

Routledge Research in Byzantine Studies

(RE)WRITING HISTORY IN BYZANTIUM

**A CRITICAL STUDY OF COLLECTIONS OF
HISTORICAL EXCERPTS**

Panagiotis Manafis



(Re)writing History in Byzantium

Scholars have recently begun to study collections of Byzantine historical excerpts as autonomous pieces of literature. This book focuses on a series of minor collections that have received little or no scholarly attention, including the *Epitome of the Seventh Century*, the *Excerpta Anonymi* (tenth century), the *Excerpta Salmasiana* (eighth to eleventh centuries), and the *Excerpta Planudea* (thirteenth century). Three aspects of these texts are analysed in detail: their method of redaction, their literary structure, and their cultural and political function. Combining codicological, literary, and political analyses, this study contributes to a better understanding of the intertwining of knowledge and power, and suggests that these collections of historical excerpts should be seen as a Byzantine way of rewriting history.

Panagiotis Manafis is a post-doctoral research fellow at the University of Birmingham, UK. His research interests include middle Byzantine literature, with a particular focus on the manuscript transmission of texts.



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A Critical Study of Collections
of Historical Excerpts

Panagiotis Manafis



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To Eleni and Ioanna



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Excerpta Salmasiana

Codex *Vaticanus graecus* 96, mid-12th c.

Codex *Vaticanus Palatinus* 93, mid-12th c.

Codex *Parisinus graecus* 1763, ca 1606.

Codex *Parisinus graecus* 1630, 14th c.

Epitome

Codex *Auctarium* E.4.18, 10th c.

Codex *Parisinus suppl. graecus* 1156, 10/11th c.

Codex *Athonensis Vatopedinus graecus* 286, 13th c.

Codex *Parisinus graecus* 1555a, 13/14th c.

Codex *Baroccianus graecus* 142, 14th c.

EC

Excerpta de virtutibus et vitiis

Codex *Turonensis* 980, 11th c.

Excerpta de insidiis

Codex *Parisinus gr.* 1666, 15th/16th c.

Codex *Scorialensis* Ω I ii, 16th c.

Excerpta de legationibus

Codex *Scorialensis* R III 14, 1574.

Codex *Bruxellensis* 11031-16, 16th c.

Codex *Monacensis* 267, 16th c.

Codex *Parisinus graecus* 2463, 16th c.

Codex *Vaticanus graecus* 1418, 16th c.

Codex *Vaticanus Palatinus* 413, 16th c.

Excerpta Planudea

Codex Laurentianus Plut. 59,30, 13th/14th c.

Codex Vaticanus graecus 951, 15th c.

Codex Athonensis Ivion 812, 14th c.

Codex Neapolitanus graecus 165, 14th c.

Codex Parisinus graecus 1409, 14th/15th c.

Codex Vaticanus Palatinus 141, 14/15th c.

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Abbreviations

<i>AMI</i>	Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan. Berlin: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut.
<i>Ann.Univ.Tosc.</i>	Annali delle Università Toscane. Pisa: Università Toscane.
<i>BBGG</i>	Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata. Grottaferrata: Congregazione d'Italia dei Monaci Basiliani.
<i>BHG</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca</i> , 3rd ed., ed. F Halkin, 3 vols. Brussels, 1957.
<i>BMGS</i>	Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies: University of Birmingham, Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman, and Modern Greek Studies.
<i>BollClass</i>	Bollettino dei Classici. Roma: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei.
<i>Byz</i>	Byzantion: revue internationale des études byzantines. Leuven: Peeters.
<i>BZ</i>	Byzantinische Zeitschrift. Berlin: de Gruyter.
<i>CCSG</i>	Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca. Leuven: Brepols.
<i>CD</i>	<i>Cassius Dio</i> .
<i>CFHB</i>	Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae.
<i>CPG</i>	Clavis Patrum Graecorum. Turnhout: Brepols
<i>CQ</i>	Classical Quarterly. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
<i>CSHB</i>	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae. Bonn.
<i>DAI</i>	<i>De Administrando Imperio</i> .
<i>DC</i>	<i>De Cerimoniis</i> .
<i>DOP</i>	Dumbarton Oaks Papers. Washington (D.C.): Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.
<i>DT</i>	<i>De Thematibus</i> .
<i>EC</i>	<i>Excerpta Constantiniana</i> .
<i>Epitome</i>	<i>The Epitome of the Seventh Century</i> .
<i>EI</i>	<i>Excerpta de Insidiis</i> .
<i>EL</i>	<i>Excerpta de Legationibus</i> .
<i>EPL</i>	<i>Excerpta Planudea</i> .
<i>ES</i>	<i>Excerpta de Sententiis</i> .

<i>Eus.-Hier. Chron.</i>	<i>Die Chronik des Hieronymus</i> , ed. Rudolf Helm, Berlin, 1956.
<i>EV1</i>	<i>Excerpta de Virtutibus et Vitiis</i> , ed. Theodor Büttner-Wobst, Berlin, 1906.
<i>EV2</i>	<i>Excerpta de Virtutibus et Vitiis</i> , ed. Antoon Gerard Roos, Berlin, 1910.
<i>Excerpta Anonymi</i>	<i>Excerpta Anonymi Byzantini ex Codice Parisino suppl. Gr. 607 A.</i>
<i>Exc.Salm.</i>	<i>Anecdota Graeca e codd. Manuscripts Bibliothecae regiae Parisiensis, II.</i>
<i>GRBS</i>	Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies. Durham (N.C.): Duke University, Department of Classics.
<i>HE</i>	<i>Historia Ecclesiastica.</i>
<i>HT</i>	<i>Historia Tripartita.</i>
<i>JMEMS</i>	<i>Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies.</i> Duke University Press.
<i>JÖB</i>	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik. Wien: Verl. der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
<i>MGH</i>	Monumenta Germaniae Historica.
<i>Pet. Patr.</i>	Peter the Patrician.
<i>PG</i>	Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca, ed. J.-P. Migne, 161 vols. Paris, 1857–1866.
<i>PLRE</i>	The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, edd. A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale, and J. Morris, 1–2. Cambridge, 1971–1980.
<i>Ps.-Symeon</i>	<i>Anonymi opus ineditum apud cod. Parisinum B.N. Gr. 1712</i> , ff. 18v–272r.
<i>PTS</i>	Patristische Texte und Studien. Berlin: de Gruyter.
<i>REA</i>	Revue des études anciennes. Pessac: Université Michel de Montaigne, Maison de l'archéologie.
<i>REB</i>	Revue des études byzantines. Paris: de Boccard.
<i>Res.Publ.Litt.</i>	Res Publica Litterarum: Studies in the Classical Tradition. Roma: Salerno.
<i>RE</i>	Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, edd. G. Wissowa et al., Stuttgart, 1894–1963.
<i>RhM</i>	Rheinisches Museum für Philologie. Frankfurt am Main: Sauerländer.
<i>SO</i>	Symbolae Osloenses. <i>Norwegian Journal of Greek and Latin Studies.</i> Oslo: University of Oslo, Norway.
<i>St. Class. Or.</i>	Studi Classici e Orientali. Pisa: Istituti Editoriali e Poligrafici Internazionali.
<i>Sym. Log.</i>	<i>Symeonis Magistri et Logothetae Chronicon I</i> , ed. Stephanus Wahlgren (CGHB 44,1), Berlin, 2006.

<i>Symm</i>	Symmeikta. Athens: Institute of Historical Research.
<i>TAPhA</i>	Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association. Baltimore (Md.): Johns Hopkins University Press.
<i>Teubner</i>	Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana.
<i>TM</i>	Travaux et Mémoires du Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation byzantines. Paris: de Boccard.
<i>TU</i>	<i>Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur.</i>
<i>ZNW</i>	Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Introduction

The purpose of this book, besides bringing hitherto unstudied material to the attention of scholars, is to contribute to a better understanding of the literary phenomenon of Byzantine compilation literature and, in particular, collections of historical excerpts. The following is a working definition of a collection of historical excerpts: a text consisting of passages extracted from a single or different historical texts of the same or of different authors and put together under a principle, that is, thematically.

For a long time, such collections only received attention as sources for the works they rely on and not as works of literature in their own right. Studies of historical works produced through processes of compilation, on the other hand, have always been in dialogue with the concept of *encyclopaedism*. This concept was presented by the French philologist Paul Lemerle in his famous book on Byzantine written culture entitled *Le Premier Humanisme Byzantin* published in 1971. More than half the book was devoted to the cultural revival of the ninth–tenth centuries and the book closed with a chapter on what Lemerle called *encyclopaedism* in the tenth century.¹ Lemerle introduced the concept of *encyclopaedism* to demarcate the resurgence in literary production under the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus² and used the term *encyclopaedia* to refer to works produced under the auspices of this emperor by processes of compilation.³ According to

1 Lemerle (1971), 266–300. Earlier than in this book, Lemerle had already referred to the existence of *encyclopaedias* in Byzantium; cf. Lemerle (1965), 596–616.

2 Constantine was only 7 years old when his father, the emperor Leo VI, died and a number of regents were appointed in his place. From 919–944 Constantine shared the throne with Romanus I Lecapenus, a Byzantine naval commander of Armenian descent. Constantine's sole reign began in 945 and lasted until his death. On Constantine Porphyrogenitus, see Grierson and Jenkins (1962), 133–138, Lemerle (1971), 266–300; Toynbee (1973), esp. 1–25 and 575–605; Tartaglia (1982), 197–206; Wilson (1996), 140–145; Ševčenko (1992a), 167–195; Karpozilos (2002), 281–296; Németh (2018), 20–53.

3 Lemerle was not the first to speak of Byzantine *encyclopaedism*. Büttner-Wobst (1906b) had put forward the term *historische Encyclopädie* and Alphonse Dain had already supported in 1953 that until, and mainly in the ninth century, the interest in the classical past was expressed through the transliteration of ancient texts into minuscule script and that the habit of selecting and reordering of various passages of various works in the manner of *sylloge* appears only in the tenth century. A phenomenon, which Dain integrated in the *encyclopaedism* of the tenth century; Dain (1953), 64–81.

Lemerle, the phenomenon of *encyclopaedism* covers the compilation of works like the *Theophanes Continuatus*,⁴ the *De Cerimoniis* (Περὶ Βασιλείου τάξεως),⁵ the *De Thematibus* (Περὶ Θεμάτων),⁶ and the *De Administrando Imperio* (Πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον υἱὸν Ῥωμανόν)⁷ as well as the *Excerpta Constantiniana* (Εκλογαί)⁸ and an anonymous veterinary work, the *Hippiatrica* (Ἱππιατρικὸν βιβλίον).⁹ As regards the *Geoponica* (Γεωπονικά),¹⁰ the authorship and dating of which is still debated, Lemerle argued that the function of the work was to transmit knowledge, but he simply characterises it as a *sylloge*, that is a collection of passages, related to the court of Constantine Porphyrogenitus.¹¹

Lemerle's concept has since dominated scholars' approaches to the Byzantine literary culture during the Macedonian dynasty and the term *encyclopaedism* continues to be employed by Byzantinists. For instance, A. P. Kazhdan, C. Hannick, J. Shephard, and M. McCormick also consider the tenth century the age of

4 The text survives in a single manuscript, *Vaticanus gr.* 167 (eleventh c.). On the date of the codex, see Serventi (2001). The Greek title is: Χρονογραφία συγγραφείσα ἐκ προσταξέως Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ φιλοχρίστου καὶ πορφυρογεννήτου δεσπότης ἡμῶν, υἱοῦ Λέοντος τοῦ σοφοτάτου δεσπότης καὶ αὐοιδίμου ἡμῶν βασιλέως, ἀρχομένη ἐνθεν κατέληξεν ὁ κατὰ γένος προσήκων τῷ βασιλεῖ μακαρίτης Θεοφάνης ὁ τῆς Συγριανῆς, ἡγουν ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας Λέοντος τοῦ ἐξ Ἀρμενίας· ἥς τὰς τε καθ' ἕκαστα ὑποθέσεις ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς Κωνσταντῖνος φιλοπόνως συνέλεξε καὶ εὐσυνόπτως ἐξέθετο, πρὸς εὐκρινῇ τοῖς μετέπειτα δῆλωσιν; cf. Featherstone and Signes Codoñer (edd.) (2015). On books I–IV, see also Ševčenko (1998); Featherstone (2011), (2012); Treadgold (2013), 188–196. On the so-called *Vita Basilii*, the fifth book of the *Theophanes Continuatus*, see Ševčenko (ed.) (2011); Treadgold (2013), 165–180. Book VI was probably a later addition to the original corpus of the first five books of *Theophanes Continuatus* by Basil the Nothos; Featherstone (2014), 353–372. In *Vaticanus gr.* 167, book VI comes immediately after the *Vita Basilii*, but without any heading or numeration whatsoever; Németh (2018), 155. J. Signes Codoñer and I. Ševčenko showed that the first five books were composed by a team of writers working under the supervision of Constantine Porphyrogenitus; Signes Codoñer (1989), 17–28; Ševčenko (1992), 184–187; Signes Codoñer (2017), 17–21. W. Treadgold attributed the *Vita Basilii* to Theodore Daphnopates; Treadgold (2013), 166–180. W. Treadgold's hypothesis had been examined and refuted in Markopoulos (1985), 171–182.

5 Reiske (ed.) (1829); Vogt (ed.) (1967); Moffatt and Tall (transl.) (2012).

6 Pertusi (ed.) (1952). Treadgold (2013), 154 dates the text around the year 934. On the date of the *DT*, see also Pertusi (ed.) (1952), 43–47 and Oikonomidēs (1972), 242–243. Lounges (1973), 299–305 suggests a later date.

7 Moravcsik and Jenkins (edd.) (1967). On the date of the *DAI*, see Bury (1906b), 522–524; Jenkins (1962), 1–8; Moravcsik and Jenkins (edd.) (1967), 32–33; Howard-Johnston (2000), 301–336.

8 de Boor (ed.) (1903–1910).

9 The *Recensio B* in the textual transmission of the text appears to be related with the scriptorium of Constantine Porphyrogenitus. In particular, it has been supported that the codex *Phillippicus* 1538 (Berlin) was made for Constantine Porphyrogenitus; McCabe (2007), 269–275. On this scriptorium and on manuscripts produced in it, see Section 2.4.5 of this book. The title *Ἱππιατρικὸν βιβλίον* is transmitted in the *Suda* 4739 and *Suda* 267, as well as in the codex *Emmanuel College* 251 (Cambridge); cf. McCabe (2007), 1.

10 Beckh (ed.) (1895). On the *Geoponica*, see Koder (1993); Koutrava-Delivoria (2002), 365–380; Lefort (2008), 231–310.

11 Lemerle (1971), 266–300.

encyclopaedism.¹² Lemerle's view was challenged by Paolo Odorico, first in an article published in 1990, in which he introduced the concept of *the culture of sylloge*.¹³ The term characterises the phenomenon of selecting, recopying, synthesising, and presenting older textual material.¹⁴ P. Odorico in a series of surveys on the subject, convincingly showed that *encyclopaedism* is an inaccurate and misleading term to expound what were in fact collections or *syllogae*.¹⁵ In fact, *encyclopaedia* is a modern term pointing to artefacts with literary functions different from Byzantine collections. Moreover, P. Odorico showed that there was nothing innovative about the collections executed on imperial commission in the tenth century.¹⁶ They excerpt older texts employing a method similar to that applied by *florilegia*, *gnomologia*, military and historical compositions that were compiled centuries earlier than the tenth century. Nevertheless, Lemerle's term of *encyclopaedism* continued to make its way into scholarship. In June 2007, a conference on encyclopaedism before the Enlightenment was held at St Andrews, the proceedings of which were edited by Jason König and Greg Woolf in 2013 under the title *Encyclopaedism from Antiquity to the Renaissance*. The title of the book as well as the papers presented in it showed that the term Byzantine *encyclopaedism* continued to be elaborated amongst Byzantinists and that a number of scholars were disposed to recognise the uniqueness of collections executed during the reign of Constantine Porphyrogenitus in terms of methods and goals.¹⁷

In May 2009, a conference was held in Leuven on works consisting of excerpts and on the validity of Lemerle's concept of *encyclopaedism*. The proceeds of the conference are collected in a book entitled *Encyclopedic Trends in Byzantium?* edited by Peter Van Deun and Caroline Macé and published in 2011. Though many of the participants kept repeating the term *encyclopaedism*, it was during this congress that P. Odorico established his own concept of the *culture of sylloge* tackling Lemerle's term.¹⁸ In the same book, though, Paul Magdalino's article acknowledges the distinctiveness of the tenth-century collections. Magdalino sees the fact that these collections were designed or commissioned by emperors as a key feature that differentiates them from earlier or later collections.¹⁹ It should

12 Hunger (1978), 244, 360–367; Kazhdan and Wharton Epstein (1985), 14–15; Kazhdan (1991), 696–697; Hannick (1986), 2031–2039; Shepard (2008), 87, 403; Karpozilos (2002), 696–697; Kazhdan and Angelidi (2006), 311–336.

13 Odorico (1990), 1–21. On Lemerle's view, see n. 1.

14 Odorico (1990).

15 The concept of *culture of sylloge* was further developed in: Odorico (2011a); Odorico (2014a); Odorico (2014b); Odorico (2017). See also the review of the book: Van Deun and Macé (2011) by A. Kaldellis; cf. Kaldellis, in *The Medieval Review* 12.10.30 (<https://scholarworks.iu.edu/journals/index.php/tmr/article/view/17693/23811>).

16 Odorico (2014a); Odorico (2014b); Odorico (2017).

17 Németh (2013), 232–258.

18 Odorico (2011a).

19 Moreover, P. Magdalino associated the designation of the imperial collections of the tenth century with the triumph of orthodoxy over iconoclasm. In his view, the Orthodox concept of law and good order (*εὐταξία*) dominates collections produced under the reigns of Leo VI and Constantine

be noted that, in line with Magdalino, in 2010 Andreas Németh devoted a large part of his dissertation on the *Excerpta Constantiniana* to arguing that collections during the reign of Constantine Porphyrogenitus were executed in an innovative manner, different from that of earlier collections.²⁰

In February 2012, a workshop on textual transmissions of Byzantine texts took place in Madrid. The papers delivered at the workshop were edited by Juan Signes Codoñer and Inmaculada Pérez Martín in the book *Textual Transmission in Byzantium: Between Textual Criticism and Quellenforschung*, published in 2014. This time the spotlight was set on the terminology covering all sorts of compositions. A number of papers in the book dealt with the rewriting processes of collections of selections and compilation literature. Nevertheless, the different case studies presented in the book reveal that practices of excerpting have wrongly been restricted to the cultural context of the tenth century; the practice of gathering and excerpting starts much earlier than the tenth century.

Recently, scholars have tended to take collections of historical excerpts seriously as a literary phenomenon and study them as autonomous pieces of literature.²¹ One collection of excerpts, the so-called *Excerpta Constantiniana*, has received much attention in particular:²² the manuscript transmission of the *EC* was rigorously studied by J. Irigoín and K. Schreiner,²³ the numbers and names of the Constantinian collections have been treated by P. Lemerle, K. Schreiner, B. Flusin, and A. Németh,²⁴ and the methodological and structural principles of the *EC* have been investigated by U. Roberto, A. Németh, and D. Rafiyenko.²⁵ But whereas the *EC* have thus received quite some scholarly attention, other excerpt collections are still awaiting detailed study. In this book, I therefore focus on a series of minor collections that have received little or no attention at all, namely the so-called *Epitome of the Seventh Century*, the *Excerpta Anonymi* (tenth c.), the *Excerpta Salmasiana* (eighth–eleventh c.), and the *Excerpta Planudea* (thirteenth c.).

Porphyrogenitus. In terms of ideology, order seemed to have denoted the return to orthodoxy after the disastrous period of iconoclasm and the restoration of education after its decline during the previous two ages; cf. Magdalino (2011), 143–160.

20 Németh (2010), esp. 27–31 and 228–235. Németh expands on this view in a monograph published in 2018; cf. Németh (2018).

21 In addition to the papers presented at the conferences mentioned above, see also the dissertation by A. Németh (2010), Németh's monograph (2018) and the special issue of *Byzantinoslavica* 75 (2017) edited by P. Odorico.

22 The extant parts of the *EC* were published in de Boor (1903), de Boor (1905), Büttner-Wobst (1906), Boissevain (1906), and Roos (1910).

23 Irigoín (1959), 177–181; Irigoín (1977), 237–245; Schreiner (1987), 1–29; Németh (2010), 93–178.

24 Lemerle (1971), 327–328; Schreiner (1987), 1–29; Flusin (2002), 537–559; Németh (2010), 65–92; Németh (2013), 232–258; Németh (2018), 187–211.

25 Roberto (2009), 71–84; Németh (2010), 179–245; Rafiyenko (2017), 291–324; Németh (2018), 102–115 and 214–237.

This book intends to offer the first systematic study of collections of historical excerpts in Byzantium, uncovering their method and function, and arguing that they constitute a historical subgenre in their own right. I treat these collections of excerpts in their entirety, that is, as *cultural forms in their own right*²⁶ and as original attempts to transmit history. More particularly, I embark on a close analysis of three aspects of the aforementioned texts: a. their method of redaction, b. their literary structure, and c. their cultural and political function.

- a. Working method: The book aims at specifying the working method applied in the excerpt collections and argues in favour of viewing these texts as the product of the *culture of sylloge*, an approach to older texts that was common in the time when the collections studied in this book were made. I set forth not only the kind of sources used, but also how excerptors integrated the excerpts from older collections into their own work so as to form entirely new texts pursuing their own aims within their own context. In particular, a) I identify three steps in the process of redacting a *sylloge* of historical excerpts: reading, selection, and composition, and b) I show that the texts examined in this book share compositional principles: their compilers retained the language and style of the original text, respected the original sequence of excerpts, and aimed at brevity and accuracy. The *Epitome*, the *Excerpta Anonymi*, the *Excerpta Salmasiana*, and the *Excerpta Planudea* are *syllogae* just like those produced in Byzantium from late antiquity onwards. They are rooted in a common approach as regards the transmission of knowledge to succeeding ages by embedding the classical texts into the new social, political, or theological context.
- b. Literary structure: in a second step, I start out from linguistic data to study how the excerpted texts are transformed in the process of excerpting; changes in vocabulary, grammatical structures, and overall organisation provide the basis for understanding how the original text was adapted to a new audience. I treat the collections not as mere witnesses to the texts they excerpt, but as literary creations in their own right. By studying the overall message and structure of these new literary works, I identify possible authors and their target readers. In addition, this book seeks to consider how the pervasive use of excerpt collections impacted on the writing of history: I argue for a modified understanding of the history of Byzantine historiography by highlighting that excerpt collections reflected a common way of dealing with historical texts of the past.
- c. Cultural and political function: A further goal of this book is to explore the political dimension of the works produced through processes of compilation. That is, I focus on how the past was reordered and reconstructed in collections of historical excerpts. We shall see that omissions and alterations in the course of the redaction of the excerpt collections point to political attitudes

26 The expression is borrowed from P. Van Nuffelen (2015), 15.

and the perception of the world current in the period they were compiled. Their compilers appear to serve the dominant imperial policy of the time. Therefore, placing each collection within its political and cultural framework will allow us to get a better insight into the changes selected pieces of texts underwent before their inclusion into the collection. This book seeks to show that political circumstances and cultural contexts had a strong bearing on the authors' system of selection.

Chapter 1 serves to introduce the reader to the concept of *culture of sylloge*. The term refers to a specific technique or method applied by Byzantine writers in a variety of disciplinary fields. The chapter explores the origins of the *culture of sylloge* and surveys the types of texts in which the *culture of sylloge* is practised. The last part of the chapter elucidates the three steps of redaction of an excerpt collection.

Chapter 2 embarks upon a close analysis of the date, content, and structure of the tenth-century *Excerpta Anonymi*. The study of the historical excerpts in the *sylloge* sheds new light on the methodological principles of the *Excerpta Anonymi*: it shows that the *Excerpta Anonymi* employed a method similar to the one applied in the *EC*. Similarities in content and method between the two works suggest that the compiler of the *Excerpta Anonymi* possibly had access to material gathered in the first place for the *EC*. Furthermore, Chapter 2 focuses on the historical and political context of the *Excerpta Anonymi*; omissions and alterations on the part of the compiler of the *sylloge* point to the concept of *limited ecumenism*, the foreign policy that characterised the Macedonian dynasty.

Chapter 3 looks at the so-called *Excerpta Salmasiana*. The historical excerpts transmitted in this text are often discussed in studies on the original text from which they were taken, and which is usually attributed to John of Antioch. Chapter 3 argues that the *Excerpta Salmasiana* comprise three distinct *syllogae* of excerpts and aims at identifying possible collections of excerpts behind the compilation of the *sylloge*. The study of the working method applied to the various parts of the *Excerpta Salmasiana* reveals the three steps of redacting an excerpt collection as seen in the *EC* and the *Excerpta Anonymi*. Furthermore, the study of the material selection from Agathias' text permits us to understand how the compiler of the *sylloge* imbued it with a new meaning. The passages reflect on a period in which the Empire had territorially shrunk and its civilising influence had been restricted.

Chapter 4 is devoted to the so-called *Epitome of the Seventh Century*. The text is an anonymous collection of historical excerpts transmitted in five manuscripts dated from the tenth to the fourteenth centuries. The *sylloge* was originally compiled in the seventh century, though. Chapter 4 aims to challenge the traditional view that the *Epitome* is a summary of a collection consisting of the complete texts of a number of ecclesiastical histories. The study of the content and structure of the *Epitome* shows that the initial heading of the work, as preserved in the manuscript tradition, must be the original title of the work. Accordingly, what is conventionally called *Epitome* is a collection of

historical excerpts taken from a variety of sources. The selection of excerpts from Eusebius' *HE* in the *Epitome* is edited for the first time in the appendix of this book.

Chapter 5 is concerned with the *Συναγωγή*, a collection of excerpts compiled by Maximus Planudes at the end of the thirteenth century. The focus of the chapter lies in a series of excerpts on Roman history transmitted as part of the *Συναγωγή*. The section on Roman history in the *Συναγωγή* contains excerpts from John of Antioch, Paeanius, Xiphilinus, and a lost chronicle, traces of which can be encountered in Manasses and other Byzantine texts from the middle Byzantine period. The study of the excerpts reveals that this part of the *Συναγωγή* is derived from an earlier collection of historical excerpts compiled by Maximus Planudes himself. Chapter 5 examines the arrangement of excerpts in the *Συναγωγή* as well as the strategies by which Planudes redacted his *sylloge*. It shall become manifest that Planudes was aware of the issue of flawed contextualisation caused by the excerpting method and that he resorted to the same strategies as earlier compilers of excerpt collections. Planudes' rhetorical training becomes evident in the selective use of excerpts from his sources as well as in the political use of his collection: Planudes aimed to counsel the emperor Andronicus II (1282–1328) to pursue a military offensive policy towards the enemies of the Empire in the East and the Balkans.

The concluding Chapter 6 reflects on the implications of reading collections of historical excerpts as proper works of history. In particular, this chapter intends to show that collections of historical excerpts share a series of literary features which identify them as a specific group within historiography. Specifically, a) collections of historical excerpts share methodological principles. Yet shifting patterns of contents, such as the addition, omission, or alteration of extracts, are one of the particularly interesting features of Byzantine collections of historical excerpts. The study of their structure and the examination of certain passages in them identify several features of compilation practice. b) compilers of excerpts collections often drew on earlier *syllogae*. Textual borrowings amongst historical collections link them as a distinct genre and suggest that the compilers were aware of the fact that they belonged to a common tradition of historical writing. c) collections of historical excerpts represented history according to themes. The analysis of the format and function of all four excerpt collections points out that the selective use of passages and their thematic arrangement were shaped by cultural concerns, contemporary ideology, as well as personal intentions. The result to be drawn is that collections of historical excerpts merit being seen as a third way, along with histories and universal chronicles, of writing history, for they were intended to serve the role of history, that is, to preserve memory, supply posterity with moral examples, and shape political and cultural thinking.

To achieve the aforementioned goals, I build on a close analysis of the reciprocal relationship between methods of transmission and contexts. Combining codicological, literary, and political analyses, this book endeavours to contribute to a better understanding of the intertwining of knowledge and power. The contents of

manuscripts were checked using the online *Pinakes* catalogue.²⁷ Some of the collections have not been edited before, and for those that have been edited, recourse to the manuscripts was necessary. Such a codicological study is meant to provide further building blocks for future editions. I also provide partial editions of unedited texts.²⁸ All uncredited translations are my own.

27 <https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr>.

28 50 excerpts from Agathias' *Historiae* preserved in *Vaticanus gr.* 96 and *Vaticanus Pal.* 93 as well as 126 excerpts from Eusebius' *HE* transmitted in four of the total five manuscripts of the so-called *Epitome* are edited in the appendix of the book for the first time.



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1 Greek compilation literature from Byzantium

This book endeavours to show that along with the two traditional historical genres, e.g., history and chronicle, collections of historical excerpts constitute another approach to history in Byzantium. Considering collections of historical excerpts as discrete works of history throughout the Byzantine millennium, I shall first reflect on the technical terms Byzantines used to refer to these texts. I also present contemporary definitions of terms used in this book, and, in some cases, give my own definition. After discussing Byzantine and modern terminology, I shall consider the origins of the so-called *culture of sylloge* and show how collections of historical excerpts relate to it. This will enable us to set historical excerpt collections within the historiographical tradition. In the last part of this chapter, I shall examine the methodological principles underlying the compilation of a Byzantine collection of historical excerpts.

1.1 Terminology

1.1.1 Byzantine terminology

Byzantine writers refer to historiographical writing in a variety of ways, without making strict distinctions between different historiographical genres. Terms such as *historia*, *syngraphe*, *chronikon*, *chronographia*, *ekthesis*, *diegesis*, and *biblos* were often used indistinctively by Byzantine writers. The *Theophanes Continuatus* (Books i–iv) and the *Vita Basilii*, for instance, are both structured according to the lives of certain emperors. The *Theophanes Continuatus* is referred to as a *chronographia* in its preface whereas the *Vita Basilii* is identified as a historical *diegesis* (narrative).¹ When referring to the chronicle by Theophanes, the *DAI*, a tenth-century manual on the administration of the empire, uses both terms *chronikon* and *historia*. At times, these general terms were often accompanied by other terms, such as *syntomos*, *epitome*, *synopsis*, and *paradosis* to indicate a process of summarising (*ἐπιτομή, σύνοψις, παράδοσις*).² Summarising, then, was recognised as

1 Theophanes Continuatus, 8, 1: *Χρονογραφία συγγραφεῖσα ἐκ προστάγματος Κωνσταντίνου*; Vita Basilii, 8: *Ιστορική διήγησις*.

