup>Cassius Dio 79. 11. 2

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<sup>c212</sup>Suda s.v. Σέξτος <sup>c213</sup>Suda s.v. κύλιξ ῥοπαλωτή <sup>c214</sup>Suda s.v. Σεβήρος <sup>c215</sup>Suda s.v. Ἀντίοχος ὁ αὐτόμολος

## A.6. Critical Marks

- ωρ(αιον) refers to: ὅπου γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ἦ, χρὴ δοκεῖν ἐνταῦθα παρῆναι καὶ θεόν.<sup>a829 b828</sup> 8v
- ωρ(αιον) with γνώμη (cf. 8v below) refers to: Ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς κοπρίας τινὰς καὶ γελωτοποιοὺς τῶν συγγενομένων αἰσχίστα μὲν <τὰ> εἶδη αἰσχίῳ δὲ τὰ τε ὀνόματα καὶ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα ἔχοντας καὶ διὰ τὴν ὕβριν καὶ τὴν ἀσέλγειαν ὑπερπλουτοῦντας εὐρών, ἐδημοσίευσεν τάς τε προσηγορίας αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ὧν ἐκέκτηντο, καὶ ἦν ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς γέλωσι, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ὀργῇ τε καὶ λύπῃ. τοσαῦτα γὰρ τινες αὐτῶν ἔχοντες ἦσαν ἐφ' ὅσοις ἐκεῖνος πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐσφάκει.<sup>a830 b829</sup> 138v
- ωρ(αιον) refers to: καὶ τὸ μὲν θρασύ, οὗ τὸ ἀνδρεῖον μετέχει, πρὸς τε τὸ ἀλλόφυλον καὶ πρὸς τὸ στασιάζον, τὸ δὲ ἐπεικές, οὗ τὸ δίκαιον μεταλαμβάνει, πρὸς τε τὸ οἰκεῖον καὶ πρὸς τὸ σῶφρον ἐνεδείκνυτο.<sup>a831 b830,c216</sup> 139r
- <γ>νώμη refers to: τό τε συνειδὸς αὐτοὺς τὸ ἴδιον ἔξιν ἐχθρὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς τολμηθεῖσιν ἔλεγεν, ὃ μήτε τοῖς ἀγαθὸν αὐτὸ ἔχουσι μήτε τοιοῦτον ὁποῖον αὐτοῖς συνοικήσει τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀνελοῦσιν ἔστιν ἀποδρᾶναι.<sup>a832 b831</sup> 8v
- γνώμη refers to: ὥς μέγα μὲν καὶ τὸ ποιῆσαί τινας εὖ καταστάντας εἰς χρεῖαν, ἡγεμονικώτερον δὲ σῶσαι καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν τετολμημένων δίκην ὀφείλοντας.<sup>a833 b832</sup> 17r
- γνώμη refers to: ἔνθα καὶ διέδειξεν ὁ θεὸς μηδὲν τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν σύνεσιν, πᾶν δ' ὃ τι καὶ βουλευθεῖν πράττειν αὐτοτελοῦς ἀγαθοῦ τυγχάνον, καὶ διαμαρτάνοντας μὲν τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἰδίας ἀσφαλείας ἄλλων κατακρίνοντας ὀλεθρον καὶ πολλῇ περὶ τούτου χρησαμένους σπουδῇ, σωζομένους δ' ἐκ παραδόξου καὶ σχεδὸν ἐκ μέσου τῶν κακῶν εὐρισκομένους τὴν εὐπραγίαν τοὺς κινδυνεύοντας τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμῃ. τοιοῦτον γὰρ τι καὶ περὶ τὸν παῖδα τοῦτον γενόμενον ἐμφανίζει τὴν ἰσχὺν τοῦ θεοῦ.<sup>a834 b833</sup> 21v
- γνώμη refers to: οὕτως ἄρα δυσπόριστον ἡ ἀρετὴ τοῦ σωφρονεῖν, οἷς ἀνυπεύθυνον τὸ πράσσειν ῥαστώνῃ πάρεστιν. φίλοις μὲν κεχρησθαι καὶ τὰ πάντα ἀξιολόγοις ὑποσπουδασθεῖς τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς ὑπὸ τε παιδείας καὶ δόξης ζήλου τῶν κρείσσονων, μέχρι δὲ τῷ περιόντι τοῦ ὑβρίζειν ἀπαμφιάσεις εὐνοίᾳ τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐχρήσαντο, μίσους ὑποφυέντος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπιβουλευθεῖς τελευτᾷ.<sup>a835 b834</sup> 46v
- γνώμη refers to: Ἦν δὲ αὐτοῖς νόμιμον μηδὲ προχοῖδας ἐκφέρεισθαι εἰς τὰ συμπόσια, δῆλον ὅτι νομίζοντες τῷ μὴ ὑπερπίνειν ἦττον ἂν καὶ σώματα καὶ γνώμας σφάλλειν· νῦν δὲ τὸ μὴ εἰσφέρεισθαι ἔτι αὖ διαμένει, τοσοῦτον δὲ πίνουσιν ὥστε ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰσφέρειν αὐτοὶ ἐκφέρονται, ἐπειδὴν μηκέτι δύνωνται ὀρθοῦμενοι ἐξιέναι.<sup>a836 b835</sup> 238r
- γνώμη refers to: Θαυμαστὸν μὲν δὴ καὶ τοῦτο τῶν ἀνδρῶν· λέγω τὸ μηδενὶ μνησικαχεῖσθαι τῶν Τουσκλανῶν, ἀλλὰ πάντας ἀφεῖναι τοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνοντας ἀζημίους.<sup>a837 b836</sup> 252v
- γνώμη refers to: οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' ἀπωλείᾳ δεῖ καὶ ἀφανισμῷ τοῖς ἀγνοήσασι πολεμεῖν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ διορθώσει καὶ μεταθέσει τῶν ἡμαρτημένων, οὐδὲ συναναιρεῖν τὰ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντα τοῖς ἡδικοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ σώζειν μᾶλλον καὶ συνεξαيرهῖσθαι τοὺς δοκοῦντας ἀδικεῖν τοῖς ἐναντίοις.<sup>a838 b837</sup> 106v

<sup>a829</sup>EV 1,16,19–20 exc. 9 <sup>a830</sup>EV 2,381,3–9 exc. 330 <sup>a831</sup>EV 2,383,19–22 exc. 338 <sup>a832</sup>EV 1,16,20–23 exc. 9 <sup>a833</sup>EV 1,32,14–16 exc. 9 <sup>a834</sup>EV 1,39,30–40,5 exc. 11 <sup>a835</sup>EV 1,89,31–35 exc. 55 <sup>a836</sup>EV 2,59,10–14 exc. 16 <sup>a837</sup>EV 2,75,23–25 exc. 3 <sup>a838</sup>EV 2,99,27–100,1 exc. 15 (cf. ES 33, p. 128)

<sup>b828</sup>Jos. AJ 2. 24 <sup>b829</sup>Cassius Dio 73. 6. 2 <sup>b830</sup>Cassius Dio 74. 5. 6 <sup>b831</sup>Jos. AJ 2. 25 <sup>b832</sup>Jos. AJ 2. 146 <sup>b833</sup>Jos. AJ 2. 222–223 <sup>b834</sup>Jos. AJ 20. 210–211 <sup>b835</sup>Xen. Cyr. 8. 8. 10 <sup>b836</sup>Dionysius Hal. 14. 3 (9) <sup>b837</sup>Polyb. 5. 11. 5

<sup>c216</sup>Suda s.v.

- 116r γνώμη refers to: τὰς δὲ τῶν τὰ ὅλα χειρισάντων ἀνδρῶν ἀγωγὰς καὶ ζήλους παρασιωπᾶν, καὶ ταῦτα τῆς χρείας μεγάλῃν ἐχούσης τὴν διαφορὰν· ὅσῳ γὰρ ἂν τις καὶ ζηλωσάτω καὶ μιμήσασθαι δυνήθῃ μᾶλλον τοὺς εὐψύχους ἀνδρας τῶν ἀψύχων κατασκευασμάτων, τοσοῦτῳ καὶ τὸν περὶ αὐτῶν λόγον διαφέρειν εἰκὸς <πρὸς> ἐπανόρθωσιν τῶν ἀκούοντων.<sup>a839 b838</sup>
- 5v ση(μείωσαι) refers to: τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς ἐπὶ τούτῳ μειδιασάσης καὶ ἀδύνατον εἶναι τὴν τεκνοποιίαν εἰπούσης, αὐτῆς μὲν ἔτη ἐχούσης τοῦ δὲ ἀνδρὸς ῥ', οὐκέτι κατέσχον λανθάνοντες, ἀλλ' ἐμήνυσαν ἑαυτοὺς ὄντας ἀγγέλους τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ὅτι πεμφθείη μὲν ὁ εἷς σημαίνων περὶ τοῦ παιδός, β' δὲ Σοδομίτας καταστρεφόμενοι.<sup>a840, b839</sup>
- 6v ση(μείωσαι) refers to: καταλιπὼν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τοὺς συνόντας αὐτῷ μετὰ μόνου τοῦ παιδός παραγίνεται εἰς τὸ ὄρος, ἐφ' οὗ τὸ ἱερὸν Δαυίδης ὁ βασιλεὺς ὕστερον ἰδρύετο. ἔφερον δὲ σὺν αὐτοῖς ὅσα λοιπὰ πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν ἦν, πλὴν ἱερείου.<sup>a841, b840</sup>
- ση(μείωσαι) refers to: ἐγχειρίζει τε τὴν κατ' οἶκον πρόνοιαν. ὁ δὲ τούτων τε ἀπέλαυε καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἥτις ἦν περὶ αὐτόν, οὐδ' ὑπὸ τῆς μεταβολῆς ἐγκαταλέλοιπεν, ἀλλὰ διέδειξε τὸ φρόνημα κρατεῖν τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ δυσκόλων δυνάμενον οἷς ἂν παρῇ γνησίως καὶ μὴ πρὸς τὰς εὐπραγίας τὰς κατὰ καιρὸν μόνον ἡρμοσμένον.<sup>a842, b841</sup>
- 15r ση(μείωσαι) refers to: πεισθεὶς Ἰάκωβος παρεδίδου τὸν Βενιαμείν καὶ τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ σίτου διπλασίονα τῶν τε παρὰ τοῖς Χαναναίοις γινομένων τό τε τῆς βαλάνου μύρον καὶ σταχτῆς τερέβινθον τε καὶ μέλι δωρεάς Ἰωσήφῳ κομίζειν.<sup>a843, b842</sup>
- 25r ση(μείωσαι) περὶ κακίας refers to: Ὅτι τοῦ Σαμουὴλ τοῦ προφήτου οἱ υἱοὶ κακοὶ γενόμενοι ἐγένοντο σαφὲς παράδειγμα καὶ τεκμήριον τοῦ μὴ τὸν τρόπον ὁμοίους τοῖς φύσασιν γίνεσθαι τινας, ἀλλὰ τάχα μὲν χρηστοὺς καὶ μετρίους ἐκ πονηρῶν, τότε μὲν γε φαύλους ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ παρέσχον αὐτοὺς γενομένους. τῶν γὰρ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐκτρεπόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν ὁδὸν ἀπελθόντες δώρων καὶ λημμάτων αἰσχροῦ καθυφίσκοντο τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὰς κρίσεις οὐ πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ κέρδος ποιοῦμενοι καὶ πρὸς τρυφήν καὶ πρὸς διαίτας πολυτελεῖς ἀπονενευκότες πρῶτον μὲν ὑπεναντία ταῦτα ἔπρασσον τῷ θεῷ, δεύτερον δὲ τῷ προφῆτῃ πατρὶ δ' ἑαυτῶν, ὃς πολλὴν καὶ τοῦ τὸ πλῆθος εἶναι δίκαιον σπουδὴν εἰσεφέρειτο καὶ πρόνοιαν.<sup>a844 b843</sup>
- 27r ση(μείωσαι) Σαουλ refers to: „διὸ συγγίνωσκέ μοι“ φησί, „καὶ τῷ θεῷ χάριν ἔχε κωλύοντί σε μιανθῆναι ἀνθρωπίνῳ αἵματι. μένοντα γὰρ σε καθαρὸν ἐκεῖνος αὐτὸς ἐκδικήσει παρὰ τῶν πονηρῶν. ἃ γὰρ ἐκδέχεται κακὰ Νάβαλον, ταῦτα καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἐχθρῶν σου κεφαλαῖς συμπίεσαι· γενοῦ δὲ εὐμενὴς μοι, κρίνας ἄξιον τοῦ παρ' ἐμοῦ ταῦτα δέξασθαι, καὶ τὸν θυμὸν καὶ τὴν ὀργὴν τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνδρα μου καὶ τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν τιμὴν ἄφες. πρέπει γὰρ ἡμέρῳ σοι αἱ φιλανθρώπων τυγχάνειν, καὶ ταῦτα μέλλοντι βασιλεύειν.“<sup>a845 b844</sup>
- 28r ση(μείωσαι) refers to: καλὸν οὖν ἐστὶ μιμεῖσθαι τὴν γυναιῖκα καὶ ποιεῖν εὖ πάντα τοὺς ἐν χρεῖα γενομένους καὶ μηδὲν ὑπολαμβάνειν ἄμεινον μηδὲ μᾶλλον τι προσήκειν τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένει τούτου μηδ' ἐφ' ᾧ τὸν θεὸν εὐμενῇ καὶ χορηγὸν ἔχομεν τῶν ἀγαθῶν.<sup>a846, b845</sup>

<sup>a839</sup>EV 2,121,25–122,3 exc. 34 <sup>a840</sup>EV 1,10,30–35 exc. 6 <sup>a841</sup>EV 1,12,21–24 exc. 7 <sup>a842</sup>9v, EV 1,18,21–25 exc. 9 <sup>a843</sup>EV 1,28,27–30 exc. 7 <sup>a844</sup>EV 1,47,18–20 exc. 16 <sup>a845</sup>EV 1,50,23–30 exc. 18 <sup>a846</sup>EV 1,53,4–7 exc. 19

<sup>b838</sup>Polyb. 10.21.3–4 <sup>b839</sup>Jos. AJ 1.198 <sup>b840</sup>Jos. AJ 1.227 <sup>b841</sup>Jos. AJ 2.42 <sup>b842</sup>Jos. AJ 2.118 <sup>b843</sup>Jos. AJ 6.33–34 <sup>b844</sup>Jos. AJ 6.303–304 <sup>b845</sup>Jos. AJ 6.342

- ση(μείωσαι) περί κακίας refers to: „οὐ σύ“ φησιν „ὥμοσας μὴ καταλείψειν με μηδὲ ἐξελεύσεσθαι ποτ’ ἐκ ταύτης τῆς πόλεως εἰς ἄλλην; οὐκ οὖν ἀποδράσῃ τῆς ἐπιτοκίας δίκην, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτης καὶ ὧν τὸν πατέρα μου παρὰ τὴν φυγὴν ὕβρισας τιμωρήσομαι σε πονηρὸν γενόμενον, ἵνα γνῶς ὅτι κερδαίνουσιν οὐδὲν οἱ κακοὶ μὴ παρ’ αὐτὰ τὰ δίκαια κολασθέντες, ἀλλὰ παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ, ὧ νομίζουσιν ἀδεεῖς εἶναι μηδὲν πεπονθότες, αὐξεται καὶ γίνεται μείζων ἢ κόλασις αὐτοῖς ἢ ἂν παραυτίκα πλημμελήσαντες ἔδοσαν.“<sup>a847 b846</sup> 31r
- ση(μείωσαι) refers to: ὁ βασιλεὺς κατασκευάσας χρύσειον ἀνδριάντα, πηχῶν τὸ ὕψος ξ’ τὸ πλάτος δὲ ἕξ, στήσας αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος πεδίῳ καὶ μέλλων καθιεροῦν αὐτὸν συνεκάλεσεν ἐξ ἀπάσης ἧς ἦρχε γῆς τοὺς πρώτους, κελεύσας, ὅταν σημαίνουσης ἀκούσωσι τῆς σάλπιγγος, πεσόντας προσκυνεῖν τὸν ἀνδριάντα· τοὺς δὲ μὴ ποιήσαντας θάνατον ἠπέλυσεν. πάντων οὖν προσκυνησάντων, τοὺς Δανιήλου συγγενεῖς μὴ ποιῆσαι τοῦτο καὶ βληθῆναι εἰς κάμινον καὶ μὴ καῆναι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ λογισμόν, οἶμαι, τῷ μηδὲν ἀδικήσαντας εἰς αὐτὸν βληθῆναι οὐχ ἤψατο· ὁ γὰρ θεὸς κρείττω τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν τοῦ πυρὸς ἔδειξεν. τοῦτο συνέστησεν αὐτοὺς τῷ βασιλεῖ ὡς δικαίους καὶ φίλους.<sup>a848, b847</sup> 39r
- ση(μείωσαι) refers to: „παπαί· νῦν ἐμοὶ καλόν“ ἔφη „τὸ θανεῖν, ὅτι μοι προτέθνηκεν ἡ ἀλήθεια καὶ τι τῶν ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ προρρηθέντων διέψευσται. ζῇ γὰρ Ἀντίγονος οὗτοσί σήμερον ὀφείλων ἀνῆρῆσθαι. χωρίον δὲ αὐτῷ πρὸς σφαγὴν Στράτωνος πύργος εἴμαρτο· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἀπὸ ἐξακοσίων ἐντεῦθεν σταδίων ἐστίν, ὥραι δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἤδη δ’· ὁ δὲ χρόνος ἐκκρούει τὸ μάντευμα.“<sup>a849 b848</sup> 48v
- ση(μείωσαι) περί Δαυιδ refers to: ἔστι γοῦν τοῦτο διὰ τῆς Δαυιδ τοῦ βασιλέως δίψης σαφέστερον ἐπιλογίσασθαι. ἐπεὶ γὰρ δι’ ὅλης ἡμέρας προσβαλὼν ἀλλοφύλοις ὁ Δαυιδ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινε μετὰ τῶν τοῦ ἔθνους στρατιωτῶν, τότε δὴ γενομένης ἐσπέρας ἰδρῶν καὶ σφόδρα κεκμηκῶς ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείον σκηνὴν ἦλθε, περὶ ἣν ὁ πᾶς τῶν προγόνων στρατὸς ἐστρατοπεδεύκει.<sup>a850 b849</sup> 62r
- ση(μειωσαι) refers to: φησὶ γὰρ ὁ Κύριος „ὁ ἀγαπῶν πατέρα ἢ μητέρα ὑπὲρ ἐμὲ οὐκ ἔστιν μου ἄξιος.“ καὶ „ὃς οὐ μισεῖ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν οὐ δύναται μου εἶναι μαθητής.“<sup>a851, b850</sup> 65rbis
- ση(μείωσαι) refers to: ὅπερ γὰρ ἐστὶ δένδρῳ ρίζα καὶ ὀφθαλμὸς σῶματι, τοῦτο ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῆς ἀληθείας ἢ γνῶσις, ἐξ ἧς ἡ βεβαία καὶ ὀρθόδοξος γίνεται πίστις.<sup>a852, b851</sup> 68r
- ση(μείωσαι) refers to: Ἐπὶ τούτου γὰρ τοῦ μακαρίου καὶ οἱ ἐνδότεροι Ἰνδοὶ καὶ Ἰβηρες προσῆλθον τῷ ἀγίῳ βαπτίσματι, καὶ οἱ Ἀρμένιοι τελείως ἐπίστευσαν μετὰ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν Τιριδάτου διὰ τοῦ πολυάθλου μάρτυρος καὶ μεγάλου Γρηγορίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου αὐτῶν.<sup>a853 b852, c217</sup> 75r
- ση(μείωσαι) refers to: ὅτε δὴ καὶ τὰ περὶ χημίας ἀργύρου καὶ χρυσοῦ τοῖς παλαιοῖς αὐτῶν γεγραμμένα βιβλία διερευνησάμενος ἔκαυσε πρὸς τὸ μηκέτι πλοῦτον Αἰγυπτίοις ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης περιγίνεσθαι τέχνης μηδὲ χρημάτων αὐτοὺς θαρροῦντας περιουσίᾳ τοῦ λοιποῦ Ῥωμαίοις ἀνταίρειν.<sup>a854, b853, c218</sup> 96v