2 Magdalino (2012), 219. See also Signes Codoñer (2016), esp. 233–242 and Macrides (2016), 259.

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a distinct manner of rewriting a text, and a number of historical works were written in this manner. The *Σύνοψις Ἱστοριῶν*³ by Scylitzes, the *Ἐπιτομή Ἱστοριῶν*⁴ by Zonaras, and the *Σύνοψις Χρονικῆς*⁵ by Manasses are prime examples of earlier texts shortened and represented in a new form.⁶ The titles transmitted along with those texts are indicative enough of the technique applied by their authors. Theophanes Confessor, in the preface to his *Chronographia* refers to the *Ecloga chronographica* of George Syncellus as a concise *chronographia*.⁷ Yet summarising is undeniably involved in another category of rewriting, as well; namely, the aggregation of different excerpts into a single, new text.⁸ As will be shown in Section 1.2.2, such a new text could be a chronicle (e.g., the *χρονικὸν σύντομον ἐκ διαφόρων χρονογραφῶν* by George the Monk,⁹ Theophanes' chronicle),¹⁰ a collection of selected excerpts (*ἐκλογή, συλλογή, συναγωγή*), or an anthology (*ἀνθολόγιον, ἀνθολογία*).

I would like to draw attention to a prefatory remark to the chronicle of George the Monk. In the prologue to his work, George sets out his working method:

ἐξεθέμεθα τὰ πρὸς ὄνησιν ἐκ πολλῶν ὀλίγιστα συντείνοντα ποσῶς μετὰ πόνου συλλέξαντες καὶ συνθέντες (...), ἀναγκαῖα δὲ πάνυ καὶ χρήσιμα λίαν οἶμαι δι' ἐπιτομῆς καὶ σαφηνείας ἐναργεστάτης ὑφηγούμενον ὅτι μάλιστα. κρεῖσσον γὰρ μετὰ ἀληθείας ψελλίζειν ἢ μετὰ ψεύδους πλατωνίζειν. οὐχ

- 3 Scylitzes (ca 1040–1110) wrote a chronicle covering the period from the death of Nicephorus I in 811 to the accession of Isaac I Komnenos in 1057. On Skylitzes, see Thurn (ed.) (1973); Flusin (2010), xii–xxxiii.
- 4 Zonaras' historical writing (mid-twelfth century) ran from Creation to 1118. On Zonaras, see Banchich (2009), 1–19.
- 5 Manasses (ca 1130–ca 1187) wrote a chronicle in verse covering the period from Creation to 1081. On Manasses, see Reinsch (2002), 81–94; Nilsson (2006), 15–31; Jeffreys (2012); Nilsson (2014), 98–111.
- 6 Summaries of earlier texts already appear in late antiquity. Stephanus of Byzantium refers to such historiographical summaries; cf. Sautel (2000), 88–92. On a collection of passages from Polybius dated in the ninth century, see Moore (1965), 55–73. On a collection of passages from Diodorus of Sicily' *Bibliotheca Historica*, see Bertrac (1993), cxxxvii–cxxxviii. See also Goukowsky (2012) on possibly the earliest summary of historiographical text, the *Papyrus Hauniensis* 6, dated to the second century ad.
- 7 *Σύντομον χρονογραφίαν*; Theophanes, preface, 3 (ed. de Boor). Syncellus wrote a chronicle covering the period from creation to the year 284. The text has been transmitted complete. On Syncellus, see the edition of the *Ecloga chronographica* by Adler and Tuffin (2002). Theophanes Confessor expanded Syncellus' work up to 813. Mango (1978) and Speck (1994) suggested that Theophanes simply organised a bunch of sources assembled by George Syncellus. On Theophanes, see Mango and Scott (2006); Scott (2006), 49–65; and the papers published in Jankowiak and Montinaro (2015).
- 8 Signes Codoñer (2016), esp. 69–72.
- 9 Odorico (2010), 209–216. George the Monk composed a chronicle from Adam to the death of the emperor Theophilus (842 ad). See P. Magdalino's interpretation of George the Monk's *Chronicon* as an *embedded florilegium in chronicle form* in Magdalino (2011), esp. 158–159. On the structure of George the Monk's chronicle see de Boor (1886); Detoraki (2015), 103–130.
- 10 Kazhdan (1999), 219–254; Odorico (2010), 209–216.

ὅταν γὰρ ὁ λόγος ῥεῖ καὶ ἔξω τῶν ὅρων φέρεται θαυμαστός ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ὅταν βραχὺς μὲν ἢ τῷ μήκει, πολὺς δὲ τοῖς ἐνθυμήμασι καὶ ἐν τῷ συντόμῳ τὸ ἀπαράλειπτον καὶ ἀτρεκέως ἔχων τῶν ἀναγκαίων.¹¹

we strove to set out, for your benefit, the least of the many (accounts), having collected it and put it together with hard work (...), I believe that what should be placed first and above all is that the most essential and the very useful (should be given) abridged and in the most plain manner, for it is better to speak plainly but truly rather than to speak elegantly but falsely. The speech is not admirable when it flows outside the boundaries, but when it is short in length and rich in meaning, and when it concisely contains the complete and precise (meaning) of the most essential.

According to this statement, George the Monk collected, selected, abridged, and represented a number of passages in a new whole. The terms *ἐπιτομή* and *ἐν τῷ συντόμῳ* are used by George the Monk to identify the extent to which he intervened in the original texts, after their selection and before their arrangement in the chronicle. As we shall see in Section 1.2.2, his working method is similar to that applied to other works belonging to the *culture of sylloge*.

As regards the extent to which the excerptors used to intervene in the original text, the *prooemium* to the *EC* provides us with important information:

καὶ ἐκάστη ὑποθέσει προσαρμοζομένης τηλικαύτης οὐ συνόψεως, ἀληθέστερον δ' εἰπεῖν, οἰκειώσεως.¹²

The statement implies that Constantine Porphyrogenitus made a choice between two existing manners of creating excerpt collections: summarising (*σύννομις*) or appropriating (*οἰκειώσεις*).¹³

P. Odorico pointed out that compilers of these type of texts often inserted statements in the prefaces to their works that outline their working method.¹⁴ He drew attention to the fact that the vocabulary in the prefaces is quite frequently identical; terms such as *ἐκλογή*, *συλλέγω*, *συλλογή*, *συλλέξασθαι*, *συνάξω*, *συναγωγή*, and *συντίθημι* are all used to denote the technique by which collections of passages were compiled. It should also be noted that, in the Byzantine period, the term *ἐκλογή* was used to identify both a single selected excerpt and an entire compilation of passages. The term also occurs in the plural, *ἐκλογαί*, as in the title *ἐκλογαὶ ἀπὸ διαφόρων λόγων*, a collection of citations extracted from John Chrysostom,¹⁵ or in the title of the sophist Sopater's work as transmitted by Photius: *ἐκλογαί*

11 George the Monk, *Chronicon* 2, 4–13.

12 *EL* 2. For a thorough analysis of the passage as well as for relevant bibliography, see section 1.3.

13 Németh (2010), 18–19.

14 Odorico (2011a), 89–107; Odorico (2014a), esp. 374–376 and (2017).

15 *PG* 63, cols. 567–902.

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διάφοροι ἐν βίβλοις ιβ.¹⁶ The *ἐκλογαί*, on both occasions, means the collections of selections.¹⁷ The word *ἐκλογαί* (extracts) appears also in manuscripts transmitting collections of exegetical extracts on the Gospels, known as *catenae*.¹⁸ In extant *catenae* manuscripts, terms such as *συναγωγή* (collection) and *ἐρμηνεία* (interpretation) are also often transmitted in headings preceding the collections of exegetical passages.¹⁹ Such terms pointed to the working method by which *catenae* were composed as well as the format in which selected texts were represented.²⁰ It is important to note that *catenists* frequently intervene in the original text by omitting or altering textual material.²¹ Recently, K. Demoen showed that a number of epigrams preserved in manuscripts transmitting collections of excerpts on a particular subject use the same vocabulary detected by P. Odorico in the introductions to various *syllogae*.²²

With the exception of the *EC*, the texts under discussion in this book survive without any preface. The preface to the *EC* calls the subject categories according to which the excerpts were classified *ὑποθέσεις*.²³ The *Excerpta Anonymi* survives without a preface or any heading. The same holds true for the *Excerpta Salmasiana*. The manuscript tradition of the so-called *Epitome of the Seventh Century* transmits the heading *Συναγωγή*. The same term is found in two of the manuscripts transmitting the *Excerpta Planudea*.

In order to understand better what the Byzantines meant by *συναγωγή*, one should pay attention to the common use of the words *συναγωγή*, *συλλογή*, and *ἐκλογή* in their works produced through processes of compilation. Two manuscripts, *Monacensis gr.* 358 (ninth c.) and *Athous Koutloumousiou* 10 (eleventh c.), transmit a collection of comments on the *Octateuch* and *Kingdoms* under the heading *ἐκλογῶν ἐπιτομή* (epitome of selected passages) attributed to Procopius, the sixth-century Christian sophist and rhetorician from Gaza.²⁴ At the beginning of the collection, Procopius states that this work is a shortened version of an

16 *Bibliotheca*, cod. 161.

17 Signes Codoñer (2013), 69–70, n. 28.

18 Houghton and Parker (2016), 2. On *catenae*, see Devreesse (1928); Wilson (1967), 244–256; Dorival (1986); Auwers and Guérard (2011).

19 Earlier single-author commentaries on the New Testament, by contrast, were described as *ὑπογραφαί* for the commentary was placed *under* the biblical text, or *παραγραφαί* when the scholia were added to the *sides* of the biblical text.

20 See Houghton and Parker (2016).

21 Panella discusses features of compilation practice encountered in *catenae* on *I Corinthians* of Paul in Panella (2016) 117–140. See also in the forthcoming Manafis (2020).

22 Demoen (2013), 89–98. On epigrams, see Lauxtermann (2003b) and Lauxtermann (2007).

23 *ὑπόθεσις τοῦ περὶ πρέσβων τεύχους Ῥωμαίων πρὸς ἔθνικοὺς* (The book on the topic *On Embasies of Romans to Foreigners*); ed. Németh (2018), 267. My translation. *ἃν κεφαλαιωδῶν ὑποθέσεων ἢ προκειμένη αὕτη καὶ ἐπιγραφομένη περὶ πρέσβων Ῥωμαίων πρὸς ἔθνικοὺς* (of these principal topics, the present text bearing the heading *On Embasies of Romans to Foreigners*); ed. Németh (2018), 268, transl. Németh (2018), 62. On the use of the term *ὑπόθεσις* in Polybius 12. 25f (*ES* 154), see Németh (2018), 216–217.

24 PG 87(1). See the edition of the text in Metzler (2015).

earlier *catena* composed by himself. Procopius also briefly explains the method by which the original *catena* was compiled:

τὰς καταβεβλημένας ἐκ τῶν Πατέρων καὶ ἄλλων εἰς τὴν Ὀκτάτευχον ἐξηγήσεις συνελεξάμεθα ἐξ ὑποπνημάτων καὶ διαφόρων λόγων ταύτας ἐρανισάμενοι

we collected explanations on the Octateuch laid down by the Fathers and others, extracting these from commentaries and various speeches.²⁵

The title of the *catena* was probably *εἰς τὴν Ὀκτάτευχον ἐξηγητικαὶ ἐκλογαί* (exegetical extracts on the Octateuch).²⁶ Procopius composed two other *epitomes* of *catenae*, on the *Ἰσμία Ἀσμάτων* and on the *Ἐκκλησιαστήν*, respectively.²⁷ The titles of the two works are worth mentioning:

Προκοπίου Γαζαίου χριστιανοῦ σοφιστοῦ εἰς τὰ Ἰσμιατὰ τῶν Ἀσμάτων ἐξηγητικῶν ἐκλογῶν ἐπιτομή ἀπὸ φωνῆς Γρηγορίου Νύσης καὶ Κυρίλλου Ἀλεξανδρείας κ.τ.λ.

Epitome of a selection of explanations on the Song of Songs by Procopius of Gaza, the Christian sophist, according to the teaching of Gregory of Nyssa and Cyrill of Alexandria...

Εἰς τὸν Ἐκκλησιαστήν Προκοπίου χριστιανοῦ σοφιστοῦ εἰς τὰ Ἰσμιατὰ τῶν Ἀσμάτων ἐξηγητικῶν ἐκλογῶν ἐπιτομή ἀπὸ φωνῆς Γρηγορίου Νύσης καὶ Κυρίλλου Ἀλεξανδρείας κ.τ.λ.

Epitome of a selection of explanations on the Ecclesiastes by Procopius of Gaza, the Christian sophist, according to the teaching of Gregory of Nyssa and Cyril of Alexandria...

For Procopius then the term *ἐπιτομή* identifies a method of rewriting a text, whereas the term *ἐκλογή* refers to a collection of extracts. Indeed, Procopius' works consist of a series of comments taken from the Fathers augmented with material written by Procopius himself. The arrangement of the selected citations as well as the added text aim at clarifying parts of the Bible.

Furthermore, the so-called *first Palestinian catena*, the oldest *catena* on *Psalms*, dated to the second quarter of the sixth century is transmitted in the ninth-century codex *Baroccianus* 235 under the heading *ἐξηγητικῶν ἐκλογῶν* (selections of interpretations).²⁸ In fact, *ἐκλογή* and *συναγωγή* are the most frequently encountered

25 PG 87(1), col. 21.2–5.

26 Dorival (2016), 72.

27 PG 87/2, col. 1545–1780. See also in Devreesse (1928); Ceulemans and Auwers (2012), 493–508.

28 The *catena* assumed that name from the place of its origin, namely Caesarea in Palestine. On the transmission of the *Palestinian catena* in *Baroccianus* 235, see Devreesse (1928), 1116; Richard (1957), 88.

terms in the headings of manuscripts transmitting selections of exegetical extracts. The terms were also used indiscriminately to identify the same work, as the transmission of the heading of the *sylloge* of exegetical passages on the Gospel according to Luke by Nicetas of Heraclea illustrates.²⁹ The word *συναγωγή* occurs on f. 5r of *Athonensis Iviron* 371 (eleventh c.) and f. 1v of *Taphou* 466 (twelfth c.) in the heading: *συναγωγή ἐξηγήσεων εἰς τὸ κ(α)τ(ὰ) Λουκᾶν ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον ἐκ διαφορῶν ἐρμηνευτῶν · παρὰ Νικήτα διακόνου τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ μεγάλ(ης) ἐκκλησίας κ(αὶ) διδασκάλου γεγονυῖα* (composition of expositions on the holy Gospel of Luke taken from various commentators – made by Nicetas, the deacon and teacher of the Great Church of God).³⁰ The term *ἐκλογή*, on the other hand, is transmitted on f. 1r of the *catena* in *Vaticanus gr.* 759 (fourteenth c.): *ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκλογῆς Νική(τα) Σεργ[ρ]ῶν* (from the collection of Nicetas of Serrae).

Photius in his *Bibliotheca*³¹ furnishes us with the titles, contents, and extracted passages of a considerable number of books he had studied. At some point, Photius refers to the fifth-century *Lexicon* of Helladius by using the term *συναγωγή*, but when he comes to compare it with the lexicon of Diogenianus, he uses the term *συλλογή* for the latter:

ἀνεγνώσθη λεξικὸν κατὰ στοιχεῖον Ἑλλαδίου, ὧν ἴσμεν λεξικῶν πολυστιχώτατον. Οὐ λέξεων δὲ μόνον ἢ *συναγωγή*, ἀλλ' ἐνίοτε καὶ κομματικῶν τινῶν χαριεστάτων λόγων καὶ εἰς κώλου πολλάκις σύνθεσιν ἀπαρτιζομένων. Πεζοῦ δὲ λόγου ἐστὶ τὸ πλεῖστον τῶν λέξεων, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ ποιητικοῦ, ὥσπερ ἡ Διογενιανῶς ἐκπονηθεῖσα *συλλογή*.

I read the *Lexicon* of Helladius, arranged in alphabetical order. It is the most comprehensive of the lexicons that I know, the collection consisting not only of words, but also of some most agreeable short clauses, which frequently become perfect members. The words are for the most part taken from prose writers, not from the poets, like the compilation of Diogenianus.³²

Shortly afterwards, however, Photius identifies Helladius' *Lexicon* as both, *συλλογή* and *συναγωγή*. Specifically, in *Bibliotheca*, cod. 158, Photius refers to a *συναγωγή* of words and clauses compiled by Phrynichus the Arabian and he concludes that:

Πολλὰ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐστὶ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλαδίου τῶν λέξεων εὐρεῖν *συλλογῇ*, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ μὲν διεσπαρμένα ἐν τῷ πλήθει τῆς *συναγωγῆς*.

29 On Nicetas, see Sickenberger (1902); Darrouzès (1960), 179–184; Krikonis (1976), esp. 17–25.

30 Passages from *Iviron* 371 have been published in Krikonis (1976).

31 Photius' *Lexicon*, another work of his, was composed through the process of compilation and bears the title *λέξεων συναγωγή κατὰ στοιχεῖον*; cf. Theodoridis (ed.) (2013). On the *Bibliotheca*, see Section 1.2.3.

32 cf. *Bibliotheca*, cod. 145.

many of these are to be found in the συλλογή of Helladius, but there they are dispersed throughout the συναγωγή.³³

Interestingly, Photius describes as συναγωγή the lexicon of Boethus as well as the content of a collection of chronicles and a list of Olympian victors: ἀνεγνώσθη δ' ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τεύχει καὶ Βοηθοῦ λέξεων πλατωνικῶν συναγωγή κατὰ στοιχεῖον, πολλῶ τῆς Τιμαίου συναγωγῆς χρησιμώτερον,³⁴ and ἀνεγνώσθη Φλέγοντος Τραλλιανοῦ, ἀπελευθέρου τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Ἀδριανοῦ, ὀλυμπιονικῶν καὶ χρονικῶν συναγωγή.³⁵

Proceeding to the *Geoponica*,³⁶ a collection of agricultural lore compiled during the tenth century in Constantinople, we notice that the beginning of Book 20 reads as follows: τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇδε τῇ βίβλῳ, εἰκοστῇ μὲν οὔσῃ τῶν περὶ γεωργίας ἐκλογῶν, περιεχοῦσα δὲ ἰχθύων τροφήν, καὶ ἐκ διαφορῶν τόπων εἰς ἓνα συναγωγήν.³⁷ The given explanation καὶ ἐκ διαφορῶν τόπων εἰς ἓνα συναγωγήν as well as the content itself of the *Geoponica* provide us, lucidly and aptly, with what is meant by the term συναγωγή: that is, a collection of passages excerpted from different works and put together into a single text. In the *prooemium* to the *Geoponica*, the same principle is repeated through the use of a derivative of the term συλλογή: (...) καὶ ὅπως, καὶ ἕτερα πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα, μεγέθει φύσεως καὶ βάθει φρενῶν εἰς ἓν συλλεζόμενος, κοινωφελὲς ἔργον τοῖς πᾶσι προτέθεικας.³⁸ Furthermore, the beginning of Book 1 reads:

τὰ διαφοροῖς τῶν παλαιῶν περὶ τε γεωργίας καὶ ἐπιμελείας φυτῶν καὶ σπορίμων καὶ ἐτέρων πολλῶν χρησίμων εἰρημένα συλλέξας εἰς ἓν, τουτὶ τὸ βιβλίον συντέθεικα. συνεΐλεκται δὲ ἐκ τῶν Φλωρεντίνου.

After I gathered together the various sayings of ancient people on agriculture and the care of the plants and crops and many other useful subjects in a single entity, I compiled this volume. And I extracted from the writings of Florentius.³⁹

33 cf. *Bibliotheca*, cod. 158.

34 Read in the same book, the List of Platonic Words by Boethus 1 in alphabetical order. It is dedicated to a certain Melant(h)as and is far more useful than the collection of Timaeus; cf. *Bibliotheca*, cod. 154.

35 Read the Collection of Chronicles and List of Olympic Victors by Phlegon of Tralles, a freed man of the emperor Hadrian; cf. *Bibliotheca*, cod. 97.

36 Beckh (ed.) (1895); trans. Dalby (2011).

37 These (subject matters) are present in this book, which is the twentieth consisting of selections on agriculture and it contains information on the food of fishes, and (the contents) taken from various passages are put together in a unified whole; *Geoponica*, book 20.

38 And similar to the way, as happens with many other and great things, the magnitude of the character and depth of the mind are collected in one unity, a work of common utility has been put forward; *Geoponica*, prooemium.

39 *Geoponica*, Book 1.

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In addition to this, at the beginning of each book the same sentence is repeated to describe the working method of the compiler: *τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇδε τῇ βίβλῳ, (...) τῶν περὶ γεωργίας ἐκλογῶν* (These are present in this book... extracts on agriculture).

The *Geoponica* consists of passages taken from a number of earlier collections of agricultural precepts, one of which was definitely the fourth/fifth-century collection of Vindanius Anatolius of Berytus. Photius who read and commented on his work in the *Bibliotheca* identifies it as a *συναγωγή* (gathering) of selected excerpts from other works:

Ἀνεγνώσθη Οὐινδανίου Ἀνατολίου Βηρύτου συναγωγή γεωργικῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων. Συνήθροισται δὲ αὐτῷ τὸ βιβλίον ἐκ τε τῶν Δημοκρίτου, Ἀφρικανοῦ τε καὶ Ταραντίνου καὶ Ἀπουληίου καὶ Φλωρεντίου καὶ Οὐάλεντος καὶ Λέοντος καὶ Παμφίλου, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐκ τῶν Διοφάνους παραδόξων.⁴⁰

Read the collection of instructions on Agriculture by Vindanius Anatolius of Beirut. He has drawn on Democritus Africanus of Tarentum, Apuleius, Florentius, Valens, Leo, Pamphilus, and the ‘Marvels’ of Diophanes.⁴¹

As shown, when Photius comes to refer to Sopater’s collection, which was compiled by employing a method similar to that applied to the *Geoponica* or the collection of Anatolius, the ninth-century Patriarch uses the word *ἐκλογαί*: collections of selections. And Photius goes on as follows:

συνεῖλεται δὲ αὐτῷ τὸ βιβλίον ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ διαφόρων ἱστοριῶν καὶ γραμμάτων.⁴²

he gathered his material from many different histories and other writings.⁴³

The term *συνεῖλεται* (third person singular of the Present Perfect tense, Passive Voice of *συλλέγω*) could, here, mean *the collecting of works* (possibly complete works). Photius, however, goes on to explain:

Τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον περὶ τῶν παρ’ Ἑλληνσι μυθολογουμένων θεῶν διαλαμβάνει· ὁ συνεῖλεται ἐκ τῶν Ἀπολλοδώρου περὶ θεῶν γ’ λόγου (Ἀθηναῖος δὲ ὁ Ἀπολλόδωρος καὶ γραμματικὸς τὴν τέχνην). Οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ τρίτου δὲ μόνον ἡ διαλογὴ αὐτῷ πεποιήται, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ δ’ καὶ ε’ καὶ θ’, τοῦ α’ πάλιν καὶ ιβ’, ιε’ τε καὶ ις’ καὶ μέχρι τοῦ κδ’. Ἐν ᾗ συλλογῇ τά τε μυθικῶς περὶ θεῶν διαπεπρασμένα.⁴⁴

40 *Bibliotheca*, cod. 163.

41 Transl. Wilson (1994), 147.

42 *Bibliotheca*, cod. 161.

43 Transl. Wilson (1994), 143.

44 *Bibliotheca*, cod. 161.

Book 1 discusses the gods of Greek mythology; it is compiled from Book 3 of Apollodorus' 'On the gods' (Apollodorus was an Athenian and a teacher of literature by profession). But the selection is not made from Book 3 only; it also draws on Books 4, 5, and 9, then 1, 12, 15, 16, and successive books up to 24. He includes in his collection myths about the gods and material from historians.⁴⁵

Photius makes it clear that Sopater had assembled a selection of passages for his own collection. The words *διαλογῇ* and *συλλογῇ*, used by Photius in his comment on the text, point to the excerpting method used by Sopater.

My last example comes from Photius' comment on Gelasius of Cyzicus' *Historia ecclesiastica*. When Photius refers to Gelasius' compositional technique, he writes:

ὧν τὴν μνήμην ἔχοντα, καὶ ἐξ ἐτέρων γραμμάτων ὅσα χρήσιμα συναγείροντα, τὴν ἱστορίαν συντάξαι.⁴⁶

With his recollection of this, and by collecting useful information from other sources, he put together his history.⁴⁷

I would like to draw attention to the use of the word *συναγείροντα* (past participle of the *συνάγω*). The term foregrounds the creation of a structure out of the selected pieces (*ἐξ ἐτέρων*).

From the above, it becomes evident that terms, such as *συλλογῇ*, *ἐκλογῇ*, and *συναγωγῇ* were often used by compilers indiscriminately. It is also apparent that the term *epitome* should be reserved for the summary process, since it represents a category of rewriting a text rather than a conflation of different texts into a single entity. The term *synagoge*, by contrast, embraces both the technique by which the excerpts were selected and the composition of a text from the selected pieces.

A further term reflecting the activity of those compiling an excerpt collection is *ἐρπνίζω*. In the early third century, the term occurs in the *Refutatio omnium haeresium*, a Christian polemical work attributed to Hippolytus of Rome: *ἐκ πασῶν αἱρέσεων <μύθους> ἐρπνισάμενοι, ξένην βιβλ(ον) <ἐ>σκενάσαντο* (after they extracted <myths> from all heretical writings, they composed a strange book).⁴⁸ As seen, in the sixth century, Procopius of Gaza uses the term in the *prooemium* to his commentary on *Genesis*.

τὰς καταβεβλημένας ἐκ τῶν Πατέρων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἰς τὴν Ὀκτάτευχον ἐξηγήσεις συνελεξάμεθα, ἐξ ὑπομνημάτων καὶ διαφορῶν λόγων ταύτας ἐρπνισάμενοι.

45 Transl. Wilson (1994), 143.

46 *Bibliotheca*, cod. 88.

47 Transl. Wilson (1994), 95.

48 *Refutatio omnium haeresium* 10.29.2.

we collected explanations on the Octateuch laid down by the Fathers and others, extracting these from commentaries and various speeches.⁴⁹

The term appears to point to the cut and paste technique employed in these works. The codex *Bruxellensis* 11301–11316 preserving the *ELI* possibly transmits the name of a member of the team working under the supervision of Constantine Porphyrogenitus:

ὁ ἐρανίσας τὸ παρὸν Θεοδοσίος ἐστὶν ὁ μικρός.⁵⁰

Theodosius the Younger is the collector for the present (collection).

The phrase was copied in the margin of f. 2r in a different hand from that of the rest of the codex and it is not certain whether the sentence was also found in the archetype of the *ELI*.⁵¹ Even if we accept that Theodosius the Younger was on the team of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the sort of task assigned to the ἐρανίσας is not clear.⁵² He could be either the person who collected and excerpted the texts of the *ELI* or the person who put a series of selected passages in order. It is equally possible that Theodosius was responsible for both the selection and the arrangement of the excerpts. The same term ἐρανίζω also appears in another work compiled in the inner circle of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the *DC*. When the compiler describes his method, he adds:

ταῦτα φιλοπόνῳ μελέτῃ ἐκ πολλῶν ἐρανίσασθαι καὶ πρὸς εὐσύνοπτον κατάληψιν τῷ παρόντι ἐκθέσθαι φιλοτεχνήματι, καὶ πατρίων ἐθῶν παρεωραμένων παράδοσιν τοῖς μεθ' ἡμᾶς ἐνσημήνασθαι.

to collect with unremitting effort from many sources those things and to set them out in the present arrangement and to record for those who come after us, in the form of an easily comprehended account, the tradition of our ancestral customs which have been neglected.⁵³

In this case, the term seems to point to the selection of the passages being included in the *DC*.

1.1.2 *Modern terminology*

Before I proceed to discussing the origins of the *culture of sylloge*, I briefly give my own definitions of a number of terms used in the book. I consider

49 *PG* 87(1), col. 21.2–5.

50 See Büttner-Wobst (1906), 100; Schreiner (1987), 25.

51 Németh (2010), 140 doubts the authenticity of the sentence. A. Németh shares Moore's hypothesis, namely, that the name Theodosius belongs to a member of Andreas Darmarios' scriptorium, where *Bruxellensis* 11301–16 was copied; Moore (1965), 165.

52 Lemerle (1971), 285.

53 Trans. Moffatt (2012), 4.

this essential because scholars have not yet arrived at a consensus about a number of terms concerning compilation literature. As a result, terms such as *compilation*, *collection*, *selection*, *anthology*, *corpus*, *miscellany*, *collectanea*, *anthology*, and *florilegium* are frequently used to refer to the same category of texts, without any distinction whatsoever – a fact that prevents us from understanding the structure, the function, and the working methods of certain type of texts.

To begin with, in this book the term *compilation* is used as an umbrella term covering works produced by assembling material collected from earlier sources. All the terms that follow, then, are subspecies of compilation. A first subspecies is an *excerpt collection*, for which I have already given a working definition: a whole comprising passages excerpted from single or different historical texts of the same or different authors and put together under a principle, that is, thematically. Such *excerpt collections* were intended for specific audiences: they could be used for teaching at schools, to expose moral examples as well as to narrate historical or theological events. The Greek term for *collection* is *συλλογή* (*sylloge*). Accordingly, in what follows, an *excerpt collection* on a particular subject shall also be mentioned as a *sylloge* of excerpts. It is worth citing here that *florilegia* are *syllogae* of citations drawn from the *Scriptures* and the writings of the Church Fathers.⁵⁴ *Catenae* are *syllogae* of passages extracted from early Christian authors commenting on the Bible. In this book collections consisting of complete texts are designated as *anthologies*. It follows that such receptacles could house small-format genres, such as epigrams, poems, and letters. The *Anthologia Palatina*,⁵⁵ for instance, is an anthology of epigrams; it has come down to us through a manuscript dated to the second half of the tenth century.⁵⁶ The same codex preserves also an anthology of Anacreontic poems.⁵⁷ Anthologies comprising letters of fictitious or authentic authors appear in the ninth and tenth centuries, as well.⁵⁸ In fact, since these anthologies consist of selected complete texts, they are not *syllogae* of

54 On *florilegia* see Ehrhard (1901), 394–415; Richard (1962), 475–511; Alexakis (1996), 6–42; Brubaker and Haldon (2001).

55 On the *Anthologia Palatina* see C. Preisendanz (ed.) (1911); Wolters (1883), 97–119, Lauxtermann (2007), 194–208; Maltomini (2011), 109–124. According to Al. Cameron and Lauxtermann, it is highly likely that the *Palatine Anthology* was compiled during Constantine Porphyrogenitus' sole reign (945–959); Al. Cameron (1993), 98–99, 115–116; Lauxtermann (2003b), 83–86. R. Auberton had proposed a much later date for the *Anthologia Palatina*, namely the period 1050–1070; Auberton (1968), 32–82. M.L. Agati suggested a date at the end of the tenth century; cf. Agati (1984), 43–59. N. G. Wilson dates it between 930 and 950; cf. Wilson (1996), 138. Beckby (1957–1958), 70 proposed a date around the year 980.

56 *Palatinus gr. 23* is now deposited at Heidelberg. Part of *Palatinus gr. 23* is kept in the *Bibliothèque Nationale de France* at Paris, labelled as *Parisinus suppl. gr. 384*; Beckby (1957–1958), 68–90; Al. Cameron (1993); Lauxtermann (2003b), 83–114; Magdalino (1997), 169–170.

57 West (1993); Al. Cameron (1993).

58 On letters written in the tenth century, see Darrouzes (1960); Németh (2018), 205. On collections of epistles of fictitious authors, see in Malherbe (1977), 6–34; Hinz (2001), 129–141.

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excerpts. Where anthologies consist of a series of complete texts by one and the same author, I use the term *corpus*.⁵⁹

There is a significant number of Byzantine codices in which the inserted passages are not related to each other as they were not copied under a principle, that is, thematically or alphabetically. These manuscripts are called *miscellanies*. *Miscellanies* are thus receptacles containing pieces of texts of various genres and on assorted subject matters written by a single or different authors. This book does not study *miscellanies*, for they are not, in the absence of an ordering principle, *syllogae* of excerpts.⁶⁰

As far as the content of a *sylloge* is concerned, I use the terms *excerpt* or *extract* to describe a piece of text extracted from an earlier work. In a *collection/sylloge* such *excerpts* are likely to vary in length but not in subject matter: their arrangement creates a new unity. On the other hand, by *collectanea* I mean the passages extracted from heterogeneous sources and on a variety of subjects. These extracted pieces of texts put together constitute a *miscellany*. I use the term *source text* to describe an earlier work from which *excerpts* or *extracts* and *collectanea* were drawn from. The term *excerptor* is used to denote the person who excerpts or collects *excerpts* or *collectanea*. I call the Byzantine scholar who reworks and synthesises the selected *excerpts* in a new entity a *compiler*. It is important to note that the *excerptor* and the *compiler* could or could not be, but often were, the same person. Finally, in this book, terms such as *epitome* (*epitomise*) and *synopsis* (*synopsise*) are reserved for the summary process, that is, a category of rewriting a text rather than an accumulation and a representation of different texts into a single entity.

1.2 The culture of *sylloge*

The concept of the so-called *culture of sylloge* has been introduced to describe the working method by which a series of works, from late antiquity onwards, was executed: the deconstruction of carefully selected older texts and their reconstruction in a new receptacle, that is, in a different format and context.⁶¹ It should be noted that every age of Greek literature cared about preserving texts considered essential to be preserved at the time. The Hellenistic scholars conceived it as their duty to be the critics, the coordinators, and the epitomisers of classical Greek literature.⁶² Thus, the Alexandrians determined the classical canon producing editions by engaging in copying and pasting. During the Hellenistic period, the Alexandrians gave us also the commentaries.⁶³ Such treatises flourished in the Roman world. In later centuries, this practice and phenomenon found its expres-

59 Nyström (2009), 45 calls *corpus* an *authors' total production*.

60 On *miscellanies*, see Crisci (2004), 109–144; Maniaci (2004), 75–108; Ronconi (2004), 145–182; Ronconi (2007); Nyström (2009), 45–48.

61 This is the definition given of the *culture of sylloge* by P. Odorico; Odorico (2017), esp. 24–27.

62 Jenkins (1963), 97.

63 Kaldellis (2012), 71–85.

sion through compilations of excerpts, which meant intervention in the original narrative sequence of a work, omission of what they did not consider essential to the narrative structure, and production of excerpts from previous entire works. There is an assortment of works compiled in late antiquity employing this method: a series of passages are thematically extracted from earlier texts and put together into a single receptacle. *Florilegia*, for instance, produced as a result of the theological controversies from the fifth century onwards, are entirely based on the aforementioned working method.⁶⁴ In fact, the origins of such practices can be traced through profane collections of texts, which were compiled much earlier than the first *florilegia*. Miscellaneous collections of the second and third centuries such as the *De natura animalium* (Περὶ Ζῴων Ἰδιότητος) by Aelian, the *Stromata* (Στρώματα) by Clement of Alexandria, the *Cesti* (Κεστοί) by Julius Africanus, and the *Noctes Atticae* in Latin by Aulus Gellius also bear a striking resemblance with regard to the concept of compilation literature to later excerpt collections. The miscellaneous collections exhibit a lack of rigid structure, though.⁶⁵ In the early Byzantine period, when Christians began to create their own collections, they relied on anthologies of the Hellenistic age in terms of method and content. Thus, a new form of engagement with the preserving of knowledge emerged.⁶⁶ The *culture of sylloge* is both the heir to those earlier traditions, but also espouses a new vision as regards the transmission of knowledge to succeeding ages. This came about as a result of the new social, political, and theological context in which compilation literature was produced.

From the above, it becomes evident that what should concern us is not the sort of sources the excerpt collections are made up from. Attention should instead be drawn to the structure and the function of the collections. For instance, collections of historical excerpts as well as certain Byzantine chronicles were constructed on the basis of the same technique. The format through which the excerpts were transmitted in these two sorts of texts is different, though. The collections have never, so far, been seen as independent pieces of literature and as attempts to transmit history. On the one hand the anonymity under which such collections have been handed down to us and, on the other hand, the fact that scholars long considered them lack originality have obscured their significance as texts in their own right. It is this dismissive view of excerpt collections that this book aims at

64 Some scholars are disposed to emphasise the influence of *florilegia* on the production of excerpt collections: P. Magdalino considers what P. Odorico names *culture of sylloge* as a literary phenomenon rooted in the florilegic tradition and translates the concept as the *florilegic habit*; cf. Magdalino (2011), 143–156. About the significant role of doctrinal controversies in compiling florilegia, see Richard (1951), 721–748. For the *florilegia* concerning church councils, see Alexakis (1996), 6–42 and 116–132.

65 On Aelian, see Hercher (ed.) (1864–1866). On the cultural and literary function of Aelian's work, see Kindstrand (1998), 2962–2996. On Clement, see Méhat (1966). On Julius Africanus' *Cesti*, see Wallraff, Scardino, Mecella, and Guignard (edd.) (2012). On Aulus Gellius, see M. Hertz (ed.) (1853).

66 For an excellent review of the ancient anthologies and their impact on the *florilegia* of the early Byzantine period, see Chadwick (2006), 1–10.

tackling. In what follows, I put forward the types of works in which the *culture of sylloge* is to be found: *Florilegia*, *Gnomologia*, *Catenae*, *Quaestiones et responsiones*, *Menologia* (1.2.1), chronicles (1.2.2), and condensed ‘libraries’ (1.2.3).

1.2.1 *Florilegia*, *Gnomologia*, *Catenae*, *Quaestiones et responsiones*

The fifth century witnessed the emergence of a new way of classifying and organising biblical interpretations, the so-called *catena*, that is a collection of comments on the Bible taken from early Christian writers. *Catenae* reflected the Byzantine interest in puzzling and understanding the deeper meanings of the Biblical texts. Yet, throughout the middle and late Byzantine periods, they were employed in debates on theological and canonical matters. In fact, in the sixth and seventh centuries, we see a large part of the literary activity focused on authenticity when seeking the *true gnosis* according to Orthodox teaching. The polemical literature of that period, including *catenae*, homilies, and collections of Patristic citations, was created in response to the historical circumstances and formed as efforts towards systematising *knowledge*.⁶⁷ In this framework, *gnomologia* such as the *Apophthegmata Patrum*,⁶⁸ John Stobaeus’ *Anthologium*,⁶⁹ Ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite’s works,⁷⁰ the *catenae* by Procopius of Gaza,⁷¹ Victor of Antioch,⁷² and Titus of Bostra,⁷³ Antiochus’ *Pandecta scripturae sacra*⁷⁴ and Ps.-John of

67 The topic has been elucidated by A. Cameron; cf. Cameron (1991), 298–299; Cameron (1996), 250–276. On the dogmatical controversies of the period, see Hovorun (2008), esp. 14–15, 59, 71, and 88–89. In particular, the religious rivalries and dogmatical disputes of the seventh century were depicted in the arguments of the Councils of 681 and 690 ad, the canons of the Councils of 691–692 (which are not florilegia but illustrate theological controversies of the age (cf. Nedungatt and Featherstone (1995), 45–185), the letters concerning the *Monothelite* controversy, the homilies written by three seventh-century Palestinian intellectuals, namely by John Moschus, Sophronius of Jerusalem, and Maximus the Confessor, Sophronius’ Christmas Sermon of 634 and his Greek anacreontics, and the writings of John of Damascus (see n. 75). On the three Palestinian intellectuals and their role in the contemporary theological disputes, see Booth (2013). On Sophronius’ sermons and anacreontics, see Usener (ed.) (1886), 500–516; Gigante (ed.) (1957).

68 The *Apophthegmata Patrum*, a collection of *sayings* of the Desert Fathers, was arranged alphabetically but also according to 21 themes; see Guy (1962), 119.

69 The title, *Ἰωάννου Στοβαίου ἐκλογῶν, ἀποφθεγμάτων, ὑποθηκῶν, βιβλία τέσσαρα ἐν τεύχεσι δυοί*, is indicative of the method used by Stobaeus; cf. *Bibliotheca*, cod. 167. On Stobaeus, see also Meineke (ed.) (1855–1857); Wachsmuth (1882), 55–79; Hense (1916), 2549–2586; Luria (1929), 81–104 and 225–248; Hose (2005), 93–99. On *gnomologia* in general, see Odorico (2004), 61–96; Morgan (2013) 108–128.

70 Heil and Ritter (edd.) (2012).

71 On the *catenae* by Procopius of Gaza, see Wilson (1967), 252–256. On *catenae* in general, see Dorival (1986); Auwers and Guérard (2011). A parallel development in Latin tradition in the fifth and sixth centuries can be seen in the collection of passages taken from Augustine; Houghton (2016), 59.

72 This is considered to be the oldest *catena* on Mark; Lamb (2012).

73 This *catena* is made up of passages most likely taken from Titus of Bostra’s commentary on the Gospel according to Luke; Sickenberger (1901).

74 In the sixth century, Eustathius, the abbot of the monastery of Attaline, after the Persian attack on

Damascus' *Sacra parallela*⁷⁵ as well as the *question-and-answer* collections of Ps.-Caesarius⁷⁶ and Maximus the Confessor⁷⁷ make up fine examples of the *gnosis* as it was understood during these centuries. All of them created collections from selected passages of Patristic texts, sayings from the Gospels and the New Testament and texts from Biblical or Jewish Wisdom literature, classified by subject matter or arranged in alphabetical order. These collections continued to be adapted and used in subsequent years as rhetorical tools.⁷⁸

This sort of activity continued during the eighth and ninth centuries. The eighth-century *Doctrina Patrum* represents citations from 93 ecclesiastical writers organised under thematic headings.⁷⁹ The *Quaestiones et responsiones* by Anastasius of Sinai is made up of a series of citations extracted from their original context and reorganised in chapters in a new text, the so-called *Soterios*.⁸⁰ The outbreak of iconoclasm at about 726 and the need to defend icons, support the Orthodox dogma, and refute iconoclasm reinforced the search for works of the *Fathers* and the creation of collections of citations. The efforts were initially made under the auspices of the iconophile Patriarch Tarasius which set the basis for a trend that was to dominate the next centuries, namely, that of collecting related texts and creating collections of excerpts. The following Councils of 754, 787, and 815 and the second phase of iconoclasm, which broke out in 815 and lasted until 842, intensified the production of *florilegia*.⁸¹ To give but one example, the *florilegium* of the Iconoclast Council of 815 was compiled by employing a method similar to that of *gnomologia* and collections of theological questions of the fifth, sixth, and seven centuries presented above.⁸² The function of such *florilegia* coincided with

Ancyra which compelled the monks of the monastery to flee, asked his friend Antiochus to compile a patristic anthology, the so-called the *Pandecta scripturae sacrae*; cf. PG 89, coll. 1421. The anthology was later used by John of Damascus, who organised its material in alphabetical order in his work called *Sacra parallela*. This title was introduced by M. Lequien in his edition of the text in 1712; Lequien (ed.) (1712). The text in PG 95, coll. 1040–1588 and PG 96, coll. 9–441 is that edited by Lequien. The collection was used widely in the tenth century. On the *Sacra parallela*, see Ehrhard (1901), 394–415; Richard (1962), esp. 476–480; Odorico (1990), 9–12.

75 On the iconophile treatises of John of Damascus, see Kotter (ed.) (1975); Louth (2002). On Ps.-John of Damascus' *Sacra parallela*, see Ehrhard (1901), 394–415; Odorico (1990), 9–12. The *De fide orthodoxa* by John of Damascus makes up a repository of Orthodox knowledge; cf. Magdalino, (2013a), 219–231.

76 Riedinger (1969); Riedinger, (ed.) (1989); for this work as a sample of the *culture of sylloge*, see Papadogiannakis (2011), 29–41. On this type of literature in general, see Rey (2004), 165–180.

77 On Maximus the Confessor, see Louth (1996); Booth (2013).

78 Hock and O'Neil (2002).

79 F. Diekamp ascribes the work to the period between the years 685 and 726; cf. Diekamp and Chrysos (1981), lxxix–lxxx and xlv–lxvi.

80 See the critical edition of the 103 *Quaestiones et responsiones* ascribed to Anastasius of Sinai by Richard and Munitiz (edd.) (2006). On the so-called *Soterios*, see De Groote (2015), 63–78.

81 On *florilegia* used in Church Councils, see above n. 64. On the period, see Mango (1977), 105–177. The *Amphilochia* by Photius, a collection of questions and answers based to a large extent on patristic texts, can be seen in the context of the aftermath of the iconoclastic debate after the restoration of the icons in 843; cf. Laourdas and Westerink (1986–1998).

82 Alexander (1953), 35–66.

that of collections of *questions-and-answers*; namely, to accumulate and preserve various aspects of the *true dogma* as well as vindicate and authenticate doctrines and council decisions. In addition, the approach to older texts is the same, albeit the structure in which citations are represented was different.

In the tenth century, a number of works that were similarly religious in scope, share compositional methodologies and have much in common with earlier collections in terms of content:⁸³ the *Vita sancti Andreae Sali*,⁸⁴ the *Synaxarion Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*,⁸⁵ Theodorus Daphnophates'⁸⁶ and Symeon Metaphrastes' collections of speeches.⁸⁷ All of them are composed on the basis of selections. What differentiates one from another is their format and their function. Daphnophates' and Symeon Metaphrastes' speeches are formed by a series of interconnected citations extracted from John Chrysostom and Basil of Caesarea, respectively.⁸⁸ The collections aimed, primarily, at preserving and defending the *true gnosis*. The eleventh-century Theophylact, archbishop of Ohrid, and Nicetas, bishop of Heraclea, as well as a twelfth-century monk in Constantinople, Euthymius Zigabenus, composed *catenae* on the New Testament, the text of which became quite popular as shown by the large number of the extant copied manuscripts.⁸⁹ It goes without saying that the addition, omission, or alteration of patristic comments are one of the particularly interesting features of Greek New Testament *catenae*. In fact, very little is known about how different *catenae* on the various books of the New Testament are related to each other and what distinctive contribution was made by each compiler. Given the vast number of textual witnesses to *catenae* on the New Testament, it is difficult at this stage of research to arrive at tenable conclusions regarding the issue of whether later *catenists* tended to abbreviate earlier *catenae*.⁹⁰ The latter has recently been supported by W. Lamb with regard to the *Catena* on Mark.⁹¹ The study of the structure of the earliest *catena* on Luke, that is, the text transmitted in the eight-century Codex Zacynthius,

83 Upon the prominent role of Christianity in the Byzantine society around those years, see Dragon (2003); Magdalino and Nelson (2010), 1–38.

84 Rydén (1995).

85 The author of the *Synaxarion* was the deacon and bibliothecarius Evaristus; Sauget (1969), 32. On the relation with the imperial court, see Flusin (2001), 41–47. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus was the first to associate the *Synaxarion* with the court of Constantine Porphyrogenitus; Ševčenko (1992), 188. On the other hand, H. Delehaye attributes the patronage of the *Synaxarion* to Leo VI; Delehaye, (ed.) (1902), LVI. On the *Synaxarion*, see also Rapp (1995), 31–44; Mango (1999), 79–87.

86 *PG* 63, coll. 56; cf. Odorico (2011a), 100.

87 *PG* 32, coll. 1115–1382; *PG* 34, coll. 821–968.

88 Odorico (2011a), 99–100. On John Chrysostom, see Odorico (2003), 290–291. On the citations taken from Basil of Caesarea, see Rudberg (1964), 100–119 and Kindstrand (1985), 91–111.

89 Theophylact's *catenae* are printed in *PG* 123–126. On Nicetas, see Sickenberger (1902). Zigabenus' *catena* is printed in *PG* 129 and in Kalogeras (1887).

90 A new catalogue of Greek New Testament *catenae* manuscripts is currently being compiled by Dr. George Parpulov within the framework of the CATENA project at the University of Birmingham, UK. At present, an initial spreadsheet of the catalogue has been released by Parpulov at <http://epapers.bham.ac.uk/3086>.

91 Lamb (2012), 64.

and the examination of certain passages in it, identify several features of compilation practice.⁹² As shown below, the rewriting of the text is involved in all formats through which gatherings of selected texts are given. The extent of adaptation of selected excerpts varied amongst *sylogae* even of the same sort of texts. The different degrees of changes in terms of language and style as well as the distinct extent of insertions or omissions were contingent on or determined by the educational level of the compiler, his aims, and his target audience. The texts which were gathered and put together in the *Synaxarion* have been subject to similar linguistic and stylistic alterations.⁹³ The entire assemblage is, however, formulated according to the compositional pattern which is perceptible in earlier *catenae*, *gnomologies*, or *questions-and-answers*: a series of selections taken from their original contexts and assembled in a single container, according to a particular ordering principle.

In the twelfth-century *Comnenian* era, Patristic extracts and passages from earlier *florilegia* were put together to form theological collections defending Orthodoxy from heretical teachings. The *Δογματική Πανοπλία* by Euthymius Zigabenus, the *Ἐπερὰ Ὀπλοθήκη* by Andronicus Kamaterus, and the Nicetas Choniates' *Δογματική Πανοπλία* concern contemporary theological debates and appear to have been compiled by learned men seeking political recognition by mirroring the Emperor as the saviour of the true dogma.⁹⁴ The same period witnessed the appearance of collections of gnomic statements intending to offer admonitions to members of the imperial family.⁹⁵ The assemblage of passages was determined by the compilers' political and literary aspirations.⁹⁶ There is nothing innovative about the working method applied in these texts. In all these works, passages have been extracted thematically and arranged in the form of a *florilegium*.

1.2.2 *Chronicles*

A number of chronicles are constructed likewise on the basis of the same technique: passages from different works were singled out and put together to produce a homogeneous text. Thus, certain chronicles were actually *sylogae* formulated and articulated in a form other than that of *florilegia*, *catenae*, and collections of theological questions. Recently, P. Odorico showed that the text found in the codex *Parisinus gr.* 1336, conventionally called the *Commentary on the Hexaemeron*, is a universal chronicle designed as a typical product of the *culture*

92 See the forthcoming Manafis (2020). On the Codex Zacynthius, see also Parker and Birdsall (2004).

93 See n. 85.

94 On Zigabenus' text (ca 1110), see Migne (1865); The initial part of Kamaterus' collection (ca 1174) has been edited in Bucossi (2014); On Choniates' collection (first quarter of the thirteenth century), see the partial edition of Van Dieten (1970). On the political function of these collections during the Comnenian period, see Agapitos, (2020).

95 On these texts, see Agapitos (2020), 13–14.

96 Agapitos (2020).

of *sylloge*: a series of citations taken from different works and put together to form a new text.⁹⁷ The method of the anonymous compiler of the chronicle is similar to that of George the Monk. During the second period of iconoclasm, George the Monk compiled his own history,⁹⁸ which is, to a considerable extent, a collection of excerpts mainly taken from patristic texts and put together to form a homogeneous text. The reworking of the excerpts before their insertion into the chronicle is not consistent throughout the whole. The chronicle was intended to provide knowledge for Orthodox readers.⁹⁹ This purpose outweighs the chronological goals of George the Monk's historical narrative. His extracting method is the same as the one applied by *florilegia*, *catenae*, question-and-answer works, and collections of speeches. Thus, in George's chronicle nothing was written by George himself.

Theophanes, at the beginning of the ninth century, pursues a similar method in compiling his own chronicle. In the *prooemium* to his work, Theophanes makes clear his methodological approach to his sources; his chronicle is actually a compilation of selected pieces and nothing is written by the compiler himself.

οὐδὲν ἂν φ' ἑαυτῶν συντάξαντες, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων ιστοριογράφων τε καὶ λογογράφων ἀναλεξάμενοι ἐν τοῖς ἰδίῳις τόποις τετάχαμεν ἐκάστου χρόνου τὰς πράξεις, ἀσυγχύτως κατατάττοντες.¹⁰⁰

I did not set down anything of my own composition, but have made a selection from the ancient historians and prose writers and have consigned to their proper places the events of every year.¹⁰¹

In addition, Symeon Logothetes' chronicle as well as the so-called chronicle of Ps.-Symeon appear to include antiquarian material in a similar manner.¹⁰² The title transmitted along with Symeon's chronicle is representative of the technique followed by the historian: a series of passages selected and extracted from different chronicles were arranged in a way to form a new chronicle.

97 The text is mistakenly attributed to Eustathius of Antioch; cf. Odorico (2014a). According to P. Odorico, the chronicle includes extracts from Eusebius' *Chronicon*, Basil of Caesarea's *Homiliae in hexaemeron*, Athanasius of Alexandria, the *Physiologus*, Achilles Tatius, Origen, and Flavius Josephus; cf. Odorico (2017).

98 As regards the dating of George the Monk's chronicle, see Afinogenov (1999), 437–447; Afinogenov (2004), 237–246.

99 See n. 9. See also Odorico (2010), 209–2016; Odorico (2011a), 100–101; Odorico (2014a), 380.

100 cf. Theophanes, *Chronographia* 4, 13–15.

101 Engl. trans. Mango, Scott, and Greatrex (2006), 1–2. P. Odorico interpreted also another passage of Theophanes' *prooemium* as belonging to the *culture of sylloge*: *τὴν τε βιβλίον ἣν συνέταξε καταλέλοιπε καὶ ἀφορμὰς παρέσχε τὰ ἐλλείποντα ἀναπληρῶσαι*; cf. Theophanes, *Chronographia* 4, 1–2; Odorico (2010), 209–216.

102 On Symeon Logothetes, see Markopoulos (1978); Kazhdan (2006), 167–168; Wahlgren (2006); Treadgold (2013), 211–212. See also n. 206 in Chapter 2.

χρονικὸν ἐφεξῆς συλλεγὲν ἐκ διαφόρων χρονικῶν τε καὶ ἱστορικῶν ἀρχόμενον ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ.¹⁰³

a chronicle made of selections from various chronicles and histories put in order beginning from Adam.

Theophanes and Ps.-Symeon's texts were extensively excerpted by George Cedrenus in the eleventh century.¹⁰⁴ Cedrenus, like Theophanes and Scylitzes, in the preface to his chronicle outlines the method in using his sources.

τὰ εἰκότα συνελέξαμεν, προσθέντες καὶ ὅσα ἀγράφως ἐκ παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐδιδάχθημεν. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Λεπτῆς Γενέσεως οὐκ ὀλίγα συλλέξαντες καὶ ἀπὸ ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἱστοριῶν καὶ ἀφ' ἐτέρων βιβλίων, καὶ ὕφ' ἐν ἐπιδρομάδῃ συνθέμενοι.¹⁰⁵

we collected the most reasonable (accounts), and we supplemented them with unwritten (accounts) that we were taught by the old men, we did not collect, however, less from the Lesser Genesis as well as from written ecclesiastical accounts and other books, and we put them together quite quickly.

It turns out that the steps he follows in composing his chronicle correspond to those recorded in the prooemium to the *EC*: Cedrenus assembled a series of diverse works (chronicles and theological writings), he read them carefully and made a selection of the passages he had interest in. Then, he put the selected pieces in chronological order and augmented them with oral sources. Throughout Cedrenus's work we encounter a considerable number of entries irrelevant to the general narrative having been inserted with the word *ὅτι*.¹⁰⁶ It is interesting that in contemporary compilations as well in the *EC* a century earlier and other works attributed to Constantine Porphyrogenitus or other excerpt collections of the same age, such as, the *Excerpta Anonymi* we detect a similar introductory *ὅτι* for entries. The preface also reveals the aim of the arrangement of the excerpts: to facilitate the accessibility to older texts and to refresh the memory of the reader.¹⁰⁷

103 cf. Symeon Logothetes, *Chronicon*, 5. On the original title of the work, see Wahlgren (ed.) (2006), esp. 95*–96* and 111*–114*.

104 Bekker (ed.) (1838–1839).

105 cf. Cedrenus, *Compendium historiarum*, 6. On Scylitzes' preface, see Flusin (2010), xii–xxxiii.

106 cf. Bekker (ed.) I, 12, 15–17, 20–23, 26–28, 321–323, 325–327, 330–333, 563–567; cf. Tartaglia (2007), 239–255; Magdalino (2011), 158–159.

107 τοῖς μεταγενεστέροις καταλελοίπαμεν τροφήν ἀπαλὴν καὶ ἀληθεσμένην, ἣν οἱ μὲν τὰς τῶν ῥηθέντων ἱστορικῶν βίβλους ἐπελθόντες ἔχουσιν ὑπομνήματα (οἶδε γὰρ ἡ ἀνάγνωσις ἀνάμνησιν ἐμποιεῖν, ἡ δ' ἀνάμνησις τρέφειν καὶ μεγαλύνειν τὴν μνήμην, ὥσπερ τοῦναντίον ἡ ἀμέλεια καὶ ῥαστώνη ἐπιφέρειν ἀμνηστίαν, ἣ τινὶ πάντως ἔπεται λήθη, ἀμαυροῦσα καὶ συγχέουσα τὴν μνήμην τῶν πεπραγμένων), οἱ δὲ μῆπω ἐντετυχηκότες ταῖς ἱστορίαις ὁδηγὸν ἔχουσιν τήνδε τὴν ἐπιτομήν; cf. Cedrenus, *Compendium historiarum*, 6.

Strikingly, the same practical functions are explicitly highlighted in Stobaeus' *Anthologium*, the *Doctrina Patrum*, and the *EC*.¹⁰⁸

The examples mentioned above reflect *syllogae* of excerpts presented in the form of a chronicle. Besides the different format of the receptacle, its excerpting and compiling method is the one already seen in the theological writings from the fifth century onwards. Undeniably, the function of a chronicle diverges from that of a *florilegium*, *gnomologium*, or *catena*. Nevertheless, the vocabulary that occurs in the *prooemia* to these chronicles is congruous with that encountered in the titles and prefaces to religious-in-scope works. The common use of terms in the titles and prefaces points to the same working method behind the composition of these works.

1.2.3 Condensed 'libraries'

There is a category of works in which it is impossible to identify all the sources used and, accordingly, the extent to which the sources were re-edited and adapted. Moreover, they are not *syllogae* of excerpts in the strict sense of the term: a series of citations or longer excerpts put together to form a new entity. P. Odorico considers these texts collectively as *bibliothèques miniatures*.¹⁰⁹ These works either represent a series of complete works reworked stylistically or linguistically or they consist of a sequence of summaries of earlier texts. The intervention on the part of the compiler is either more extended or difficult to evaluate. *Condensed libraries* cannot be deemed *encyclopaedias* either. Moreover, their practical and political functions run counter to the aim which *encyclopaedias* serve, namely, the circulation of knowledge. Yet the arrangement of the selected sources in *condensed libraries* differ from the way seen in *florilegia*, *catenae*, collections of theological questions, and certain chronicles. Despite their deviations, we should not prevent ourselves from categorising them within the umbrella term *compilation* literature. Symeon Metaphrastes' *Menologion*, for instance, consists of complete texts, which underwent much change in terms of style and language in the course of their transmission.¹¹⁰ The very last fact led P. Odorico to be sceptical as to whether Symeon's *Menologion* is to be viewed in the context of the *culture of sylloge*.¹¹¹ Yet though its author's working method is similar to that of the collections belonging to the *culture of sylloge*, the *Menologion* cannot be considered

108 Odorico (2014a), 375–376.

109 Odorico (2017).

110 Symeon was not without precedent. The first *menologia* can be traced back to the late eighth and early ninth century when Theodore the Studite compiled a collection of panegyrics on feasts of saints and the future Patriarch Methodius who had compiled a hagiographical collection; cf. Rapp (1995), 32–34. It is likely that Basil the Nothos stands behind the production of the *Menologion* by Symeon Metaphrastes; cf. Høgel (2002), esp. 70. Moreover, the *Menologion* by Symeon Metaphrastes provided the basis for subsequent collections of the lives of saints, the so-called *Menologia*. Concerning the process of redacting of these collections, see Høgel (2002), 88–110.

111 See P. Odorico's scepticism on the nature of these compilations in Odorico (2017).

as a proper *sylloge*, on the grounds that it comprises complete texts. As far as the practical function of the *Menologion* is concerned, it was intended to serve liturgical needs of everyday worship in monasteries and churches.

The kind of texts the *condensed libraries* preserve varies. In the early sixth century, during a period of religious and dogmatic turmoil, we know that the bishop of Gangra encouraged Theodorus Anagnosta to compile a compilation consisting of the three histories of Socrates (379–440), Sozomen (380–440), and Theodoret of Cyrrhus (393–466).¹¹² A conspicuous number of military and legal compilations were executed under the reigns of Basil I (r. 867–886) and Leo VI (r. 886–912). The cultural revival of late antiquity initiated by these two emperors is known as the *Macedonian Renaissance*.¹¹³ These compilations inspired the imperial compilation literature during the reign of Constantine Porphyrogenitus.¹¹⁴ The legal compilation known as *Procheiros Nomos* was accomplished during the reign of Basil I.¹¹⁵ The *Procheiros Nomos* consists of 40 titles and was largely dependent on the *Justinianic Code* as well as on the *Ekloge*, the selection of laws made under Leo III, the Isaurian.¹¹⁶ Leo VI's the *Tactika*,¹¹⁷ a treatise on the tactics of war, as well as his two legal compilations, the *Basilica*¹¹⁸ and the *Book of the Prefect*¹¹⁹ should be seen in the context of the *compilation* literature, as well. They are all compiled of passages taken from earlier works on military matters and imperial law, respectively.