<sup>a847</sup>EV 1,58,23–30 exc. 23    <sup>a848</sup>EV 1,75,27–31 exc. 42    <sup>a849</sup>EV 1,93,17–22 exc. 60    <sup>a850</sup>EV 1,118,32–119,3 exc. 75    <sup>a851</sup>EV 1,127,25–27 exc. 4    <sup>a852</sup>EV 1,132,32–35 exc. 4    <sup>a853</sup>EV 1,147,23–26 exc. 16  
<sup>a854</sup>EV 1,196,6–10 exc. 52

<sup>b846</sup>Jos. AJ 8.20    <sup>b847</sup>Jos. AJ 10.213–215    <sup>b848</sup>Jos. BJ 1.79    <sup>b849</sup>Jos. De Maccabaeis 34  
<sup>b850</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p.340,16–19    <sup>b851</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p.354,21–355,2  
<sup>b852</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p.502,12–15    <sup>b853</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 248, ed. Roberto, p.428

<sup>c217</sup>Suda s.v. Ἑλένη and Ἰβηρες    <sup>c218</sup>Suda X 280,1–2 s.v. Χημία

- 98v ση(μείωσαι) refers to: ἐγένοντο γοῦν τινες οἱ μῶμον τῇ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς δόξῃ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἀνέθεσαν μειονεκτήμασιν, πολλὰ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων λαμβάνοντες προφάσει τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς δοκίσεως, οὐ μόνον ἀγνοοῦντος τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀλλὰ καὶ κωλύοντος. τοῖς γε μὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐποίκοις τὰ τῶν δασμῶν καθ' ὅσον ἡδύνατο καθήρει μέτρα καὶ τὸ δημοτικὸν καὶ κοινὸν τοῦ ἥθους πρὸς ἅπαντας ὁμοίως τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἐξέφερεν, χρημάτων μὲν ἀθροίσεως ὀλίγα πεφροντικῶς, δόξης τε ἐπιθυμητικῶς τε καὶ ἀκορέστως ἔχων, ὡς πολλάκις καὶ τὸ μέτρον ὑπερβαίνειν ταῖς ἐγχειρήσεσιν. ἐβέβλαπτο δὲ μόνον περὶ τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος Χριστοῦ δόξαν ἐναντίως ἔχων καὶ ἐνιστάμενος τοῖς τὰ Χριστιανῶν μετιοῦσι δόγματα, οὐ μὴν ὥστε ὠμὸν ἢ φονικὸν ἐργάσασθαι πώποτε. συνελόντι δὲ εἶπεῖν Μάρκῳ Ἀντωνίνῳ προσόμοιος ἦν, ὃν δὴ καὶ ζηλοῦν ὡς ἐπίπαν ἐσπούδαζεν.<sup>a855 b854</sup>
- 328v ση(μείωσαι) refers to: οἱ δὲ πυθόμενοι τινῶν, ὅτι κατὰ τοὺς βασιλικοὺς τάφους τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι συγκαταwürχθη χρήματα πολλὰ κατὰ τινὰ παλαιὰν συνήθειαν, ἅπαντας ἀνέσκαψαν καὶ τυμβωρυχίσαντες τὰ μὲν χρήματα διεΐλαντο, τὰ δὲ ὅσα τῶν τετελευτηκότων διεύριψαν.<sup>a856, b855</sup>
- 281r ση(μείωσαι) refers to: τὴν δὲ σωφροσύνην περιεποιήσατο δαπανήσας μὲν οὐδέν, τῶν δὲ ἐπιθυμιῶν ἀποσχόμενος προσωφελήθη τὴν τε σωματικὴν ὑγίειαν καὶ τὴν εὐεξίαν, ἥτις αὐτῷ πάντα τὸν βίον συμπαραμείνασα καλὰς ἀμοιβὰς καὶ χάριτας ἀπέδωκε.<sup>a857, b856</sup>
- 226v ση(μείωσαι), ωραιον refers to: δεῖν οὖν αὐτὸν μὴ πρὸς πολεμίους μόνον ἀνδρίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἐπειδάν τι προσπέσῃ τῇ ψυχῇ, καὶ μὴ βραχείας τέρψεως χάριν, ἣν καὶ ἐκ παλλακίδων οἶοντ' ἔχειν, τὸν πολὺν ἀνιάσθαι χρόνον, εἰ αἰσθοίτο Ῥοιταία.<sup>a858 b857</sup>
- 152v ση(μείωσαι) περὶ αναστροφῆς refers to: δύο σκύλακας λαβὼν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς μητρὸς ἔτρεφεν, χωρὶς δὲ ἀλλήλων ἀνομοίοις ἦθεσι, τὸν μὲν κατ' οἶκον, ὅψα τε διδοὺς καὶ τὴν ἄλλην λιχνεΐαν, τὸν δὲ ἐν κυνηγεσίοις θηρᾶν ἀναγκάζων καὶ στιβεύειν ἐν ὄρεσιν.<sup>a859 b858</sup>
- 157r ση(μείωσαι) refers to: ἦν εἰς τὰ μάλιστα Καίσαρι τῷ νέῳ συνήθης καὶ φίλος Ἀγρίππας, ἐν ταύτῳ τε παιδευθεὶς καὶ τινὰ ἔχων ὑπερβολὴν ἑταιρείας.<sup>a860, b859</sup>
- 242r ση(μείωσαι) refers to: ἔφασαν ὡς δέοι τὸν στρατιώτην φοβεῖσθαι μᾶλλον τὸν ἄρχοντα ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους, εἰ μέλλοι ἢ φυλακὰς φυλάζειν ἢ φιλίων ἀφέξεσθαι ἢ ἀπροφασίστως ἰέναι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους.<sup>a861, b860</sup>
- 243r ση(μείωσαι) refers to: Ἀγασίας δὲ Ἀρκὰς καὶ Σωκράτης ὁ Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ τούτῳ ἀπεθανέτην. τούτων τε οὐθεὶς ὡς ἐν πολέμῳ κακῶν κατεγέλα οὐτ' εἰς φιλίαν αὐτοὺς ἐμέμμετο.<sup>a862, b861</sup>
- 105r ση(μείωσαι) refers to: Ὅτι ὁ Ἀμπελλῆς μετὰ ταῦτα οὐδαμῶς ἀφίστατο τῆς προθέσεως, ἀλλ' ἅμα μὲν τὸν Ταυρίωνα τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ τεταγμένον διέβαλλεν, οὐ ψέγων, ἀλλ' ἐπαινῶν καὶ φάσκων ἐπιτήδειον αὐτὸν εἶναι μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν τοῖς ὑπαίθροις συνδιατρίβειν, βουλούμενος ἕτερον ἐπισταθῆναι δι' αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πράγμασι.<sup>a863 b862</sup>
- 106v ση(μείωσαι) refers to: τὸ μὲν γὰρ παραιεῖσθαι τῶν πολεμιῶν καὶ καταφθεῖρειν φρούρια, λιμένας, πόλεις, ἄνδρας, ναῦς, καρπούς, τᾶλλα τὰ τούτοις παραπλήσια, δι' ὧν τοὺς μὲν ὑπεναντίους ἀσθενεστερόους ἂν τις ποιῇσαι, τὰ δὲ σφέτερα πράγματα καὶ τὰς ἐπιβολὰς δυναμικωτέρας, ταῦτα μὲν ἀναγκάζουσιν οἱ τοῦ πολέμου νόμοι καὶ τὰ τούτου δίκαια δρᾶν.<sup>a864, b863</sup>

<sup>a855</sup>EV 1,200,8–21 exc. 62 <sup>a856</sup>328v, EV 1,258,3–6 exc. 200 <sup>a857</sup>281r, EV 1,288,31–34 exc. 289  
<sup>a858</sup>226v, EV 1,336,7–10 exc. 9 <sup>a859</sup>EV 1,341,19–22 exc. 22 <sup>a860</sup>157r, EV 1,356,23–25 exc. 32  
<sup>a861</sup>242r, EV 2,68,3–6 exc. 18 <sup>a862</sup>243r, EV 2,70,22–24 exc. 18 <sup>a863</sup>EV 2,96,13–18 exc. 14 <sup>a864</sup>106v,  
EV 2,99,17–22 exc. 15

<sup>b854</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 272, ed. Roberto, p. 456 <sup>b855</sup>Diod. Sic. 22. 12 <sup>b856</sup>Diod. Sic. 31. 27. 7 <sup>b857</sup>Nic.  
Dam. FGrHist A 90 F 5 <sup>b858</sup>Nic. Dam. FGrHist A 90 F 56 <sup>b859</sup>Nic. Dam. FGrHist A 90 F  
127 (7) <sup>b860</sup>Xen. An. 2. 6. 10 <sup>b861</sup>Xen. An. 2. 6. 30 <sup>b862</sup>Polyb. 4. 87. 1 <sup>b863</sup>Polyb. 5. 11. 3



- ση(μείωσαι) refers to: τοῖς μὲν οὖν νεανίσκοις ἔφη χάριν ἔχειν, τὸν δὲ τῆς παρθένου πατέρα καλέσας καὶ δοὺς αὐτὴν ἐκ χειρὸς ἐκέλευε συνοικίζειν ὥς ποτ' ἂν προαιρηῇται τῶν πολιτῶν.<sup>a865 b864,c219</sup> 116r
- ση(μείωσαι) refers to: ἦν γὰρ εἰδωλὸν γυναικεῖον, πολυτελέσιν ἱματίοις ἡμφιεσμένον, κατὰ δὲ τὴν μορφὴν εἰς ὁμοιότητα τῇ τοῦ Νάβιδος γυναικὶ διαφόρως ἀπειργασμένον.<sup>a866 b865</sup> 317v
- ση(μείωσαι) refers to: τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως εἰς ἡλικίαν παραγεγονότος συνθεῖς πλῆθος ἱκανὸν χρημάτων ἐξαπέστειλεν, ὥστε καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν εὐδοκῆσαι τῇ πρότερον αὐτοῦ συστολῇ καὶ τῷ μηδὲν προῖεσθαι.<sup>a867 b866,c220</sup> 310r
- ση(μείωσαι) refers to: ὅπερ εἰκός, Ἰλεων αὐτῷ γενέσθαι καὶ εὐμενῇ κατὰ πάντα τρόπον. ἐγὼ δὲ τὰς τοιαύτας διαθέσεις καὶ πρότερον εἴρηκά που, περὶ Φιλίππου ποιούμενος τὸν λόγον, μανικάς.<sup>a868,b867</sup> 296v
- ση(μείωσαι) refers to: στιγματίας δέ τις οὐχ ὅσον οὐ προέδωκε τὸν στίξαντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ προθύμως ἔσωσεν.<sup>a869,b868</sup> 203v
- ση(μείωσαι) refers to: Ὅτι Καῖσαρ καὶ Ἀντώνιος συνθέμενοι ἀλλήλοις εἰστίασαν ἀλλήλους, Καῖσαρ μὲν στρατιωτικῶς τε καὶ ῥωμαϊκῶς, Ἀντώνιος δὲ Ἀσιανῶς τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίως.<sup>a870,b869</sup> 205r
- ση(μείωσαι) refers to: προαχθεῖς δὲ ἐς τὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης προστασίαν οὐκ ἡλέγχθη ποτὲ ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ μείζονος αὐξήσεως, ὥστε ἐν μὲν τοῖς ταπεινότερος ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὀγκωδέστερος τοῦ κατήκοντος γενέσθαι, ἀλλ' ὁμοίως ἀπ' ἀρχῆς διὰ πάντων μέχρι τῆς τελευταίας διετέλεσεν σεμνὸς ἔξω τοῦ σκυθρωποῦ, πρῶτος ἔξω τοῦ ταπεινοῦ, φρόνιμος ἄνευ κακουργίας, δίκαιος ἄνευ ἀκριβολογίας, οἰκονομικὸς χωρὶς ῥυπαρίας, μεγαλόνομος χωρὶς αὐχρήματος.<sup>a871 b870</sup> 139r
- refers to: Ταῦτα δὲ εἰκόσι τοῖς ἀποστολικοῖς „διὰ τῶν ὅπλων τῆς δικαιοσύνης τῶν δεξιῶν καὶ ἀριστερῶν, διὰ δόξης καὶ ἀτιμίας“ ἕως τοῦ „ὡς μηδὲν ἔχοντες καὶ πάντα κατέχοντες.“ τοιαύτην Σωκράτης καὶ Πλάτων περὶ δικαιοσύνης διδασκαλίαν ἐποιήσαντο· τὰ γὰρ ἠθικὰ μαθήματα πάντα ἢ φύσις ἐπαίδευσεν.<sup>a872 b871</sup> 68v
- refers to: ἐπέδωκε τῷ ὑπάρχῳ λέγων „δέξαι τὸ ξίφος τοῦτο, καὶ εἰ μὲν καλῶς ὑπάρχω, ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, εἰ δὲ μή, κατ' ἐμοῦ χρῆσαι.“<sup>a873 b872</sup> 70r
- refers to: οὗς ἰδόντα τὸν Εὐαίφνον καταπλαγῆναι καὶ φανερώς ἐλεγχόμενον τραπῆναι πρὸς δέησιν καὶ τὰς τε βοῦς ἀποκαταστήσειν ἐπαγγελέσθαι καὶ πᾶσαν προέσθαι φωνὴν εἰς τὸ σωθῆναι.<sup>a874 b873</sup> 206r
- refers to: Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν οὖν καίπερ πολλαῖς γενεαῖς <προ>γεγονῶς τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς βίου τυγχάνετω καὶ παρὰ τῶν μεταγενεστέρων δικαίου καὶ πρέποντος ταῖς ἰδίαις ἱστορίαις ἐπαίνου.<sup>a875 b874</sup> 221v
- refers to: ἦν δὲ καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ μετέωρος καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὴς καὶ καταφρονῶν οὐ τῶν ἄλλων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς δυναστείαις ὄντων.<sup>a876 b875</sup> 326r
- refers to: διαφυλαχθέντος δὲ χάριν ἔξειν ὀφειλομένην τοῖς Θραξῖ παρὰ τοῦ σωθέντος, καὶ τὰ φρούρια τὰ πρότερον ὑπάρξαντα Θρακῶν ἀπολήψεσθαι χωρὶς κινδύνων.<sup>a877 b876</sup> 326v

<sup>a865</sup>EV 2,121,12–14 exc. 33 <sup>a866</sup>EV 2,138,16–18 exc. 49 <sup>a867</sup>EV 2,176,15–19 exc. 91 <sup>a868</sup>296v, EV 2,199,2–5 exc. 109 <sup>a869</sup>203v, EV 2,298,26–27 exc. 142 <sup>a870</sup>205r, EV 2,303,10–12 exc. 153 <sup>a871</sup>EV 2,383,22–29 exc. 338 <sup>a872</sup>EV 1,134,5 exc. 5 <sup>a873</sup>EV 1,137,2 exc. 9 <sup>a874</sup>EV 1,213,30–214,2 exc. 32 <sup>a875</sup>EV 1,245,30–33 exc. 156 <sup>a876</sup>EV 1,252,25 exc. 183 <sup>a877</sup>EV 1,253,26 exc. 188

<sup>b864</sup>Polyb. 10.19.6 <sup>b865</sup>Polyb. 13.7.2 <sup>b866</sup>Polyb. 27.13 <sup>b867</sup>Polyb. 32.15.5–6 <sup>b868</sup>Cassius Dio 47.10.4 <sup>b869</sup>Cassius Dio 48.30.1 <sup>b870</sup>Cassius Dio 74.5.7 <sup>b871</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p.357,10–17 <sup>b872</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p.450,10–11 <sup>b873</sup>Diod. Sic. 8.7.4 <sup>b874</sup>Diod. Sic. 17.37.7 <sup>b875</sup>Diod. Sic. 20.92.1 <sup>b876</sup>Diod. Sic. 21.12.3

<sup>c219</sup>Suda s.v. Πόπλιος <sup>c220</sup>Suda s.v. Πτολεμαῖος

- 157v — refers to: καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐκ ὀλίγα ζώπυρα καὶ φιλανθρωπίας ἅμα καὶ φρονήσεως φυσικῆς ἀπεδείκνυτο.<sup>a878 b877</sup>
- 165r — refers to: ὁ μὲν δὴ Καμβύσης τοιαῦτα πολλὰ ἐς Πέρσας τε καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἐξεμαίνετο, μένων ἐν Μέμφι καὶ θήκας τε παλαιὰς ἀνοίγων καὶ σκεπτόμενος τοὺς νεκρούς· ὥς δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐς τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὸ ἱρὸν ἦλθε καὶ πολλὰ τῷ ἀγάλματι κατεγέλασε.<sup>a879 b878</sup>
- 237v — refers to: ὥς δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω ἄρξομαι διδάσκων ἐκ τῶν θείων. οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι πρότερον μὲν βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ ὑπ' αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς τὰ ἔσχατα πεποιηκόσιν εἴτε ὄρκους ὁμόσαιεν, ἡμπέδουν, εἴτε δεξιὰς δοῖεν, ἐβεβαίουν.<sup>a880 b879</sup>
- 238r — refers to: αἱ μὲν δὴ γινῶμαι ταύτῃ τῷ παντὶ χείρους νῦν ἢ τὸ παλαιὸν αὐτῶν.<sup>a881 b880</sup>
- 254r — refers to: ἐπὶ κλησιν ἐπιφανῆς κατὰ γένος καὶ κατὰ τὰς πολεμικὰς πράξεις οὐκ ἀγεννῆς<sup>a882 b881</sup>
- 254r — refers to: Ἔτι δὲ τούτου θαυμασιώτερον ἔπραξαν οὐ πολλοῖς πρότερον χρόνοις, καίτοι περὶ δοῦλον σῶμα γενομένης τῆς ὕβρεως.<sup>a883 b882</sup>
- 104v — refers to: Ὁ δ' Ἀμπελλῆς δοκῶν ἡνυκῆναι τι τῆς προθέσεως τὸ δι' αὐτοῦ κατεστάσθαι τὸν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν στρατηγόν, αὐθις ἐνεχείρει τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἄρατον, βουλόμενος εἰς τέλος ἀποσπᾶσαι τὸν Φίλιππον ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλίας.<sup>a884 b883</sup>
- 111v — refers to: μετὰ δὲ τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου θάνατον οὕτω περὶ τῶν πλείστων μερῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀμφισβητήσαντες παραδόσιμον ἐποίησαν τὴν ἑαυτῶν δόξαν ἐν πλείστοις ὑπομνήμασιν...<sup>a885 b884</sup>
- 114r — refers to: Φιλάργυρός γε μὴν δοκεῖ γεγονέναι διαφερόντως καὶ φίλῳ κεχρησθαι φιλαργύρῳ Μάγωνι τῷ <τὰ> κατὰ τὴν Βρεττίαν χειρίζοντι.<sup>a886 b885</sup>
- 316v — refers to: Κατὰ τῆς Τιμαίου τί ποτε δεῖ λέγειν ὄνομα καὶ ῥῆμα; πάντα γὰρ ἐπιδέχεσθαι μοι δοκεῖ τὰ πικρότατα τὸ γένος, οἷς ἐκείνος κέχρηται κατὰ τῶν πλησίων.<sup>a887 b886</sup>
- 292r — refers to: Ὁ δὲ Πολύβιος ξενισθεὶς τῇ τοῦ μειρακίου καταρχῇ τῶν λόγων· οὐ γὰρ εἶχε πλέον ἐτῶν ὀκτωκαίδεκα τότε· 'μὴ πρὸς θεῶν, Σκιπίων,' ἔφη...<sup>a888 b887</sup>
- 294r — refers to: βουλομένου γὰρ τὰδελοφῶ μονομαχίας ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ ποιεῖν, οὐ δυναμένου δὲ δέξασθαι τὴν δαπάνην διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀναλισκομένων χρημάτων, καὶ ταύτης τὴν ἡμίσειαν εἰσῆνεγκεν ὁ Σκιπίων ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας.<sup>a889, b888</sup>
- 294r — refers to: Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν προκατεσκευασμένος ἐκ τῆς πρώτης ἡλικίας Πόπλιος Σκιπίων προῆλθε πρὸς τὸ φιλοδοξεῖν σωφροσύνη καὶ καλοκάγαθία.<sup>a890 b889</sup>
- 272v — refers to: τὰ μὲν οὖν χρήματα οἱ φίλοι συνήνεγκαν, ἵνα μὴ ὕβρισθῇ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Καμίλλου.<sup>a891 b890</sup>