Anthologies and lexica of the middle Byzantine period should be seen in the framework of the *condensed libraries*, as well. I have already referred to the *Palatine Anthologia* and the *anthologia* of Anacreontic poems preserved in *Palatinus gr. 23* (Heidelberg).¹²⁰ The *Palatine Anthologia* also includes a series of excerpts on oracles taken from Herodotus' historical work; the collection of oracles appears to have been produced employing a method identical to the one used in the *EC*.¹²¹ The *Anthologia Barberiana* is another collection of epigrams and

112 Taking into consideration that this was the age in which *florilegia* flourished, we perceive the essential role of *florilegia* in the establishment of the *culture of sylloge*. On the history by Theodorus Anagnosta, see Hansen (ed.) (1995).

113 Lemerle (1971); Treadgold (1984), 75–98; Wilson (1996), 79–147.

114 It has been supported that Basil I and Leo VI relied on the legal projects of Theodosius II (r. 408–450) and Justinian (r. 527–565) in terms of ideology, content, and method; Magdalino (1997), 175–176; Magdalino (2011); Németh (2018), 26–28, 171. For a different perspective, see Holmes (2010), 55–80 and Markopoulos (2006), 277–297. On the link between the legal activity of Leo VI and the historiographical projects of Constantine Porphyrogenitus in terms of the ideology of order, law, and dogma, see Pieler (1989), 79–86; Magdalino (1997), 169–182.

115 Zachariä von Lingenthal (ed.) (1837). On the *Procheiros*, see also Signes Codoñer and Santos (2007), esp. 182–270.

116 Burgmann (ed.) (1988); Schminck (1986), 17–54.

117 Dennis (ed.) (2010); *PG* 107, coll. 669–1116; Dain and Foucault (1967), 353–363; Haldon (2014).

118 Scheltema and Van Der Wal (edd.) (1955–1988). See also the preface to the *Eisagoge* in Signes Codoñer and Santos (edd.) 2007.

119 Koder (ed.) (1991).

120 See n. 55 and n. 56.

121 Németh (2018), 202–204.

Anacreontic poems compiled shortly after 919.¹²² *Palatinus* gr. 398 (Heidelberg) from the ninth century and *Ambrosianus* B 4 sup. dated to the tenth century transmit collections of letters by historical figures.¹²³ A significant number of anthologies of historiographical speeches appeared in Byzantium. It would suffice here to refer to the anthology of speeches by John Stobaeus made in the fifth century and to a tenth-century collection on military speeches included in *Ambrosianus* B 119 sup., ff. 141r–161r, a personal manuscript of Basil the Nothos.¹²⁴ As far as *lexica* are concerned, the *Haimodein Lexicon* is basically a collection of entries on rare words.¹²⁵ Passages of the entries were extracted from late antique historians (Procopius, Agathias, Menander, and Theophylact Simocatta).¹²⁶ The method of the *culture of sylloge* is evident. The compiler of the lexicon retained the basic structure of the selected pieces. The originality of the new entity lies in the sequencing of the passages assumed in the *Haimodein Lexicon*. The so-called *Suda* is a lexicographical treatise of the end of the tenth century.¹²⁷ The *Suda* consists of entries on rare words or terms, on geographical and ethnographical notices, as well as on names of important figures. The entries, arranged in alphabetical order, appear to have been extensively drawn from the *EC*, from late

122 The collection is transmitted in a single manuscript, *Vaticanus Barb. gr.* 310; Lauxtermann (2003a), 123–128.

123 On *Palatinus* gr. 398, see Musso (1976), 1–10; Marcotte (2007), esp. 168–169. On *Ambrosianus* B 4 sup., see Martini and Bassi (1906), 92–94; Laourdas (1951), 370–372.

124 See the recently published book on such anthologies compiled from antiquity to early modern times by Iglesias-Zoido and Pineda (2017). On Stobaeus' anthology, see Hense (ed.) (1894–1912); Hense (1916). On *Ambrosianus* B 119 sup., see Mazzucchi (1978); Eramo (2017); Németh (2018), 42–44, 206–209. On the possibility that the excerptor of *Ambrosianus* B 119 sup. relied on draft copies made in the course of the redaction of the *EC*, see Müller (1882), 26–27; Németh (2010), 175–177; Németh (2018), 207–209.

125 Dyck (ed.) (1995). Dyck dates the lexicon between Photius' *Lexicon* and 994; cf. Dyck (ed.) (1995), 862–864. A. Németh suggested that the *Haimodein Lexicon* made use of word lists compiled by the excerptors of the Constantinian collections during the preparation of draft copies of the *EC*; cf. Németh (2010), 33–35.

126 Procopius of Caesarea was the author of four historical texts: the *De Bellis* consisted of eight books. Books I–II are concerned with the wars against the Persians. Books III–IV deal with the wars against the Vandals, and books V–VIII deal with the wars against the Goths. Book VIII updated the narrative until 553; the *Historia Arcana* written shortly after Theodora's death; the *De aedificiis*; and an ecclesiastical history traces of which are found in *De Bellis*, 8.25.13 and in *Historia Arcana*, 11.33. Agathias of Myrina's *Historiae* are dated to the second half of the sixth century. Agathias also wrote series of epigrams, the so-called *Cycle* and *Daphniaka*. An epigram identifies Agathias as *curator civitatis* in Smyrna (Cameron 1970, 2). Menander Protector served as a military officer at the court of the emperor Maurice who reigned from 582 to 602 ad. Menander wrote a historical account running from 558 to 582. Theophylact wrote about the wars under the reign of Maurice in eight books. His work survives in only one manuscript, *Vaticanus gr.* 977. On Procopius in general, see Rubin (1954); Cameron (1996b); Kaldellis (2004); Greatrex (2014). See also the bibliography provided in Section 2.5.2. On Agathias' life and works, see Cameron (1970); Kaldellis (1999); Kaldellis (2003); Schulte (2006); Treadgold (2007), 279–290. On Menander, see Treadgold (2007), 293–299. On Theophylact, see Treadgold (2007), 329–340.

127 Adler (ed.) (1928–1938). See also Lemerle (1971), 297–299; Theodoridis (1993), 184–195; Katsaros (2002); Németh (2010), 35–38.

antique historians, from the *Onomatologos* by Hesychius of Miletus, and from various philosophical and grammatical treatises.¹²⁸ According to A. Németh, the *Suda* was compiled concurrently with the execution of the final deluxe copies of the *EC*. Németh thinks that the compilers of the *Suda* had access to the final deluxe copies of the *EC* deposited in the imperial library. The *Suda* drew directly on the body text of the thematic volumes of the *EC* as well as on the marginal indices added during the redaction process of the *EC*.¹²⁹

Entries in the *Bibliotheca*¹³⁰ and the *Amphilochia*¹³¹ by Photius (810–891) summarise to a large extent the collected texts. This is why scholars are not disposed to treat Photius' works as wholes made up of collections of selections.¹³² Yet amongst these works, there are big differences. If we look at, say, the *Bibliotheca* of Photius and the *EC*, we find a very different literary format of a collection of passages: whereas Photius provides summaries of the ancient works he had read, the excerptors working on the *EC* under the auspices of Constantine Porphyrogenitus preserve the original wording of the texts. The intended audience and the literary structure adopted by the author were the key factors determining such a choice. As shown above, the method of summarising can be well implicated in the creation of collections of selections. Although Photius' works such as his *Lexicon*,¹³³ the *Bibliotheca* and the *Amphilochia* are not *sylogae* in the strict sense of the term, they reflect, to a large extent, the same approach to older texts: the method of collecting, selecting, extracting, and representing of textual pieces. In the *Bibliotheca*, the treatment of the original texts is not consistent throughout the entire work: the *Bibliotheca* consists of 280 *codices*, that is, entries of books that Photius had read and studied; some *codices* transmit excerpts of the books, while some others contain condensations or summaries of ancient and late antique authors.¹³⁴ In a similar manner, the reworking of the selected pieces is unsteady throughout the *Amphilochia*. Photius excerpted long passages from a variety of writers; excerpts from John Chrysostom, Polychronius, Germanus of Constantinople, John of Damascus, and Theodoret have passed with

128 On the textual relation between the *Suda* and the *EC*, see de Boor (1914–1919), Adler (1931), esp. 701–706; Schreiner (1987); Prandi (1999); Roberto (ed.) (2005b), lxxxix–ci. A. Németh conjectures the existence of lists of words made during the preparation of the *CE*, which lexica such as the *Suda* and the *Haimodein Lexicon* drew on; cf. Németh (2010), 36–38 and 217ff. On the source texts used by the *Suda*, see Zecchini (1999), 75–88; Adler (1928), xxi–xxii.

129 Németh (2018), esp. 240–249.

130 On the *Bibliotheca*, see in the edition by Henry and Schamp (edd.) (1959–1991). On the date of the *Bibliotheca*, see Markopoulos (1987); Kazhdan and Angelidi (2006). On the secular and Christian works read and summarised or excerpted by Photius, see Treadgold (1983), 37–51.

131 Westerink (1986–1998).

132 See Németh (2010), 23–26 and Németh (2018), 178–179.

133 Theodoridis (ed.) (2013). On Photius' literary efforts in general, see Hägg (1975); Treadgold (1983); Hussey (1986); Louth (2006), 206–223.

134 Unlike codices 1–233, the part including codices 234–280 contains more extracted passages than summaries. This led Treadgold to argue that the second part was a later addition to the work; Treadgold (1983), 37–51.

minor changes, whereas excerpts from Athanasius, Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus, Ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite, and Maximus the Confessor have been subject to greater changes. The fact that the selection of historians in the *Bibliotheca* coincides to a great extent with that in the *EC* has led scholars to assume a close relationship between the two projects.¹³⁵ It should be noted that Photius' aims of compiling his *Bibliotheca* coincide with those of Stobaeus and Constantine Porphyrogenitus when executing the *Anthologium* and the *EC*, respectively: Photius, like Stobaeus, aimed to help his brother get acquainted with a variety of works, and, like Constantine Porphyrogenitus, intended to accumulate a large number of texts and facilitate those willing to read through them.

Constantine Porphyrogenitus' *DT* and *DAI* are manuals on the internal and external policies of the Empire.¹³⁶ His *DC* is a compilation on imperial ceremonies, ordinations, and festivities.¹³⁷ They are all constructed on the basis of passages extracted from earlier works.¹³⁸ The mentality, that shaped their formation is the same as apparent in other products of the *culture of sylloge*: the accumulation of a selection of texts, their deconstruction, and representation in a new format. It is quite likely that these compositions were continuously updated, revised, and supplemented with new material until the 960s and under the supervision of Basil the Nothos.¹³⁹ As far as the function of these compilations is concerned, it is determined by the political ideology of the Macedonian dynasty.

135 Markopoulos (2006), 288–289; Treadgold (2013), 161 n.34.

136 On the possible textual relation between the *CE* and other works compiled on Constantine Porphyrogenitus' commission, see Ševčenko (1992a), 191; Pratsch (1994), esp. 60–71; Németh (2018), 121–144. The *DT* survives in *Vaticanus* gr. 1065, ff. 7v–21r (twelfth c.) and *Parisinus* gr. 854, ff. 105v–120r (thirteenth c.). The Greek title of the work is: *Φιλοπόνημα Κωνσταντίνου βασιλέως υἱοῦ Λέοντος περὶ τῶν θεμάτων τῶν ἀνηκόντων τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων* (The work of Emperor Constantine, the son of Leo on the provinces which belong to the empire of the Romans); Pertusi (ed.) (1952), 48–49; trans. Németh (2018), 125. The *DAI*, composed in 952, survives in a single codex, *Parisinus* gr. 2009. The manuscript bears the Greek title: *Ἐν Χριστῷ βασιλεῖ αἰωνίῳ βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον υἱὸν Ῥωμανὸν τὸν Θεοσεφεῖ καὶ Πορφυρογέννητον βασιλέα* (In Christ the eternal Emperor of the Romans to his son Romanus the Emperor crowned of God born in the Purple); Moravcsik and Jenkins (edd.) (1967), 44–45. On the *DAI*, see Howard-Johnston (2000), 231–236; Magdalino (2013b), 23–42; Németh (2018), 130–137. On *Parisinus* gr. 2009, see Moravcsik and Jenkins (edd.) (1967), 15–21; Mondrain (2002).

137 The *DC* consisted of two books and survives in a single manuscript, *Lipsiensis* Rep. I. 17 (end of the tenth century). On the codex, see Featherstone (2002), 457–479. On the manuscript tradition of the *DC*, see Featherstone (2004), 113–121. On Basil the Nothos, the bastard son of Romanus I Lecapenus, as the final redactor of the *DC*, see Featherstone (2011), 109–116; Featherstone (2013), 353–372.

138 See now the analysis made by Németh (2018), 122–141. Németh shows that their compiler's conceptual approach and his working method are identical to the *EC*. On the working method, see also Sode (2011), 161–176 and Pratsch (1994), 13–136. The *DAI* includes material taken from archival documents as well as excerpts from Theophanes' *Chronographia* and Stephanus Byzantius's *Ethnica* and the *DC* comprises excerpts from the archives and Peter the Patrician's history; cf. Treadgold (2013), 156. On the proposition that part of the *DAI* had been compiled under Leo VI, see Howard-Johnston (2000), 304–329.

139 Németh (2018), 36–46; Holmes (2010), 69–72.

It is noteworthy, that these compilations are all conveyors of Constantine's geographical outlook on the Empire and serve to propagate the emperor's political aims.¹⁴⁰

As we have seen, barriers in defining what is meant by compilation literature are removed when studying the phenomenon of excerpting, synthesising, and re-editing older material as part of Byzantine written culture, in particular, that of the *culture of sylloge*. Such a reading would presuppose for scholars to focus primarily on the compositional and organisational structure of collections and on their function within the Byzantine literary, social, and political framework, since the key feature of compilation literature is the variety of forms and literary genres within which it can be encountered.¹⁴¹ The works mentioned above expressed and at the same time determined a fashion in terms of literary production during the whole Byzantine period; the chief concern of a writer was to collect writings corresponding to a particular subject matter and to extract information perceived as essential to be preserved. Compilation literature gained a significant importance in the tenth century and especially during Constantine Porphyrogenitus' reign. In fact, what is discernible throughout Constantine Porphyrogenitus' literary efforts is his prominent desire to direct and authorise the historiographical writings as well as the compilation literature of his age. The theme has been treated by P. Magdalino, who compares the three historical writings undertaken under the emperor's auspices. P. Magdalino, however, maintains that these works have unique and distinctive features setting them apart from other compilations.¹⁴² Yet C. Holmes sees the military compilations produced under Constantine's reign as an effort on the part of the emperor to gain political legitimacy and enhance his political authority.¹⁴³ The aims of such an endeavour on the part of the emperor can be traced in the imperial ideology of the entire Macedonian dynasty, adopted by Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his predecessors to legitimise their rulership.¹⁴⁴ Basil I, the founder of the Macedonian dynasty was of Armenian descent and a peasant by his birth. He usurped the throne after murdering first Bardas, the emperor's Caesar and soon afterwards the emperor himself, Michael III. On the other hand, Constantine Porphyrogenitus considered the revival of knowledge, arts, and sciences as vital to the growth of Byzantium and also as part and parcel of his imperial duties to strengthen the administration of the state.¹⁴⁵ In the next chapter, I shall set out the steps according to which the original texts were employed by the compilers before they were embedded into the collections.

140 See especially Magdalino (2013b); Magdalino (2013c), and Section 2.5.2 of this book.

141 See also Holmes (2010), 55–80.

142 Magdalino (2013c), esp. 201–205.

143 Holmes (2010), 55–80.

144 For the political history of the age, see Treadgold (1997), esp. 453–455. On the ideology of the Macedonian dynasty, see also Markopoulos (1994), 159–166 and Markopoulos (2006), 286–292.

145 cf. *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. Bekker (1838), 445–446.

1.3 The working method of excerptors of historical texts

This section scrutinises the methodological principles underlying the compilation process of a *sylloge* of historical excerpts. In the following pages, I examine how an excerpt collection was redacted. In particular, I shall set out the steps according to which the original texts were employed by the compilers before they were embedded into the collections. In studying the working process followed in collections of historical excerpts I shall rely a) on the *prooemium* of the *EC* as well as the content of the collections that are studied in this book, and b) on external sources providing information on the creation of similar Byzantine literary works.

The *prooemium* of the *EC* reveals to a considerable extent the method and criteria used for this enterprise. The *prooemium* was appended to the beginning of the *EL* (codex *Scorialensis* B.I.4) and *EV* (codex *Turonensis* 980) but it preceded each book of the *EC*.¹⁴⁶ An iambic poem dedicated to Constantine Porphyrogenitus came immediately after the *prooemium* in the codex *Turonensis* 980 transmitting the *EV*.¹⁴⁷ The folio transmitting the *prooemium*, the table of contents, and the poem in *Turonensis* 980 is now lost. The proem and the *prooemium* are known to us through transcriptions from the seventeenth century.¹⁴⁸ The other excerpt collections scrutinised in this book are not accompanied by any such *prooemium*. Nevertheless, their compilers, occasionally, break the concatenation of excerpts by inserting in the collection material of their own. The new insertions are bridging passages introduced in order to enhance the narrative sequence of the excerpts. Upon careful examination, the augmented texts shed light on the excerpting method and selection criteria of the excerpt collections. In what follows, I examine the extent to which information furnished by the *prooemium* of the *EC* could help us get a better understanding of the structure and method of the four collections of excerpts examined in this book.

Secondly, external information derived from contemporary works shall help us to determine the various steps of the working process and to explore whether or not this working method corresponds to a pattern of compilation of excerpts before, during, or after the reign of the Macedonian dynasty. It is worth comparing the *prooemium* of the *EC* to the *encomium* on Symeon Metaphrastes written by Michael Psellos and referred to the working method of Symeon, probably concerning a theological work of Symeon commissioned by an emperor,

146 On the *prooemium*, see Lemerle (1971), 281–282; Flusin (2002), 538–549; Odorico (2017); Németh (2018), 60–71. For a French translation of the *prooemium*, see Lemerle (1965), 605; Odorico (2017). For an English translation of the *prooemium*, see Németh (2018), 61–62.

147 A. Németh provides an edition of the iambic poem dedicated to Constantine Porphyrogenitus in the codex *Turonensis* 980; cf. Németh (2018), 268–269.

148 Henri de Valois (1634), 2–7 edited them based heavily on the edition of *EL* by Hoeschel (1603) and the edition of Polybius by Casaubon (1634). The poem as it was found in *Turonensis* 980 was copied also by C. Salmasius in a manuscript (*Parisinus* gr. 2550, f. 120r) in 1631/32; cf. Büttner-Wobst (1905), 756–757. The *Scorialensis* B.I.4 (*EL*) had been deposited in the Escorial Library and it was destroyed in a fire in 1671. From this manuscript there is a significant number of copies made in the sixteenth century. On the codex, see below n. 109 in chapter 2.

presumably by Constantine Porphyrogenitus.¹⁴⁹ Finally, Photius' judgement on John Stobaeus' *Anthologium*¹⁵⁰ written some centuries earlier and the preface to John Damascenus' *Sacra parallela*¹⁵¹ provide significant information on the creation of excerpt collections. The external sources chosen represent compositions each of which relies on texts of different literary genres. This book advances the hypothesis that such texts were the product of a common approach to older texts in Byzantium. They are all rooted in a late antique approach as regards the transmission of knowledge to succeeding ages by embedding the classical texts into the new social, political, or theological context.

Three steps and procedures may be identified in the process of redacting a *sylloge* of historical excerpts: (1) The text in question was read through to the end before being chosen for the collection. Long or brief passages were selected from a certain text and then copied word by word. (2) The passage was then rephrased, amended, and shortened. These altered versions of the passages were then copied and assembled in a new codex. (3) A new narrative was composed.

1.3.1 Selection

Certain passages were selected and extracted from their original environment. The selected passages were drawn from their original context and copied word by word before being edited and adopted into the collection. The procedure also emerged from the *prooemium* of the *EC* and Psellos' *encomium* of Symeon Metaphrastes. Both texts yield significant information on the working method of the excerptors and reveal aspects of a seemingly common pattern of compilation of excerpts during the Macedonian dynasty. After presenting the motives and purposes of the collection, the *prooemium* goes on to discuss the working process:

ὁ τῆς πορφύρας ἀπόγονος Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ ὀρθοδόξος καὶ χριστιανικώτατος τῶν πώποτε βεβασιλευκότων, ὁ ξυμπέστερον πρὸς τὴν τῶν καλῶν κατανόησιν διακείμενος καὶ δραστήριον ἐσχηκὼς νοῦν ἔκρινε βέλτιστον εἶναι καὶ κοινοφελὲς τῷ τε βίῳ ὀνησιφόρον. πρότερον μὲν ζητητικῇ διεγέρσει βίβλους ἄλλοθεν ἄλλας ἐξ ἀπάσης ἐκασταχοῦ οἰκουμένης συλλέξασθαι παντοδαπῆς καὶ πολυειδοῦς ἐπιστήμης ἐγκύμονας, ἔπειτα τὸ τῆς πλατυεπείας μέγεθος καὶ ἀκοῶς ἀποκναῖον ἄλλως τε καὶ ὀχληρὸν καὶ φορτικὸν φαινόμενον τοῖς πολλοῖς δεῖν ᾧ ἤθη καταμερίσαι τοῦτο εἰς λεπτομέρειαν ἂν ἐπιφθόνως τε προθεῖναι κοινῇ τὴν ἐκ τούτων ἀναφυομένην ὠφέλειαν, ὥς ἐκ μὲν τῆς ἐκλογῆς προσεκτικωτέρως καὶ ἐνδελεχέστερον κατεντυγχάνειν τοὺς τροφίμους τῶν λόγων καὶ μονιμώτερον ἐντυποῦσθαι τούτοις τὴν τῶν λόγων εὐφράδειαν, μεγαλοφυῶς τε καὶ εὐεπηβόλως πρὸς ἐπὶ τούτοις καταμερίσαι εἰς ὑποθέσεις διαφόρους, τρεῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς πενήκοντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν οὖσας, ἐν

149 Kurtz and Drexel (ed.) (1936), 94–107; Fischer (ed.) (1994), 269–288.

150 *Bibliotheca*, cod. 167.

151 On the *Sacra Parallela*, see n. 75.

αἷς καὶ ὑφ' αἷς ἅπανα ἱστορικὴ μεγαλουργία συγκλείεται. κοῦκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν τῶν ἐγκειμένων, ὃ διαφεύξεται τὴν τοιαύτην τῶν ὑποθέσεων ἀπαρίθμησιν, οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἀφαιρουμένης τῆς τοῦ λόγου ἀκολουθίας τῇ διαιρέσει τῶν ἐννοιῶν, ἀλλὰ σύσσωμον σωζούσης, καὶ ἐκάστη ὑποθέσει προσαρμοζομένης τῆς τηλικαύτης οὐ συνόψεως, ἀληθέστερον δ' εἰπεῖν, οἰκειώσεως. (...) ἐμφαίνει δὲ τοῦτ' ὅτι προοίμιον, τίνας οἱ λόγοι πατέρας κέκτηνται, καὶ ὅθεν ἀποκυτίζονται, ὥς ἂν μὴ ᾧσιν αἱ κεφαλαιώδεις ὑποθέσεις ἀκατονόμαστοι καὶ μὴ γνήσιοι, ἀλλὰ νόθοι τε καὶ ψευδώνυμοι. εἰσὶ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων χρονικῶν.¹⁵²

So it is that Constantine, born in the purple, that most orthodox and most Christian of emperors up to the present time, fitted to the task by extremely keen discernment regarding what is good and possessing an enterprising intellect, judged that the best thing, the most conducive to the common good and useful for governing conduct is – in the first place – to collect by means of diligent research all manner of books from all over the known world, books teeming with every kind and variety of knowledge. Next, he thought it necessary to divide and distribute their great quantity and extent, which weigh heavily on the understanding and seem too many to be irksome and burdensome, into small sections. Hence, the profit of this fertile material could <he thought> be made available unstintingly to common use, so that, by the virtue of selection, they might find more carefully and persistently the nourishment of texts, while the beauty of the texts could be more permanently impressed upon them. In addition, <his intention was> to distribute [the material] in an ingenious and careful manner into principal topics, fifty-three in number, in and through which all the great achievements of history might be grouped together. Nothing contained in the texts will escape this distribution into topics; <since> by the division of the content this procedure omits nothing of the continuous narration, but rather preserves it in a corpus and establishes the correspondence with each topic, it is not a summary but, to speak more properly, an appropriation. (...) this proem states from which author each of the texts was conceived and whose labour brought them forth, so that principal topics may not be, as if were, anonymous and illegitimate, indeed like bastard children bearing a stranger's name.¹⁵³

Throughout the *prooemium* we detect the importance of the selection (*ἐκλογή*) described above as the basic procedure in the redaction. The selection was determined by the aims of the collection. Accordingly, compilation literature is to be found in a variety of disciplinary fields and there have been historiographical and military collections, *florilegia*, collections of patristic quotations, philosophical collections and the so-called *chreiai* and *gnomai* that were collections of anecdotes

152 *EL*, 1–2; Németh (2010), 184–186; Németh (2018), 267–268.

153 Németh (2018), 61–62. A French translation of the *prooemium* is provided in Lemerle (1971), 281–282.

(see Section 1.2). The identification of the different authorities assembled into a single text appear to be significant for the compilers.¹⁵⁴ The end of the *prooemium* to the *EC* is revealing:

ἐμφαίνει δὲ τοῦτὶ τὸ προοίμιον, τίνας οἱ λόγοι πατέρας κέκτηνται, καὶ ὅθεν ἀποκυΐσκονται, ὥς ἂν μὴ ᾧσιν αἱ κεφαλαιώδεις ὑποθέσεις ἀκατονόμαστοι καὶ μὴ γνήσιοι, ἀλλὰ νόθοι τε καὶ ψευδώνυμοι.¹⁵⁵

As we shall see, the *Excerpta Anonymi* indicate the source of the passages (see Section 2.2.2), the series of excerpts in the *Excerpta Salmasiana* is transmitted under the heading *ἀρχαιολογία Ἰωάννου Ἀντιοχέως ἔχουσα καὶ διασάφησιν τῶν μυθευομένων* (see Section 3.2), and the so-called *Epitome* transmits its material under headings indicating the author from which the passages were taken (see Section 4.2). The first part of the *Epitome* contains excerpts from the ten books of Eusebius' *HE*. At the beginning of each book the same sentence is repeated to describe the working method of the compiler, e.g., *Ἐκ τοῦ τρίτου λόγου*.¹⁵⁶

The selection of the texts that were appropriate for the purposes of a collection was also guided by the need to facilitate the reader interested in a specific topic (*τὴν ἐκτάδην πολυλογίαν δειμαινόντων καὶ κατορρωδούντων*). The term selection is repeated twice in the *prooemium* (*συλλέξασθαι, ἐκλογῆς*). The excerptors of the *EC* were first commissioned to select historical texts concerning the 53 subjects of the collection, before proceeding to create excerpts from them. Each excerptor was requested to split up the entire work of an author into short excerpts according to certain subject matters. The division of the original text required the careful selection of relevant passages. That procedure was followed by the distribution (*καταμερίσαι*) of each excerpted section into the diverse subjects (*εἰς ὑποθέσεις διαφόρους*). Each excerpt was copied in separate manuscripts divided thematically.

According to A. Németh, the excerptors of the *EC* have first created copies of the complete works of the historians to be excerpted.¹⁵⁷ It should be noted that the fragmented nature of the *EC* prevents us from drawing definite conclusions on the matter. I am leaning toward arguing in favour of P. Odorico's argument, which supports that it was only the selected passages on a certain topic that were copied verbatim.¹⁵⁸ We shall see that the structure itself of the selected pieces in the *syllogae* examined in the various chapters of this book verifies that the compiler read

154 It is noteworthy that the majority of *florilegia* and *catenae* identify the author of the excerpted passages too. To give but one example, see the *catena* on Luke transmitted in the so-called Codex Zacynthius dated to 700; Manafis (2020). See also the forthcoming edition of the *catena* text in Houghton, Manafis, and Myshrall (edd.), (2020). The same occurs in the earliest recension of the *Hippiatrica*; cf. McCabe (2007), esp. 262–269.

155 *EL*, 2; Németh (2018), 268.

156 See Appendix I: Text IV.

157 Németh (2010), 242–245; Németh (2018), esp. 59–70.

158 Odorico (2017), 23–42.

and employed selected texts, having first copied them word by word. The compiler would read the relevant passage through to the end annotating it thoroughly. This procedure permitted him to combine disparate details and go on to the next step later, which was to edit the original text. That allowed him also to rearrange the material when he thought that the meaning was not clear enough or when he wanted to give a new meaning to a certain text passage.

The other external source providing information on the working methods of Byzantine text composition is the *encomium* of Symeon Metaphrastes written by Michael Psellos. At the end of his *encomium*, Psellos discusses the composition of *Symeon's Menologion*:

Καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ ἡ παρασκευὴ ἐξ ἐτοίμου κύκλος τε οὐ βραχύς τῶν τε πρώτως ἐνσημαινομένων τὴν λέξιν καὶ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα τιθέντων· καὶ ἄλλος ἐπ' ἄλλω, ὁ μὲν τὰ πρῶτα ποιῶν, ὁ δὲ τὰ δεύτερα· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ τὰ συγγεγραμμένα ἐξακριβοῦμενοι, ἴν', ὃ τι τοὺς ὑπογραφέας λάθοι, πρὸς τὴν προκειμένην διορθώσωνται ἔννοιαν. οὐ γὰρ ἐνῆν αὐτῷ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν συγγραμάτων πολλάκις τὰ αὐτὰ ἀνακυκλεῖν τε καὶ ἐφορᾶν.¹⁵⁹

And he (Symeon Metaphrastes) had a preparation at hand and not too small group (of assistants); those who first selected the passage and those who, after this, wrote it (the passage) down. One man after the other, one doing the first task, the other the second one; and in addition to these people, (there were) others that revised the passages written down, so as to make corrections of mistakes that had escaped the notice of the amanuenses, according to their intended meaning.¹⁶⁰

In Psellos' *encomium*, selection (*ἐνσημαινομένων τὴν λέξιν*) represents again the second step in the redaction. Psellos refers to a group of redactors who worked together under supervision.¹⁶¹ Some members of this group selected the passages to be extracted and some others, the copyists, wrote them down (*ταῦτα τιθέντων*). In the end, other members of the group verified or revised the work of the amanuenses (*τὰ συγγεγραμμένα ἐξακριβοῦμενοι*).

C. Høgel, in discussing the same passage in his book on Symeon Metaphrastes, translates the phrase *ἐνσημαινομένων τὴν λέξιν* as *taking the words in shorthand*.¹⁶²

159 *Michaelis Pselli*, 105, 19–26.

160 See also the English translation by Høgel (2002), 93. P. Odorico offers an Italian translation of the passage in Odorico (1990), 10. See also the French translation of the passage by Flusin and Paramelle (1984), 22–23.

161 The working process manifested through the *prooemium* of the *EC* and the nature itself of the enterprise (including works of at least twenty-six historiographers divided thematically) presupposed the collaboration of a great number of employees. Psellos, as it has already been noticed, in his *encomium* refers to Symeon Metaphrastes' enterprise, a tenth-century collection of saints' lives.

162 Høgel (2002), 93. P. Odorico interprets the *ἐνσημαινομένων τὴν λέξιν* as selection of phrases: *di coloro che segnalavano dapprima l'espressione*; cf. Odorico (1990), 10.

In his view, Psellos states at this point that the original text was taken down in shorthand before being copied into normal script. This preposition leads him to surmise that the original text was rephrased and reformulated orally before being dictated by Symeon or someone else to the copyists.¹⁶³ First, I would like to point out that the present participle *ἐνσημαινομένων* comes from the verb *ἐνσημαίνω*, which means report, signal, give sign of, intimate, or impress.¹⁶⁴ Therefore, the meaning of the term alludes to the activity of selection rather than to that of forming shorthand. C. Högel is likely to have ended up translating it differently because of the word *τὴν λέξιν* that follows the participle. The term *λέξις* means a single word or phrase and C. Högel translated that way. However, *λέξις* can also mean the text of an author¹⁶⁵ and the phrase *ἐνσημαινομένων τὴν λέξιν* in Psellos' text corresponds to the selection of the passages to be extracted. Nevertheless, Högel's assertion of the oral reformulation as the most important part in the working process of the *Menologion* is not baseless, especially when we turn our attention to the kind of differences detected between Symeon's version of saints' lives and their old ones.¹⁶⁶ Psellos, however, does not verify Högel's assumption at this point and I shall return to this in what follows when discussing the second step of the redaction.

1.3.2 Editing

During the second step of redaction, the text was employed, modified, or shortened for the purpose of copying. It should be noted that evidence in the extant copies of the *EC* suggest that the procedure relied on the annotations made during the previous step: editorial comments or symbols in the margins pointing to the classification of passages in the 53 collections of the *EC* have passed on to the final copies of the work. Quite often a shortened version of each of the selected passages was created and copied. The editing of the material was based on certain general criteria as well as on individual ones.

Concerning the issues of similarities in the sequencing and the transferal of details, we detect that collections of historical excerpts remain faithful to the original texts and at several points they copy the source texts word by word. Such an approach is in line with a statement found in the *prooemium* of the *EC*:

οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἀφαιρουμένης τῆς τοῦ λόγου ἀκολουθίας τῇ διαιρέσει τῶν ἐννοιῶν.¹⁶⁷

163 Högel (2002), 94–96.

164 See also the entry *ἐνσημαίνω* in the *Online Liddell-Scott-Jones Greek-English Lexicon*.

165 Asp.in EN122.27, Arr.Epict.3.21.7, Dam.Pr.165, 169; cf. The *Online Liddell-Scott-Jones Greek-English Lexicon*, <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/lsg/#eid=64422&context=lsj&action=from-search>.

166 Högel (2002).

167 *EL*, 2; Németh (2018), 268.

The prooemium of the *EC* enables us to identify the principles which a compiler adheres to when editing a certain text:

καταμερίσαι τοῦτο εἰς λεπτομέρειαν. (...) καταμερίσαι εἰς ὑποθέσεις διαφόρους, (...) κοῦκ ἔστιν οὐδέν τῶν ἐγκειμένων, ὃ διαφεύζεται τὴν τοιαύτην τῶν ὑποθέσεων ἀπαρίθμησιν, οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἀφαιρουμένης τῆς τοῦ λόγου ἀκολουθίας τῇ διαίρεισει τῶν ἐννοιῶν, ἀλλὰ σύσσωμον σωζούσης καὶ ἐκάστη ὑποθέσει προσαρμοζομένης τῆς τηλικαύτης οὐ συνόψεως, ἀληθέστερον δ' εἰπεῖν, οἰκειώσεως.¹⁶⁸

The text supplies us with a fuller picture about the requirements which compilers insisted on. The *prooemium* repeats the necessity of precision and narrative sequence (τῆς τοῦ λόγου ἀκολουθίας, σύσσωμον) and stresses the importance of the compositional and organisational structure of a collection as the term *καταμερίσαι* is frequently used throughout the *prooemium*.

In a passage from the *Excerpta Anonymi*, the compiler himself reveals significant information about his own criteria synthesising his material. The passage is entitled *Περὶ πυρόεντος κεραυνοῦ*, which had been excerpted from John Lydus' *De Ostentis*. The compiler of the *Excerpta Anonymi* intervenes three times adding personal comments: he inserts a personal statement at the beginning of the excerpt, a linking phrase in the middle of the excerpt, and a second personal statement at the end of it. All of the interventions were integrated into the original passage in order to justify the compiler's decision to insert a certain excerpt precisely at a specific point into the collection. The three statements are the following:

Προέφημεν εἰς τὸ σ' στοιχεῖον εἰπόντες περὶ σκηπτῶν καὶ ἐλλιπῶς αὐτὸ εἰρηκότες, νῦν τελεώτερον καὶ ἀκριβέστερον δεῖν φήθημεν ἐμφῆναι, καὶ μάλιστα περὶ πυρόεντος.¹⁶⁹ (...) Εἵπωμεν δὲ πάλιν καὶ περὶ τῶν φυλασσομένων ἀπὸ κεραυνῶν.¹⁷⁰ (...) Ὡς ἂν δὲ μὴ ἀτελὴς ᾖ ἡ περὶ κεραυνῶν διδασκαλία, δεῖ καὶ περὶ καιρῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τόπων διαλαβεῖν.¹⁷¹

We anticipated the eighteenth element by speaking of thunderbolts and as we have spoken of them inadequately, we considered it necessary for them (the thunderbolts) to be presented entirely and more precisely, and above all (to speak of) the fiery ones. (...) We spoke in turn of what avoids thunderbolts (...) So that the elucidation of thunderbolts will not be incomplete, the seasons and the places (concerning thunderbolts) need to be treated.

It is noticeable that the chapter begins with the author's statement that the previous chapter, entitled *Περὶ σκηπτῶν*, had opened a new section in the collection

168 *EL*, 2; Németh (2018), 267–268.

169 *Excerpta Anonymi*, 46, 25–27.

170 *Excerpta Anonymi*, 47, 11–12.

171 *Excerpta Anonymi*, 47, 25–26.

called the σ' *στοιχεῖον*, which means the letter Σ , that is, the eighteenth letter of the Greek alphabet. The statement makes clear that from the β' *στοιχεῖον* up to that point there had also been another fifteen *στοιχεῖα*. From this, it can be inferred that the compiler had first divided the collection thematically and then decided to synthesise and present the material by arranging it in alphabetical order; a methodological approach which corresponds to the one evident throughout the *prooemium* of the *EC*: the excerptors working under Constantine's supervision had to divide the selected material into themes (*καταμερίσαι εἰς ὑποθέσεις διαφόρους*) based on their content (*τῇ διαιρέσει τῶν ἐννοιῶν*). The compiler of the *Excerpta Anonymi* professes that in order to make things clearer, despite his narrative having reached the eighteenth section – which the letter σ' implies – he needed to include a chapter, even if this did not follow the intended alphabetical order. The compiler's statement, at this point, also contains a phrase which reveals his strive for accuracy: *τελεώτερον καὶ ἀκριβέστερον*. The wording alludes to the *EC* as well as to Symeon Metaphrastes' claims in the prefaces to the *Vita Sancti Symeonis Stylitae* and the *Vita Sancti Sampsonis Xenodochi*.¹⁷²

The function of the second statement exactly in the middle of the chapter *Περὶ πρρόεντος κεραυνοῦ*, is to enhance the narrative sequence. The choice of a lexical verb (*εἶπωμεν*) turns the compiler into an author and the first-person plural, instead of the first person singular one, gives a sense of immediacy to the text.

In the last paragraph of the same chapter, the compiler stresses, once again, the importance of clarifying what he is writing down (*Ὡς ἂν δὲ μὴ ἀτελής ᾖ ἡ περὶ κεραυνῶν διδασκαλία*). The word *διδασκαλία* ascertains his aim of creating a collection for practical as well as didactical purposes. It is worth noting that when the *prooemium* of the *EC* explains the motives of the project, it refers to practical and didactical aims:

ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκ τῆς τῶν τοσούτων ἐτῶν περιδρομῆς ἄπλετόν τι χρῆμα καὶ πραγμάτων ἐγίνετο καὶ λόγων ἐπλέκετο, ἐπ' ἁπειρόν τε καὶ ἀμήχανον ἡ τῆς ἱστορίας ἠὺρύνετο συμπλοκή, ἔδει δ' ἐπιρρεπέστερον πρὸς τὰ χεῖρω τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων προαίρεσιν μετατίθεσθαι χρόνοις ὕστερον καὶ ὀλιγώρως ἔχειν πρὸς τὰ καλὰ καὶ ῥαθυμότερον διακεῖσθαι πρὸς τὴν τῶν φθασάντων γενέσθαι κατάληψιν, κατόπιν γινομένης τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἐπιτεύξεως, ὥς ἐντεῦθεν ἀδηλία συσκιάζεσθαι τὴν τῆς ἱστορίας ἐφεύρεσιν, πῇ μὲν σπάνει βιβλίων ἐπωφελῶν, πῇ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἐκτάδην πολυλογίαν δειμαινόντων καὶ κατορρωδούντων (...) καὶ ἐνδεδεγέστερον κατεντυγχάνειν εἰς τοὺς τροφίμους τῶν λόγων καὶ μονιμώτερον ἐντυποῦσθαι τούτοις τὴν τῶν λόγων εὐφράδειαν.¹⁷³

172 οὐδεὶς οὐδέπω κατὰ μέρος τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν διεξῆλθεν, οὐδεὶς ἅπαντα καθῆκεν ἑαυτόν, οὐδὲ ἀκριβῶς ὅπως ἕκαστα εἶχεν ἀνέγραφε (PG 114, coll. 336). ἐγὼ δὲ βίον λέγω, κατὰ μέρος συνταταγμένον, καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου διαλαμβάνοντα πρὸς ἀκριβείαν, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῶν θαυμασιῶν μνήμην ἀρκούντως ποιοῦμενον (PG 115, coll. 280).

173 *EL*, 1–2. Németh (2018), 267–268.

According to the *prooemium*, people at that time were prone to making the wrong choices (πρὸς τὰ χεῖρω) because they were unable to learn the lessons of the past (τῆς ἱστορίας ἡϋρύνετο συμπλοκή). The reason inferred was the scarcity of useful books (σπάνει βιβλίων) and the complexity (τὴν ἐκτάδην πολυλογία) of the existing ones. Consequently, the creation of a collection of the most important historiographical works could alleviate the problem of the lack of books and would facilitate readers' access to them. The content of the collection could also provide the readers with historical exempla and help them to cope with similar cases in the future.¹⁷⁴ The last sentence of the aforementioned passage recalls Photius' comment on the didactical usefulness of Stobaeus' *Anthologium* in his *Bibliotheca*.¹⁷⁵

A similar attitude can be also detected in another chapter in the *Excerpta Anonymi* indicated only by the letter γ:

Καὶ εἶπον ἄν καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ καθ' ἐξῆς τοῦ χρόνου μέχρι σχεδὸν τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς. ἄλλ' ἵνα μὴ δόξω θηρώμενος δόξαν κενὴν ταῦτα γράφειν, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῶν πλείστων πᾶσι γινωσκομένων Κύρου μνησθήσομαι καὶ Ῥωμύλου σὺν τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ· τὰ γὰρ περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Πριάμου καὶ Οἰδίποδος τί καὶ γράφοιμι μηδενὸς τὰ κατ' αὐτούς ἀγνοοῦντος.¹⁷⁶

I could say even more of such things, one after another, up to our time, but in order not to be considered that I write about these things seeking vainglorious reputation, and because most of these things are known to all, I will mention Cyrus as well as Romulus and his brother. However, wherefore to write about Alexander, the son of Priam and about Oedipus, since everyone is acquainted with their stories.

The entire paragraph constitutes an addition by the compiler himself. He states that he could say even more about the subject matter he deals with (occult science and astrologers predicting the future) but he will not do so as he does not want to be deemed arrogant and all knowing (θηρώμενος δόξαν κενήν). Besides that, most of the incidents concerning predictions of death and occult science are well known (πᾶσι γινωσκομένων). Next, he informs his reader of his intention to narrate a

174 It has to be pointed out that in the *De administrando imperio*, Constantine VII addressing his son, emphasises a similar aim for this work: 'for it is worthwhile, my dearest son, that a 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'; cf. *DAI*, 46.166–169.

175 *Bibliotheca*, cod. 167: *Ἡ δὲ συναγωγή αὐτῷ ἔκ τε ποιητῶν καὶ ῥητόρων καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὰς πολιτείας λαμπρῶς βεβιωκότων ἐγένετο, ὧν (ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς φησι) τῶν μὲν τὰς ἐκλογὰς τῶν δὲ τὰ ἀποφθέγματα καὶ τινων ὑποθήκας συλλεξάμενος, ἐπὶ τῷ ῥυθμίσει καὶ βελτιῶσαι τῷ παιδί τὴν φύσιν ἀμαυρότερον ἔχουσιν πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀναγνωσμάτων μνήμην, στείλειεν;* (His collection is made of loans from poets, speakers and the famous politicians. He joined together, he says, in some cases a selection of pieces, in others some sentences and elsewhere some precepts of life to discipline and improve in his son, in communicating to him, a naturally slight gift for memorising readings); transl. Freese (1920), cod. 167. On the passage, see Odorico (1990), 15–16.

176 *Excerpta Anonymi*, 32, 28–33.

story related to Cyrus and a story concerning Romulus and Remus while leaving out excerpts on Alexander the son of Priam and on Oedipus. The reason he gives for his choice is that all people were acquainted with the last two (*μηδενὸς τὰ κατ' αὐτοῦς ἀγνοούντος*) but probably not with the stories of Cyrus and Romulus and Remus. Consequently, the passage highlights yet again the practical requirements in excerpting and the *Excerpta Anonymi* compiler here stresses the practical and didactic aims of his collection. What emerges here is the usefulness of a text in facilitating the accumulation of knowledge. Similar preoccupations are explicitly claimed in other works produced by processes of compilation.¹⁷⁷ In Byzantine compilations, what matters is the selection of relevant passages to be represented and in particular in the case of the *Excerpta Anonymi*, it is the arrangement of material in alphabetical order which facilitates the reader interested in geography and occult science.¹⁷⁸

As P. Lemerle first noticed, the *prooemium* of the *Geoponica*,¹⁷⁹ a twenty-volume collection of agricultural lore compiled during the tenth century on the commission of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, bears a resemblance to the *EC* when referring to the practical use of the collection:¹⁸⁰

(καὶ ὅπως, καὶ ἕτερα πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα, μεγέθει φύσεως καὶ βάθει φρενῶν εἰς ἓν συλλεξάμενος, κοινωφελὲς ἔργον τοῖς πᾶσι προτέθεικας).¹⁸¹

and similar to the way, as happens with many other and great things, the magnitude of the character and the depth of the mind are collected in one unity, a work of common utility has been put forward.

The term *ὠφέλεια* is also encountered in the preface to the *Tactika* of Leo VI written some decades earlier:

κοινὴν δὲ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις χαρίσασθαι τὴν ὠφέλειαν.

to graciously bestow a common benefit upon our subjects.¹⁸²

In the preface to *Sacra parallela*, a *sylloge* of patristic quotations, John of Damascus refers to the motives of his work:

177 The matter has repeatedly been treated by P. Odorico in several articles. Similar didactical claims are to be found in Oribasius' *Ἱατρικαὶ Συναγωγαί*, Stobaeus' *Anthologium*, John of Damascus' *Sacra Parallela*, and *Doctrina Patrum de Incarnatione*; cf. Odorico (1990); Odorico (2017). See also McCabe (2007), 62. The same holds true for a number of military manuals compiled through processes of compilation, such as the tenth-century *Parangelmata Poliorcetica*; Sullivan (2000).

178 On the function of Byzantine literature, see Cavallo and Odorico (2006). On the practical function of texts produced by processes of compilation, see Odorico (2017).

179 Beckh (ed.) (1895).

180 Lemerle (1971), 289.

181 *Geoponica*, 2.

182 Dennis (ed.) (2010), 6.

καὶ τὰ περὶ τούτων σποράδην κείμενα ἀποφθέγματα ἡνθολόγηται, καὶ ἰδίοις τίτλοις παρατέθενται.¹⁸³ (...) οὕτως καὶ ἡ κατασκευὴ ὅλου τοῦ συγγράμματος, σύμμικτος οὔσα ἀπὸ τῆς θείας Γραφῆς, καὶ τῶν ὁσίων καὶ θεοφόρων ἀνδρῶν, πολλὴν ἔχει, τοῖς μὲν βουλομένοις ἀναγινώσκειν ψυχαγωγίαν, τοῖς δὲ φιλοπονοῦσιν, εἰς τὸ διὰ μνήμης ἀναλαβεῖν εὐμάρειαν· πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν, ὠφέλειαν.¹⁸⁴

and the scattered sayings about them have been collected and supplied with their own titles (...) thus, the compilation of the whole book, consisted of passages from the Holy Scriptures and the works of saints as well as those inspired by God, on the one hand offers pleasure to those who desire to read, and, on the other, facilitation by learning through memory to those who love the study (of the Fathers).

The word *σποράδην* alludes to the scarcity of books described in the *prooemium* of the *EC*. According to John of Damascus, the *Sacra parallela* is a collection of texts which was meant to facilitate (*εὐμάρειαν*) the study of the Fathers of the Church (*τοῖς δὲ φιλοπονοῦσιν*) for those who desire to do so. He also adds two more purposes for his enterprise: pleasure (*ψυχαγωγίαν*) and teaching through memory (*διὰ μνήμης ἀναλαβεῖν*). The passage above also bears a striking resemblance to a remark made by Photius in the *Bibliotheca* about John Stobaeus' *Anthologium*. There Photius' judgement yields significant information as to the requirements John Stobaeus intended to meet by creating his *Anthologium*.¹⁸⁵

Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν κεφάλαια, οἷς τὰς τῶν παλαιότερων ῥήσεις ἤρμοσεν Ἰωάννης ὁ Στοβαῖος, καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἀνδρῶν φιλοσόφων τε καὶ ποιητῶν ῥητόρων τε καὶ βασιλέων καὶ στρατηγῶν, ταύτας συνήθροισε, τοσαῦτα καὶ ἐκ τοσούτων. Χρήσιμον δὲ τὸ βιβλίον τοῖς μὲν ἀνεγνωκόσιν αὐτὰ τὰ συντάγματα τῶν ἀνδρῶν πρὸς ἀνάμνησιν, τοῖς δ' οὐκ εἰληφόσι πείραν ἐκείνων, ὅτι διὰ συνεχοῦς αὐτῶν μελέτης οὐκ ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν καὶ ποικίλων νοημάτων, εἰ καὶ κεφαλαιώδη, μνήμην καρπώσονται. Κοινὸν δ' ἀμφοτέροις ἢ τῶν ζητουμένων, ὡς εἰκός, ἀταλαίπωρος καὶ σύντομος εὔρεσις, ἐπειδὴν τις ἀπὸ τῶν κεφαλαίων εἰς αὐτὰ τὰ πλάτη ἀναδραμεῖν ἐθελήσῃ. Καὶ πρὸς ἄλλα δὲ τοῖς ῥητορεύειν καὶ γράφειν σπουδάζουσιν οὐκ ἄχρηστον τὸ βιβλίον.¹⁸⁶

But such is thus the number of the chapters in which John Stobaeus classified the words of earlier authors and the number of writers, philosophers, poets, orators, kings, and generals from which he borrowed to make his collection. This book is of obvious utility to those who read the works of these

183 Lequien (ed.) 1712, 279; *PG* 95, coll. 1041.

184 Lequien (ed.) 1712, 279; *PG* 95, coll. 1044.

185 Photius when giving a summary of the fourth-century collection of historical writings by Sopater, characterises the work as *ἐκλογαὶ διάφοροι ἐν βιβλίοις ιβ'* (= various extracts in twelve books); cf. *Bibliotheca*, cod. 161.

186 *Bibliotheca*, cod. 167.

writers; it will help their memory and will be useful to those who have not approached them yet because, thanks to a constant exercise, they will be able in a little time to acquire a summary knowledge of many beautiful and varied thoughts. Both categories will have the advantage, naturally, of being able to find without pain or waste of time what is sought if one wants to pass from these chapters to complete works. Moreover, for those who want to speak and write, this book is not without utility.¹⁸⁷

It is noteworthy that Photius in commenting on the usefulness of the anthology uses expressions like *πρὸς ἀνάμνησιν, μνήμην, ἀταλαίπωρος καὶ σύντομος εὑρεσις*, which are terms very close in meaning to those that occurred in the *Sacra parallela*. According to Photius, John Stobaeus' *Anthologium* is well worth consulting (*χρήσιμον δὲ τὸ βιβλίον*) because its structure allows the reader – as in the case of the *EC* and the *Sacra parallela* – to go through the content easily and quickly (*ἀταλαίπωρος καὶ σύντομος εὑρεσις*).

Intentions and desires to simplify complex material and make it more acceptable and pleasant are also found in the preface to the manual of siege craft *Parangelmata poliorcetica*.¹⁸⁸ The preface stresses the need for clarity (*σαφές, εὐληπτον, εὐγνώστα καὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν εὐκατάληπτα*) as well as the didactical and practical importance of the present manual. Accuracy in terminology, common diction (*ιδιωτεία λέξεων*) and simplicity (*ἀπλότητι λόγου, σαφέστερον*) can easily teach anyone (*τῶν τυχόντων*) how to carpenter and construct siege engines (*εὐκόλως καὶ τεκτονεῦσθαι καὶ κατασκευάζεσθαι*). Similar objectives are set in the introduction to the *Tactika* of Leo VI¹⁸⁹ and in the prefaces to the *DC*¹⁹⁰ and the *DAI* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus.¹⁹¹ It should be pointed out that excerpt collections such as the *EC*, the *Excerpta Anonymi*, the military treatises, the *Geoponica* and the *Hippiatrica*¹⁹² were all based on late antique texts. Their practical purposes could be disputed by the fact that their sources were very old

187 Transl. Freese (1920), cod. 167.

188 The work is preserved along with another compilation, namely the *Geodesia*, in the eleventh-century codex *Vaticanus gr.* 1605. Both works are derivatives of a tenth-century compilation on the subject matter of sieges. On the two manuals, see Sullivan (2000).

189 Dennis (ed.) (2010), 6.

190 ὥς ἂν δὲ σαφεῖ καὶ εὐδιάγνωστα εἶεν τὰ γεγραμμένα, καὶ καθωμιλημένη καὶ ἀπλουστέρα φράσει κεκρήμεθα καὶ λέξεσι ταῖς αὐταῖς καὶ ὀνόμασι τοῖς ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ πράγματι πάλα προσαρμοσθεῖσι καὶ λεγομένοις (so that the text will be clear and easily understood, we have used both ordinary and quite simple language and the same words and names applied and used for each thing from of old); cf. *DC*, proem., 5.

191 Εἰ δὲ σαφεῖ καὶ κατημαξευμένην λόγῳ καὶ οἷον εἰκῇ ρέοντι πεζῷ καὶ ἀπλοῖκῳ πρὸς τὴν τῶν προκειμένων ἐχρησάμεν δῆλῳσιν, μηδὲν θαυμάσης, υἱέ. Οὐ γὰρ ἐπίδειξιν καλλιγραφίας ἢ φράσεως ἡττικισμένης καὶ τὸ διηκνέον διογκούσης καὶ ὑψηλὸν ποιῆσαι ἐσπούδασα (And if in setting out my subject I have followed the plain and beaten track of speech and, so to say, idly running and simple prose, do not wonder at that, my son. For I have not been studious to make a display of fine writing or of an Atticizing style, swollen with the sublime and lofty; cf. *DAI*, 1.8–12; Moravcsik and Jenkins (edd.) (1967), 49.

192 A tenth-century veterinary collection. See n. 9 in the Introduction.

and out of date.¹⁹³ In addition, these collections relied on texts very often quite blurred and difficult in linguistic terms. In the preface to the *Geodesia*, the compiler claims that:

Καὶ χρή, το τε μήκος καὶ τὸ παλλίλλογεῖν ἀποφύγοντας, τὸ μὲν περὶ τὰς λέξεις ἀσαφές καὶ δύσφραστον τῶν πάλαι ἐπιστημόνων εὐκρινῆσαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἰδιωτικώτερον μεταβαλεῖν (...) εὐσύνοπτον τὴν πραγματείαν εὐεπιβόλοις ἀνδράσι ποιουμένους καὶ τοῖς τυχοῦσιν ἴσως σχολῇ ταύτην μεταχειριζομένοις, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ τοῖς ὅπως οὖν γεωμετρίαν ἐπεσκεμμένοις.

and it is necessary to avoid length and repetition, to render distinct what is unclear and difficult in the diction of knowledgeable men of former times, and to translate it into a more familiar style (...) making the treatise easy to survey for shrewd men and those who happen to take it by chance in hand as time permits, but especially for those who in any way have studied geometry.¹⁹⁴

Compilers, in some cases endeavour to update their classical and late antique material by adding explanations or simplifying vocabulary. One should wonder, however, whether compilations like the *Hippiatrica* and *Geoponica* could really practically be used by horse-doctors or agriculturists of the tenth century as both works lack innovations in horse medicine and agriculture, respectively, which had taken place after late antiquity. Nevertheless, collections, even if antiquarian in terms of content, were still considered useful mainly for teaching at schools.¹⁹⁵

1.3.3 *Composition*

In the foregoing, I have shown how the excerpts were employed, rephrased, and shortened following certain criteria. Accordingly, the compiler of an excerpt collection would aim at accuracy, brevity, retaining the narrative sequence, and fulfilling practical and didactical purposes. It is however apparent that such goals set restrictions for the compilers on rephrasing the text to any large extent. I am going to discuss this matter beginning from what is evidenced in the *prooemium* of the *EC*, which furnishes us with significant information:

193 There are cases in which compilers themselves doubt the contemporary relevance of the material they include in their collections. Nicephoros Ouranos in his *Tactica* and the author of the *De velitatione* are two prime examples of compilers expressing doubts on the practical usefulness of the knowledge they transmit; cf. Holmes, (2010), 61–62. P. Lemerle considers the *Geoponica* as a work which represents a late antique manual supplemented with a tenth-century preface; cf. Lemerle (1971), 289.

194 Sullivan (2000), 116–117.

195 On that, see in McCabe (2007), 299–301.

κούκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν τῶν ἐγκειμένων, ὃ διαφεύζεται τὴν τοιαύτην τῶν ὑποθέσεων ἀπαρίθμησην, οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἀφαιρουμένης τῆς τοῦ λόγου ἀκολουθίας τῇ διαιρέσει τῶν ἐννοιῶν, ἀλλὰ σύσσωμον σωζούσης καὶ ἐκάστη ὑποθέσει προσαρμοζομένης τῆς τηλικαύτης οὐ συνόψεως, ἀληθέστερον δ' εἰπεῖν, οἰκειώσεως.¹⁹⁶

The statement means that the excerptors do not summarise but retain the exact structural form of the original text. It also implies that Constantine Porphyrogenitus made a choice between two confirmed manners of making collections of passages; summarising (*σύνοψις*) or appropriating (*οἰκειώσις*).¹⁹⁷

Attention must be drawn to the term *οἰκειώσις*. A. Németh appears to interpret the term *οἰκειώσις* as the exact copy of the entire historical work that is to be excerpted at a later stage of the redacting procedure.¹⁹⁸ In that way, according to Németh, the fifty-three collections covered entire works *without losing text in the process of classification*.¹⁹⁹ P. Odorico, by contrast, assigns to the *ἐγκειμένων*, preceded the term in question, the meaning of selected pieces of text, arguing thus that it is only selected passages that were incorporated, without any textual intervention, into draft manuscripts before the official copies of the fifty-three subject categories are executed.²⁰⁰ P. Odorico's argument seems to be more tenable based on the content and format of the extant collections of the *EC* as well as other Byzantine collections. As I have already argued, the integration of the original extracted passages initially into the collection is made manifest in Psellos' comments as well as in the way Symeon composes his *Menologion* and the *Excerpta Anonymi*. Yet, the term *οἰκειώσις* represents a category of rewriting a text rather than a conflation of different texts into a single entity; the excerptors working under the auspices of Constantine Porphyrogenitus preserve the original structure of the extracted pieces. Accordingly, *σύνοψις* should be reserved for the summary process, another category of rewriting, too. Interestingly, the author of the *prooemium* as opposed to the term *σύνοψις* did not insert there the term *ἀντιγραφή*, which would make the difference clearer. Instead he inserts a word that derives from the verb *οἰκειόω-ῶ* that means *adapt, make something to fit, make something suitable for*. When discussing the theory and practice of producing a collection of thematically connected passages in tenth-century Byzantium, Németh introduces the term 'appropriation'. The term sometimes refers to the classification of the excerpted passages into fifty-three subject categories²⁰¹ and at other times to the textual adaptation of selected passages to fit the needs of contemporary readers.²⁰² The second meaning has been applied to the term *οἰκειώσις* in Németh's doctoral

196 *EL*, 2; Németh (2018), 268.

197 See Németh (2010); Németh (2017), 259–261.

198 Németh (2010), 186 and 228–234.

199 Németh (2018), esp. 59–60 and 68–70. (59, 60, 68–70).

200 Odorico (2017).

201 Németh (2018), 55, 68, 115.

202 Németh (2018), 66, 121.

dissertation.²⁰³ Németh argues that extracts from earlier historians have been copied verbatim into the collections. His assertion runs counter to the examples presented in his book, though: the extracted passages from Procopius discussed in his study show that the original text underwent textual modifications (omissions and additions) before its inclusion in the *EC*.²⁰⁴ The term *οἰκείωσις* does not strictly exclude any intervention in the text whatsoever, it ensures however the original narrative sequence.²⁰⁵ The term *οἰκείωσις*, on the one hand, allows the excerptors to *correct* the original material according to the specific circumstances and preoccupations under which these were originally composed and on the other to adapt them, through the process of editing, to the sociopolitical context of the tenth century. In the *EC* the term *οἰκείωσις* permits the distribution of the excerpts according to precise themes without any major modifications in the content and such an approach allows for the omission of passages but does not permit the summarising of what an excerptor may regard as irrelevant for each thematic section.²⁰⁶

Psellos aptly describes Symeon's approach to the original texts at another point in his *encomium*:

Τά τε γὰρ προοίμια τῶν λόγων αὐτῷ ἀπτόμενα εὐθὺς τοῦ ὑποκειμένου καὶ βραχύ τι προϊὼν τὸν τοῦ συγγράματος ἀναφαίνει σκοπὸν καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν ἐπ' ἐνίοις τῶν λόγων ὑπόθεσιν κεφαλαιωσάμενος εὐθὺς κατὰ μέρη τέμνει πρὸ τε τὰ πρόσωπα καὶ τοὺς καιροὺς μεθαρμόζεται. καὶ τὸ μὲν χρῶμα τοῦ λόγου τὸ αὐτὸ πᾶσι καὶ ἡ ποιότης μία τῆς φράσεως, ἡ δέ γε τοῦ ἥθους μεταβολὴ ποικίλη καί, ὥς ἂν εἴποι τις, τεχνικὴ, οὐ διὰ τὴν τέχνην τὰ πράγματα μεταβάλλουσα, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐκάστῳ τῶν παραπιπτόντων πραγμάτων τε καὶ προσώπων οἰκεῖον διερμηνεύουσα.²⁰⁷

He relates the beginning of the passages directly to the subject and, moving on slowly, discloses the aim of the composition, and by shortening the entire subject of some passages, he, concurrently, divides (the passages) into

203 Németh (2010), 259–261.

204 Németh (2018), 77–83.

205 The excerptors when wanting to mark the division of excerpts, add the conjunction *ὅτι* at the beginning of each text. They also add names and chronological data or short statements in order to rationalise the narrative; Roberto (2009), 79. C. de Boor accentuates an occasion where an excerptor had added three words at the beginning of an excerpted passage of Procopius', which intended to connect this passage with the previous one; cf. de Boor (1912), 388.