<sup>a878</sup>EV 1,357,17–18 exc. 32 <sup>a879</sup>EV 2,9,18–22 exc. 17 <sup>a880</sup>EV 2,57,22–25 exc. 16 <sup>a881</sup>EV 2,58,24–25 exc. 16 <sup>a882</sup>EV 2,79,10 exc. 7 <sup>a883</sup>EV 2,80,1–2 exc. 7 <sup>a884</sup>EV 2,95,8–11 exc. 13 <sup>a885</sup>EV 2,111,7–9 exc. 26 <sup>a886</sup>EV 2,116,26–28 exc. 30 <sup>a887</sup>EV 2,135,12–14 exc. 44 <sup>a888</sup>EV 2,188,11 exc. 104 <sup>a889</sup>EV 2,193,12–15 exc. 104 <sup>a890</sup>EV 2,193,25–27 exc. 104 <sup>a891</sup>EV 2,217,5–7 exc. 3

<sup>b877</sup>Nic. Dam. FGrHist A 90 F 127 (9) <sup>b878</sup>Hdt 3.37 <sup>b879</sup>Xen. Cyr. 8.8.2 <sup>b880</sup>Xen. Cyr. 8.8.7 <sup>b881</sup>Dionysius Hal. 16.4 (8) <sup>b882</sup>Dionysius Hal. 16.4 (9) <sup>b883</sup>Polyb. 4.84 <sup>b884</sup>Polyb. 8.10.10 <sup>b885</sup>Polyb. 8.25.1 <sup>b886</sup>Polyb. 12.25.5 <sup>b887</sup>Polyb. 31.24.1–10 <sup>b888</sup>Polyb. 31.28.4 <sup>b889</sup>Polyb. 31.28.10 <sup>b890</sup>Appian, *Italica* Fr.9

- ÷ refers to: βασιλεῖς τε αὐτοῖς εἴ διεῖπον τὴν χώραν, Βάλας Βαλέας καὶ Συνναβάρις καὶ  
Συνόμορος ὃ τε Βαλλήνων βασιλεύς· μοίρας δὲ ἤρχον ἕκαστος ἰδίας.<sup>a892 b891</sup> 4v
- ÷ refers to: πατὴρ δ' ἔστιν ἡμῖν Ἰάκωβος, ἀνὴρ Ἑβραῖος, ὃ γενόμεθα ἰβ' παῖδες ἐκ γυναικῶν  
τεσσάρων.<sup>a893 b892</sup> 14r
- ÷ refers to: τοῦτο Σαοῦλος ἡμῖν ὁ Κισαίου παῖς, ὁ πρῶτος μετὰ τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν καὶ τὴν  
ἐπὶ τοῖς κριταῖς πολιτείαν Ἑβραίων βασιλεύσας, φανερόν πεποίηκεν, τ' ἀποκτείνας ἱερεῖς καὶ  
προφήτας ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Ἀβιμέλεχον ὑποψίας, ἐπικαταβαλὼν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν ἐν  
τρόπῳ τινὶ ναὸν σπουδάσας ἱερέων καὶ προφητῶν ἔρημον καταστήσαι, τοσούτους μὲν ἀνελών,  
μεῖναι δὲ ἑάσας οὐδὲ τὴν πατρίδα αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ καὶ μετ' ἐκείνους ἄλλους γενέσθαι.<sup>a894 b893</sup> 26r
- ÷ refers to: Ὅτι τὴν τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ Αἰθιοπίας τότε βασιλεύουσιν, σοφίᾳ διαπεπονημένην  
καὶ τᾶλλα θαυμαστήν, ἀκούουσιν τὴν Σολομῶνος ἀρετὴν καὶ φρόνησιν ἐπιθυμία τῆς ὀψέως  
αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ὁσημέραι περὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ λεγομένων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦγαγεν.<sup>a895 b894</sup> 31r
- ÷ refers to: ἐπηγάγετο γὰρ καμήλους χρυσίου μεστὰς καὶ ἀρωμάτων ποικίλων καὶ λίθου  
πολυτελοῦς. ὥς δ' ἀφικομένην αὐτὴν ἠδέως ὁ βασιλεὺς προσεδέξατο, τά τε ἄλλα περὶ αὐτὴν  
φιλότιμος ἦν καὶ τὰ προβαλλόμενα σοφίσματα ῥαδίως τῇ συνέσει καταλαμβανόμενος θᾶπτον ἢ  
προσεδόκα τις ἐπελύετο.<sup>a896 b895</sup> 31v
- ÷ refers to: περὶ ἑκατάδεκα δὲ ἔτη γενόμενος ἐβουλήθη τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν αἱρέσεων ἐμπειρίαν  
λαβεῖν· τρεῖς δὲ εἰσι, Φαρισαίων, Σαδδουκαίων, Ἑσσηνῶν· οὕτω γὰρ ῥόμην αἰρεῖσθαι τὴν  
ἀρίστην, εἰ πάσας καταμάθοιμι.<sup>a897 b896</sup> 63r
- ÷ refers to: καὶ ἐλθὼν εἰς τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου μνημεῖον τὴν τε χλαμύδα, ἣν ἐφόρει, καὶ τὸν δακτύλιον  
καὶ τὴν ζώνην καὶ εἴ τι πολυτελὲς περιελόμενος ἐπέθηκε τῇ ἐκείνου σορῶ.<sup>a898 b897</sup> 94r
- ÷ refers to: προσεκαλέσατό τινα τῶν γνωρίμων ὁ Φιντίας, Δάμωνα ὄνομα, Πυθαγόρειον  
φιλόσοφον, ὃς οὐδὲ διστάσας ἔγγυος εὐθύς ἐγενήθη τοῦ θανάτου.<sup>a899 b898</sup> 209v
- ÷ refers to: Ὅτι οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι καὶ τῆς μνήμης μεγίστην γυμνασίαν ἐποιοῦντο, τοιοῦτόν  
τινα τρόπον τῆς μελέτης ὑποστησάμενοι. οὐ πρότερον ἐκ τῆς εὐνῆς ἡγείροντο, πρὶν ἂν πρὸς  
ἑαυτοὺς ἀνθωμολογήσαντο τὰ κατὰ τὴν προτέραν ἡμέραν αὐτοῖς πραχθέντα, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τῆς  
πρωίας, τὴν δὲ τελευτὴν ἕως ἐσπέρας ποιοῦμενοι. εἰ δ' ἀναστροφὴν ἔχοιεν καὶ πλείονα σχολὴν  
ἄγοιεν, καὶ <τὰ> τρίτη καὶ τετάρτη καὶ ταῖς ἑτι πρότερον ἡμέραις πραχθέντα προσανελάμβανον.  
τοῦτο πρὸς ἐπιστήμην καὶ φρόνησιν, ἔτι δὲ τῶν πάντων ἐμπειρίαν τε τοῦ δύνασθαι πολλὰ  
μνημονεύειν. . .<sup>a900 b899</sup> 210r
- ÷ refers to: διόπερ αἰρετώτερον ὑπάρχειν ὑπουργῆσαι ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις αὐτοῦ σιωπῶσαν<sup>a901</sup>  
b900 212r
- ÷ refers to: ὁ δὲ καὶ γινώσκειν ἔφη καὶ ἀρεστὸν εἶναι πᾶν τὸ ἂν βασιλεὺς ἔρδῃ. τούτοις δὲ  
ἀμειψόμενος καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν κρεῶν ἦε ἐς τὰ οἰκία. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἔμελλε, ὥς ἐγὼ  
δοκέω, ἀλίσας θάψειν τὰ πάντα. Ἀρπάγῳ μὲν Ἀστυάγης δίκην ταύτην ἐπέθηκεν μὴ ἀνελόντι  
Κῦρον.<sup>a902 b901</sup> 163v
- ÷ refers to: Νόμιζε δ', ἔφη, συνεσκευασμένους παρέσεσθαι ὃ τι ἂν ὁ πατὴρ δῶ.<sup>a903 b902</sup> 234v

<sup>a892</sup>EV 1,9,10 exc. 3 <sup>a893</sup>EV 1,26,29–31 exc. 9 <sup>a894</sup>EV 1,48,30–49,2 exc. 17 <sup>a895</sup>EV 1,59,8–11  
exc. 25 <sup>a896</sup>EV 1,59,18–22 exc. 25 <sup>a897</sup>EV 1,120,32 exc. 76 <sup>a898</sup>94r, EV 1,191,6–8 exc. 42 <sup>a899</sup>209v,  
EV 1,222,7 exc. 63 <sup>a900</sup>EV 1,222,18–26 exc. 64 <sup>a901</sup>EV 1,227,2–3 exc. 79 <sup>a902</sup>EV 2,5,22–27 exc. 7  
<sup>a903</sup>EV 2,49,21–22 exc. 7

<sup>b891</sup>Jos. AJ 1.171 <sup>b892</sup>Jos. AJ 2.102 <sup>b893</sup>Jos. AJ 6.268 <sup>b894</sup>Jos. AJ 8.135 <sup>b895</sup>Jos. AJ  
8.167 <sup>b896</sup>Jos. De vita sua 10 <sup>b897</sup>Joh. Ant. fr. 214, ed. Roberto, p.372 <sup>b898</sup>Diod. Sic. 10.4.5  
<sup>b899</sup>Diod. Sic. 10.5.1 <sup>b900</sup>Diod. Sic. 10.20.1 <sup>b901</sup>Hdt 1.119 <sup>b902</sup>Xen. Cyr. 3.1.43

- 214v ÷(strange) refers to: αὐτὸς δὲ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐκπηδήσας ἀπῆλθε πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ ἐν τῷ Λαγωδίῳ καλουμένῳ τότε ὑπάρχον. καὶ καταφυγὼν ἐπὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἅπαντας εἰς ἔλεον καὶ πολλὴν συμπάθειαν ἤγαγεν. καὶ μετὰ τῶν ὀπλων εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην νυκτὸς εἰσέπεσον.<sup>a904 b903</sup>
- 216v ÷(strange) refers to: Ταμῶν δὲ ὁ μέγιστος αὐτῶν εἰς τὰς τριήρεις ἔθετο τὰ χρήματα καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς ἅπαντας πλὴν ἑνὸς καλουμένου Γάου.<sup>a905 b904</sup>
- 316r strange mark like ÷ refers to: Ὅτι περὶ τοῦ ταύρου τοῦ χαλκοῦ τοῦ παρὰ Φαλάριδος κατασκευασθέντος ἐν Ἀχράγαντι, εἰς ὃν ἐνεβίβαζεν ἀνθρώπους, κᾶπειτα πῦρ ὑποκαίων ἐλάμβανε τιμωρίαν παρὰ τῶν ὑποταττομένων τοιαύτην ὥστε ἐκπυρρουμενὸν τοῦ χαλκοῦ τὸν μὲν ἀνθρώπον πανταχόθεν παροπτώμενον καὶ περιφλεγόμενον διαφθείρεσθαι, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἀλγηδόνος, ὁπότεν βοήσειεν, μυκηθμῷ παραπλήσιον τὸν ἦχον ἐκ τοῦ κατασκευάσματος προσπίπτειν τοῖς ἀκούουσι.<sup>a906 b905</sup>
- 316v strange mark like ÷ refers to: διότι τῆς γῆς τῆς ὑπὸ τῷ κόσμῳ κειμένης εἰς τρία μέρη διηρημένης, καὶ τῆς μὲν Ἀσίας, τῆς δὲ Λιβύης, τῆς δ' Εὐρώπης προσαγορευομένης.<sup>a907 b906</sup>
- ∴ often at the end of the titles (see above)
- 63r ∴ refers to: πυθόμενός τινα Βανοῦν ὀνόματι κατὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν διατρίβειν ἐσθῆτι μὲν ἀπὸ δένδρων χρώμενον, τροφὴν δὲ τὴν αὐτομάτως φυομένην προσφερόμενον, ψυχρῷ δὲ ὕδατι τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν νύκτα πολλάκις λουόμενον πρὸς ἀγνείαν, ζηλωτὴς ἐγεγόνει αὐτοῦ. καὶ διατρίψας παρ' αὐτῷ ἐνιαυτοὺς τρεῖς καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τελειώσας εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὑπέστρεφον.<sup>a908 b907</sup>
- 182v ∴ refers to: ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἔγχευεν ἄλλην γυναῖκα. ἡ δὲ ἐπεισελθοῦσα ἐδικαίου καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ εἶναι μητριῇ τῇ Φρονίμῃ<sup>a909, a910 b908</sup>
- 154r ∴ placed at the end of exc. 28 <sup>a911 b909</sup>
- 275r ∴ refers to: ἀγένειον<sup>a912 b910</sup>
- 145r ∴ refers to: Ὅτι ὁ Τιβέριος εὐπατριδὴς μὲν ἦν καὶ ἐπεπαίδευτο, φύσει δὲ ιδιωτᾷ ἐκέχρητο.<sup>a913 b911</sup>
- 138v ∴ above Περτίναχος <sup>a914 b912</sup>
- 12r ∴ refers to: Φαραώθης ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐσπέραν ὄψεις ἐνυπνίων θεασάμενος β' καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν τὴν ἑκατέρας ἐξήγησιν ταύτης μὲν ἐμνημόνευσεν, τῶν δὲ ὀνειράτων κατέσχευεν...<sup>a915 b913</sup>
- 30r ∴ refers to: καὶ τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ λαμπρὸν ἐσόμενον καὶ περιβόητον, πρὸς τὴν κιβωτὸν παραγίνεται καὶ πεσὼν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον ἤρξατο προσκυνεῖν καὶ περὶ πάντων εὐχαριστεῖν τῷ θεῷ, ὦν τε αὐτῷ παρέσχετο ἐκ ταπεινοῦ καὶ ποιμένος εἰς τηλικούτον μέγεθος ἡγεμονίας τε καὶ δόξης ἀναγαγόν, ὦν τε τοῖς ἐκγόνοις αὐτοῦ καθυπέσχετο. ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ τὸν θεὸν ὑμνήσας ἀπηλλάσσεται.<sup>a916 b914</sup>
- ∴ refers to: συνέβη δ' εἰς τ' ἐκεῖνον ἀγαγεῖν τὸν τόπον Ἀβραμὸν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ἰσακὸν ὥστε ὀλοκαυτῶσαι καὶ ἀντὶ τούτου χριδὸν πεμφθέντα τυθῆναι.<sup>a917 b915</sup>

<sup>a904</sup>EV 1,231,31–34 exc. 96 <sup>a905</sup>EV 1,236,20–22 exc. 117 <sup>a906</sup>EV 2,134,17–135,2 exc. 44 <sup>a907</sup>EV 2,135,19–21 exc. 44 <sup>a908</sup>EV 1,121,4–9 exc. 76 <sup>a909</sup>minuscule, in the lower margin, self corr. by the main scribe <sup>a910</sup>EV 2, 14, 8–10 exc. 31 <sup>a911</sup>EV 1,345,18 exc. 28 <sup>a912</sup>EV 2,223,12 exc. 15 <sup>a913</sup>145r, EV 2,316,22 exc. 184 <sup>a914</sup>EV 2,381,25 exc. 334 (mentioned in app.) <sup>a915</sup>EV 1,23,11 exc. 9 (post Byzantine) ∴ α – β 12v, EV 1,24,4–13 exc. 9 (Jos. AJ 2.81–82) <sup>a916</sup>EV 1,56,30–36 exc. 20 <sup>a917</sup>EV 1,57,22–24 exc. 21

<sup>b903</sup>Diod. Sic. 12.24.4 <sup>b904</sup>Diod. Sic. 14.35.2 <sup>b905</sup>Polyb. 12.25.1–2 <sup>b906</sup>Polyb. 12.25.7 <sup>b907</sup>Jos. *De vita sua* 11 <sup>b908</sup>Hdt 4.154 <sup>b909</sup>Nic. Dam. FGrHist A 90 F 67 <sup>b910</sup>Appian, *Sicilica* Fr. 7 <sup>b911</sup>Cassius Dio 57.1.1 <sup>b912</sup>Cassius Dio 73.17.3 <sup>b913</sup>Jos. AJ 2.75 <sup>b914</sup>Jos. AJ 7.95 <sup>b915</sup>Jos. AJ 7.333

- ∴ refers to: ἀλλὰ τούτων μὲν κατημέλησεν ὑπενεχθεὶς εἰς ἡδονὴν ἀλόγιστον Σολομών, ἀγαγόμενος δὲ γυναῖκας ἀρχόντων καὶ διασήμεων θυγατέρας ἑπτακοσίας τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ παλλακὰς τ', πρὸς δὲ ταύταις καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Αἰγυπτίων θυγατέρα, εὐθύς μὲν ἐκρατεῖτο πρὸς αὐτῶν, ὥστε μιμεῖσθαι τὰ παρ' ἐκείνων, καὶ τῆς εὐνοίας καὶ φιλοστοργίας ἡναγκάζετο παρέχειν αὐταῖς δεῖγμα τὸ βιοῦν ὡς αὐταῖς πάτριον ἦν <sup>a918 b916</sup> 32r
- ∴ refers to: καὶ Νάβουθος μὲν, ὡς ἔγραψεν ἡ βασίλισσα, οὕτω καταμαρτυρηθεὶς βλασφημήσας τὸν θεὸν καὶ Ἀχάαβον, βαλλόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους ἀπέθανεν <sup>a919 b917</sup> 35r
- ∴ refers to: ἀγανακτήσας δὲ ὁ θεὸς πέμπει τὸν προφήτην Ἡλίαν εἰς τὸ Ναβούθου χωρίον, Ἀχάαβω συμβαλοῦντα καὶ περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐρησόμενον, ὅ τι κτείνας τὸν ἀληθῆ δεσπότην τοῦ χωρίου κληρονομήσειεν αὐτὸς ἀδίκως. <sup>a920 b918</sup>
- enclosed by two marks ▷: ὁ Χριστὸς οὗτος ἦν. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐνδείξει τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν παρ' ἡμῖν σταυρῷ ἐπιτετιμηκότος Πιλάτου, οὐκ ἐπαύσαντο οἱ τὸ πρῶτον ἀγαπήσαντες· ἐφάνη γὰρ αὐτοῖς τρίτην ἔχων ἡμέραν πάλιν ζῶν, τῶν θείων προφητῶν ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλα μυρία θαυμάσια περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰρηκότων. εἷς τε νῦν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀπὸ τοῦδε ὠνομασμένων οὐκ ἐπέλιπε τὸ φῦλον. <sup>a921 b919</sup> 44r
- \* refers to: „τὸ μὲν γὰρ πῦρ“ φησὶν „τοὺς πλησίον ὄντας καίει, τὸ δὲ κάλλος καὶ τοὺς πόρρωθεν ἐστῶτας.“ ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐκ τοῦ ὁρᾶν τὸ ἐρᾶν τίκεται καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐρᾶν ἡ συγκατάθεσις γίνεται καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγκαταθέσεως ἡ πρᾶξις ἐπιτελεῖται, διὰ τοῦτο ὁ Χριστὸς τὸν ἀκολάστως ἐστιῶντα τὰς ὀφείας μοιχὸν ἔκρινεν, οὐ τὴν πρᾶξιν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἔννοιαν προαναπέλλων. <sup>a922 b920</sup> 69v
- special mark <sup>a923, b921</sup> 261r
- \* placed at the end of Josephus Flavius <sup>a924</sup> 63v
- καὶ παρακαλέσας οἷα δὴ φιλόσοφον καὶ ἀμνησίκαχον ἐν πολὺ πλείονι ἤγε τιμῇ καὶ εὐνοίᾳ \* <sup>a924 b922</sup> 222r
- \* refers to: τὸ δὲ μήτε τοῖς ἰδίους πράγμασιν ἐπικουρίαν μέλλοντα μὴδ' ἡντινοῦν παρασκευάζειν μήτε τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐλάττωσιν πρὸς γε τὸν ἐνεστῶτα πόλεμον, ἐκ περιττοῦ καὶ ναοὺς, ἅμα δὲ τούτοις ἀνδριάντας καὶ πᾶσαν δὴ τὴν τοιαύτην κατασκευὴν λυμαίνεσθαι, πῶς οὐκ ἂν εἴποι τις εἶναι τρόπου καὶ θυμοῦ λυττῶντος ἔργον; <sup>a925 b923</sup> 106v

<sup>a918</sup>32r with much later ορα, EV 1,60,31–61,4 exc. 26 <sup>a919</sup>35r, EV 1,66,13–16 exc. 32 <sup>a920</sup>EV 1,66,19–23 exc. 32 <sup>a921</sup>EV 1,84,21–26 exc. 50 <sup>a922</sup>EV 1,135,24–29 exc. 5 <sup>a923</sup>EV 1,312,9–14 exc. 348 ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ὁ τούτου υἱὸς κατὰ τὸν ὑποκείμενον ἐνιαυτὸν τελευτήσας ἀδωροδόκητος μὲν ἅπαντα τὸν βίον διετέλεσεν, μετασχὼν δὲ τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τῷ βίῳ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἄλλ' οὐ τοῖς λόγοις μόνοις φιλοσοφῆσας ἀκόλουθον ἔσχε τῇ τοῦ γένους διαδοχῇ καὶ τὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς κληρονομίαν. — <sup>a924</sup>222r, EV 1,326,2 exc. 1 <sup>a925</sup>106v, EV 2,99,22–27 exc. 15

<sup>b916</sup>Jos. AJ 8.193 <sup>b917</sup>Jos. AJ 8.359 <sup>b918</sup>Jos. AJ 8.360 <sup>b919</sup>Jos. AJ 18.63 <sup>b920</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p. 361,1–7 <sup>b921</sup>Diod. Sic. 34 and 35.33.8 <sup>b922</sup>Nic. Dam. FGrHist A 90 F 133 <sup>b923</sup>Polyb. 5.11.4

- 72r quotation marks in the margin (on collecting books): Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ λεγόμενά τε καὶ ἀδόμενα διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς γνώσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ συντάξεως τῶν βιβλίων, ὅθεν καὶ Συντακτικὸς ὠνομάσθη διὰ τὸ πεποιημέναι πολλὰ βιβλία, μὴ ἀκούων, ὥς ἔοικε, τοῦ Σολομῶντος λέγοντος „υἱέ, φύλαξαι τοῦ ποιῆσαι βιβλία πολλὰ“ καὶ „μὴ σπεῦδε ἐπὶ στόματί σου, καὶ καρδίᾳ σου μὴ ταχυνάτω τοῦ ἐξενεγκεῖν λόγον ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ᾄνω, καὶ σὺ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κάτω. <sup>a926,b924,c221</sup>
- 110v quotation marks in the margin (in the ink of the main scribe) <sup>a927,b925</sup>

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<sup>a926</sup>EV 1,140,20–23 exc. 10    <sup>a927</sup>110v–111r, EV 2,109,8–110,4 exc. 26 —

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<sup>b924</sup>Georg. Mon., ed. de Boor, p. 458,16–24    <sup>b925</sup>Polyb. 8. 9. 1

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<sup>c221</sup>Suda s.v. Συντακτικός: ὁ Ὀριγένης διὰ τὸ πεποιημέναι πολλὰ βιβλία.

# B

## The Siege of Tyre

### Abbreviations

<b>R–W</b>	ROOS & WIRTH (2002)
<b>P</b>	Par. suppl. gr. 607
<b>W</b>	WESCHER (1867a)
<b>Anonymus</b>	VAN DEN BERG (1947)
<b>Arr.</b>	Arrianus
<b>Bravi</b>	BRAVI (2006), 19–26
text in blue	changes by the excerptor in P
text in grey	omitted by the excerptor in P

[2. 15. 6.] μετὰ τὴν Δαρείου φυγὴν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκ Μαράθου δὲ ὁρμηθεὶς ἢ δὴ καὶ ἀντιχρὺ τῆς Ἀράδου ὥχισται νήσου κατὰ τὴν ἡπειρον πόλιν μεγάλη τε καὶ εὐδαίμων Βύβλον τε λαμβάνει ὁμολογίᾳ ἐνδοθεῖσαν καὶ Σιδῶνα αὐτῶν Σιδωνίων ἐπικαλεσαμένων κατὰ ἔχθος τὸ Περσῶν καὶ Δαρείου. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ προὔχῳρει ὡς ἐπὶ Τύρον· καὶ ἐντυγχάνουσιν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν πρέσβεις Τυρίων ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐσταλμένοι ὡς ἐγνωκότων Τυρίων πράσσειν ὃ τι ἂν ἐπαγγέλλῃ. <Ἀλέξανδρος>

[2. 15. 7.] ὁ δὲ τὴν τε πόλιν ἐπαινέσας καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις <καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐν Τύρῳ οἳ τε ἄλλοι καὶ ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Τυρίων παῖς. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀξέμιλκος μετ' Αὐτοφραδάτου ἔπλει> ἐκέλευσεν ἐπανελθόντας φράσαι Τυρίοις, ὅτι ἐθέλοι παρελθὼν ἐς τὴν πόλιν θῦσαι τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ.

on naval war

[2. 16. 1.] Ἔστι γὰρ ἐν Τύρῳ ἱερὸν Ἡρακλέους παλαιότατον ὦν μνήμη ἀνθρωπίνῃ διασώζεται, <οὐ τοῦ Ἀργεῖου Ἡρακλέους τοῦ Ἀλκμήνης· πολλαῖς γὰρ γενεαῖς πρότερον τιμᾶται ἐν Τύρῳ Ἡρακλῆς ἢ Κάδμου ἐκ Φοινίκης ὁρμηθέντα Θήβας κατασχεῖν καὶ τὴν παῖδα Κάδμω τὴν Σεμέλῃ γενέσθαι, ἐξ ἧς καὶ ὁ τοῦ Διὸς Διόνυσος γίγνεται.

on pagan  
mythology  
(Heracles cult)

[2. 16. 2.] Διόνυσος μὲν δὴ τρίτος ἂν ἀπὸ Κάδμου εἴη, κατὰ Λάβδαχον τὸν Πολυδώρου τοῦ Κάδμου παῖδα, Ἡρακλῆς δὲ ὁ Ἀργεῖος κατ' Οἰδίποδα μάλιστα τὸν Λαΐου.

[2. 16. 3.] σέβουσι δὲ καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι ἄλλον Ἡρακλέα, οὐχ ὅνπερ Τύριοι ἢ Ἕλληνες, ἀλλὰ λέγει Ἡρόδοτος, ὅτι τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν Ἡρακλέα ἄγουσιν Αἰγύπτιοι, καθάπερ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι Διόνυσον τὸν Διὸς καὶ Κόρης σέβουσιν, ἄλλον τοῦτον Διόνυσον· καὶ ὁ Ἰταχχος |ὁ μυστικὸς τούτῳ τῷ Διονύσῳ, οὐχὶ τῷ Θηβαίῳ, ἐπάδεται.

p. 96

[2. 16. 4.] ὡς τὸν γε ἐν Ταρτησσῷ πρὸς Ἰβήρων τιμώμενον Ἡρακλέα, ἵνα καὶ στήλαί τινες Ἡρακλέους ὠνομασμέναι εἰσι, δοκῶ ἐγὼ τὸν Τύριον εἶναι Ἡρακλέα, ὅτι Φοινίκων κτίσμα ἢ Ταρτησσὸς καὶ τῷ Φοινίκων νόμῳ ὃ τε νεῶς πεποιήται τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ ἐκεῖ καὶ αἰθυσίαι θύονται.

[2. 16. 5.] Γηρυόνην δέ, ἐφ' ὄντινα ὁ Ἀργεῖος Ἡρακλῆς ἐστάλη πρὸς Εὐρυσθέως τὰς βοῦς ἀπελάσαι τὰς Γηρυόνου καὶ ἀγαγεῖν ἐς Μυκῆνας, οὐδέν τι προσήκειν τῇ γῇ τῇ Ἰβήρων Ἐκαταῖος ὁ λογοποιὸς λέγει, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ νήσόν τινα Ἐρύθειαν ἔξω τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης σταλῆναι Ἡρακλέα, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἡπείρου τῆς περὶ Ἀμπρακίαν τε καὶ Ἀμφιλόχους βασιλέα γενέσθαι Γηρυόνην καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου ταύτης ἀπελάσαι Ἡρακλέα τὰς βοῦς, οὐδὲ τοῦτον φαῦλον ἄθλον τιθέμενον.

[2. 16. 6.] οἶδα δὲ ἐγὼ καὶ εἰς τοῦτο ἔτι εὐβοτον τὴν ἡπειρον ταύτην καὶ βοῦς τρέφουσιν καλλίστας· καὶ ἐς Εὐρυσθέα τῶν μὲν ἐξ Ἠπείρου βοῶν κλέος ἀφῖχθαι καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς Ἠπείρου τὸ ὄνομα τὸν Γηρυόνην οὐκ ἔξω τοῦ εἰκότος τίθεμαι· τῶν δὲ ἐσχάτων τῆς Εὐρώπης Ἰβήρων οὐτ' ἂν τοῦ βασιλέως τὸ ὄνομα γινώσκῃν Εὐρυσθέα, οὔτε εἰ βοῦς καλαὶ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ταύτῃ νέμονται, εἰ μὴ τις τὴν Ἥραν τούτοις ἐπάγων, ὡς αὐτὴν ταῦτα Ἡρακλεῖ δι' Εὐρυσθέως ἐπαγγέλλουσιν, τὸ οὐ πιστὸν τοῦ λόγου ἀποκρύπτειν ἐθέλοι τῷ μύθῳ.

1 ΕΚ... ΑΛΩΣΙΣ] P *add.* 2 μετὰ... Ἀλέξανδρος] *add.* P 2-3 ἢ δὴ... εὐδαίμων] *add.* P 7 Ἀλέξανδρος] *om.* P 8-10 καὶ γὰρ... ἔπλει] *om.* P

2 ἐκ Μαράθου... ἐσταλμένοι] *attinuit* Bravi 5 κατὰ ἔχθος τὸ Περσῶν καὶ Δαρείου] *om.* Bravi



[2. 16. 7.] |Τούτῳ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ Τυρίῳ ἔφη ἐθέλειν θῦσαι Ἀλέξανδρος.> ὥς δὲ  
40 ἀπηγγέλθη ταῦτα πρὸς τῶν πρέσβων εἰς τὴν Τύρον, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἔδοξε σφισι ποιεῖν  
ὅ τι περ ἐπαγγέλλοι Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐς δὲ τὴν πόλιν μήτε τινὰ Περσῶν μήτε Μακεδόνων  
δέχεσθαι, <ὡς τοῦτο ἔς τε τὰ παρόντα τῷ λόγῳ εὐπρεπέστατον καὶ ἐς τοῦ πολέμου  
τὴν κρίσιν, ἄδηλον ἔτι οὖσαν, ἀσφαλέστατόν σφισι γνωσόμενοι.>

[2. 16. 8.] ὥς δὲ ἐξηγγέλθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὰ ἐκ τῆς Τύρου, τοὺς μὲν πρέσβεις πρὸς  
45 ὀργὴν ὀπίσω ἀπέπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ συναγαγὼν τοὺς τε ἐταίρους καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῆς  
στρατιᾶς καὶ <ιλάρχας ἔλεξεν ὧδε.

[2. 17. 1.] Ἄνδρες φίλοι καὶ ξύμμαχοι, ἡμῖν οὔτε τὴν ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου πορεχίαν  
ἀσφαλῆ ὁρῶ θαλασσοκρατούντων Περσῶν, Δαρεῖόν τε διώκειν ὑπολειπομένους αὐ-  
τὴν τε ὀπίσω τὴν τῶν Τυρίων πόλιν ἀμφίβολον καὶ Αἴγυπτον καὶ Κύπρον ἐχομένας  
50 πρὸς Περσῶν, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀσφαλὲς ἔς τε τὰ ἄλλα καὶ μάλιστα δὴ ἐς τὰ Ἑλληνικά

[2. 17. 2.] πράγματα, μὴ ποτε ἄρα ἐπικρατήσαντες αὐθις τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ χωρίων οἱ  
Πέρσαι, προχωρησάντων ἡμῶν ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει ὥς ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνά τε καὶ Δαρεῖον, αὐτοὶ  
ξὺν πλείονι στόλῳ μετάγοιεν τὸν πόλεμον ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν ἐκ τοῦ  
εὐθέος ἡμῖν πολεμούντων, τῆς δὲ Ἀθηναίων πόλεως φόβῳ μᾶλλον τι ἢ εὐνοίᾳ τῇ πρὸς  
55 ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὸ παρὸν κατεχομένης.

[2. 17. 3.] ἐξαιρεθείσης δὲ Τύρου ἢ τε Φοινίκη ἔχοιτο ἂν πᾶσα| καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν  
ὅπερ πλείστον τε καὶ κράτιστον τοῦ Περσικοῦ, τὸ Φοινίκων, παρ' ἡμᾶς μεταχωρήσειν  
εἰκός· οὐ γὰρ ἀνέξονται οὔτε οἱ ἐρέται οὔθ' οἱ ἐπιβάται Φοίνικες ἐχομένων σφίσι τῶν  
πόλεων αὐτοὶ ὑπὲρ ἄλλων πλέοντες κινδυνεύειν· Κύπρος δὲ ἐπὶ τῷδε ἢ οὐ χαλεπῶς ἡμῖν  
60 προσχωρήσει ἢ ἐξ ἐπίπλου εὐμαρῶς ληφθήσεται.

[2. 17. 4.] καὶ ταῖς τε ἐκ Μακεδονίας ναυσὶ καὶ ταῖς Φοινίσσαις πλεόντων ἡμῶν τὴν  
θάλασσαν καὶ Κύπρου ἅμα προσγενομένης θαλασσοκρατοῦμέν τε ἂν βεβαίως καὶ ὁ ἐς  
Αἴγυπτον στόλος εὐμαρῶς ἡμῖν ἐν ταῦτῳ γίγνεται. Αἴγυπτον δὲ παραστησαμένοις ὑπὲρ  
τε τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῆς οἰκείας οὐδὲν ἔτι ὑποπτον ὑπολείπεται, τὸν τε ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος  
65 στόλον μετὰ τοῦ ἐς τὰ οἴκοι ἀσφαλοῦς καὶ ξὺν μείζονι ἅμα ἀξιώσει ποιησόμεθα ἀπο-  
τετμημένοι τὴν τε θάλασσαν Περσῶν ξύμπασαν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Εὐφράτου γῆν.

[2. 18. 1.] Ταῦτα λέγων> οὐ χαλεπῶς ἔπειθεν ἐπιχειρεῖν τῇ Τύρῳ· καὶ τι καὶ θεῖον  
W p. 309 ἀνέπειθεν αὐτόν, ὅτι ἐνύπνιον αὐτῆς ἐκείνης τῆς νυκτὸς ἐδόκει| αὐτὸς μὲν τῷ τείχει  
προσάγειν τῶν Τυρίων, τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλέα δεξιοῦσθαί τε αὐτόν καὶ ἀνάγειν ἐς τὴν πόλιν.  
70 <καὶ τοῦτο ἐξηγεῖτο Ἀρίστανδρος ὥς ξὺν πόνῳ ἀλωσομένην τὴν Τύρον, ὅτι καὶ τὰ τοῦ  
Ἡρακλέους ἔργα ξὺν πόνῳ ἐγένετο. καὶ γὰρ καὶ μέγα ἔργον τῆς Τύρου ἢ πολιορκία  
ἐφαίνετο.

39 οὐ τοῦ Ἀργείου Ἡρακλέους... Ἀλέξανδρος] 2. 16. 1 – 2. 16. 6 *om.* P 42–43 ὡς τοῦτο... γνω-  
σόμενοι] *om.* P

39 | Arr. 2. 16. 7 – 2. 24. 3: ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀξιώσαντι αὐτῷ εἰσελθεῖν ἐν τῇ πόλει εἰς τὸ θυσίασαι τῷ  
Ἡρακλεῖ οἱ Τύριοι ἀπείποντο, ἐκστρατεύει κατ' αὐτῶν διὰ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἔχων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τὰς  
Φοινίκων καὶ Κυπρίων ναῦς σ' οὐσας· καὶ πορθεῖ αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν· *de obsidione Tyri epitomavit Bravi*

[2. 18. 2.] νήσός τε γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἡ πόλις ἦν καὶ τείχεσιν ὑψηλοῖς πάντῃ ὠχύρωτο· καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης πρὸς τῶν Τυρίων μᾶλλον τι ἐν τῷ τότε ἐφαίνετο, τῶν τε Περσῶν| ἔτι p. 99  
75 θαλασσοκρατούντων καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς Τυρίοις νεῶν ἔτι πολλῶν περιουσῶν.

[2. 18. 3.] Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ὁμῶς ἐκράτησε, χῶμα ἔγνω χωννύναι ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν.> ἔστι δὲ πορθμὸς τεναγώδης τὸ χωρίον καὶ τὰ μὲν πρὸς τῇ ἡπείρῳ τῆς θαλάσσης βραχέα καὶ πηλώδη αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει, ἵνα τὸ βαθύτατον τοῦ  
P 95r διάπλου, τριῶν| μάλιστα ὀργυιῶν τὸ βάθος. ἀλλὰ λίθων τε πολλὴ ἀφθονία ἦν καὶ ὕλης,  
80 ἦντινα τοῖς λίθοις ἄνωθεν ἐπεφόρουν, χάρακές τε οὐ χαλεπῶς κατεπήγνυντο ἐν τῷ πηλῷ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ πηλὸς ξύνδεσμος τοῖς λίθοις ἐς τὸ ἐπιμένειν ἐγίγνετο.

[2. 18. 4.] <καὶ προθυμία τῶν τε Μακεδόνων ἐς τὸ ἔργον καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου πολλὴ ἦν παρόντος τε καὶ αὐτοῦ ἕκαστα ἐξηγουμένου καὶ τὰ μὲν λόγῳ ἐπαίροντος, τὰ δὲ καὶ χρήμασι τούς τι ἐκπρεπέστερον κατ' ἀρετὴν πονοιμένους ἐπικουφίζοντος.> ἀλλ' ἔστε  
85 μὲν τὸ πρὸς τῇ ἡπείρῳ ἐχώννυτο, οὐ χαλεπῶς προὔχῳρει τὸ ἔργον, <ἐπὶ βάθος τε ὀλίγον χωννύμενον καὶ οὐδενὸς ἐξείργοντος.>

[2. 18. 5.] ὡς δὲ τῷ τε βαθυτέρῳ ἤδη ἐπέλαζον καὶ ἅμα τῇ πόλει αὐτῇ ἐγγὺς ἐγίγνοντο, ἀπὸ τε τῶν τειχῶν ὑψηλῶν ὄντων βαλλόμενοι ἐκακοπάθουν, ἅτε καὶ ἐπ' ἐργασίᾳ μᾶλλον τι ἢ ὡς ἐς μάχην ἀκριβῶς ἐσταλμένοι, καὶ ταῖς τριήρεσιν ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη  
90 τοῦ χώματος ἐπιπλέοντες οἱ Τύριοι, ἅτε δὴ θαλασσοκρατοῦντες ἔτι, ἄπορον πολλαχῇ p. 100  
W p. 310 τὴν πρόσχωσιν τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἐποίουν.]