206 The excerptors in general do not abridge the original text. However, there are exceptions. For instance, excerpts from John of Antioch and John Malalas that have been epitomised; Roberto (2009), 81–82. For Malalas, see Thurn (ed.) 2000; Flusin (2002), 539–546. Al. Cameron has also noticed a case in which the excerptors of the *EC* have summarised an epigram transmitted in variants in Diodorus of Sicily' *Bibliotheca historica* and George the Monk's *Chronicon* by relying on the text as it is found in the *Palatine Anthology*; Cameron Al. (1993), 293–297. On the use of the *Palatine Anthology* by the excerptors of the *EC*, see Cameron Al. (1993), 294–295; Pratsch (1994), 84–87; Németh (2018), 201–204. On the use of Diodorus of Sicily in the *CE*, see Irigoin (1977), 241–242; Goukowsky (2006), x–xii; Cohen-Skalli (2012), lxxv.

207 Kurtz and Drexler (ed.) (1936), 103, 19–29; Fisher, 282, 276–283, 285.

sections and adapts them to the persons and to the circumstances. The colour of language remains the same throughout the passages, and the quality of style is one and the same. The diction, instead, changes in various ways – as one might say – skillfully, the events do not undergo any change through the method, but each feature is interpreted so as to be adaptable to each of the events and to each of the persons in question.

Psellos states that Symeon shortens the old text (*κεφαλαιωσάμενος*) by dividing the original material into small parts (*κατὰ μέρη τέμνει*) and by making changes in the text (*μεθαρμόζεται*) relevant to the character of each saint and related to the circumstances of the saints' time. Nevertheless, Symeon does not distort the original narrative sequence (*οὐ μεταβάλλουσα*). The term *οἰκεῖον* at the end of the passage recalls the *prooemium* of the *EC*. Psellos explains that Symeon's interventions and modifications in the text stem from the necessity to make the new composition fit the personal traits of each saint and the incidents related to him. We shall see in the following chapters that a similar approach to older texts is detectable throughout the so-called *Epitome*, the *Excerpta Anonymi*, the *Excerpta Salmasiana*, and the *Excerpta Planudea*: the authors of the collections intervene in the original text but they do not epitomise it. They relied methodologically on already determined principles by following the procedures described above.

The four *syllogae* of excerpts scrutinised in separate chapters in this book were products of a common approach to older texts and of traditional excerpting techniques. The four collections under discussion excerpt historical texts employing a method that is congruent with the one applied to the *EC*. This argument runs counter to A. Németh's proposition that the excerpting method of the *EC* was innovative compared to previous excerpting techniques.²⁰⁸ In my view, omissions or insertions of passages and rearrangement of sentences within a single excerpt reflect the same pattern of reworking earlier texts and disclose ideological tendencies and priorities. For the main feature of a *sylloge* is the accumulation of selected knowledge. The selection of material as well as the degree of omissions and additions are determined by the scope and the goal of each of them and by the extent to which they aim to exercise censorship.²⁰⁹

Accordingly, no distinction should be made between collections commissioned by emperors and *syllogae* compiled by scholars or literate men working independently and not under imperial patronage. The former are linked to the reorganisation of the imperial library, when all sorts of books were accumulated in Constantinople under the reign of Leo V (813–820) and their texts were transliterated into minuscule script.²¹⁰ The Byzantine cultural Renaissances of ninth

208 Németh (2010), 17–63; Németh (2018), esp. 54–60 and 77–87.

209 See also Odorico (2017). The same holds true for the various types of *catenae* on certain books of the New Testament.

210 Constantine Porphyrogenitus removed the library to the *Μεσόπατον*; cf. *Theophanes Continuatus*, 206, 80. Monks from monasteries in Constantinople and around the capital had begun copying manuscripts systematically shortly after the Empress Irene took power in 780 and the iconophile Tarasius was appointed Patriarch of Constantinople; cf. Treadgold (1984), 80–81.

and tenth centuries were in close connection with the increasing concentration of education and schooling and of the accumulation of books in one hand. The former emerged as part of the necessity of well-educated men to enter the imperial bureaucracy. The latter stems from the central interest in ancient and late antique literature at that period, which, in turn, derives from two chief reasons: the intensive desire to unite pagan and Christian culture and the efforts made by the first emperors of the Macedonian dynasty to legitimise its authority on the basis of affinities with the glorious classical past.²¹¹ The compilation efforts by scholars are mirrored through the activities of creating *florilegia*, *syllogae*, *anthologiae*, as well as anonymous manuscripts of text fragments selected to some extent according to a steady principle. Nevertheless, these scholars were writing under the *pressure* of the dominating imperial policy, even if they have not been commissioned directly to serve it. An author belonging to the contemporary bureaucratic or intellectual milieu is likely to have absorbed what the dominant ideology expressed at that time so that his work was a product of certain social, political, and religious circumstances.²¹² Formation of opinion and strengthening of identity may have been amongst the scopes of collections of historical excerpts.²¹³ On the other hand, such collections were likely to express the preoccupations of individual scholars, especially through periods of anxiety and apprehension.²¹⁴ From this perspective it is no coincidence that a common desire amongst well-educated Byzantine writers was to preserve material of the past, material that was perceived as part of a common inheritance.

211 On the classical influences in the literature of the tenth century, see Jenkins (1954), esp. 21. On the union of the pagan and Christian culture, which was marked by *St Basil's celebrated Advice to young Christians* on what use to make of the Classics, see Jenkins (1963), 40; cf. *PG* 31, coll. 564–589. The topic of the efforts made by the first emperors of the Macedonian dynasty to legitimise their authority has been treated by Markopoulos (1994), 159–170; Holmes (2010), 62–69; Magdalino (2013c), 187–209.

212 This seems to hold true for historical narratives throughout the Byzantine ages. Histories written in the ninth century, namely those of George the Monk and the *Ecclesiastical History* of Nicetas the Paphlagonian, had not been commissioned by any imperial authority, whereas other historical narratives, namely the *Regum libri quattuor* of Genesius, the first part of *Theophanes Continuatus*, and the *Vita Basilii* were composed under the auspices of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, an emperor whose intention was to direct the composition of historical works in order to impose his imperial authority. On Niketas' history, which is now lost, see Paschalides (2004), 161–173; Karpozilos (2002), 213–249. On the history of Genesius, see Lesmüller-Werner and Thurn (edd.) (1978); Kaldellis (1998); Karpozilos (2002), 315–330; Kazhdan and Angelidi (2006), 144–152; Markopoulos (1986), (2009); Treadgold (2013), 180–188. On knowledge and authority under Constantine Porphyrogenitus, see Holmes (2010), esp. 62–69; Magdalino (2013c), 187–209.

213 On the role of historiography in the context of identity formation, see Debié (2009), 93–114 and Wood (2010). Both scholars are concerned with Syriac texts, though. The matter merits further investigation.

214 The Empire passed many of such periods from the sixth century on. I only refer to the overthrow of the tyrant Phocas at the beginning of the seventh century, the Sassanian invasion under Chosroes II, the devastation of cities in the Near East, including Jerusalem, the siege of Constantinople by the Avars and the Persians in 626 AD. See in general Treadgold (1997).

2 *Excerpta Anonymi*

The *Excerpta Anonymi* are an anonymous *sylloge* of excerpts dated to the second half of the tenth century. The *sylloge* comprises excerpts from anonymous patriographic texts, a considerable number of passages taken from late antique historians, and passages on geometry. The excerpts are arranged in alphabetical order. Thematically, the excerpted passages deal with prophecies and oracular powers hidden in statues and dreams as well as with geography and ethnography.

In the following pages, I 1) date the unique codex of the *Excerpta Anonymi* to the mid-tenth century, 2) consider the contents, sources, and the structure of the *Excerpta Anonymi*, 3) reflect on the compositional method of the collection, 4) examine the relationship between the *Excerpta Anonymi* and the *CE*, and 5) put forward the historical and cultural context within the *Excerpta Anonymi* were compiled. Specifically, contrary to previous scholarly views that the selection of material in the *Excerpta Anonymi* either was made at random¹ or represents the genre of *lexica*,² I shall show that 1) the anonymous compiler of the *sylloge* made a conscious selection of passages, 2) the working method in the *Excerpta Anonymi* is identical to the one applied to the *EC* as well as to earlier collections of historical excerpts, and 3) that the selection of material was motivated by contemporary ideology. The dating to the mid-tenth century of the unique codex of the *Excerpta Anonymi* enables us to contextualise the collection and to identify its political dimension. I argue, in particular, that the selection of texts in the *Excerpta Anonymi* served the so-called restricted ecumenism that characterised the foreign policy of the Macedonian dynasty.

1 Cameron and Herrin (1984), 5.

2 Németh (2010), 33.

2.1 Dating of the *Parisinus suppl. gr. 607a*

The *Excerpta Anonymi* were published from the unique *codex Parisinus suppl. gr. 607a* by M. Treu in 1880.³ The *Parisinus suppl. gr. 607a* consists of 84 + 2 folia measuring 190 × 128 mm. Folia 85 and 86 were left blank. The text occupies an area of 125 × 66 mm and there are twenty lines of text per page. The ruling pattern is Leroy 20D1. The codex is made of ten-and-a-half quaternions and the folios are numbered 1 to 84 by a later hand.

Scholars have held different opinions regarding the date of *Parisinus suppl. gr. 607a*. P. Goukowsky and P. Odorico place the codex to the years around 950.⁴ A. Németh, by contrast, dates *Parisinus suppl. gr. 607a* to the late ninth or early tenth centuries.⁵ I have doubts about the validity of his proposition, since there seems to be no compelling argument for it. On the contrary, codicological and palaeographic features of the manuscript suggest a dating to the second half of the tenth century. Primarily, the shape of breathings, the manner of writing on ruled lines and the frequent use of uncial letters speak of a date in the second half of the tenth century.⁶ In addition, *Parisinus suppl. gr. 607a* shares a significant number of palaeographic characteristics with a group of manuscripts written in a minuscule script already well established in the second half of the tenth century, namely the *Vaticanus gr. 1613*,⁷ *Athonensis Dionysiou 70*,⁸ and *Vaticanus Urb. gr. 20*.⁹

The script of the original text can be characterised as *bouletée*¹⁰ with features of the later *pearlscript*.¹¹ In fact, the codex represents an early stage of the *pearlscript*. The letters stand vertical on the ruled lines and they are shaped with clarity and regularity. Although the handwriting approaches the *pearlscript*, some elements essential to the *canon*, as determined by Hunger, are still missing.¹² The roundness of the *omicron* (o) and *alpha* (α) is not unitary throughout *Parisinus suppl. gr. 607a*. When it occurs at the end of the line, the *alpha* (α) loses its roundness and it is executed in a narrow shape.

3 Treu (1880). On *Parisinus suppl. gr. 607a*, see also Omont (1888b), 283; Agati (1992), 299–300.

On the *Excerpta Anonymi*, see also Preger (1901), X; Preger (1907), XXI–XXIV; Cameron and Herrin (1984), 4–8; Goukowsky (1995), 63–70; Amerio (1999), 35–42; Odorico (2014b), 755–784.

4 Goukowsky (1995), 63; Odorico (2017). H. A. Omont dates the codex to the tenth century; Omont (1888b), 283.

5 Németh (2010), 33.

6 My special thanks go to Prof. Panagiotis Sotiroudis (Thessaloniki) for his palaeographical assistance. In his opinion, the codex was written at the end of the tenth century.

7 The codex dates to the reign of Basil II. It was written between the years 979 and 989; cf. Follieri (1969), 33–35 and fig. 20.

8 K. Lake and S. Lake (1934–1939), 154–155, fig. 28a.

9 The codex dates to the year 992; cf. Follieri (1969), 36–37 and fig. 22.

10 About *bouletée*, see Irigoin (1977), 191–199; Agati (1992).

11 *Pearlscript* was the writing style derived from the minuscule *bouletée*, the writing style of the first half and middle of the tenth century. The *Pearlscript* was succeeded by the *liturgical minuscule* emerging in the eleventh century. On *pearlscript*, see Hunger (1954), 22–32.

12 Hunger (1954).

Amongst the main features of the so-called *pearlscript* observed in *Parisinus suppl. gr.* 607a are the following: a) the uncial form of *v* in *Parisinus suppl. gr.* 607a is a standard feature of the late *pearlscript* of the very-late-tenth and the early-eleventh centuries; b) in *Parisinus suppl. gr.* 607a the ligature *epsilon-iota* is common, whereas in the earlier *bouletée* and the later *liturgical minuscule* the ligature is often replaced by the two letters written separately; c) the uncial form of the letters *beta* and *epsilon* in *Parisinus suppl. gr.* 607a is a feature of the *pearlscript* in general;¹³ d) there is also no open form of *omega* (ω). The letter ω as it occurs in the *Parisinus suppl. gr.* 607a is common in *pearlscript*; e) the presence of uncial nu (ν); f) the *iota* (ι) is the same size as the rest of the letters; g) there are more connections between the letters (in comparison, for instance, to the *liturgical minuscule* script of the eleventh century);¹⁴ g) there is no ligature *tau-omicron* with *omicron* formed in a loop from the right part of the horizontal stroke of the *tau* (this ligature is common in the minuscule script of the eleventh century).

As noted, *Parisinus suppl. gr.* 607a also exhibits palaeographic features that occurred in manuscripts written in *bouletée*. Accordingly, the letter *lambda* (λ) is not the same height as the rest of the letters and the letter η is identical to the ones in a number of manuscripts in *bouletée*. For instance, the *lambda* exceeds the average height in Athens, *Ethniki Bibliothiki* 2641¹⁵ dated in 913/914, *Baroccianus* 134¹⁶ dated in 947/948, and in *Auctarium* E.2.12,¹⁷ which dates to the year 953, the time when *bouletée* reaches its culmination. The letter η is identical in Jerusalem, *Timiou Stavrou* 55¹⁸ dated in 927 and in *Parisinus gr.* 139 (mid-tenth c.).¹⁹

Parisinus suppl. gr. 607a bears some characteristics of later script as well. Such features are the frequent use of uncials and the form of the letter *rho* (ρ). The *rho* (ρ) is not connected to the following *alpha* (α) or *omicron* ($\omicron$). The letter *rho* occurs in that form in a number of manuscripts in *bouletée*, as well as in *liturgical minuscule*.²⁰

13 In the liturgical minuscule the letters epsilon, zeta, theta, kappa, lambda, phi, and omega are also enlarged.

14 Liturgical minuscule is more static and almost upright, there are not many connections between letters, many letters are enlarged, and the strokes of the letters are reduced.

15 Irigoien (1977), 196.

16 Barbour (1981), 6, fig. 19.

17 Irigoien (1977), 197; Barbour (1981), 6 and fig. 21.

18 Irigoien (1977), 197.

19 Irigoien (1977), 194. In manuscripts in liturgical minuscule the strokes of the letter η are reduced; see, for instance, the Athens, *Ethniki Bibliothiki* 179; cf. Marava-Chatzinicolaou and Toufexi-Paschou (1978), pls. 143–150; *Ethniki Bibliothiki* 63; cf. Marava-Chatzinicolaou and Toufexi-Paschou (1978), pls. 155–158; *Ethniki Bibliothiki* 174; cf. Marava-Chatzinicolaou and Toufexi-Paschou (1978), pls. 183–186; *Ethniki Bibliothiki* 2645; cf. Marava-Chatzinicolaou and Toufexi-Paschou (1978), pls. 314–322.

20 For instance in the codex *Arch. S. Petri* B 58; cf. Canart (1966), pl. II; and in the codex *Dumbarton Oaks* MS 1, 3, 4; cf. Kavrus-Hoffmann (1966), 289–312.

The handwriting of the author of *Parisinus suppl. gr.* 607a is quite even and controlled, betraying a professional scribe. The medium is the usual dark brown Byzantine ink. Headings and initials are in uncials but in the same ink. It is impossible to identify a specific scriptorium but an external source helps us determine the origin of the manuscript, namely Constantinople. We know that the *Patria II* of the *Patria of Constantinople* possibly used the *Excerpta Anonymi* themselves and certainly a common source.²¹ This suggests that *Parisinus suppl. gr.* 607a originated in the same place as the *Patria*.²²

2.2 Content, structure and sources of the *Excerpta Anonymi*

2.2.1 Content

The content of *Parisinus suppl. gr.* 607a can thematically be divided as follows: 1) Patriographic passages. Ff. 1v–2r: *Περὶ Ἀγρονστείου*; ff. 2r–2v: *Περὶ ἀτραβατικῶν*; ff. 2v–10r: *Περὶ ἀγαλμάτων*; ff. 10v–29v: *Περὶ στηλῶν*. 2) Geographical/ethnographical passages. Ff. 1r–1v: *Περὶ Ἀδιαβηνῆς*; ff. 9v–10r: *Περὶ ἀνδρείας*; f. 10r: *Ἄλλο περὶ Γετῶν*; ff. 29v–37r, 40v–42r, 57r–58v, 67r–68r: extracts from Herodotus, Cassius Dio, Procopius, and John Lydus; ff. 62v–67r: *Περὶ Ἰστροῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ*; ff. 72v–74r: *Ἐκ τῶν περιγητικῶν τὰ χρειωδέστερα καὶ σαφηνέστερα τοῦ Διονυσίου*. 3) Omina/curious natural celestial phenomena/divination. Ff. 8v–9r, 31r–62v: extracts from *scholia* on Homer, Cassius Dio, Procopius, Appian, and John Lydus. 4) Astronomic/geometric passages. ff. 75v–83r: excerpts from Leon the Mechanic's *Πῶς δεῖ ἰστὰν σφαῖραν* and *Διαιρέσεις τῆς σφαῖρας*; ff. 83r–84v: Theon of Alexandria's *Scholia*.

As can be seen in Table 2.1, in spite of the fourfold content of the *Excerpta Anonymi*, the structure of the collection is alphabetical. As shall be shown in the following section, the alphabetical order often breaks, though. Brief connecting passages were inserted by the compiler to explain his decision to include passages that do not follow the alphabetical arrangement.

21 The *Patria of Constantinople* is a corpus of texts relating to the antiquities of Constantinople, dated to 995. That the *Excerpta Anonymi* were composed earlier than the *Patria of Constantinople* can also be supported by the fact that the *Suda*, the lexicon of the late-tenth century, also drew on the *Excerpta Anonymi*; cf. Preger (1901), X. On the *Patria II*, see Preger (1907), 151–209. For the manuscript tradition of the *Patria*, see Preger (1907), III–XXV; Berger (1988). See also Berger (2013).

22 It seems likely that the *Patria II* of the *Patria of Constantinople* were made in two stages drawing on the codex (codices) that the *Excerpta Anonymi* also drew on. The possibility that *Parisinus suppl. gr.* 607a was also in the possession of the compiler of the *Patria II* can by no means be excluded. On the complex manuscript transmission of the *Patria II* and their textual relationship with the *Excerpta Anonymi*, see Section 2.5.1.

Table 2.1 The contents of *Parisinus suppl. gr.* 607a

<i>Paris. suppl. gr. 607a</i>	<i>στοιχείον</i>	<i>Theme</i>	<i>Source</i>
ff. 1r–1v: Περὶ Ἀδιαβηνῆς	A	Geography/ superstition	CD 68, 27
ff. 1v–2r: Περὶ Αὐγουστείου	A	Statuary	John Lydus, <i>De Mensibus</i> 163, 3 W
ff. 2r–2v: Περὶ ἀτραβατικῶν	A	Roman ritual	John Lydus, <i>De Magistratibus</i> 21, 18 W
ff. 2v–8r: Περὶ ἀγαλμάτων	A	Statuary/ mythology/ hidden powers	Unidentified
ff. 7r–7v: Περὶ ἀγάλματος ἔχοντος ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ κέρατα	A	Statuary/ mythology	Appian, <i>Syriaca</i> , 11
ff. 8v–9r: Περὶ Αὐγούστου εὐτυχίας	A	Prophecy	Appian, <i>Bellum civile</i> , 2
ff. 9r–9v: Περὶ ἀγάλματος ἐν πέτρᾳ τῆς Ἀραβίας	A	Statuary	Appian
ff. 9v–10r: Περὶ ἀνδρείας	A	Ethnography/ mythology	Unidentified
ff. 10r: Ἄλλο περὶ Γετῶν	A	Ethnography	Unidentified
ff. 10v–29v: Περὶ στηλῶν	A	Statuary/hidden powers/ prophecy/ omina	<i>Parastaseis</i>
ff. 29v–31r: Περὶ Βρεττανίας	B	Geography/ ethnography	CD 76, 12 and 13, 3
ff. 31r–32r: Περὶ Βεσβίου ὄρους Προκόπιος	B	Geography/ superstition	Procopius, <i>De bellis</i> 6, 4, 22
ff. 32r–36r: Περὶ Βριττίας νήσου	B	Geography/ ethnography/ superstition	Procopius, <i>De bellis</i> 8, 20
ff. 36r–37r: Περὶ οἰωνοσκοπίας τῶν Οὐάρνων		Ethnography/ omina	Procopius, <i>De bellis</i> 8, 20, 11–20
ff. 37r–40r: Περὶ Κάλχαντος τοῦ παρ' Ὀμήρῳ		Omina	<i>Scholia in Iliadem</i> 2, 299–329
ff. 40r–40v: Περὶ σημείου καὶ τέρατος		Omina	<i>Scholia</i> on Homer
ff. 40v–41v: Περὶ χοίρων		Ethnography/ omina	Procopius, <i>De bellis</i> 5, 9, 1–6
ff. 41v–42r: Τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγου περὶ παρατηρήσεως εἰκόνος		Ethnography/ omina	Procopius, <i>De bellis</i> 5.9.22–27
ff. 42v: Περὶ Γαίου Ἰουλίου Καίσαρος		Omina/prophetic dream	CD 44, 18, 2–3
ff. 42v–44r: Περὶ τῆς γαμετῆς αὐτοῦ		Omina/prophetic dream	CD 44, 17, 1; 37, 52, 2; 45, 1, 3; 45, 1, 3–5; 45, 2, 1; 45, 2, 2

(Continued)

Table 2.1 Continued

<i>Paris. supp. gr. 607a</i>	<i>στοιχείον</i>	<i>Theme</i>	<i>Source</i>
ff. 44r–44v: Εἵπομεν δὲ καὶ ὡς ἡδυσμα τι ἕτερον τοῦ Δίωνος		Omina	CD 47, 48, 4–49, 2
ff. 44v: Περὶ Θρασύλλου διδασκάλου Τιβερείου τοῦ Αὐγούστου		Omina	CD 55, 11, 1–2
ff. 44v–45r: Ἄλλο β		Omina	CD 55, 11, 3
ff. 45r: Περὶ Τιβερείου		Omina	Unidentified
ff. 45r: Ἄλλο β		Omina	<i>Pet. Patr.</i> (ES 14)
ff. 45r–45v: Ἄλλο γ		Omina	Unidentified
ff. 45v–46r: Περὶ Νέρωνος		Omina	<i>Pet. Patr.</i> (ES 89)
ff. 46r–46v: untitled		Omina	CD 67, 16, 2–3
ff. 46v–47r: β'		Omina	CD 67, 16, 3
ff. 47r–47v: γ'		Omina	CD 67, 18, 1–2
ff. 47v–53r: Περὶ Κύρου		Omina/prophetic dream	Herodotus, <i>Historiae</i> 1,96–130
ff. 53r–55v: Περὶ Ῥώμου καὶ Ῥωμύλου		Mythology	Appian
ff. 55v–57r: Περὶ Ἀράβων μαντείας		Omina	Appian
ff. 57r–58v: Περὶ βρουμαλίων	B	Ethnography/ Roman ritual	John Lydus, <i>De Mensibus</i> 173, 18–174 W.
ff. 58v–61r: Περὶ βισέξτου	B	Roman ritual	John Lydus, <i>De Mensibus</i> 43, 17–49, 24 W.
ff. 61r–62r: Περὶ γενέσεως ἀνθρώπων καὶ ὅθεν τρίτα ἔνατα καὶ τεσσαρακοστὰ ἐπιτελοῦνται τοῖς τεθνεῶσιν	Γ	Superstition	John Lydus, <i>De Mensibus</i> 84, 21–86, 11 W.
ff. 62r–62v: Περὶ ποσότητος τῶν τεκτομένων		Superstition	John Lydus, <i>De Mensibus</i> 136, 23–137 W.
ff. 62v–67r: Περὶ Ἰστρου τοῦ ποταμοῦ		Geography	An earlier excerpt collection
ff. 67r–67v: Περὶ πιπέρεως		Geography/ ethnography	John Lydus, <i>De Mensibus</i> 77, 9–78, 4 W.
ff. 67v–68r: Περὶ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης		Geography/ astronomy	John Lydus, <i>De Mensibus</i> 53, 6–55, 4 W.
ff. 68r–69v: Περὶ σεισμῶν	Σ	Meteorological phenomena/ divination	John Lydus, <i>De Ostentis</i> 107, 7–110, 10 W.
ff. 69v–70v: Περὶ σκηπτῶν	Σ	Meteorological phenomena/ divination	John Lydus, <i>De Ostentis</i> 181 W.
ff. 70v–72v: Περὶ πυρόεντος κεραυνοῦ		Meteorological phenomena/ divination	John Lydus, <i>De Ostentis</i> 97–100, 4 W.

(Continued)

Table 2.1 Continued

<i>Paris. supp. gr. 607a</i>	<i>στοιχεῖον</i>	<i>Theme</i>	<i>Source</i>
fol. 72v–75r: Ἐκ τῶν περιηγητικῶν τὰ χρειωδέστερα καὶ σαφηνέστερα τοῦ Δονυσίου		Geography	<i>Dionisius periegetam</i> (GGM, II, 457b)
ff. 75v–82v: Περὶ τῶν οὐρανίων		Geometry/ astronomy	Leon the mechanic, <i>Πῶς δεῖ ἰστᾶν σφαῖραν</i> , 264–265 Buchle
ff. 82v: Πόσοι γενικοὶ ἄνεμοι		Meteorological phenomena/ mythology	Leon the mechanic, <i>Διαιρέσεις τῆς σφαῖρας</i> , 266 Buchle
ff. 83r: Πόσοι πόλοι		Geometry/ astronomy	Leon the mechanic, <i>Πῶς δεῖ ἰστᾶν σφαῖραν</i> , 264 Buchle
ff. 83v: Ἄνδρες		Etymology	<i>Scholia in Aratum</i> , 44, 5–7 Martin
ff. 83r: Τὶ διαφέρει ἀστήρ ἄστρου		Astronomy	<i>Arati Solensis phaenomena</i> , 18 Buchle
ff. 84r: Περὶ δίκτου		Magical herb	<i>Arati Solensis phaenomena</i> , 20 Buchle
ff. 84r: Ὅτι τριώνυμός ἐστιν ὁ Ἀρκτοφύλαξ		Astronomy	<i>Arati Solensis phaenomena</i> , 32 Buchle
ff. 84r–84v: Πρῶτοι δὲ βοῶν ἐπάσαντ' ἀροτήρων		Mythology/ superstition	<i>Arati Solensis phaenomena</i> , 39 Buchle
ff. 84v: Κεδαιομένους		Etymology	<i>Arati Solensis phaenomena</i> , 46 Buchle

2.2.2 The structure of the Excerpta Anonymi

As suggested by the title of the first and single edition, the *Excerpta Anonymi* should be seen in the context of the *culture of sylloge*. The selection of material according to certain themes, its alphabetical arrangement, and the homogeneity of the narrative structure throughout the *Excerpta Anonymi* indicate that their author intended to produce a coherent collection of excerpts. Let us look at how this plays out in the various parts of the *Excerpta Anonymi*.

The compiler's tendency to present his material in alphabetical order beginning with the letter (στοιχεῖον) *A* should be noted. This is apparent from the very beginning of the collection as it has been handed down to us. Accordingly, the compiler organises his material under individual headings. The first three chapters

are entitled as follows: *Περὶ Ἀδιαβηνῆς* (ff. 1r–1v), *Περὶ Ἀγγυστείου* (ff. 1v–2r), and *Περὶ ἀτραβατικῶν* (ff. 2r–2v). Then follows the first long section in the collection, which is entitled *Περὶ ἀγαλμάτων* (ff. 2v–29v). It incorporates a large part of the *Parastaseis*, which is marked by the indication *Περὶ στηλῶν*. It is noteworthy, however, that the words *ἄγαλμα* and *στήλη* have the same meaning so that the section *Περὶ ἀγαλμάτων* does not lose its thematic homogeneousness and thus, the author does not break the alphabetical order of the collection. The first part of the *Excerpta Anonymi* ends with the indication *τέλος τῶν στηλῶν* written in enlarged minuscule letters on f. 29v and followed by a line of five crosses the same size as the letters. In terms of content, the focus in the first part is on prophecies, omens, and hidden powers.

The next group of passages bears the heading *Ἀρχὴ τοῦ β' στοιχείου* (f. 29v). Indeed, it starts with passages concerning items beginning with that letter, but soon enters into a long digression on omina and prophecies, which breaks the alphabetical order. At the end, the author does return to the alphabetical order, and even starts with a new letter, *Γ*. This part is actually revelatory with regard to the working methods of the compiler and hints at the tension between the desire to respect the alphabetical order and the wish to have some form of thematic coherence. Let us look at this part in more detail.