[2. 18. 6.] καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες πύργους ἐπ' ἄκρου τοῦ χώματος, ὃ τι περ προκεχωρήκει αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς θαλάσσης, ἐπέστησαν δύο καὶ μηχανὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς πύργοις. προκαλύμματα δὲ δέρρεις καὶ διφθέραι αὐτοῖς ἦσαν, ὡς μήτε πυρφόροις βέλεσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους  
95 βάλλεσθαι, τοῖς τε ἐργαζομένοις προβολὴν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ εἶναι πρὸς τὰ τοξεύματα· ἅμα τε ὅσοι προσπλέοντες τῶν Τυρίων ἐβλαπτον τοὺς χωννύντας, ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων βαλλόμενοι οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀνασταλήσεσθαι ἔμελλον.

[2. 19. 1.] Οἱ δὲ Τύριοι πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντιμηχανῶνται τοιόνδε. ναῦν ἱππαγωγὸν κλημάτων τε ξηρῶν καὶ ἄλλης ὕλης εὐφλέκτου ἐμπλήσαντες δύο ἰστοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ πρῶρᾳ  
100 καταπηγνύουσι <καὶ ἐν κύκλῳ περιφράσσουσιν> ἐς ὅσον μακρότατον, ὡς φορυτὸν τε ταύτῃ καὶ δᾶδας ὅσας πλείστας δέξασθαι· πρὸς δὲ πίσσαν τε καὶ θείον καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐς τὸ παρακαλέσαι μεγάλην φλόγα ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἐπεφόρησαν.

78 πηλώδη] παγωδη-τεναγωδη P 78 ἵνα] ὅπου Arr. ἵνα P Anonymus 79 μάλιστα] ἐς μάλιστα 79 πολλῇ] πολλῶν Arr., Anonymus πολλῇ P 81 ξύνδεσμος] σύνδεσμος P 81 τοῖς...ἐπιμένειν] Arr. P ἐς τὸ ἐπιμένειν τοῖς λίθοις Anonymus §247 81 ἐς τὸ] εἴπω P 81 ἐγίγνετο] Arr. P ἐγίγνετο Anonymus 92 προκεχωρήκει] προξωρηκει P 93 δύο] om. P 95 ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ] ταυτω 97 ἔμελλον] μελλον P 99 κλημάτων] κλημάτιδων P cf. Thucydides 8.53.4 101 ταύτῃ] ταῦτα 101 ἐς] εἰς Anonymus 102 ἐπεφόρησαν] ἐπιφόρησαν P

73 νήσός τε...περιουσῶν] τῆς γὰρ Τύρου νήσου σχεδὸν οὐσης καὶ τείχεσιν ὑψηλοῖς πάντῃ ὠχυρωμένης, καὶ τῶν Περσῶν τότε, ὑφ' ὧν ἡ πόλις ἐτατακτο, θαλασσοκρατούντων καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Τυρίων νήας ἐχόντων πολλὰς, ὁμῶς χῶμα ἔγνω χωννύναι ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν. καὶ ἡπειρον τὴν νήσου ἀπειργάσατο Anonymus, § 245–246, p. 84 77 ἔστι δὲ πορθμὸς] ἔστι δὲ φησι πορθμὸς Anonymus § 246, p. 84

76 καὶ τοῦτο ἐξηγεῖτο Ἀρίστανδρος...πόλιν] om. P 82 καὶ προθυμία...ἐπικουφίζοντος] om. P *attenuit* Anonymus, § 248 85–86 ἐπὶ...ἐξείργοντος] om. P 100 καὶ ἐν κύκλῳ περιφράσσουσιν] om. P

- P 95v 105 W p. 311 [2. 19. 2.] παρέτειναν δὲ καὶ κεραΐαν διπλὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱστοῖς ἀμφοτέροις, καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐξήρτησαν ἐν λέβησιν ὅσα ἐπιχυθέντα ἢ ἐπιβληθέντα ἐπὶ μέγα| τὴν φλόγα ἐξάψιν ἐμελλεν, ἔρματά τε ἐς τὴν πρύμναν | ἐνέθεσαν, τοῦ ἐξᾶραι ἐς ὕψος τὴν πρῶραν πιεζομένης κατὰ πρύμναν τῆς| [νεώς]. p. 101
- 110 [2. 19. 3.] ἔπειτα ἄνεμον τηρήσαντες ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ χῶμα ἐπιφέροντα ἐξάψαντες τριήρεσι τὴν ναῦν κατ' οὐρὰν εἰλκον. ὡς δὲ ἐπέλαζον ἤδη τῷ τε χώματι καὶ τοῖς πύργοις, πῦρ ἐμβαλόντες ἐς τὴν ὕλην καὶ ὡς βιαιότατα ἅμα ταῖς τριήρεσιν ἐπανελκύναντες τὴν ναῦν ἐνσειοῦσιν ἄκρῳ τῷ χώματι· αὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ ἐν τῇ νηϊ καιομένη ἤδη ἐξενήξαντο οὐ χαλεπῶς.
- 115 [2. 19. 4.] καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἢ τε φλόξ πολλὴ ἐνέπιπτε τοῖς πύργοις καὶ αἱ κεραῖαι περικλασθεῖσαι ἐξέχεαν ἐς τὸ πῦρ ὅσα ἐς ἔξαψιν τῆς φλογὸς παρεσκευασμένα ἦν. οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν τριήρων πλησίον τοῦ χώματος ἀνακωχεύοντες ἐτόξευον ἐς τοὺς πύργους, ὡς μὴ ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι πελάσαι ὅσοι σβεστήριον τι τῇ φλογὶ ἐπέφερον.
- W p. 312 120 [2. 19. 5.] καὶ ἐν τούτῳ <κατεχομένων ἤδη ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς τῶν πύργων> ἐκδραμόντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πολλοὶ καὶ ἐς κελήτια ἐμβάντες ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλῃ ἐποκείλαντες τοῦ χώματος τὸν τε χάρακα οὐ χαλεπῶς διέσπασαν τὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ προβεβλημένον καὶ τὰς μηχανὰς ξυμπάσας κατέφλεξαν, <ὅσας μὴ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς νεὸς πῦρ ἐπέσχευ.>
- 125 [2. 19. 6.] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τό τε χῶμα ἀπὸ τῆς ἡπείρου ἀρξαμένους **ἔγνω**| χωννύναι πλατύτερον ὡς πλείονας δέξασθαι πύργους, καὶ τοὺς μηχανοποιοὺς μηχανὰς ἄλλας κατασκευάζειν ἐκέλευσεν. αὐτὸς δὲ **στόλον** **ὅτι πλείστον ἀθροίζειν διενοεῖτο**· ἤδη γὰρ αὐτῷ, **θαλασσοκρατούντων τῶν Τυρίων, ἀπορώτερα τὰ τῆς πολιορκίας ἐφαίνετο**. <ὡς δὲ ταῦτα | παρεσκευάζετο, αὐτὸς τοὺς τε ὑπασιπistas ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας ἐπὶ Σιδῶνος ἐστάλη, ὡς ἀθροίσων ἐκεῖ ὅσαι ἤδη ἦσαν αὐτῷ τριήρεις, ὅτι ἀπορώτερα τὰ τῆς πολιορκίας ἐφαίνετο θαλασσοκρατούντων τῶν Τυρίων.> on naval war p. 102
- 130 [2. 20. 1.] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Γηρόστρατός τε ὁ Ἀράδου βασιλεὺς καὶ Ἐνυλος ὁ Βύβλου ὡς ἔμαθον τὰς πόλεις σφῶν ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐχομένας, ἀπολιπόντες Αὐτοφραδάτην τε καὶ τὰς ξὺν αὐτῷ νέας παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρον ξὺν τῷ ναυτικῷ τῷ σφετέρῳ ἀφίκοντο καὶ αἱ τῶν Σιδωνίων τριήρεις σὺν αὐτοῖς, ὥστε Φοινίκων μὲν νῆες ὀγδοήκοντα μάλιστα αὐτῷ παρεγένοντο.

104 ἐξήρτησαν] ὅσα *add.* Anonymus 104 λέβησιν] λέβεσιν Anonymus 105 ἔρματά] ἔρμα Suda 105 τε ἐς] τ'ες P 105 ἐνέθεσαν] Arr. ἐνένθεδες Suda ἐθεσαν P 119–120 χωννύναι πλατύτερον] P πλατύτερον χωννύναι Arr.

105 ἔρματά τε... νεώς] Suda (s.v. ἔρμα)

115 κατεχομένων... πύργων] *om.* P 118 ὅσας... ἐπέσχευ] *om.* P 119 **ἔγνω**] *add.* P 121–122 αὐτὸς δὲ... ἐφαίνετο] *add.* P 122 ὡς δὲ ταῦτα... οὐ ταχυναυτοῦσαι ἦσαν] Arr. 2. 19. 6 – 2. 21. 1 (*de naumachia*) *om.* P *attinuit* Anonymus § 264–280 p. 87,9–89,19

[2. 20. 2.] ἦκον δὲ ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ἡμέραις καὶ ἐκ Ῥόδου τριήρεις ἢ τε περίπολος καλουμένη καὶ ξὺν ταύτῃ ἄλλαι ἐννέα, καὶ ἐκ Σόλων καὶ Μαλλοῦ τρεῖς καὶ Λύκιοι δέκα, ἐκ Μακεδονίας δὲ πεντηκόντορος, ἐφ' ἧς Πρωτέας ὁ Ἀνδρονίκου ἐπέπλει.

[2. 20. 3.] οὐ πολλῶ δὲ ὕστερον καὶ οἱ τῆς Κύπρου βασιλεῖς ἐς τὴν Σιδῶνα κατέσχον  
 135 ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν μάλιστα καὶ εἴκοσιν, ἐπειδὴ τὴν τε ἦσαν τὴν κατ' Ἰσθὸν Δαρείου ἐπύθοντο καὶ ἡ Φοινίκη πᾶσα ἐχομένη ἤδη ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐφόβει αὐτούς. καὶ τούτοις πᾶσιν ἔδωκεν Ἀλέξανδρος ἄδειαν τῶν πρόσθεν, ὅτι ὑπ' ἀνάγκης μᾶλλον τι ἢ κατὰ γνώμην τὴν σφῶν ἔδοκουν ξυν ταχθῆναι τοῖς Πέρσαις ἐς τὸ ναυτικόν.

[2. 20. 4.] Ἐν ᾧ δὲ αἱ τε μηχαναὶ αὐτῷ ξυνεπήγνυντο καὶ αἱ | νῆες ὥς εἰς ἐπίπλουν  
 140 τε καὶ ναυμαχίας ἀπόπειραν ἐζηρτύοντο, ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τῶν τε ἱππέων ἴλας ἔστιν ἃς καὶ τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνάς τε καὶ τοὺς τοξότας ἐπ' Ἀραβίας στέλλεται εἰς τὸν Ἀντιλίβανον καλούμενον τὸ ὄρος·

p. 103

[2. 20. 5.] καὶ τὰ μὲν βία τῶν ταύτῃ ἐξελόν, τὰ δὲ ὁμολογία παραστησάμενος ἐν δέκα ἡμέραις ἐπανῆγεν ἐς τὴν Σιδῶνα, καὶ καταλαμβάνει Κλέανδρον τὸν Πολεμοκράτους  
 145 ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ἦκοντα καὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ μισθοφόρους Ἑλλήνας ἐς τετρακισχίλους.

[2. 20. 6.] Ὡς δὲ συνετέταχτο αὐτῷ τὸ ναυτικόν, ἐπιβιβάσας τοῖς καταστρώμασι τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ὅσοι ἱκανοὶ ἔδοκουν ἐς τὸ ἔργον, εἰ μὴ διέκπλοις μᾶλλον τι ἢ ἐν χερσὶν ἢ ναυμαχία γίγνοιτο, ἄρας ἐκ τῆς Σιδῶνος ἐπέπλει τῇ Τύρῳ ξυντεταγμέναις ταῖς ναυσὶν, αὐτὸς μὲν κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας, ὃ δὴ ἐς τὸ πέλαγος αὐτῷ ἀνείχε, καὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ οἱ τε  
 150 Κυπρίων βασιλεῖς καὶ ὅσοι Φοινίκων, πλὴν Πνυταγόρου. οὗτος δὲ καὶ Κρατερός τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας εἶχον τῆς πάσης τάξεως.

[2. 20. 7.] τοῖς δὲ Τυρίοις πρότερον μὲν ναυμαχεῖν ἐγνωσμένον ἦν, εἰ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐπιπλέοι σφίσιν Ἀλέξανδρος, τότε δὲ πλῆθος νεῶν πολὺ ἀπροσδοκῆτως κατιδόντες οὐ γάρ πω πεπυσμένοι ἦσαν τὰς τε Κυπρίων ναῦς καὶ τὰς Φοινίκων ξυμπάσας Ἀλέξανδρον  
 155 ἔχοντα

[2. 20. 8.] καὶ ἅμα ξυντεταγμένως τοῦ ἐπίπλου γιγνομένου ὀλίγον γὰρ πρὶν προσχεῖν τῇ πόλει ἀνεκώχευσαν ἔτι πελάγιοι αἱ ξὺν | Ἀλεξάνδρῳ νῆες, εἴ πως ἄρα ἐς ναυμαχίαν  
 160 τοὺς Τυρίους προκαλέσαιντο, ἔπειτα οὕτως ξυνταξάμενοι, ὥς οὐκ ἀντανήγοντο, πολλῶ τῷ ῥοθίῳ ἐπέπλεον ταῦτα ὀρῶντες οἱ Τύριοι ναυμαχεῖν μὲν ἀπέγνωσαν, τριήρεσι δὲ ὅσας τῶν λιμένων τὰ στόματα ἐδέχοντο βύζην τὸν ἔσπλουν φραζάμενοι ἐφύλασσον, ὥς μὴ ἐς τῶν λιμέων τινὰ ἐγκαθορμισθῆναι τῶν πολεμίων τὸν στόλον.

p. 104

[2. 20. 9.] Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, ὥς οὐκ ἀντανήγοντο οἱ Τύριοι, ἐπέπλει τῇ πόλει· καὶ ἐς μὲν τὸν λιμένα τὸν πρὸς Σιδῶνος βιάζεσθαι ἀπέγνω διὰ στενότητα τοῦ στόματος καὶ ἅμα ἀντιπρώροις τριήρεσι πολλαῖς ὀρῶν πεφραγμένον τὸν ἔσπλουν, τρεῖς δὲ τὰς ἐξωτάτω ἐφορμούσας τῷ στόματι τριήρεις προσπεσόντες οἱ Φοινίκες καὶ ἀντίπρωροι ἐμβalόντες καταδύουσιν· οἱ δὲ ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀπενήξαντο ἐς τὴν γῆν φιλίαν οὔσαν.

[2. 20. 10.] τότε μὲν δὴ οὐ πόρρω τοῦ ποιητοῦ χώματος κατὰ τὸν αἰγιαλόν, ἵνα σκέπη τῶν ἀνέμων ἐφαίνετο, οἱ σὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὠρμίσαντο· τῇ δὲ ὕστεραία τοὺς μὲν  
 170 Κυπρίους ξὺν ταῖς σφετέραις ναυσὶ καὶ Ἄνδρο μάχῳ τῷ ναύαρχῳ κατὰ τὸν λιμένα τὸν ἐκ Σιδῶνος φέροντα ἐκέλευσεν ἐφορμεῖν τῇ πόλει, τοὺς δὲ Φοινίκας κατὰ τὸν ἐπέκεινα τοῦ χώματος τὸν πρὸς Αἴγυπτον ἀνέχοντα, ἵνα καὶ αὐτῷ ἡ σκηνὴ ᾖ.

[2. 21. 1.] Ἦδη δὲ καὶ μηχανοποιῶν αὐτῷ πολλῶν ἐκ τε Κύπρου καὶ Φοινίκης ἀπάσης συλλελεγμένων μηχαναὶ πολλαὶ συμπεπηγμέναι ἦσαν, αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ χώματος, | αἱ δὲ  
 175 ἐπὶ τῶν ἱππαγωγῶν νεῶν, ἃς ἐκ Σιδῶνος ἅμα οἱ ἐκόμισεν, αἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν τριήρων ὅσαι αὐτῶν οὐ ταχυναυτοῦσαι ἦσαν.>

p. 105

[2. 21. 2.] ὥς δὲ παρεσκευάστο ἤδη ξύμπαντα, προσῆγον τὰς μηχανὰς κατὰ τε τὸ ποιητὸν χῶμα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη τοῦ τείχους προσορμιζομένων τε καὶ ἀποπειρωμένων τοῦ τείχους.

180 [2. 21. 3.] Οἱ δὲ Τύριοι ἐπὶ τε τῶν ἐπάλξεων τῶν κατὰ τὸ χῶμα πύργους ξυλίνους  
P 96r ἐπέστησαν,| ὥς ἀπομάχεσθαι ἀπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ εἴ πῃ ἄλλη αἱ μηχαναὶ προσήγοντο, βέλεσί  
τε ἡμύνοντο καὶ πυρφόροις οἰστοῖς ἔβαλλον αὐτὰς τὰς ναῦς, <ὥστε φόβον παρέχουν  
τοῖς Μακεδόσι πελάζειν τῷ τείχει.>

185 [2. 21. 4.] ἦν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ τείχη τὰ κατὰ τὸ χῶμα τό τε ὕψος εἰς πεντήκοντα καὶ  
ἐκατὸν μάλιστα πόδας καὶ ἐς πλάτος ξύμμετρον λίθοις μεγάλοις ἐν γύψῳ κειμένοις  
ξυμπεπηγότα. ταῖς δὲ ἱππαγωγοῖς τε καὶ ταῖς τριήρεσι τῶν Μακεδόνων, ὅσαι τὰς  
W p. 313 μηχανὰς προσῆγον τῷ τείχει, καὶ ταύτη οὐκ εὐπορον ἐγίγνετο πελάζειν τῇ πόλει, ὅτι  
λίθοι πολλοὶ ἐς τὸ πέλαγος προβεβλημένοι ἐξεῖργον αὐτῶν τὴν ἐγγὺς προσβολήν.|

190 [2. 21. 5.] καὶ τούτους Ἀλέξανδρος ἔγνω ἐξελκύσαι ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης· ἡνύετο δὲ  
χαλεπῶς τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον, οἷα δὲ ἀπὸ νεῶν καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ γῆς βεβαίου γιγνόμενον·  
ἄλλως τε καὶ οἱ Τύριοι ναῦς καταφράξαντες παρὰ τὰς ἀγκύρας ἐπῆγον τῶν τριήρων  
καὶ ὑποτέμνοντες τὰς σχοίνους τῶν ἀγκυρῶν ἄπορον τὴν προσόρμισιν ταῖς πολεμίαις  
ναυσὶν ἐποίουν.

195 [2. 21. 6.] <Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τριακον|τόρους πολλὰς ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον φράξας  
ἐπέστησεν ἐγκαρσίας πρὸ τῶν ἀγκυρῶν, ὥς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀναστέλλεσθαι τὸν ἐπίπλουν  
τῶν νεῶν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς ὕφαλοι κολυμβηταὶ τὰς σχοίνους αὐτοῖς ὑπέτεμον.> οἱ δὲ  
ἀλύσεσιν ἀντὶ σχοίνων εἰς τὰς ἀγκύρας <χρῶμενοι, οἱ Μακεδόνες, καθίεσαν,> ὥστε  
μηδὲν ἔτι πλέον τοῖς κολυμβηταῖς γίνεσθαι.

200 [2. 21. 7.] ἐξάπτοντες οὖν βρόχους τῶν λίθων ἀπὸ τοῦ χώματος ἀνέσπων αὐτοὺς  
ἐξω τῆς θαλάσσης, ἔπειτα μηχαναῖς μετεωρίσαντες κατὰ βάθους ἀφίεσαν, ἵνα οὐκέτι  
προβεβλημένοι βλάψουν ἔμελλον. ὅπου...προσεῖχον <ὅπου δὲ καθαρὸν πεποίητο τῶν  
προβόλων τὸ τεῖχος, οὐ χαλεπῶς ἤδη ταύτη αἱ νῆες προσεῖχον.>

W p. 314 [2. 21. 8.] Οἱ δὲ Τύριοι πάντῃ ἄποροι γιγνόμενοι ἔγνωσαν ἐπίπλουν ποιήσασθαι  
205 ταῖς Κυπρίαις ναυσὶν, αἱ κατὰ τὸν λιμένα ἐφώρ|μουν τὸν ἐς Σιδῶνα τετραμμένον· ἐκ  
πολλοῦ δὲ καταπετάσαντες τὸ στόμα τοῦ λιμένος ἰστίοις, τοῦ μὴ καταφανῆ γενέσθαι  
τῶν τριήρων τὴν πλήρωσιν, <ἀμφὶ μέσον ἡμέρας, ὁπότε οἱ τε ναῦται ἐπὶ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα  
ἐσκεδασμένοι ἦσαν καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν τούτῳ μάλιστα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα τῆς πόλεως  
ναυτικοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ἀπεχώρει,>

on naval war

210 [2. 21. 9.] πληρώσαντες πεντήρεις μὲν τρεῖς καὶ τετρήρεις ἴσας, τριήρεις δὲ ἑπτὰ ὥς  
ἀκριβεστάτοις τε τοῖς πληρώμασι καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν καταστρωμάτων μάχεσθαι μέλλουσιν  
P 96v <εὐοπλοτάτοις καὶ ἅμα εὐθαρσεστάτοις ἐς τοὺς ναυτικούς ἀγῶνας,> τὰ μὲν πρῶτα  
ἀτρεμαία | τῇ εἰρεσίᾳ ἐπὶ μιᾷς νεῶς ἐξέπλεον <ἄνευ κελευστῶν τὰς κώπας παραφέρον-  
τες> ὥς δὲ ἐπέστρεφον ἤδη ἐπὶ τοὺς Κυπρίους <καὶ ἐγγὺς τοῦ καθορᾶσθαι ἦσαν,  
215 τότε δὲ> ξὺν βοῇ τε πολλῇ καὶ ἐγκελευσμῷ ἐς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἅμα τῇ εἰρεσίᾳ ξυντόνω  
ἐπεφύεροντο.

p. 107

212 ἀτρεμαία | ἀτρεμαία ἀτρέμα Arr.

182 ὥστε...τείχει | *om.* P 194 Ἀλέξανδρος...ὑπέτεμον | *om.* P 197 χρῶμενοι...καθίεσαν |  
201 ὅπου...προσεῖχον | *om.* P 204–205 ἐκ πολλοῦ | *om.* P 206 ἀμφι...ἀπεχώρει | (*de nauuma-*  
*chia*) *om.* P 211 εὐοπλοτάτοις...ἀγῶνας | *om.* P

[2. 22. 1.] <Ευνέβη δὲ ἐκεῖνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀποχωρῆσαι μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνήν, οὐ διατρίψαντα δὲ κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς δι' ὀλίγου ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐπανελθεῖν.>

[2. 22. 2.] <οἱ δὲ Τύριοι> προσπεσόντες ἀπροσδοκῆτως ταῖς ναυσὶν ὁρμούσαις καὶ ταῖς μὲν πάντῃ κεναῖς ἐπιτυχόντες, τῶν δ' ὕπ' αὐτὴν τὴν βοήν καὶ τὸν ἐπίπλουν χαλεπῶς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων πληρουμένων, **τὰς μὲν** <τὴν τε Πινυταγόρου τοῦ βασιλέως πεντήρη εὐθύς ὑπὸ τῇ πρώτῃ ἐμβολῇ κατέδυσαν καὶ τὴν Ἀνδροκλέους τοῦ Ἀμαθουσίου καὶ τὴν Πασικράτους τοῦ Κουριέως,> τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἐξωθοῦντες ἔκοπτον.

W p. 315 [2. 22. 3.] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἦσθετο τὸν ἔκπλουν τῶν Τυρίων **νεῶν**, τὰς μὲν πολλὰς τῶν ξὺν αὐτῷ νεῶν, <ὅπως ἐκάστη πληρωθεῖη, ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ λιμένος ἀναχωρεῖν ἔταξεν, ὡς μὴ καὶ ἄλλαι ἐκπλεύσειαν τῶν Τυρίων νῆες· αὐτὸς δὲ πεντήρεις τε> τὰς ξὺν αὐτῷ ἀναλαβὼν <καὶ τῶν τριήρων ἐς πέντε μάλιστα, ὅσαι ἔφθησαν αὐτῷ κατὰ τάχος πληρωθεῖσαι, περιέπλει τὴν πόλιν ὡς> ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκπεπλευκότας τῶν Τυρίων **ἀνήγετο**.

[2. 22. 4.] <οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους, Τόν τε ἐπίπλουν τῶν πολεμίων κατ'ιδόντες καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν, βοῇ τε ἐπανάγειν ἐνεκελεύοντο τοῖς ἐκ τῶν σφετέρων νεῶν καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἐξακουστὸν ἦν ὑπὸ θυορύβου ξυνεχομένων ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ, σημείοις ἄλλοις καὶ ἄλλοις ἐπεκάλουν ἐς τὴν ἀναχώρησιν.> **Αἰσθόμενοι δὲ οἱ Τύριοι τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρον ἐπίπλουν ὑποστρέψαντες** ἐς τὸν λιμένα ἔφευγον p. 108

[2. 22. 5.] <καὶ ὀλίγαι μὲν τῶν νεῶν φθάνουσιν ὑπεκφυγοῦσαι,> **καὶ τὰς πλείονας αὐτῶν [αἱ] ξὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ νῆες κατέδυσαν**, <πεντήρης δὲ τις καὶ τετρήρης αὐτῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῷ στόματι τοῦ λιμένος ἐλήφθησαν. φόνος δὲ τῶν ἐπιβατῶν οὐ πολὺς ἐγένετο. ὡς γὰρ ἦσθοντο ἐχομένας τὰς ναῦς ἀπενήξαντο οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐς τὸν λιμένα.>

[2. 22. 6.] Ὡς δὲ οὐδεμία ἔτι τοῖς Τυρίοις ἐκ τῶν νεῶν ὠφέλεια ἦν, ἐπῆγον ἤδη οἱ Μακεδόνες τὰς μηχανὰς τῷ τείχει αὐτῶν. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὸ χῶμα προσαγόμεναι διὰ ἰσχὺν τοῦ τείχους οὐδὲν ἦν οὐκ ὅ τι καὶ λόγου ἄξιον, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὸ πρὸς Σιδῶνα τετραμμένον τῆς πόλεως <τῶν νεῶν τινὰς τῶν μηχανοφόρων> προσῆγον **τὰς μηχανὰς**.

[2. 22. 7.] <ὡς δὲ οὐδὲ ταύτῃ ἦν οὐκ ἐς τὸ πρὸς νότον αὖ ἄνεμον καὶ πρὸς Αἴγυπτον ἀνέχον τείχος μετῆι πάντῃ ἀποπειρώμενος τοῦ ἔργου. καὶ ἐνταῦθα πρῶτον κατεσείσθη τε τὸ τεῖχος ἐπὶ μέγα καὶ τι καὶ κατηρίφθη αὐτοῦ παραρραγόν. τότε μὲν δὴ ὅσον ἐπιβαλὼν γεφύρας ἦ | ἐρήριπτο τοῦ τείχους ἀπεπειράθη ἐς ὀλίγον τῆς προσβολῆς· καὶ οἱ Τύριοι οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀπεκρούσαντο τοὺς Μακεδόνας. p. 109

223 νεῶν] νεῶν P τριήρων Arr.

216 Ευνέβη...ἐπανελθεῖν] *om.* P 218 οἱ δὲ Τύριοι] *om.* P 220 τὴν τε...Κουριέως] *om.* P τὰς μὲν *add.* P 224 ὅπως...πεντήρεις τε] *om.* P 226 καὶ τῶν...πόλιν ὡς] *om.* P 228 ἀνήγετο] *add.* P 229 οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ...ἀναχώρησιν] *om.* P 232–233 **Αἰσθόμενοι δὲ οἱ Τύριοι τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρον ἐπίπλουν ὑποστρέψαντες**] οἱ δὲ ὅπερ ποτε αἰσθόμενοι τὸν ἐπίπλουν τῶν ἅμω' Ἀλέξανδρον ὑποστρέψαντες Arr. 234 καὶ ὀλίγαι...ὑπεκφυγοῦσαι] *om.* P 234–235 καὶ τὰς...κατέδυσαν] ταῖς δὲ πλείοσιν ἐμβαλοῦσαι αἱ ξὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὰς μὲν αὐτῶν ἅπλους ἐποίησαν Arr. 235 πεντήρης...λιμένα] *om.* P 241 τῶν νεῶν τινὰς τῶν μηχανοφόρων] *om.* P 241 **τὰς μηχανὰς**] *om.* P 242 ὡς δὲ οὐδὲ...τὰς τριήρεις δὲ] Arr. 2. 23. 1 – 2. 23. 3 *om.* P

[2. 23. 1.] <Τρίτη δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἡμέρᾳ νηνεμίαν τε φυλάξας καὶ παρακαλῶσας τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν τάξεων ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἐπῆγγε τῇ πόλει ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν τὰς μηχανάς. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν κατέσεισε τοῦ τείχους ἐπὶ μέγα, ὥς δὲ ἀποχρῶν εἰς πλάτος ἐφάνη τὸ παρερρηγμένον, τὰς μὲν μηχανοφόρους ναῦς ἐπανάγειν ἐκέλευσεν.

[2. 23. 2.] ὁ δὲ δύο ἄλλας ἐπῆγεν, αἱ τὰς γεφύρας αὐτῷ ἔφερον, ἃς δὴ ἐπιβάλλειν ἐπενόει τῷ κατερρηγμένῳ τοῦ τείχους. καὶ τὴν μὲν μίαν τῶν νεῶν οἱ ὑπασπισταὶ ἔλαβον, ἥ ἐπετέτακτο Ἄδμητος, τὴν ἐτέραν δὲ ἡ Κοίνου τάξις οἱ πεζέταιροι καλούμενοι, καὶ αὐτὸς ζὺν τοῖς ὑπασπισταῖς ἐπιβήσεσθαι τοῦ τείχους ἥ παρείκοι ἐμελλεν.

[2. 23. 3.] τὰς τριήρεις δὲ> Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τῶν τὰς μὲν ἐπιπλεῖν κατὰ τοὺς λιμένας ἀμφοτέρους ἐκέλευσεν, εἴ πως πρὸς σφᾶς τετραμμένων| τῶν Τυρίων βιάσαιντο τὸν ἔσπλουν· ὅσαι δὲ αὐτῶν βέλη ἀπὸ μηχανῶν βαλλόμενα εἶχον ἢ ὅσαι τοξότας ἐπὶ τῶν καταστρωμάτων ἔφερον, ταύτας δὲ ἐκέλευσεν ἐν κύκλῳ περιπλεούσας τὸ τεῖχος ἐποκέλλειν τε ὅπῃ παρείκοι καὶ ἀναχωχεύειν ἐντὸς βέλους, ἔσπε τοῦ ἐποκεῖλαι ἄπορον γίγνοιτο, ὥς πανταχόθεν βαλλομένους τοὺς Τυρίους ἐν τῷ δεινῷ ἀμφιβόλους γίγνεσθαι.

[2. 23. 4.] Ὡς δὲ| αἱ τε νῆες αἱ σὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ προσέσχον τῇ | πόλει καὶ αἱ γέφυραι ἐπεβλήθησαν τῷ τείχει ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ἐνταῦθα οἱ ὑπασπισταὶ εὐρώστως κατὰ ταύτας ἀνέβαινον ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος. ὁ τε γὰρ Ἄδμητος ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐν τῷ τότε ἐγένετο καὶ ἅμα Ἀλέξανδρος εἶπετο αὐτοῖς, τοῦ τε ἔργου αὐτοῦ καρτερῶς ἀπτόμενος καὶ θεατῆς τῶν ἄλλων ὅτῳ τι λαμπρὸν κατ' ἀρετὴν ἐν τῷ κινδύνῳ ἐτολμᾷτο.

[2. 23. 5.] <καὶ ταύτῃ πρῶτον ἥ ἐπετέτακτο Ἀλέξανδρος ἐλήφθη τὸ τεῖχος, οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀποκρουσθέντων ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τῶν Τυρίων, ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον βεβαίῳ τε καὶ ἅμα οὐ πάντῃ ἀποτόμῳ τῇ προσβάσει ἐχρήσαντο οἱ Μακεδόνες. καὶ Ἄδμητος μὲν πρῶτος ἐπιβὰς τοῦ τείχους καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐγκελευόμενος ἐπιβαίνειν βληθεὶς λόγχῃ ἀποθνήσκει αὐτοῦ.

[2. 23. 6.] ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔσχε τὸ τεῖχος ζὺν τοῖς ἐταίροις. ὥς δὲ εἶχοντο αὐτῷ πύργοι τε ἔστιν οἱ καὶ μεταπύργια, αὐτὸς μὲν παρῇ διὰ τῶν ἐπάλξεων ὥς ἐπὶ τὰ βασίλεια, ὅτι ταύτῃ εὐπορῶ τέρα ἐφαίνετο ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἢ κάθοδος.



[2. 24. 1.] Οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν, οἳ τε Φοίνικες κατὰ τὸν λιμένα τὸν πρὸς Αἰγύπτου, 275 καθ' ὃνπερ καὶ ἐφορμοῦντες ἐτύγχανον. βιασάμενοι καὶ τὰ κλεῖθρα διασπάσαντες ἔκοπτον τὰς ναῦς ἐν τῷ λιμένι, ταῖς μὲν μετεώροις ἐμβάλλοντες, τὰς δὲ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐξωθοῦντες, καὶ οἱ Κύπριοι κατὰ τὸν ἄλλον λιμένα τὸν ἐκ Σιδῶνος φέροντα οὐδὲ κλεῖθρον τοῦτόν γε ἔχοντα εἰσπλεύσαντες εἶλον εὐθύς ταύτη τὴν πόλιν.>

[2. 24. 2.] τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν Τυρίων τὸ μὲν τεῖχος, ὡς ἐχόμενον εἶδον, ἐκλείπουσιν, 280 | ἀθροισθέντες δὲ κατὰ τὸ Ἀγηνόριον καλούμενον ἐπέστρεψαν ταύτῃ ἐπὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ζὺν τοῖς ὑπασπισταῖς ἐπὶ τούτους χωρήσας τοὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ μαχομένους διέφθειρεν <αὐτῶν, τοῖς δὲ φεύγουσιν ἐφείπετο> **Καὶ τοῦτο τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τέλος ἐγένετο**

p.111

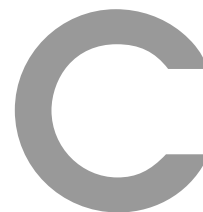
[2. 24. 3] καὶ φόνος ἦν πολὺς, τῶν τε ἀπὸ τοῦ λιμένος ἐχόντων ἤδη τὴν πόλιν καὶ 285 τῆς Κοίνου τάξεως παρεληλυθυίας ἐς αὐτήν. ὀργῇ γὰρ ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ πᾶν οἱ Μακεδόνες, τῆς τε πολιορκίας τῇ τριβῇ ἀχθόμενοι καὶ ὅτι λαβόντες τινὰς αὐτῶν οἱ Τύριοι πλέοντας ἐκ Σιδῶνος ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀναβιβάσαντες, ὅπως ἀποπτον εἶη ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, σφάζαντες ἔρριψαν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν.

[2. 24. 3] <ἀπέθανον δὲ τῶν μὲν Τυρίων ἐς ὀκτακισχιλίους, τῶν Μακεδόνων δὲ ἐν 290 τῇ τότε προσβολῇ Ἀδμητός τε ὁ πρῶτος ἐλὼν τὸ τεῖχος, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γενόμενος, καὶ ζὺν αὐτῷ εἴκοσι τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν· ἐν δὲ τῇ πάσῃ πολιορκίᾳ μάλιστα ἐς τετρακοσίους.>

282 αὐτῶν, τοῖς δὲ φεύγουσιν ἐφείπετο] *om.* P 282–283 **Καὶ τοῦτο τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τέλος ἐγένετο** | *add. et expl.* P.

289–291 ἀπέθανον... τετρακοσίους] ἀπέθανον δὲ τῶν μὲν Τυρίων ἐς ὀκτακισχιλίους τῶν δὲ Μακεδόνων ἐς ὑ' ἐάλωσαν δὲ τῶν Τυρίων καὶ... Bravi





## Glossary of Technical Terms

**antistoichia:** The principle of an alphabetic arrangement following the phonetic value of the sound in the words. This principle was followed in Byzantine lexicography as in the Suda lexicon.

**bifolio:** A sheet of writing support material folded in half to produce two leaves (four pages). A number of bifolios folded together form a quire or gathering.

**binder:** A person wholly or partly responsible for sewing a **codex** together and supplying it with covers.

**binding:** The sewing and covering of a book. When the leaves of a **codex** had been written and illuminated, they were assembled into gatherings and sewn together. Generally they were sewn onto supports (cords). The loose ends of the cords were then attached to **boards**.

**binio:** See **gathering**.

**codex:** Originating on the first century, the **codex** (from *caudex*, the Latin word for the tree bark) is a book composed of gatherings (folded sheets) sewn along one edge.

**codex Peirescianus:** The single extant manuscript of the Constantinian Ex-

cerpts comprising the EV (Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, C 980). It was named after after Nicolas Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580–1637) who purchased this manuscript in the 17th century.

**catchword:** The first word of the following page inserted at the right-hand lower corner of the last page of a gathering or quire, below the last line in order to show the order in which these are to be placed or bound.

**colophon:** A brief description, usually located at the end of a section or whole of a manuscript, which provides the name the scribe and illustrator, the owner of the manuscript, or the person who commissioned it, the place or time of copying the text.

**Constantinian:** of or belonging to the Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII, or his period (905–959, his sole reign: 945–959).

**copyist:** The one who transcribes a document or a particular part of a manuscript. This term is used for transcribers of manuscripts less skilled than **scribes** (cf. also **hand**).