The first passage is titled *Περὶ Βρεττανίας* (ff. 29v–31r) and has been extracted from Cassius Dio. Then follow three passages extracted from Procopius: *Περὶ Βεσβίου ὄρους Προκόπιος* (ff. 31r–32r), *Περὶ Βριττίας νήσου* (ff. 32r–36r), and *Περὶ οἰωνοσκοπίας τῶν Οὐάρνων* (ff. 36r–37r). These excerpts are concerned with geography and ethnography. The passage from Cassius Dio and the last two, taken from Procopius, deal with the Island of Brittia and, therefore, have a thematic correspondence. The passages also comply with the author's intention to have an alphabetical arrangement. The exception is the chapter *Περὶ οἰωνοσκοπίας τῶν Οὐάρνων*. At its beginning, the compiler adds the statement *Μνησθήσομαι δὲ καὶ περὶ οἰωνοσκοπίας*: it suggests that he felt compelled to justify his choice to include a title at this point, because the excerpt interrupts the alphabetical arrangement. We can understand, however, why he wished to include this excerpt at this very point in his collection: it provides additional information concerning the Island of Brittia. Moreover, the interest in the omens and prophecies of the Varni harks back to the first part of the compilation.

In the first part of the collection the compiler does not mention his sources. However, from the second part onwards, he names the sources he draws on. In the first chapter, taken from Cassius Dio, the author's name is mentioned in the second line of the chapter. In the case of the second extract, Procopius is mentioned in the title *Περὶ Βεσβίου ὄρους Προκόπιος*. Procopius is also the source used for the next two passages, *Περὶ Βριττίας νήσου* and *Περὶ οἰωνοσκοπίας τῶν Οὐάρνων*, but his name is not repeated, as these two excerpts derive from the same author. This system of identification is followed throughout the entire second part of the *Excerpta Anonymi*. Indeed, after the chapter on the Varni, the following title, *Περὶ Κάλχαντος τοῦ παρ' Ὁμήρω* (ff. 37r–40r), indicates the source of the chapter, namely Homer. The ensuing passage, *Περὶ σημείου καὶ τέρατος* (ff. 40r–40v),

belongs to the same tradition, namely that of scholia on Homer and when the compiler returns to Procopius in the next extract, *Περὶ χοίρων* (ff. 40v–41v), he again mentions his source. At this point, he once again, links the passage to the previous one with the word *Μνησθήσομαι* at the beginning of the new extract. Indeed, the chapter *Περὶ χοίρων* is connected thematically with the ones derived from Homer as well as with the chapter on the Varni, as it deals with a Jewish oracle. The passage *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγου περὶ παρατηρήσεως εἰκόνοσ* (ff. 41v–42r) briefly presents another oracle, which is linked to the Goths.

It should be clear by now that after the initial alphabetical order with excerpts on Brittain and Brittia, the compiler has added excerpts on oracles and prophecies without respecting the alphabetical order. Brief connecting phrases serve the purpose of maintaining coherence and narrative sequence. The chapter following that of the Gothic oracles is labelled *Περὶ Γαίου Ἰουλίου Καίσαρος* (ff. 42v) and begins with the words Ὅμοιον καί.

The interest in dreams, oracles, and omens continues in the following chapters (see Table 2.1). Shortly before returning to the alphabetical order, the compiler introduces an auctorial remark in the chapter simply labelled as γ. He reveals the practical and didactical aims of his enterprise. He says that he could write more on the subject, but he does not want to be considered as *θηρώμενος δόξαν κενὴν ταῦτα γράφειν*, viz. as one who ‘writes about these things seeking vain reputation’, and he adds that most of the facts he presents are known to all.

The chapter *Περὶ βρομαλίων* (ff. 57r–58v) marks the compiler’s return to the letter *B* and subsequently to the alphabetical order. It is an excerpt from the *De Mensibus* by John Lydus, as is the subsequent chapter *Περὶ βισέζτου* (ff. 58v–61r). The compiler of the *Excerpta Anonymi* has considerably shortened the original text.

With the chapter *Περὶ γενέσεως ἀνθρώπου καὶ ὅθεν τρίτα ἔνατα καὶ τεσσαρακοστὰ ἐπιτελοῦνται τοῖς τεθνεῶσιν* (ff. 61r–62r) the compiler moves on to the letter *Γ*. The alphabetical arrangement of the material, however, is discontinued with the very next chapter, which bears the heading *Περὶ ποσότητος τῶν τικτομένων* (ff. 62r–62v). The compiler inserts a brief introduction of two sentences at the beginning of the new passage, explaining his decision to interrupt the alphabetical order again and link the new chapter to the previous one: Ἐπειδὴ περὶ γενέσεως εἵπομεν, οὐ πόρρω τοῦ πρέποντος οἶμαι φάναι καὶ περὶ ποσότητος τῶν τικτομένων (Since we talk about births, I believe it would be appropriate to say something about the number of newborns). This time our author does not add the usual expression *μνησθήσομαι* but a stronger one: he professes that he felt the necessity to deliver more information on the particular subject he is concerned with at this point of the collection.

The following chapters *Περὶ Ἰστρου τοῦ ποταμοῦ* (ff. 62v–67r), *Περὶ πιπέρεως* (ff. 67r–67v), and *Περὶ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης* (ff. 67v–68r) do not follow the promised alphabetical order either. They are all, however, concerned with geography. Furthermore, the chapters *Περὶ σεισμῶν* (ff. 68r–69v) and *Περὶ σκηπτῶν* (ff. 69v–70v) bring us abruptly to the στοιχεῖον Σ (i.d. the eighteenth letter of the Greek alphabet). The heading of the following chapter *Περὶ πυρόεντος κεραυνοῦ*

(ff. 70v–72v) does not correspond to the letter Σ but the passage has been included at this point in order to supplement the two preceding chapters of the *στοιχεῖον*.²³ If the disorder at the end of Part 2 suggests anything, it is that the chapters, *Περὶ Ἰστροῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ*, *Περὶ πιπέρεως* and *Περὶ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης* may have been parts of a *στοιχεῖον* other than Γ, presumably whichever up to the Σ. If this is the case, it can be argued that the *Excerpta Anonymi* are incomplete and the missing passages must be parts of the *στοιχεῖα Δ* to *Ρ*.

The last part of the codex *Parisinus suppl. gr.* 607a is entitled *Περὶ τῶν οὐρανίων* (ff. 75v–84v).²⁴ Our compiler has relied on commentaries by Theon of Alexandria²⁵ and Leon the Mechanic upon the poem of Aratus *Phaenomena*,²⁶ written probably in the middle of the third century BC.²⁷

To conclude, the material selection was made according to certain precise themes, that of statues inhabited by demonic powers, portents, miracles, and curious dreams, curious nations and regions, and curious natural celestial phenomena. The abridged form of numerous passages copied from the *Parastaseis Anonymoi Chronikai*, several chronographers, historians, and scholia on Aratus' poem and the compositional and organisational format of the collection implies the compiler's striving to structure and provide knowledge upon certain themes. The selection criteria were determined by the collection's practical and educational aims. In Section 2.5 it shall be shown that the political and social context must have influenced the rationale of the selection of excerpts from various works. The omission of certain phrases, passages, or whole paragraphs reflect the compiler's intent to serve politico-cultural aims as well as practical and didactical ones, as shall be shown.

On two occasions, quotations from Homer in *Parisinus suppl. gr.* 607a are identified by the use of the so-called *diple*, that is, a symbol shaped like an arrow-head which is placed in the margin next to the Homeric text.²⁸ It should be said that this philological sign was developed in the Hellenistic period in Alexandria to identify verses of particular interest in the text of Homer. Such symbols are quite frequently encountered in New Testament manuscripts, too; they usually indicate citations from the Septuagint.²⁹ The *diple* is also used to indicate the biblical

23 In the last paragraph of the same chapter, the compiler repeats, once again, that he considers it important to clarify what he is writing down: Ὡς ἂν δὲ μὴ ἀτελής ᾖ ἡ περὶ κεραυνῶν διδασκαλία (f. 72r). The word *διδασκαλία* justifies the assumption that he aimed at creating a collection of such fragments for practical and didactical purposes.

24 The series of excerpts was first published by E. Maass under the title *Isagora bis excerpta*; cf. Maass (1898), 317–322. J. Martin included the excerpts in his edition of scholia on Aratus; cf. Martin (ed.) (1974), 23–31.

25 The *scholia* have been generally attributed to Theon of Alexandria.

26 Buchle (ed.) (1793).

27 On Aratus' life, see Kidd (1997), 3–5.

28 The verses from Homer are found on ff. 40r and 79v in *Parisinus suppl. gr.* 607a.

29 Houghton and Parker (2016), 5; Schmid and Sigismund (2010), 75–152.

verses in a considerable number of *catenae* manuscripts, that is, collections of exegetical excerpts.³⁰

2.2.3 The sources of the Excerpta Anonymi

In what follows I discuss the sources the anonymous compiler of the *Excerpta Anonymi* drew from.

2.2.3.1 *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*

The text conventionally known as *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* was used extensively by the *Excerpta Anonymi* in the section corresponding to letter A. The *Parastaseis* belong to the class of texts labelled as *Patria*, works concerned with buildings and monuments of Constantinople.³¹ The *Parastaseis* are preserved only in one eleventh-century manuscript, the *Parisinus gr.* 1336. Th. Preger published the text from this manuscript in 1898.³² This edition was later incorporated (with a number of corrections) in his edition of *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum*.³³ Preger's edition was republished together with a translation in English and a commentary on the content of the *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* by A. Cameron and J. Herrin.³⁴ Excerpts from the text are preserved in the *Suda*, in the *Excerpta Anonymi*, and in the *Patria II*.³⁵ Contrary to the traditional view, P. Odorico proposes that the *Parastaseis* are composed of two or more separate texts put together in a codex only in the late-ninth or early-tenth century.³⁶ According to him, the first part (ch. 1–26) bears the title *Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai*, but its original structure and dating are uncertain.³⁷ The second part (ch. 27–89) is a *sylloge* (thereafter *Syl*) comprising excerpts from other collections on statuary, one of which was a collection by a certain Theodore the Lector.³⁸ They were both parts of a *dossier* that was a collection of other works or historical notes gathered for serving a future historical composition. The text in *Parisinus gr.* 1336, an exact copy of the *dossier* in P. Odorico's view, covers

30 To give but a few examples, *diple* occurs regularly in the *catena* text transmitted in *Parisinus gr.* 702, ff. 208r–252r (tenth c.); *Ioannu* 58 (Patmos), ff. 291r–366v (twelfth c.); *Vatopedinus* 530, ff. 1r–585v (thirteenth c.).

31 G. Dagron viewed the *Parastaseis* as a genuine production of the patriographic genre. See Dagron (1984), 31; the same in Berger (1988), 40.

32 Preger (1898).

33 Preger (1901, 1907). The *Παραστάσεις σύντομοι χρονικά* are found in vol. I, (1901), 19–73.

34 Cameron and Herrin (1984) (Henceforth *Parastaseis*).

35 Preger (1907), 151–209. On the *Patria*, see also Berger (1988) and Berger (2013).

36 Odorico (2013), 373–389; Odorico (2014), 755–784.

37 It is also likely that the title *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* has never been the original title of the chapters 1–26. The term *parastaseis* (only found in the *Parisinus gr.* 1336) could refer to the exposition of material rather than to the presentation of monuments; cf. Odorico (2011c), 33–47.

38 On the *sylloge*, see Odorico (2014), 762–773 (Henceforth *Syl*).

the ff. 111–134.³⁹ If P. Odorico is right, the *Excerpta Anonymi* may have used one of the constitutive parts of the text modern scholars call *Parastaseis* and not the compilation as we have it today.

The *Excerpta Anonymi* have used and copied the *Parastaseis* and the *Syl* as a single and unitary text without taking into consideration the obvious separation between the two aforementioned works in *Parisinus* gr. 1336.⁴⁰ For the sake of convenience, in this study, I treat the *Parastaseis* and the *Syl* that comes next in *Parisinus* gr. 1336 as a single but incomplete text and under the heading *Parastaseis*.⁴¹

2.2.3.2 *Περὶ ἀγαλμάτων*

In the *Excerpta Anonymi* under the title *Περὶ ἀγαλμάτων* a series of excerpts on the description and allegorical interpretation of ancient Greek and Roman sculptures are transmitted. The series constitutes the first long section in the *Excerpta Anonymi* and it comes immediately after the first three chapters corresponding to the letter *A* (*Περὶ Ἀδιαβηνῆς*, *Περὶ Ἀγνουστίου*, *Περὶ ἀτραβατικῶν*). The section *Περὶ ἀγαλμάτων* takes up folia 2v–8r in *Parisinus suppl.* gr. 607a. The same series of sculptures was also copied in the *Patria II*. The *Patria II* either copied the *Excerpta Anonymi* directly or from a codex which the *Excerpta Anonymi* also come from.⁴² In addition to the *Patria II*, the excerpts on sculptures have been handed down through the codex *Vaticanus* gr. 468 (V), dated to the fourteenth century.⁴³ Folio 80v in V transmits a passage on a number of statues of gods. The description of each sculpture in V is preceded by a title which, with one exception, corresponds to the one recorded in the *Excerpta Anonymi* and the *Patria II*.⁴⁴ The ultimate part of the passage in V deviates in terms of subject matter: it provides us with a brief definition of four words: *τέρας*, *σημεῖον*, *σύμβολον*, and *τεκμήριον*. This part in the series of sculptures is absent from the *Excerpta Anonymi* and the *Patria II*. Interestingly, the *Excerpta Anonymi* 28, 4–9 excerpts a chapter under the title *Περὶ σημείου καὶ τέρατος*. Nevertheless, the passage, which also renders an explanation for the two terms of the title, differs thoroughly with that in V. Accordingly, the following hypotheses have been put forward: 1) M. L. Amerio holds the view that both the *Excerpta Anonymi* and V, drew on lexi-

39 On the content of the manuscript, see Omont (1888b), 16; Odorico (2014b), 778–781.

40 See Appendix II: Table I.

41 The chapter numbering is that of the *Parastaseis* by A. Cameron and J. Herrin, with the footnote that Chapters 1–26 and Chapters 27–89 constitute parts of two different works.

42 The series of sculptures is found in the *Patria II*, Chapters 2–14. On the textual relationship between the *Excerpta Anonymi* and the *Patria II*, see in Section 5.1.2.

43 See Appendix II: Table II. The V transmits nine out of the fifteen excerpts in the *Excerpta Anonymi* and the *Patria II*. On the codicological characteristics and contents of the codex *Vaticanus*, see Turyn (1952), 152–164; Christodoulou (1977), 37–38; Mioni (1985), 255–257. Christodoulou dates the codex to the thirteenth century. A date at the end of the thirteenth century was also suggested by A. Colonna; see Colonna (1991), 205.

44 See Appendix II: Table II.

containing such definitions of terms;⁴⁵ 2) A. Berger maintained that the series of excerpts under the heading *Περὶ ἀγαλμάτων* in the *Excerpta Anonymi* derived from an archetype *X* from which John Lydus' passages on sculptures also come.⁴⁶ A. Berger's view seems to be more tenable, given the textual similarities between the *Excerpta Anonymi* and John Lydus' *De mensibus* (see Appendix II: Table II).

2.2.3.3 Herodotus

The chapter bearing the title *Περὶ Κύρου* in the *Excerpta Anonymi* transmits the Herodotean (ca. 485–425 BC) story of Cyrus's early life. The excerpt is thematically connected with the Appian passages in the *Excerpta Anonymi*. As shall be shown in Section 2.4.3, evidence on the margins of the codex *Parisinus suppl. gr.* 607a may suggest that the Herodotean story as well as the Appian excerpts had initially been copied together in an earlier excerpt collection, from which they were in turn excerpted by the compiler of the *Excerpta Anonymi*. It is worth mentioning that the earliest extant copies of Herodotus are *Laurentianus Plut.* 70.3 and *Vaticanus gr.* 2369 both dated to the tenth century.⁴⁷ The text copied in the *Excerpta Anonymi* derives from a manuscript close in dating to these copies.

2.2.3.4 Appian of Alexandria

Five passages in the *Excerpta Anonymi* can safely be attributed to Appian (mid-second century):⁴⁸ a. *Περὶ Αὐγούστου εὐτυχίας*,⁴⁹ b. *Περὶ ἀγάλματος ἔχοντος ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ κέρατα*,⁵⁰ c. *Περὶ ἀγάλματος ἐν πέτρᾳ τῆς Ἀραβίας*,⁵¹ d. *Περὶ Ῥώμου καὶ Ῥωμύλου*,⁵² and e. *Περὶ Ἀράβων μαντείας*.⁵³

The compiler of the *Excerpta Anonymi* assigns the *Περὶ Ἀράβων μαντείας* to the end of Book 24 of Appian's *Historia Romana*: *Ἀππιανὸς φησι τῷ τέλει τοῦ κδ' βιβλίου* (Appian says at the of Book 24). Photius, who lists the books of the

45 Amerio (2007), 13.

46 Berger (1988), 68.

47 On the codices, see: Bandini (1961), II, col. 657–658 and Cantore (2013), 195–202.

48 Appian's *Historia Romana* (second century) survives incomplete. The work originally comprised twenty-four books. Part of the text was excerpted in the *EC*. See Viereck and Roos (1939), xvii–xx and Németh (2018), 7.

49 *Parisinus gr.* 607a, ff. 8v–9r: *Περὶ Αὐγούστου εὐτυχίας* (8, 12–19 Treu) = Appian, *Bellum civile*, 2 (Book 14), 57, 236 = *Patria* II, 81. The passage is not congruent with Plutarch, *Caesar* 38, 1–5, Plutarch, *Moralia* 319b, and Cassius Dio 41, 46, 2–3; cf. Amerio (1999), 36.

50 *Parisinus gr.* 607a, ff. 7r–v: *Περὶ ἀγάλματος ἔχοντος ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ κέρατα* (7, 17–25 Treu) = Appian, *Syriaca* (Book 11), 57, 293–294 = *Patria* II, 14.

51 *Parisinus gr.* 607a, ff. 9r–v: *Περὶ ἀγάλματος ἐν πέτρᾳ τῆς Ἀραβίας* (8, 20–27 Treu) = *Patria* II, 84.

52 *Parisinus gr.* 607a, ff. 53r–55v: *Περὶ Ῥώμου καὶ Ῥωμύλου* (36, 10–37, 29 Treu) = Appian, *De regibus*, 16, b, 4–17, a, 8 Bekker = Book 1 = Appian, *Historia Romana* fr. 1a e 1 (edd. Viereck and Roos).

53 *Parisinus gr.* 607a, ff. 55v–57r: *Περὶ Ἀράβων μαντείας* (37, 30–38, 21 Treu) = Appian, *Historia Romana* fr. 19 (edd. Viereck and Roos, 534–535).

Historia Romana, calls the twenty-fourth book *Arabica*: καὶ ὁ εἰκοστὸς τέταρτος Ἀράβιος.⁵⁴ In the *Περὶ ἀγάλλματος ἐν πέτρᾳ τῆς Ἀραβίας*, the word *πέτρα* refers to the city of Petra. Appian refers to the city of Petra again in the excerpt *Περὶ Ἀράβων μαντείας*, a fact that led P. Goukowsky to attributing the excerpt *Περὶ ἀγάλλματος ἐν πέτρᾳ τῆς Ἀραβίας* also to Appian.⁵⁵

The first three Appian excerpts (a, b, c) are found in the first part of the *Excerpta Anonymi*, that is, the patriographic one. The last two (d, e) are transmitted separately in the collection, after a series of excerpts from Cassius Dio and Procopius. M. L. Amerio was the first to detect a different source for these two Appian excerpts.⁵⁶ To M. L. Amerio it seems obvious that the passages *Περὶ Ῥώμου καὶ Ῥωμύλου* and *Περὶ Ἀράβων μαντείας* had ended up in the *Excerpta Anonymi* possibly via an excerpt collection. Nevertheless, she associates the inclusion of the Appian passages in the *Excerpta Anonymi* with the revived interest in Appian in the age of Photius, that is, in the mid-ninth century.⁵⁷ As shown in Sections 2.4.2 and 2.4.3, it is equally possible that the excerpts *Περὶ Ῥώμου καὶ Ῥωμύλου* and *Περὶ Ἀράβων μαντείας* have been excerpted by the compiler of the *Excerpta Anonymi* through a draft copy produced during the redaction of the *EC*.

2.2.3.5 Cassius Dio

A considerable number of excerpts in the *Excerpta Anonymi* are from Cassius Dio (ca. 155–235 AD) tradition.⁵⁸ Some of the passages are nominally ascribed to Cassius Dio by the compiler of the *Excerpta Anonymi* themselves. Passages from Cassius Dio tradition were included in the *Excerpta Anonymi* through an earlier collection of excerpts, now lost.⁵⁹ Dio's excerpts in the *Excerpta Anonymi* are entitled as follows: a. *Περὶ Ἀδιαβηνῆς*, b. *Περὶ Βρεττανίας*, c. *Περὶ Γαίου Ἰουλίου Καίσαρος*, d. *Περὶ τῆς γαμετῆς αὐτοῦ*, e. *Εἰπωμεν δὲ καὶ ὥς ἦδυσμα τι ἕτερον τοῦ Δίωνος*, f. an untitled passage on the emperor Domitian, g. β', and h. γ'.

2.2.3.6 Procopius

Procopius' (ca. 500–565 AD) *De bellis*⁶⁰ has been excerpted by the *Excerpta Anonymi* under the headings: a. *Περὶ Βεσβίου ὄρους Προκόπιος*, b. *Περὶ Βριττίας*

54 *Bibliotheca*, cod. 57.

55 Goukowsky (1995), 63–70.

56 Amerio (1999), 40.

57 Amerio (1999), 40–41.

58 Cassius Dio's *Historiae Romanae* comprised eighty books and run from Aeneas to 229 AD. Only a portion of it survives in direct transmission. The rest has been transmitted in the epitomes of John Zonaras and John Xiphilinus as well as in fragments. A significant number of extracts was included in the *EC*. On the *Epitome* by Zonaras, see Banchich (2009), 8–11. On the *Epitome* by Xiphilinus, see Mallan (2013). On the relationship between the *Historiae Romanae* and the *EC*, see Boissvain (1895), vi–xxi; Mazzuchi (1979); Molin (2004).

59 On the use of Cassius Dio in the *Excerpta Anonymi*, see Section 2.4.4.

60 The Greek title of the work covering the period from 395 to 553 AD is *ὑπὲρ τῶν πολέμων λόγοι*.

νήσου, c. *Περὶ οἰωνοσκοπίας τῶν Οὐάρνων*, d. *Περὶ χοίρων*, and e. *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγου περὶ παρατηρήσεως εἰκόνας*.

2.2.3.7 John Lydus

The *Excerpta Anonymi* contain passages from the three antiquarian treatises by John Lydus (ca. 490–561 AD), namely the *De Mensibus* (On the months), the *De Magistratibus Rei Publicae Romanorum* (On the Magistracies of the Roman State), and the *De Ostentis* (On signs in the heavens):⁶¹ specifically, 1. the *De Mensibus* is the source for the passages: a. *Περὶ Αὐγουστίου*, b. *Περὶ Βρυμαλίων*, c. *Περὶ Βισέξτου*, d. *Περὶ γενέσεως ἀνθρώπων καὶ ὅθεν τρίτα ἔντα καὶ τεσσαρακοστὰ ἐπιτελοῦνται τοῖς τεθνεῶσιν*, e. *Περὶ ποσότητος τῶν τικτομένων*, f. *Περὶ πιπέρεως* g. *Περὶ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης*, and h. *Περὶ σκηπτῶν*. 2. The *De Ostentis* is used in: a. *Περὶ σεισμῶν* and b. *Περὶ πυρόεντος κεραυνοῦ*. 3. The *De Magistratibus* is the source used for the passages: a. *Περὶ ἀτραβατικῶν*.

2.2.3.8 Peter the Patrician

Excerpts from Peter the Patrician's (500–565 AD) *Historia* were embedded in the *Excerpta Anonymi* through the same collection of excerpts as the passages from Cassius Dio.⁶² Peter the Patrician's text has been transmitted under the following titles in the *Excerpta Anonymi*: a. *Ἄλλο Β'* and b. *Περὶ Νέρωτος*.

2.2.3.9 Scholia on Homer

Two chapters in the *Excerpta Anonymi* go back to the tradition of *scholia* on Homer. The complex issue of the authorship and the transmission of such *scholia* prevents us from drawing any conclusion as to the exact source used by the compiler of the *Excerpta Anonymi*. The first of the two passages is nominally

There is a vast bibliography on Procopius. See now in Greatrex (2014a) and Greatrex (2019). On Procopius' historical work, also see Section 2.5.

61 The *De Mensibus*, which possibly comprised four books on ancient myths and Greco-Roman history, survives in fragments through the works of George Cedrenus and John of Antioch. The *De Magistratibus*, preserved partially, is an important witness to the bureaucratic system of Rome from Aeneas to 541 AD. The *De Ostentis*, handed down complete, concerns interpretations of heavenly signs. On John Lydus' works, see Maas (1992); Kaldellis (2005); Bandy (2013).

62 See Section 2.4.4. Peter the Patrician's historical account covered the period from Octavian to Constantius II. Part of his work has been ascribed to an *Anonymus Post Dionem*; see in Banchich (2015). Peter the Patrician also composed a collection of descriptions of imperial ceremonies, *On ceremony*, transmitted in fragments only. Fragments of this work are contained in the DC 1.84–95, in John of Lydia's *De magistratibus* 2.25 and in the *Suda* π 1406; cf. Sode (2004); Laniado (1997); Sode (2011). A collection of documents about the treaty of 561/562 with Persia attributed to Peter the Patrician was probably part of his *On ceremony*; see Antonopoulos (1990), 217–221. On Peter the Patrician, in general, see Treadgold (2007), 264–270; Sode (2011); Bleckmann (2015), esp. 106–111; Roberto (2016), 51–67.

assigned to a *scholium* on Homer by the *Excerpta Anonymi* themselves. The title of the excerpt in the *Excerpta Anonymi* is: *Περὶ Κάλχαντος τοῦ παρ' Ὀμήρω*. The chapter entitled *Περὶ σημείου καὶ τέρατος* ensues. This excerpt stands unidentified in the edition by M. Treu. Both chapters show the acquaintance of the compiler of the *Excerpta Anonymi* with the ancient tradition of *scholia* on Homer.⁶³ In fact, the passage *Περὶ σημείου καὶ τέρατος* exhibits significant similarities with a passage in the twelfth-century collection of *scholia* on Homer by Eustathius of Thessaloniki. The Greek title of Eustathius' work is: *Παρεκβολαὶ εἰς τὴν Ὀμήρου Ἰλιάδα καὶ Ὀδύσσειαν*. The work consists of Eustathius' commentary on passages of the Homeric poems as well as extracts from earlier commentators. Eustathius' sources are difficult to identify since most of the works he used are now lost.⁶⁴

2.2.3.10 *Scholia in Dionysium Periegetam*

Passages on geography and the derivation of place names have been extracted from the *Scholia in Dionysium Periegetam*.⁶⁵ The whole series of passages taken from the *Scholia* is preceded by the title: *Ἐκ τῶν περιηγητικῶν τὰ χρειωδέστερα καὶ σαφηνέστερα τοῦ Διονυσίου*.

2.2.3.11 *Leon the Mechanic's Πῶς δεῖ ἵσταν σφαῖραν*

On f. 75v a line made up of five crosses the size of letters marks the beginning of the last part of the *Excerpta Anonymi*.⁶⁶ The concatenation of excerpts on astronomy and geometry is preceded by the title *Περὶ τῶν οὐρανίων*.⁶⁷ The compiler of the *Excerpta Anonymi* relied on Leon the Mechanic's and Theon of Alexandria's commentaries on Aratus Solensis' poem called *Phaenomena*.⁶⁸ Leon the Mechanic was a mathematician and philosopher of the sixth century. The *Excerpta Anonymi* used his works entitled *Πῶς δεῖ ἵσταν σφαῖραν*⁶⁹ and *Διαιρέσεις τῆς σφαῖρας*.⁷⁰ Both Leon's treatises are based extensively on Aratus Solensis' poem and on the commentary on it by Theon of Alexandria. The latter is likely to have been the editor of a text, which became the standard edition in subsequent antiquity.⁷¹ The last part of the *Excerpta Anonymi* excerpts *scholia* by Theon of Alexandria on separate verses of Aratus' *Phaenomena*. In particular, the *scholia* concern verses 27, 33, 91, 132, and 159 of the *Phaenomena*. The compiler of the *Excerpta Anonymi* excerpts Leon's and Theon's texts in brief chapters and simplifies the selected

63 On this, also see Amerio (2007), 12–13.

64 Van der Valk (1971–1987).

65 Müller (ed.) (1861), 457b.

66 The text on ff. 73v–83v was published in Martin (1974), 23–31.

67 *Excerpta Anonymi* 50, 7–56, 19.

68 Aratus's writings are dated to the mid-third century. On Aratus' life, see Kidd (1997), 3–5.

69 Buhle (ed.) (1793), 257–264.

70 Buhle (ed.) (1793), 266.

71 Kidd (1997), 49.

passages. Each short passage bears a brief heading. One could say that this part was created in order to be used for didactic purposes in schooling.

The author of the *Excerpta Anonymi* reveals his admiration for the Roman past, which he primarily interprets as pagan. The diversity of the sources (patriographic texts, geographical texts, historical and geometrical works) implies an erudite man who was acquainted with the works mentioned above and knew precisely where to look for passages apposite to the subject matter of the collection. Addition, omission, or alteration of extracts, are one of the particularly interesting features of the *Excerpta Anonymi*. As I shall show in Section 2.5, inaccuracies and obscurity of expression in some source texts but also political motives and ideology led the compiler to intervene and re-edit the excerpted passages.

When studying the Appian excerpts in the *Excerpta Anonymi*, P. Goukowsky arrived at the conclusion that the anonymous compiler of the *Excerpta Anonymi* a) was a monk who wrote in a monastic environment where b) he had at hand the complete text of Appian as well as the entire works of Herodotus, Dio Cassius, Procopius, and John Lydus.⁷² P. Goukowsky's first argument is not tenable. On the contrary, his proposition is not in accordance with the selection of material on the part of the *Excerpta Anonymi* compiler, who excised almost every religious reference in the original texts and who expressed covert admiration for pagan elements of the past.⁷³ Regarding the second argument made by P. Goukowsky, the analysis of certain passages shows that it is highly likely that, in addition to any other historical sources – possibly complete historical works – the compiler also relied on pre-existing excerpt collections. As it will be shown (see Sections 2.4.2 and 2.4.3), for the chapter “On the River Istros,”⁷⁴ the compiler drew on a collection of geographical material, whereas for the chapters “On Cyrus”⁷⁵ and “On Remus and Romulus”⁷⁶ he drew on a collection of occult science. Similarly, passages on Roman history in the *Excerpta Anonymi* derive from a collection on dreams and occult science comprising excerpts from Cassius Dio and Peter the Patrician.⁷⁷

As shown, *Parisinus suppl. gr.* 607a is an incomplete codex dated to the reign of Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Yet the possibility that *Parisinus* is a copy of an earlier, probably damaged, manuscript cannot be excluded. There is sufficient evidence supporting the argument that beside the codex *unicus* of the *Excerpta Anonymi*, the collection itself is also from the mid-tenth century. Such a dating is supported by the following: a) internal evidence in the *Excerpta Anonymi* hints at a specific contemporary ideology, namely that of the restricted ecumenism advocated by the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus (see Section 2.5.2.2); b)

72 Goukowsky (1995), 69–70. For a different view, see Amerio (1999), 35–42.

73 On the elimination of religious references in *Parisinus suppl. gr.* 607a and its compiler's literary interests, see the analysis in Section 2.5.1.