- diæresis:** A diacritic mark '̄', also named as *trema*, which indicates that two adjacent vowels is to be pronounced in two separate syllables rather than as a diphthong.
- flyleaf:** A blank leaf in the front or back of a book used for protecting the book.
- folio:** See *leaf*
- foliation:** the consecutive numbering of the *folios* or *leaves* of a book or a manuscript.
- encyclopædism:** Encyclopædic learning covering all branches of knowledge. The term is used beyond its French context. See a historical overview in COLLISON (1964). For describing ninth-tenth century literary achievements in Byzantium, Alphonse Dain (1953) started to use the term that has been used since Lemerle (1966, 1971) sometimes with criticism (ODORICO (1990)) ever since.
- epigraphic majuscule:** A script used for decorative purposes, see HUNGER (1977a,b).
- headpiece:** An ornament placed above the head of a text, indicating that a new text follows. It often accompanied by a decorated initial.
- gathering:** In bookbinding: a certain number of *leaves* placed one inside another, making up a group or *quire*. In case of two double leaves it is called *binio*, in three *ternio*, in four *quire* or *quaternio*, in five *quinio* etc. This term is used as a distinction from *quire* which is a special term for a group of four double leaves. The gatherings were sewn together so as to form a book or volume.
- hand:** the handwriting or style of writing characteristic of a particular person such as a *copyist* or *scribe*.
- “imperial scriptorium”:** Imperial “centre of copies” in Constantinople, a term used by IRIGOIN (1959), 177–181 for distinguishing the manuscripts that were commissioned by emperor Constantine VII and characterized by special *ruling types* (cf. LAKE & LAKE (1934–1939): I 2b, I 2c; SAUTEL (1995): 20D1 and 20C1).
- incunabulum:** a book produced in the infancy of the art of printing; especially those printed before 1500 (plur. *incunabula*).
- initial:** The first letter of a longer text unit which is separated from the continuing text by the application of illumination or bigger size or different ink.
- itacistic mistake:** A type of spelling irregularity in orthography, frequent in Greek manuscripts, marking the phenomenon that the various renderings of the ‘i’ sounds, which are equivalent is spelling from late Hellenistic periods, are confused: ι, η, υ, ει, οι. The term is also used for the misspellings of the ‘e’ sound which could be equally rendered as ε or αι.
- leaf:** one of the folds of a folded sheet of parchment, paper, etc.; esp. one of a number of folds (each containing two pages) which compose a book or manuscript.
- main text:** the main body of written or printed matter on the page, contrasted with cf. *margin*.
- majuscule:** majuscule or bilinear script is written between two (imaginary) lines—head- and baseline—, in which the letters are of equal height (in typography: uppercase).
- Mandylion:** the Holy Towel, a miraculous image of Christ brought from Edessa to Constantinople in 944.
- margin:** the space on a page between the extreme edge and the main body of written or printed matter (cf. *main text*), often partly taken up with notes, references, illuminations, or the like. Often in narrower sense, applied to the margins at the sides of the page such as ‘inner’ and ‘outer’ as well as ‘upper’ and ‘lower’ margins.

**menologion:** collection of saints' lives arranged according to their feast days.

**marginalia:** Notes, entries, and annotations of various kinds placed in the margin of manuscripts.

**minuscule:** minuscule or quadrilinear script, written on four imaginary lines – top-, head-, base-, and bottomline – comprising letters that stay between the two centre lines (as α, υ, τ etc.), and letters with ascenders and descenders (in typography: lowercase).

**minuscule bouletée:** a special type of formal Greek minuscule script written primarily in vertical strokes but with some looped or curled (*boule* in French) ones (cf. IRIGOIN (1977b)). It was used in the tenth century for copying liturgical, patristic as well as classical texts. See AGATI (1992).

**Mynas-codex:** the composite manuscript bearing the reference 'Par. suppl. gr. 607' that was named after Mynas Minoïdes, a Greek emigrant philologist in France (1798–1859) who discovered this codex in Vatopedi Monastery on Mount Athos in 1843.

**nomina sacra:** a way of contraction for abbreviating frequent biblical and ecclesiastical words by indicating the first, (some of the middle ones for longer words), and the last letter of the word with overlines above them such as  $\overline{\theta\sigma}$  for God (θεός), and alike method for man (ἄνθρωπος), father (πατήρ), mother (μήτηρ), virgin (παρθένος), son (υἱός), Saviour (σωτήρ), Jerusalem (ιερόσολυμα), monk (μοναχός), David (Δαβίδ).

**Palace school:** Bardas (†866) organized a 'philosophy school' (φιλόσοφος σχολή) with secular disciplines such as philosophy, geometry, astronomy, and grammar in the *Magnaura*, in the imperial palace of Constantinople (cf. LEMERLE (1986), 183–184). Emperor Constantine VII renewed this school with four chairs and appointed proto-spatharios Constantine to the chair of

philosophy, Alexander, metropolitan of Nicaea to the chair of rhetorics, a certain Nicephoros to the chair of geometry, and Asekretis Gregorios to the chair of astronomy (cf. *Theophanes Continuatus*, 446, 14–22 and SPECK (1974), 22–28).

**palimpsest:** a parchment or other writing material written upon twice, the original writing having been erased or rubbed out (cf. παλίμψηστος in Greek = scraped again) to make place for the second; a manuscript in which a later writing is written over an effaced earlier writing.

**parchment:** The skin of the sheep or goat, and sometimes that of other animals, dressed and prepared for writing.

**parakoimomenos:** literally, "one who sleeps nearby", was the High Chamberlain who sleeps in the Emperor's bedchamber. Usually a eunuch, during the ninth-tenth centuries, the holders of this office often functioned as de facto chief ministers of the Empire.

**pastedown:** The parchment or paper sheet pasted to the inside of the cover by the binder, often but not always conjugate with the flyleaf.

**porphyrogennetos:** (πορφυρογέννητος) "born-in-the-purple": Emperors wanting to emphasize the legitimacy of their ascent to the throne appended this title to their names, meaning they were born in the delivery room of the imperial palace (called the *Porphyra* because it was paneled with slabs of purple marble), to a reigning emperor, and were therefore legitimate beyond any claim to the contrary whatsoever

**punctorium:** a stylus or an awl the scribe used for simply poking holes through the margin of the parchment or paper at regular intervals against a ruler to keep the line straight.

**quire:** a set of four sheets of parchment or paper doubled so as to form eight leaves (cf. *quaternio* in Latin;

τετράδιον in Greek), a common unit in mediæval manuscripts.

**quire signature:** a letter or figure, a set or combination of letters or figures, etc., placed by the scribe or printer at the foot of the first page (and frequently on one or more of the succeeding pages) of every sheet in a book, for the purpose of showing the order in which these are to be placed or bound.

**recto:** the front of a leaf of manuscript or printed book as opposed to **verso**, abbreviated as 'r'.

**ruling type:** In palæography: the lines ruled by the scribe on a page or throughout a manuscript in a distinctive setting. Their various types and subtypes have two modern identifiers for the Greek manuscripts. One established by in the facsimile publication by LAKE & LAKE (1934–1939); while the other one as catalogued in SAUTEL (1995).

**scribe:** A skillful copyist, transcriber of a particular part or the whole of a manuscript. See **hand**. In case of Greek manuscripts see VOGEL & GARDTHAUSEN (1909) and RGK 1–3.

**script:** A special type of handwriting characteristic of a period or region that was followed by individual **hands**.

**Suda Lexicon :** an encyclopædic lexicon with 30,000 entries, many drawing from ancient sources that have since been lost, and often derived from compilations such as the Constantinian excerpts. It explains the source, derivation, and meaning of words according to the philology of the period when it was compiled at the turn of the eleventh century.

**synaxarium:** 1. Church calendar with readings indicated for fixed feast days, but no other text; 2. collection of short lives of saints in the framework of the Byzantine liturgical calendar used for liturgical purposes in Byzantine use.

**ternio:** See **gathering**.

**trema:** See **diæresis**.

**quinio:** See **gathering**.

**vellum:** A superior quality of parchment prepared from the skins of calves (lambs or kids) and used especially for writing.

**verso:** the back of a leaf in a manuscript or printed book as opposed to **recto**, abbreviated as 'v'.

## Part III.

# Bibliography



# Abbreviations used in the bibliography

BHG	<i>Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca</i> , ed. F. Halkin, 4 vols. Brussels, 1957–69.
BMGS	<i>Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies</i>
BNJ	<i>Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher</i>
BollGrott	<i>Bolletino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata</i>
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
CFHB	<i>Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae</i>
CSHB	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae</i>
CPh	<i>Classical Philology</i>
CQ	<i>The Classical Quarterly</i>
CR	<i>Classical Review</i>
CSHB	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae</i>
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
EEBS	Ἑπετηρίς ἐταιρείας βυζαντινῶν σπουδῶν
FHG	<i>Fragmenta historicorum graecorum</i> , 5 vols, ed. C. Müller. Paris: Didot, 1841–1883.
GRBS	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
JÖB	<i>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik</i>
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
ODB	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i> , 3 vols, ed. A. Kazhdan et al. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.
P. Oxy.	<i>Oxyrhynchus Papyri</i> , ed. B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt. London, 1898–.
PG	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeca</i> , 161 vols, ed. J.-P. Migne. Paris, 1857–66.
RE	Pauly, August and Georg Wissowa. <i>Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> . Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlerscher Verlag, 1894–.
REB	<i>Revue des études byzantines</i>
REG	<i>Revue des études grecques</i>
RhM	<i>Rheinisches Museum für Philologie</i>
RSBN	<i>Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici</i>
SBN	<i>Studi bizantini e neoellenici</i>
TM	<i>Travaux et Mémoires</i>
TAPhA	<i>Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association</i>
VizVrem	<i>Vizantijskij Vremennik</i>
ZRVI	<i>Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta</i>
ZMNP	<i>Žurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosvešćenija</i>





# Manuscripts and Catalogues

## AUSTRIA

Vienna, *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*

Phil. gr. 140 [direct copy from Par. suppl. gr. 607 by Demetrios Triboles in Rome in ca. 1470], described with some errors in HUNGER (1961), 245–246.

## BELGIUM

Brussels

Bruxellensis gr. 8761, ff. 110–114. [small fragment of the Constantinian collection of *ELr*]  
Bruxellensis gr. 11301–16. [A copy of the Constantinian collection of *ELr*], described in  
BÜTTNER-WOBST (1901) and JUSTICE (1896).

## FRANCE

Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale*

Par. gr. 1666. [The excerpts of John of Antioch from *EI*] Its text is edited by CRAMER (1839), vol. 2, 3–86, described in most details in SOTIROUDIS (1989b), 178–184.

Par. gr. 2550. [Direct copy of the Constantinian Collection *EV* from *Codex Peirescianus* by Salmasius in 1631–1632], described by OMONT (1886–1898), vol. 3, 2.

Par. suppl. gr. 384 [Part of the single manuscript of the *Palatine Anthology* coeval to Constantine VII], described by OMONT (1886–1898), vol. 3, 254. See its facsimile edition by PREISENDANZ (1911).

Par. suppl. gr. 485. [19th-century copy of the collection of *Excerpta de obsidionibus* by Mynas Minoïdes from suppl. gr. 607], described by OMONT (1886–1898), vol. 3, 268.

Par. suppl. gr. 607. [composite manuscript with the collection of *Excerpta de strategematibus* attributed to Constantine VII], described by OMONT (1886–1898), vol. 3, 282; in most details in the Appendix of the thesis.

Par. suppl. gr. 607A. [encyclopaedic collection from early 10th century with historical excerpts] See the edition of the complete manuscript by TREU (1880).

Par. suppl. gr. 1253. [19th-century copy of the collection of *Excerpta de obsidionibus* by Mynas Minoïdes from suppl. gr. 607], described by ASTRUC & CONCASTY (1960), 486.

Tours, *Bibliothèque Municipale*

C 980: *Codex Peirescianus* [The archetype of the Constantinian collection *EV*], described in his edition of Cassius Dio by GROS, vol. 1, lvii–lxxxiv; BÜTTNER-WOBST 1893, 261–352; SOTIROUDIS (1989b), 165–171.

## GERMANY

Heidelberg, *Universitätsbibliothek*

Palatinus Graecus 23 [Part of the single manuscript of the *Palatine Anthology* coeval to Constantine VII] See its facsimile edition by PREISENDANZ (1911).

Palatinus Graecus 398 [Collection of geographical excerpts, 9th century, available at <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/cpgraec398>], described by DILLER (1952), 3–10 and MUSSO (1976), 1–10.

Leipzig, *University Library*

Rep. I 17. [The single manuscript of Constantine VII's *De caerimoniis* copied in 963–969 for the imperial library in Constantinople in the circle of Basil Lekapenos Parakoimomenos], described by BURY (1907), 209–227, 417–439 and FEATHERSTONE (2002), 457–479.

Munich, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*

Monacensis gr. 185. [A copy of the Constantinian collection of *ELg*]

Monacensis gr. 267. [A copy of the Constantinian collection of *ELr*]

## GREECE

Athos, *Vatopedi Monastery*

Cod. 407, ff. 39–192 [An 18th-century copy from Hoeschel's edition (1648)], described by EUSTRATIADES (1924), 78.

Cod. 1003 [Palimpsest fragments of Constantine VII's *De caerimoniis*]

## ITALY

Florence, *Biblioteca Laurenziana*

Plut. 55,4. [Military collection with historical fragments, copied for Constantine VII's library], described by BANDINI (1764–70), coll. 218–238.

Milan, *Biblioteca Ambrosiana*

B 119 sup. [military collection copied in Basil Lekapenos Parakoimomenos' circle with historical excerpts on harangues], described in MÜLLER (1882), 18–39; MARTINI & BASSI (1906), vol. 1, 157–160; and MAZZUCCHI (1978), 282–284.

N 135 sup. [Direct copy of the Constantinian collection *ELg* from the burnt archetype Scor. I Θ 4 by Andreas Darmarios in 1574], described in MARTINI & BASSI (1906), 660–661.

Q 114 sup. ff. 233v–234r [David Colvill's composite manuscript with the description of the lost archetype of *ELr-g* (Scor. I Θ 4)], described in DE BOOR (1902), 147–149.

Naples

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Rome, *Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana*

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Vaticanus gr. 156. [Single manuscript of Zosimos]  
Vaticanus gr. 977. [Single manuscript of Theophylaktos Simokattes]  
Vaticanus gr. 1164. [Military collection close to Par. suppl. gr. 607]  
Vaticanus gr. 1418, f. 80–239 [A copy of the Constantinian collection of *ELr* without the Byzantine authors]  
Vaticanus Barb. gr. 237. [Direct copy of the Constantinian collection *EV* from *Codex Peirescianus*]  
Vaticanus Pal. gr. 410–412. [A copy of the Constantinian collection of *ELg*]  
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SPAIN

Madrid, *Library of the Escorial*

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Cambridge, *Trinity College*

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# Part IV.

## Plates





Figure C.1.: Contemporary representations of Constantine VII  
 (1) As Abgar in the icon of Mount Sinai, 10th century  
 (2) Ivory with Constantine VII, 945  
 (Moscow, State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Inv. II-162)  
 (3) Solidus representing Constantine VII



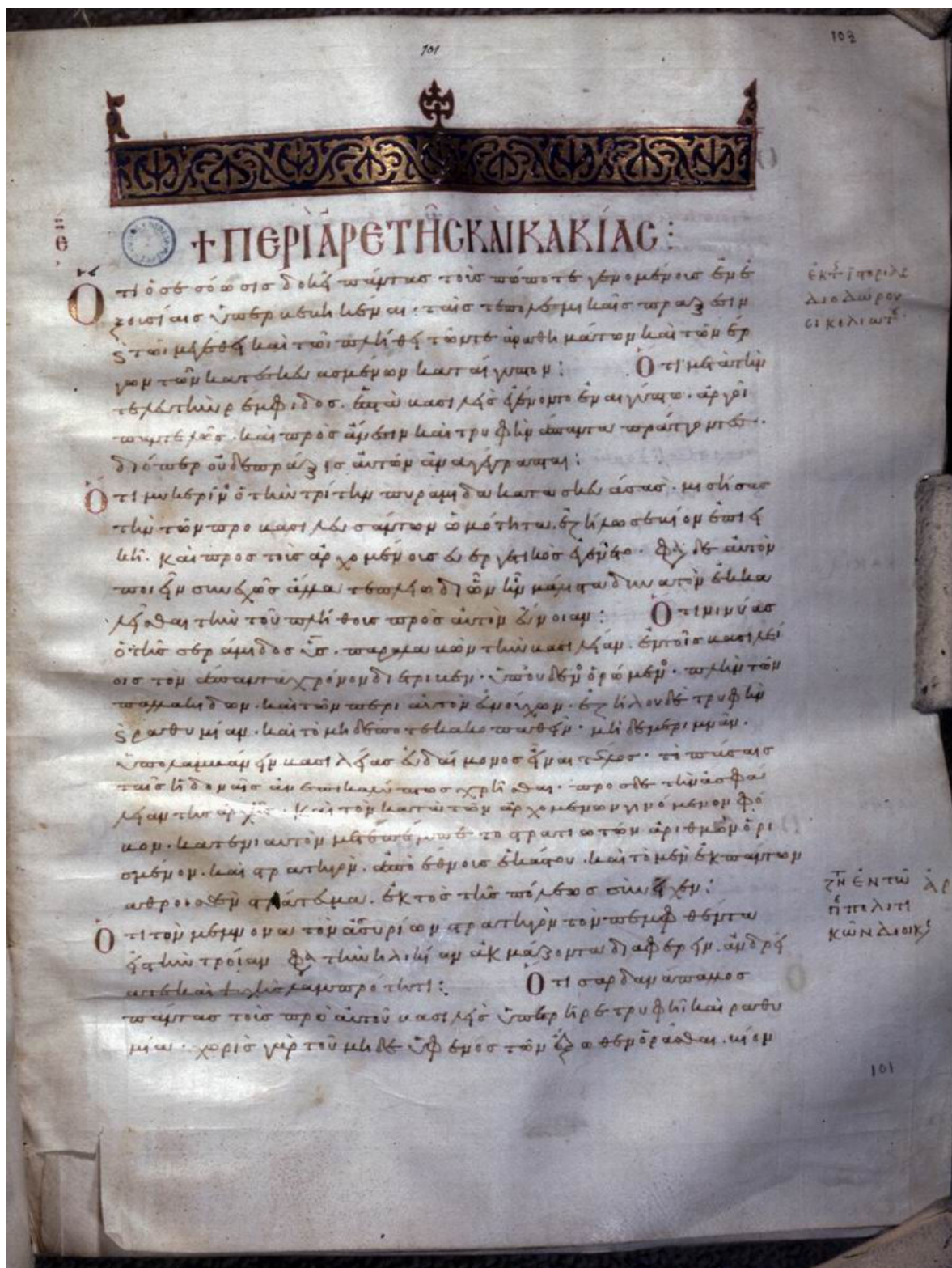


Figure C.2.: T, 101r: The title page of Diodorus of Sicily





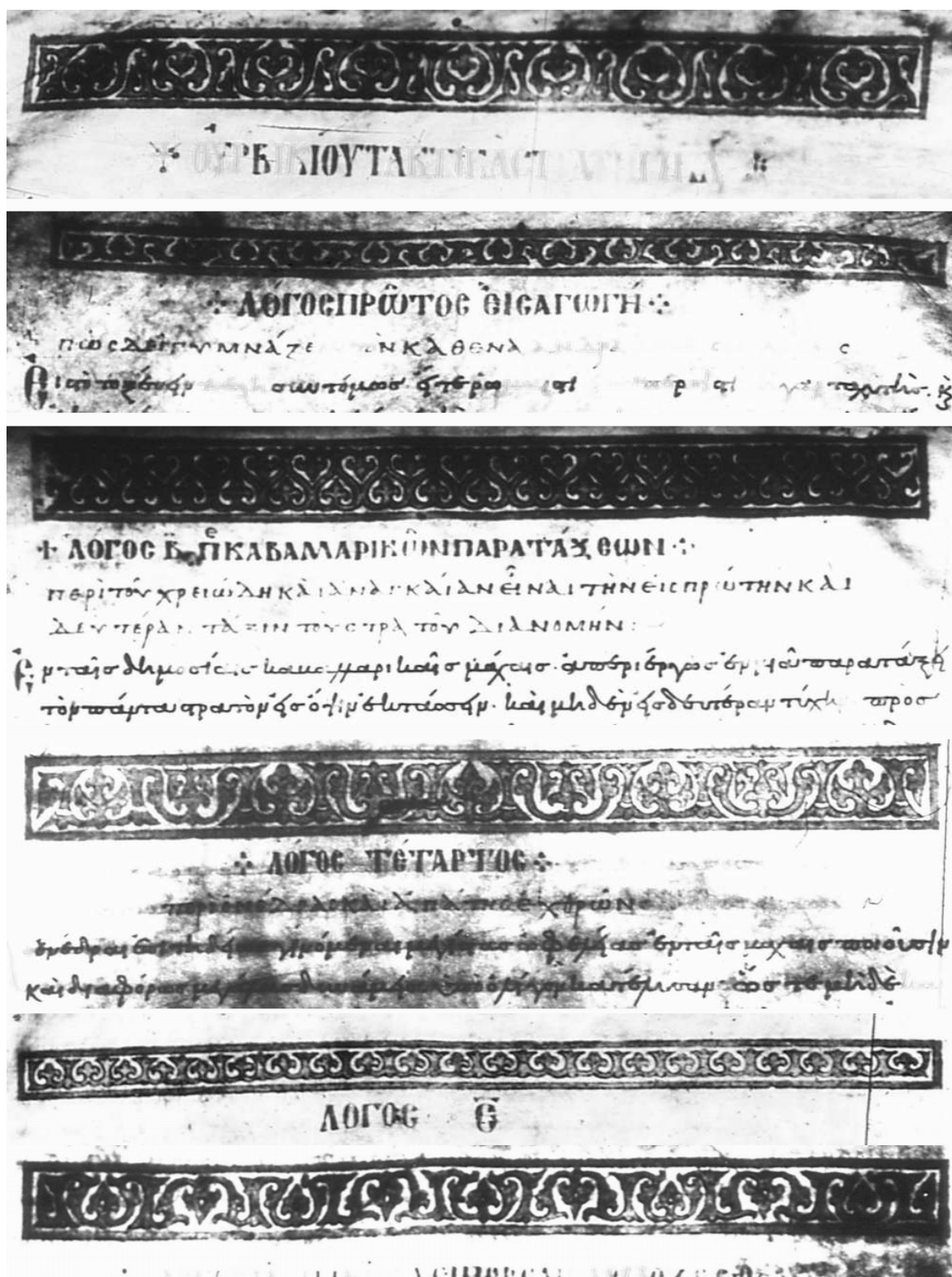


Figure C.5.: Florence, Plut. 55,4 (downwards): (1) f. 5r; (2) f. 6v ; (3) f. 12v; (4) f. 24r; (5) f. 27r ; (6)



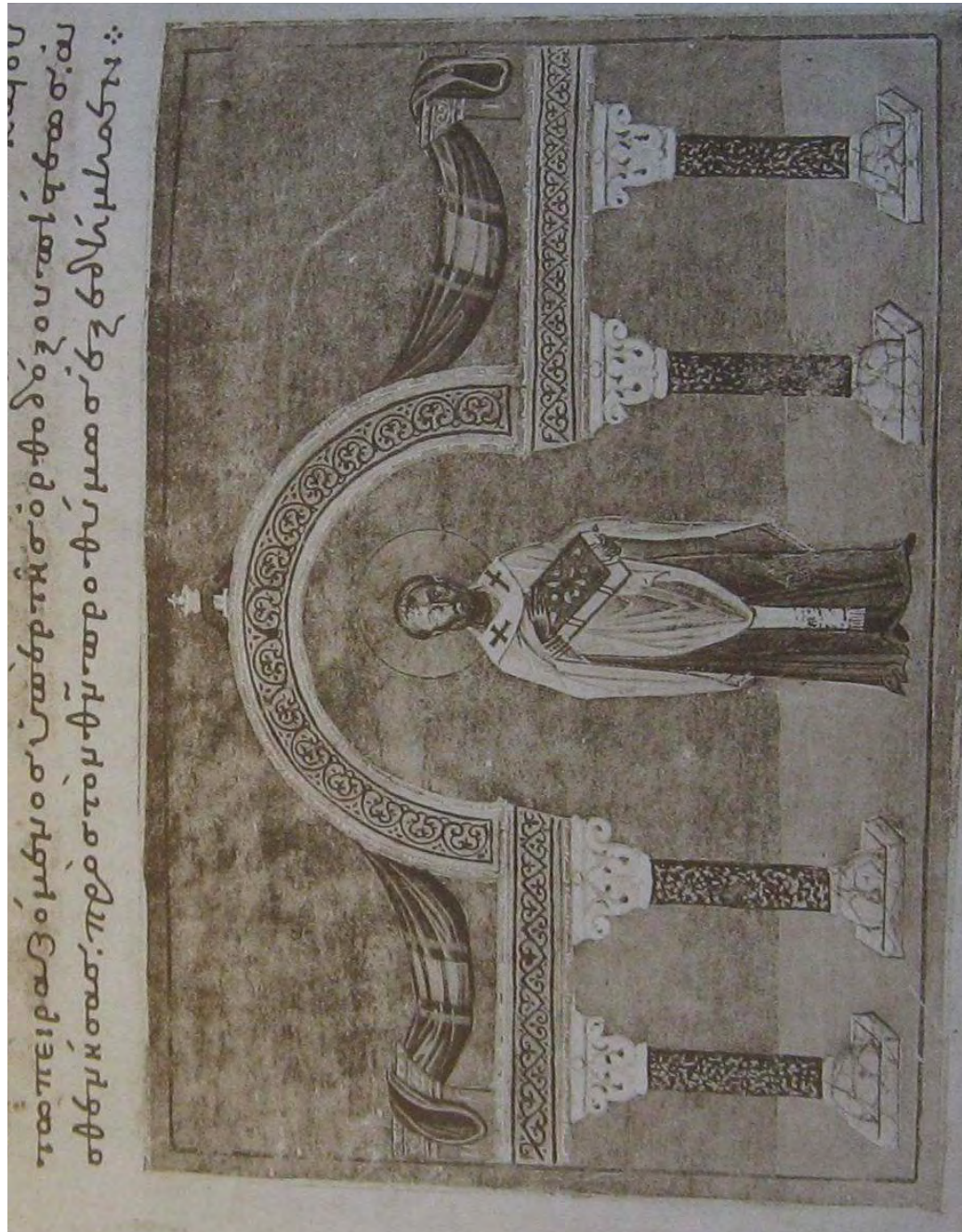
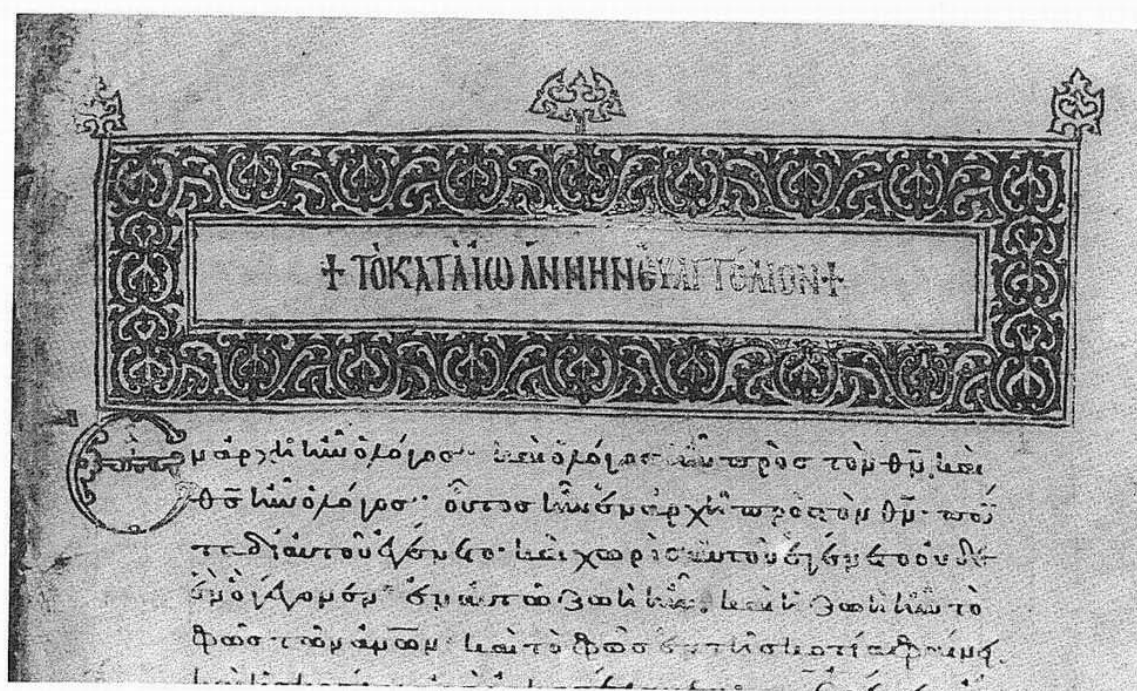
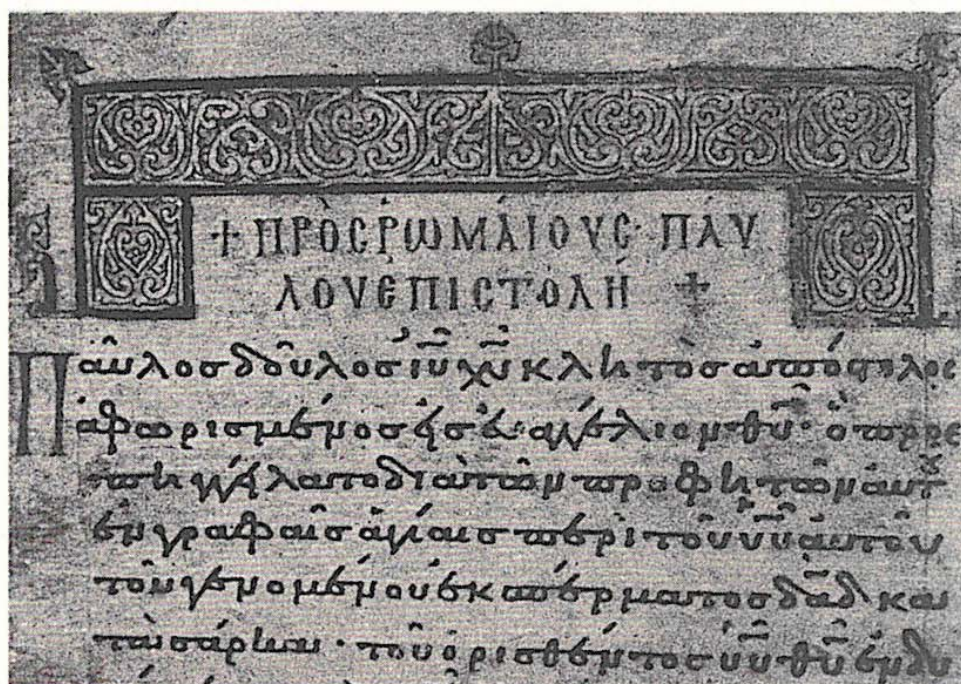


Figure C.6.: Basil II's Menologion (Vat. gr. 1613, p. 410, St Flavianus), *MENOLOGIUM* (1907), 410





49 6 Cromwell 15, f. 178

Figure C.7.: Frontispieces parallel to T (downwards):

- (1) Vatican, cod. Pius II gr. 50, f. 128r from WEITZMANN (1935), pl. xxviii, no. 159
- (2) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Cromwell 15, f. 178 from HUTTER (1977), p. 144, no. 49

12. 12. 1908. 12. 12. 1908. 12. 12. 1908.

Σὺς αὖτ' ἐπὶ τῷ βίῳ συνισφύρει.

[illegible]

Halicormaffes, Bucida, Xanthonia, Aricaa, Derysu  
 Halicormaffes Polybia, Appia, Hymen, isopis, pichairis  
 Epihara, parvixis, Dionis, Koxhianou, Romane, Silya

Figure C.8.: The iambic poem addressing Constantine VII (Par. gr. 2550, f. 120r)



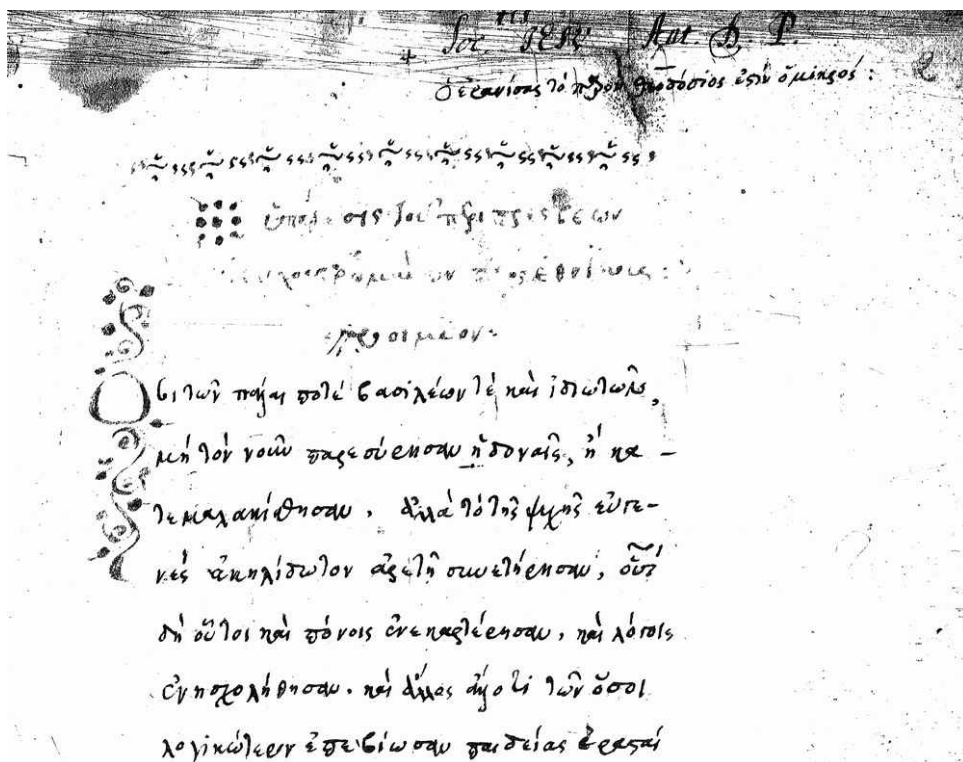


Figure C.9.: Constantine VII's preface in Buxellensis 11301-16, f. 2r

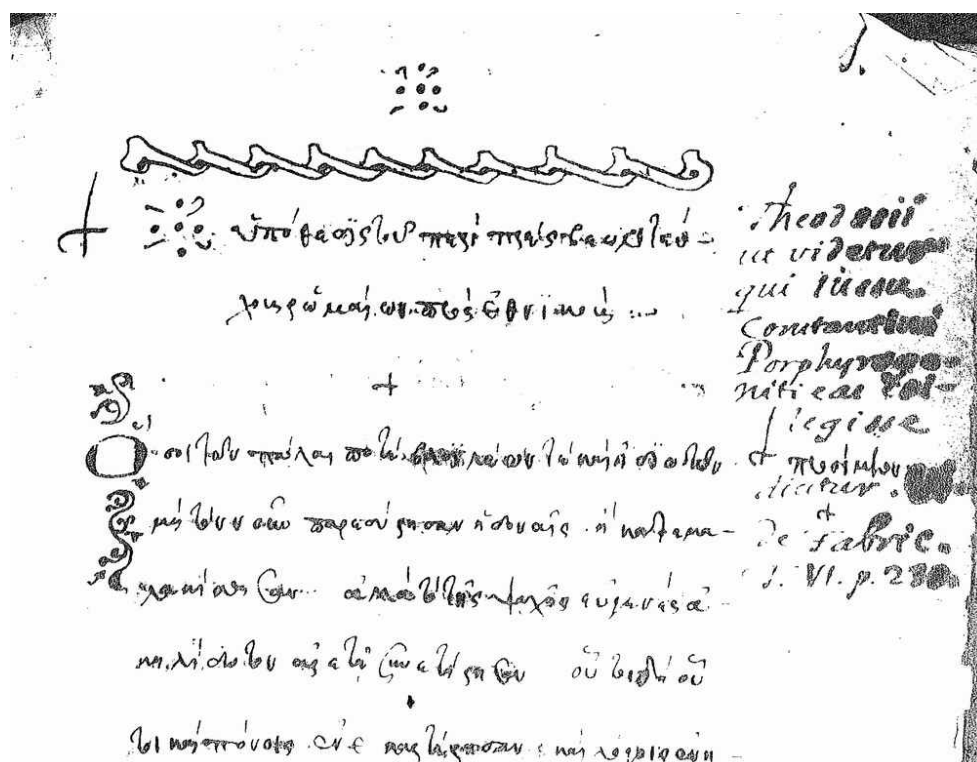


Figure C.10.: Constantine VII's preface in Scorialensis R.III.14, f. 1r

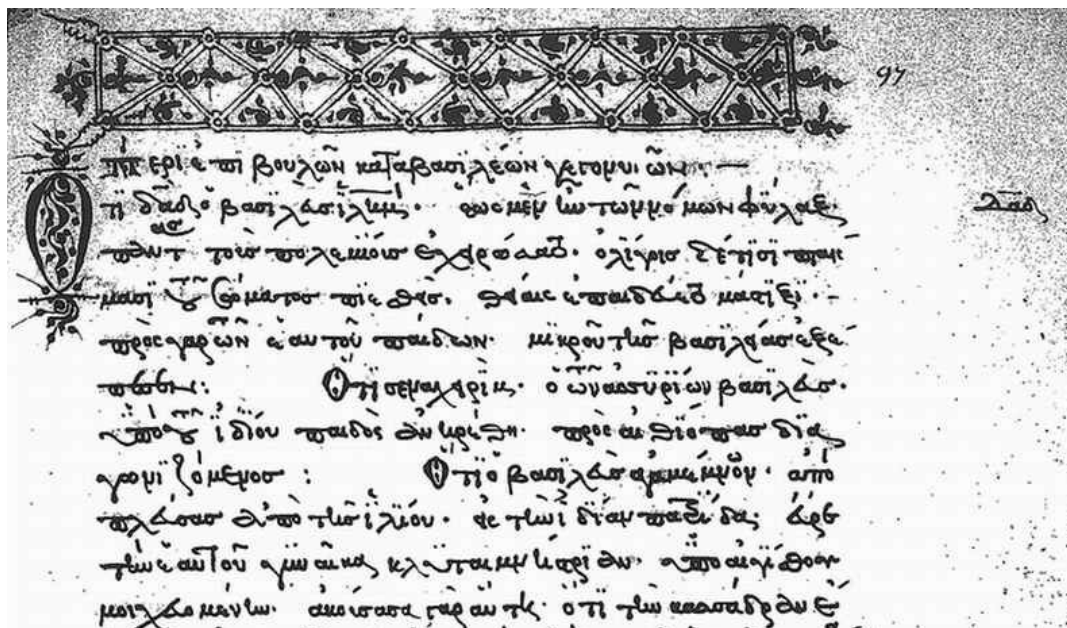


Figure C.11.: The title page of John of Antioch in *EI* (Par. gr. 1666, f. 97r)



Figure C.12.: The title page of John of Antioch in *EI* (Scorialensis Ω.I.11, f. 107r)



[illegible]

Figure C.14.: The epigram in Par. suppl. gr. 607, f. 91r

[illegible]

Figure C.15.: Cross references in **T** (downwards):

- (1) f. 101v: ἐν τοῖς ἐπιγράμμασι
- (2) f. 64r: The same epigram in George the Monk and reference to *περὶ ἐκφράσεως*
- (3) f. 155v: End of Nicolas of Damascus: *περὶ ἑλληνικῆς ἱστορίας*



Figure C.16.: Editorial notes in **T** (downwards):

- (1) f. 91v: Reference in John of Antioch to Cassius Dio
- (2) f. 318v: reference to lost text in Polybius
- (3) f. 79v: End of George the Monk: καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς εἰσιν ἄπειρα
- (4) f. 321v: Reference to loss: ζητεῖ ὀλίγον διέλιπε
- (5) f. 185v: Majuscule sentence in Herodotus
- (6) f. 98r: Reference to John of Antioch