74 Περί Ἰστρου τοῦ ποταμοῦ; cf. *Excerpta Anonymi* 42, 5–44, 21.

75 Περί Κύρου; cf. *Excerpta Anonymi* 33, 1–36, 9.

76 Περί Ῥώμου καὶ Ῥωμύλου; cf. *Excerpta Anonymi* 36, 10–37, 29.

77 The chapters are thoroughly studied below in Sections 2.4.4 and 2.4.5.

as shall be shown (see Section 2.4), the *Excerpta Anonymi* must have drawn on material gathered in the first place for the *EC*. The *EC*, a collection of historical excerpts on Constantine's commission, began to be compiled before Constantine's sole rulership (945–959 AD) and were completed a few decades after the death of the emperor;⁷⁸ c) Macedonian emperors' efforts towards systematising knowledge become apparent in the production of manuscripts of shared themes.⁷⁹ The *Excerpta Anonymi* are a collection of quotations on subject matters evident in other contemporary works. Accordingly, the *Excerpta Anonymi* put an emphasis on the prophetic meaning, dangers, and hidden powers of pagan statues as well as geographical and ethnographical interest (see Sections 2.4.2–2.4.6); and d) the *Excerpta Anonymi* exhibit significant similarities with the *Exc.Salm.II* with regard to the selective use of passages in the section on Roman history. The common selective use of passages testifies to the use of a common source, that is, an excerpt collection of passages from Cassius Dio and Peter the Patrician (see Section 3.3.2.4). It is quite likely that the compilers of the *Excerpta Anonymi* and the *Excerpta Salmasiana*, respectively, belonged to a contemporary intellectual milieu and made use of a common source. Scholarship has suggested that the *Excerpta Salmasiana* were compiled between the eighth and the eleventh centuries. Internal evidence, however, supports the dating of the *Excerpta Salmasiana* to the tenth century (see Section 3.1). The second part of the *Exc.Salm.II* is concerned with the personal traits, life, and deeds of certain emperors. Historical writing where the narration was focused on a certain emperor's life became fashionable from the tenth century onwards (see Section 3.3.2). In particular, this new direction of Byzantine historiography became popular under the reign of Constantine Porphyrogenitus and features in historical writings produced at his request.⁸⁰ Yet a dating of the *Excerpta Salmasiana* to the mid-tenth century explains textual omissions and adaptations detected in the part of the *Excerpta Salmasiana* transmitting the Agathias excerpts (see Section 3.4).

2.3 The working method in the *Excerpta Anonymi*

As shown, the *Excerpta Anonymi* make up a unity of thematically connected excerpts extracted from a number of different works and acts as a new and autonomous piece of literature. The new entity can be read by itself and gets its own transmission. Its originality is reflected on the concatenation of the excerpts, that is, in the changed content and in the selected format through which a selected branch of knowledge is represented.⁸¹ The detailed analysis of single excerpts included in the *Excerpta Anonymi* can yield interesting results with regards to the working method of its author. The comparison of the original texts as preserved

⁷⁸ Németh (2018), 94–101.

⁷⁹ Németh (2018), 44–45.

⁸⁰ Németh (2018), 145–164.

⁸¹ See also Odorico (2011a), 100.

in earlier manuscripts and the *Excerpta Anonymi*, and the analysis of the resulting differences, omissions, and additions shall help us to understand how the sources have been employed as well as the procedure they have undergone. In particular, the content and arrangement of excerpts in the *Excerpta Anonymi* point to the three procedures of redacting an excerpt collection on precise themes discussed in Chapter 1: a. reading of the whole source text and selection of passages, b. rewriting of the source text, and c. composition of a new unity. The selection of excerpts was based on general criteria such as accuracy, clarity, brevity, and respect for the original narration. The examination of the three steps of redacting the collection shows that the excerptor a) respected the vocabulary and structure of the original text and b) followed certain strategies in order to cope with the lack of context that arose when a passage was extracted from a whole unit. I categorise these strategies as follows: a) additions or omissions of text, b) rearrangement of words, and c) repetition of words or phrases.

a) Selection

As noted in Chapter 1, the first procedure consisted in reading the source text and selecting passages according to certain themes. Interestingly, the author of the *Excerpta Anonymi* seems to rely on a considerable number of texts. The sources of the *Excerpta Anonymi* were discussed in the previous section. The anonymous text conventionally known as *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* takes up two-thirds of the part of the codex *Parisinus suppl. gr. 607a* corresponding to letter A.⁸² The rest are excerpts from Cassius Dio and John Lydus. What follows under the part of the *Parisinus* corresponding to letter B are excerpts from Herodotus, Cassius Dio, Appian, Procopius, and John Lydus. As shown in Section 2.4, the compiler of the *Excerpta Anonymi* did not necessarily draw on the entire works of the aforementioned late antique historians. Passages excerpted from Herodotus, Cassius Dio, and John Lydus appear to have been taken from pre-existing excerpt collections. The last part of the *Excerpta Anonymi* relies on passages on geometry and astronomy.

b) Rewriting

As shown in Chapter 1, the integration of the original text initially into the collection is made manifest in Psellos' comments, in the way Symeon composes his *Menologion* and throughout the *EC*. It is also corroborated by the contents of the *Excerpta Anonymi*. The chapter *Περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ φιλοσόφων* in the *Excerpta Anonymi* (Table 2.2) shows that the second step, which was the editing and rephrasing of the excerpts, presupposed a step in which each selected text was copied in its entirety.⁸³ In the chapter seven philosophers encounter the emperor Theodosius II (405–450) at the Hippodrome:

82 On the *Parastaseis*, see Section 2.2.3.1.

83 *Excerpta Anonymi*, 17, 31–18, 24.

Table 2.2 The chapter *Περὶ τῶν ἐπτά φιλοσόφων* in the *Excerpta Anonymi*

Parastaseis, Chapter 64

Excerpta Anonymi 17, 31–18, 24

Εὐδοκίας Αθηναίας κατὰ μοῖραν δικασθείσης κατὰ χάριν
 ἡῦρατο τύχη, καθ' ἣν οἱ αὐτάδελφοι, τὸ ξένον τῆς συγγόνου
 ἀκηκοότες εὐτύχημα, ἀνελθεῖν συνεπειρώτον φιλοσόφοις ζ'
 καὶ τῇ τύχῃ ἐξ ἀτυχίας ἐδεήθησαν ἱλασθῆναι. Θεοδόσιος δὲ
 ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὸ Ἱπικὸν ἦλατο, τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ἀρέσων·
 καὶ τίς αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐνεῖλησεν; Ἦσαν δὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ζ'·
 Κράνος, Κάρος, Πέλοψ, Ἀπελλῆς, Νερούας, Σιλβανός,
 Κύρβος. Οὗτοι συνήσαν εἰς τὸ Ἱπικὸν τῷ βασιλεῖ θέας
 <χάριν> Ὀλυμπίων. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Θεοδόσιος ὁρῶν τοὺς
 φιλοσόφους θαυμάζοντας φησὶν πρὸς αὐτούς· ὦ φιλόσοφοι,
 εἰ θαυμάζετε, κατεφιλοσοφήητε. ὥς παραντίκα ἀποκρ
 ιθῆναι ἓνα ἐξ αὐτῶν, Ἀπελλῆν ὀνόματι, καὶ εἰπεῖν· ἴ μὴ
 θαυμάσιν ἐμὲ τοὺς ἵππους τῇ ἐπιβάτῃ, εἰδὼς ἀκριβῶς ὅτι
 ἵπποι ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβάται γενήσονται, ἄλλασσομένον τὸν
 Ὀλυμπίον, καὶ τὸ θαυμάζον ἀμβλυοπιάσει. Νερούας δὲ
 ἀπεκρίνατο· κακὸν τῇ βασιλίδι στοιχεῖον· ὁρῶ τὸ στοιχεῖον
 τοῖς στοιχείοις συντρέχοντα. Καὶ ὁ Σιλβανὸς ἰδὼν τὸ πρὸς
 μεσημβρίαν ζῳδῖον, εἰς τὸ ἄνω τὸ γόνυ ἢ κάβου δίκην
 κεκμηκότα, φησὶν· καλῶς ὁ στοιχειωσάμενος καιροὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ
 τούτου ἀγόντατοι ἔσονται. Ὁ δὲ Κύρβος ἐν τῷ δῆμῳ ὁρῶν
 εἶπεν· ὦ δῆμε, δι' ὃν δῆμοι περισσεύουσιν. Πέλοψ δὲ τοὺς
 ὄρους τῶν ἵππων ἰδὼν εἶπε· τίνας τὸ πρόβλημα; Θεοδοσίου
 δὲ φησάντος· Κωνσταντίνου, εἰπεῖν ἐκείνους· ἡ φιλόσοφος
 ἄκυρος ἦ βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἀληθής. Ἐώρα γάρ τι ὁ φιλόσοφος
 θηλύμορφον ζῳδῖον, τετραμερέσι ζωδιακοῖς γράμμασι γεγ
 ραμμένον, καὶ εἶπεν· ὦ τετραπέρατε, ἐξ οὗ Κωνσταντίνος
 καὶ ἀπέρατοι ἔσονται. Κάρος δὲ προτραπείς παρὰ τοῖς
 φιλοσόφοις λαλήσαι φησὶν· δυστυχῇ μοι τὰ πάντα φαίνεται,
 ὅτι, εἰ ταῦτα τὰ στοιχεῖα, ὥς πειρῶνται, ἀληθεύσουσιν, ἵνα
 τί ἡ Κωνσταντινούπολις συνέστηκεν; Κράνος δὲ, ὅστις
 καὶ λογιστὴς τῆς Αθηνῶν φιλοσοφίας ἐλέγετο, μειδιῶν
 ἐπεκοκκύνει. Τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως πυνθανομένου· τίς ἡ αἰτία; ἢ
 <...>ατο ἐνορκία τὸ πλεῖον γελῶν ἢ σκόπτων. Νάρκισσος
 δὲ πραιπόσιτος δίδωσι τῷ φιλοσόφῳ ῥάπισμα εἰπὼν πρὸς
 αὐτόν· τῷ Ἠλίῳ ὡς Ἠλίῳ ἀποκρίνον, σκότος ὑπάρχων.
 Τοῦ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην στρέψαντος, δίδωσιν ὁ Νάρκισσος. Ὁ
 δὲ φιλόσοφος τῷ Ναρκίσσῳ ἔφη· οὐ διὰ σὲ λαλήσω, ἀλλὰ
 τοῖς γράμμασι δυσωπούμενος. Τὸ δὲ πρόβλημα τοῦ Κράνου
 τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν ἤτησεν τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ ἐν τῷ Ἱπικῷ στοιχεῖα
 θεάσασθαι, καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως κελεύσαντος εἵλετο εὐθὺς
 ἐκείνους. Ἔστι δὲ ἀνδροεῖκελον τὸ ἄγαλμα περικεφαλαίαν
 τῇ κεφαλῇ περιέχον, γυνὸν τοι ὅλως καὶ ἐν τοῖς βρετγάνοις
 διδύμοις ἐπικεκαλυμμένον. Τοῦ δὲ φιλοσόφου πυθομένου· τίς
 ἄν· ἔφη· ὁ στήσας· ἔφη τις ἀναγνώστης ὅτι· Οὐαλεντινιανός
 τοῦτο προῦθηκεν· εἶπεν δὲ ὁ φιλόσοφος· πότε καὶ τὸν
 ὄνον; τοῦ δὲ φησάντος· ὁμοῦ, εἰπεῖν ἐκείνους· ποτὲ ὄνος ὡς
 ἄνθρωπος ἔσται· ὡς συμφορά, ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ὄνῳ ἀκολουθεῖ.
 Ἀλλὰ μὴ ἔστω <τό> τοῦ μάρτυρος. Τοῦτο τὸ πρόβλημα εὐρέθη
 ἐν τοῖς τόμοις Λέοντος τοῦ μεγάλου, ὁ ἐφιλοσόφησε Κράνος,
 παρὰ Λιγυρίου ἀστρονόμου καὶ ὑπάτου τοῦ αὐτοῦ βασιλέως
 Λέοντος.

Ὅτι Κράνος ὁ φιλόσοφος, εἰς ὃν
 τῶν ἐπτά φιλοσόφων τῶν σὺν τῇ
 Εὐδοκίᾳ ἀνελθόντων ἐξ Αθηνῶν,
 ἦρξε τὸν Θεοδόσιον ἰδεῖν τὰ
 ἐν τῷ ἱπποδρομίῳ στοιχεῖα.
 καὶ ἰδὼν τὸν περιχύτην καὶ
 τὸν ὄνον εἶπεν.⁸⁴ τίς ὁ στήσας;
 τοῦ δὲ ἀναγνώστου εἰπόντος·
 Οὐαλεντινιανός· ὁ συμφορά ἔφη,
 ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ὄνῳ ἀκολουθεῖ.
 ἦσαν δὲ οἱ φιλόσοφοι οὗτοι οἱ
 ἐπτά· Κράνος· Κάρος· Πέλοψ·
 Ἀπελλῆς· Νερούας· Σιλβανός·
 Κύρβος· θεωροῦνταν δὲ
 ἱππεύοντα τὸν βασιλέα καὶ
 θαυμάζοντα ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς· τί
 θαυμάζετε; ἀπεκρίθη δὲ Ἀπελλῆς·
 θαυμάζω εἰδὼς, ὅτι τὸν Ὀλυμπίων
 ἄλλασσομένον ἵπποι γενήσονται
 ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβάται καὶ τὸ
 θαυμάζον ἀμβλυοπιάσει. Νερούας
 ἔφη· κακὸν τῇ βασιλίδι, ὅτι τὸ
 στοιχεῖον τοῖς στοιχείοις ἐπακολ
 οῦθεῖ. καὶ ὁ Σιλβανὸς τὸ ὀκλάζον
 ζῳδῖον ἔφη καλῶς ἔστοχάσατο.
 καιροὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτου ἀγόντατοι
 ἔσονται. ὁ δὲ Κύρβος τὸν
 δῆμον ἰδὼν εἶπεν· ὦ δῆμος,
 δι' ὃν δῆμοι περισσεύουσιν.
 ὁ δὲ Κράνος ἰδὼν ἀνδρείκελον⁸⁵
 γυνὸν, περικεφαλαίαν⁸⁶
 τῇ κεφαλῇ περιφέρον καὶ τὸν
 ὄνον ἐμπροσθεν, ἔφη, ὡς ποτε
 ὄνος ἄνθρωπος ἔσται καὶ ὁ τῆς
 συμφορᾶς, ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ὄνῳ
 ἀκολουθεῖ. Πέλοψ δὲ τοὺς ὄρους
 τῶν ἵππων ἰδὼν ἠρώτησεν.⁸⁷ τίνας
 τὸ πρόβλημα; τοῦ δὲ Θεοδοσίου
 εἰπόντος· Κωνσταντίνου. ἐκείνους
 φάναι· ἡ φιλόσοφος ἄκυρος ἦ
 βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἀληθής. ἔώρα γάρ τι
 ὁ φιλόσοφος θηλύμορφον ζῳδῖον
 τετραμερέσι ζωδιακοῖς γράμμασι
 γεγραμμένον καὶ εἶπεν· ὦ
 τετραπέρατε, ἐξ οὗ Κωνσταντίνος
 καὶ ἀπέρατοι ἔσονται. Κάρος
 δὲ προτραπείς εἶπεν· δυστυχῇ
 μοι τὰ πάντα φαίνεται, ὅτι εἰ
 ταῦτα τὰ στοιχεῖα, ὥς πειρῶνται,
 ἀληθεύσουσιν, ἵνα τί ἡ πόλις
 συνέστηκεν.

84 εἶπε ed. Treu (1880), 18.

85 ἀνδρείκελον ed. Treu (1880), 18.

86 περικεφαλαίαν ed. Treu (1880), 18.

87 ἠρώτησε ed. Treu (1880), 18.

The chapter represents the story of Eudokia and the encounter of her husband, the emperor Theodosius II, with the seven brothers of Eudokia and the ensuing confrontation between them regarding the meaning of the statues. In the *Parastaseis*, Kranos is the one who takes on the central role, as he is the leader of the Athenian philosophers (*λογιστῆς τῆς Ἀθηνῶν φιλοσοφίας*).

To begin with, the text transmitted in the *Parastaseis* seems to have been corrupted and, therefore, poses difficulties in interpretation. In some cases, we can only just assume the meaning of a word or a sentence. Such difficulties might have led the *Excerpta Anonymi* compiler not only to rearrange (as we shall see) the information from the *Parastaseis* but also to make textual additions to the original text. Therefore, structural differentiation in the *Excerpta Anonymi* text can justifiably be attributed to the compiler's efforts to simplify the original passage.⁸⁸

Further, it is interesting to note how some details and separate information on Eudokia and her seven brothers have been brought together in the very first phrase in the *Excerpta Anonymi*. The first sentence in the *Excerpta Anonymi* stressing the name of Kranos and his own encounter with Theodosius at the Hippodrome, is an addition by the compiler himself based on the specific interest of Kranos in the *Parastaseis*, which emerged later on in the text however. I would like to draw attention to the underlined passages. The *Excerpta Anonymi* text begins with a reference to Kranos, which was produced by compiling material found at the end of the original text. A similar reference to Kranos is made again during the description of the question-and-answer confrontation between the philosophers and the emperor Theodosius:

ὁ δὲ Κράνος ἰδὼν ἀνδρείκελον γυμνόν, περικεφαλαίαν τῇ κεφαλῇ περιφέρον καὶ τὸν ὄνον ἔμπροσθεν, ἔφη, ὥς ποτε ὄνος ἄνθρωπος ἔσται καὶ ὁ τῆς συμφορᾶς, ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ὄνῳ ἀκολούθει.⁸⁹

The seven philosophers speak in turn and the second reference has been removed from the end and inserted at the point between the interpretations given by Kyrvos and Pelops, respectively. Thus, the *Parisinus* compiler decided to end his text with the philosophers' predictions as to the fate of Constantinople. The reason for this could be the fact that the *Parisinus* compiler intended to shift the focus from the confrontation surrounding the relevant passage in the *Parastaseis*, by deleting the heated exchange between Kranos and Theodosius. In the *Parastaseis* when Theodosius meets the philosophers at the Hippodrome, it says: *ὁ φιλόσοφοι, εἰ θαυμάζετε, κατεφιλοσοφήθητε*, which is a comment indicative enough of the confrontation that was taken place there and leads to the exchange between Theodosius and Kranos later on. Interestingly, the *Parisinus* excises the word *κατεφιλοσοφήθητε* and replaces it by the question: *τι*

88 The difficult original text as well as the compiler's tendency towards clarity and accuracy and his preference for brevity seem to stand behind such a choice.

89 *Excerpta Anonymi* 18, 13–16.

θανυμάζετε;. In this way, he can also delete the emperor's exchange with Kranos and at the same time maintain the narrative kernel as well as conceal the conflict between a Christian emperor and a pagan philosopher.

The structure itself of the *Περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ φιλοσόφων* verifies that the compiler of the *Excerpta Anonymi* read and employed selected texts having first copied them word by word. The compiler would read the relevant passage through to the end annotating it thoroughly. This procedure permitted him to combine disparate details and edit the original text. That allowed him also to rearrange the material when he thought that the meaning was not clear enough or when he wanted to give a new meaning to a certain text passage.

c) Composition

As shown in Chapter 1, the *prooemium* of the *EC* as well as Psellos' *encomium* of Symeon Metaphrastes reveals that, when editing extracted passages, the compiler of a collection relied on certain criteria, such as accuracy and brevity. We notice that the compiler of the *Excerpta Anonymi* relied methodologically on the same principles by following the procedures detected in the *EC* and Psellos' *encomium*. The compiler of the *Excerpta Anonymi* intervenes in the original text but he does not epitomise it. Two samples from the *Excerpta Anonymi* may suffice to reveal this. The first one is a passage drawn from the *Parastaseis* and placed in the first part of the collection (Table 2.3). The passage in the *Excerpta Anonymi* is entitled *Περὶ τῶν β' σταυρῶν τῶν ληστῶν* and it is a prime example of the extent to which the compiler abridges older texts.

Interestingly, the new text is formed once we unify the underlined passages of the *Parastaseis*' text. It is also apparent that parts from the *Parastaseis* were copied word by word. One word, the one that is in bold, *κεχωσμένοι*,⁹⁰ was removed from the middle of the *Parastaseis* to the beginning of the

Table 2.3 The chapter *Περὶ τῶν β' σταυρῶν τῶν ληστῶν* in the *Excerpta Anonymi*

Parastaseis, Chapter 23	Excerpta Anonymi 11, 8–12
Ἐν τῷ Φόρῳ κάτωθεν τῆς μεγάλης στήλης <u>ὑπάρχουσι σταυροὶ</u> εἰς πλῆθος, τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῦ μεγάλου φέροντες· ἐνθα καὶ <u>τῶν δύο ληστῶν</u> τῶν συσταυρωθέντων τῷ Χριστῷ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τόπῳ κεχωσμένοι εἰσὶν ἕως τῆς σήμερον· ἀλλὰ καὶ <u>βίσιον</u> ὑελοῦν μύρου, ἐν ᾧ ὁ Χριστὸς ἠλείψατο, καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα εἰς πλῆθος σημειοφορικὰ ὑποκάτω τοῦ Φόρου ὑπάρχουσιν, <τεθέντα> παρὰ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ παρὰ Θεοδοσίου τοῦ μεγάλου ἀσφαλισθέντα, ἅτινα κατ' ὄνομα εἰς μήκος τοῦ μνημονεῦσαι ἐξαγόμεθα.	Ὅτι κάτωθεν τοῦ φόρου κεχωσμένοι ὑπάρχουσι σταυροὶ τῶν δύο ληστῶν καὶ βικίον μύρου, ὃ ἠλείψατο ὁ Χριστός, καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα σημειοφορικὰ, <u>τεθέντα</u> μὲν παρὰ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ μεγάλου, ἀσφαλισθέντα δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοδοσίου.

90 The word reflects the attitude of Byzantines towards statues and monuments in Constantinople. Most of the monuments described in the *Parastaseis* do not even exist when the respective passages are written. But these monuments still *exist* below the surface of the city attesting to the esoteric dimension of it; cf. Odorico (2011b), 38–41.

Excerpta Anonymi. Once more it becomes clear that the compiler of the *Excerpta Anonymi* had first copied the whole passage and read it through to the end before annotating, making alterations, and finally copying it. In that way, he was able to rearrange words, to add an extra word in the text when this was necessary or to delete some others. Accordingly, the word *τεθέντα* was added in the *Excerpta Anonymi* to make the meaning of the last part of the passage clearer. The *Excerpta Anonymi* compiler also omits words and entire phrases without changing the meaning of the passage.

The second passage has been extracted from Procopius' *De bellis* and is placed in the second part of the *Excerpta Anonymi* (Table 2.4). The passage in the *Excerpta Anonymi* is entitled *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγου περὶ παρατηρήσεως εἰκόνος*.⁹¹

The *Excerpta Anonymi* author follows the source text closely and he remains faithful to the selected passages of the source text as regards events and narrative sequence. Particular attention should be given to the fact that most words of Procopius' text are reused by the *Excerpta Anonymi* in the same grammatical form. The passage was first copied word by word and

Table 2.4 The chapter *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγου περὶ παρατηρήσεως εἰκόνος* in the *Excerpta Anonymi*

Procopius, <i>De bellis</i> 5.24.22–26	Excerpta Anonymi 29, 1–13
Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ξυνηγέχθη ἐν Νεαπόλει τοιόνδε γενέσθαι. <u>Θευδερῖχου τοῦ Γότθων ἄρχοντος εἰκὼν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐτύγχανεν οὕσα, ἐκ ψηφίδων τινῶν συγκειμένη, μικρὸν μὲν ἐς ἄγαν, χροιαῖς δὲ βεβαμμένων σχεδὸν τι ἀπάσαις. ταύτης τῆς εἰκόνος ποτὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν διαρρυῆναι ζῶντος Θευδερῖχου ξυμβέβηκε, τῆς τῶν ψηφίδων ἐπιβολῆς ἐκ τοῦ αὐτομάτου ξυνταραχθείσης, καὶ Θευδερῖχῳ ξυνηγέχθη τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα. ἐνιαντοῖς δὲ ὀκτὼ ὕστερον αἱ τὴν τῆς εἰκόνος γαστέρα ποιοῦσαι ψηφίδες διερρύησαν ἐξαπιναίως, καὶ Ἀταλάριχος ὁ Θευδερῖχου θυγατρίδους εὐθὺς ἐτελεύτα. χρόνον τε τριβέντος ὀλίγου πίπτουσι μὲν ἐς γῆν αἱ περὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα ψηφίδες, Ἀμαλασοῦνθα δὲ ἡ Θευδερῖχου παῖς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο, ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε ἐχώρησε. Γότθων δὲ Ῥώμης ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν καθισταμένων τὰ ἐκ τῶν τῆς εἰκόνος μηρῶν ἄχρι ἐς ἄκρους πόδας διεφθάρθαι τετύχηκε.</u>	Ὅ καὶ αὐτὸ εἰδὸς ἐστὶ μαντείας παρὰ τοῖς πεπλανημένοις καὶ παρατηρουμένοις τὰ πάντα. Θευδερῖχου τοῦ Γότθων ἄρχοντος εἰκὼν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐτύγχανεν οὕσα, ἐκ ψηφίδων τινῶν συγκειμένη, ταύτης τῆς εἰκόνος ποτὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν διαρρυῆναι ζῶντος Θευδερῖχου συμβέβηκε, τῆς τῶν ψηφίδων ἐπιβολῆς ἐκ τοῦ αὐτομάτου συνταραχθείσης, καὶ Θευδερῖχῳ συνηγέχθη τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον εὐθέως. μετὰ δὲ ἔτη ὀκτὼ καὶ ἡ γαστήρ διερρύη ἐξαίφνης καὶ Ἀταλάριχος ὁ θυγατρίδους Θευδερῖχου ἐτελεύτησεν. ὀλίγον δὲ παρελθόντος χρόνου πίπτουσιν αἱ περὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα ψηφίδες καὶ Ἀμαλασοῦνθα ἡ θυγάτηρ Θευδερῖχου ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο. εἴτα καὶ τῶν ποδῶν ῥυέντων ὁ λαὸς αὐτοῦ διεφθάρη.

91 *Excerpta Anonymi* 29, 1–13.

it was read through to the end before being edited. Likewise in the chapter *Περὶ τῶν β' σταυρῶν τῶν ληστῶν*, our compiler abridges, to some extent, his source by omitting less necessary material. He does not summarise and he does not wish to deviate from the meaning of the original text. The original text was supplemented with information by the compiler himself: it is the introductory statement in bold at the beginning of the *Excerpta Anonymi* passage. The importance of the frequent use of such brief introductions by the *Excerpta Anonymi* compiler has already been pointed out. In that way, our compiler makes the narrative sequence of the collection more coherent, comments on or justifies his own criteria of selection of certain texts, and attempts to make his enterprise consistent and comprehensible. The excerptors working under the auspices of Constantine Porphyrogenitus also, often, add a short introduction to selected source texts by combining words found elsewhere in the original text. To give but one example, when excerpting Polybius IV.29–30, the excerptors augmented the story with a few phrases taken from the end of the original text.⁹² In the following chapters, we shall see that the strategy was also used in the *Excerpta Salmasiana*, *Epitome of the Seventh Century*, and *Excerpta Planudea*. It turns out that their compilers were conscious of the flawed contextualisation arisen from excerpting a passage from its original context. Their compiler's conceptual approach, textual practice, and methods coincide with those detected in the *EC*.

2.4 The *EC* and the *Excerpta Anonymi*⁹³

It has become clear by now that the *Excerpta Anonymi* and the *EC* were the products of a common approach to older texts in Byzantium. They are a typical product of the *culture of sylloge*.⁹⁴ Their compilers construct a new narrative on the basis of a series of excerpts and the new whole warrants the transmission of knowledge through a new form, namely that of an excerpt collection. In what follows, I focus on the possibility of a textual relation between the tenth-century *Excerpta Anonymi* and the *EC*. The hypothesis is advanced that the anonymous compiler of the *Excerpta Anonymi* relied on earlier collections of excerpts and must have drawn on draft copies produced during the redaction of the Constantinian collections. A. Németh has proved in his dissertation that draft copies were, indeed, written before the final copies of the *EC*.⁹⁵ The existence of drafts for the *EC*

92 *EL*, 29; on the use of Polybius' *Histories* in the *EC*, see Moore (1965), 166–167.

93 The section originates in my article “The *Excerpta Anonymi* and the *Constantinian Excerpts*” published in *Byzantinoslavica* 75 (2017), 250–264. The book is edited by P. Odorico and includes contributions dedicated to the *Excerpta Constantiniana*.

94 Odorico (1990), 1–21; (2011a), 89–107; see also n. 15 in the Introduction.

95 The examination of the excerpting method in the *EC* corroborates the existence of intermediary steps, that is draft copies, before the final copies of the *EC* are executed cf. Németh (2010), 93–177l. See also Featherstone (2013), 353–372.

raises the possibility that scholars, not necessarily involved in the *EC* project, could have access to these copies. One should ask whether texts of these drafts could have been used in works other than those of the fifty-three subject-volumes of the *EC*. The latter could lead us to the intriguing hypothesis that the *Excerpta Anonymi* relied on material also used in the Constantinian project.

Interestingly, there is a group of works that could support the use of the *EC*, directly or indirectly, in the first as well as in the second half of the tenth century. The idea that other imperial treatises also used material, gathered in the first place for the *EC* was first advanced by I. Ševčenko, who argued for the direct use of the *Excerpta de legationibus* from the *DT*, *DAI*, and *Theophanes Continuatus* in the case of the story of Soldan's capture by Louis II and his escape.⁹⁶ A. Németh puts emphasis on the close relationship between the *EC* and the *DC* in terms of structure and content.⁹⁷ J. Signes Codoñer advances the hypothesis that the author of the *Theophanes Continuatus* was also involved in the project of the *EC*.⁹⁸ In addition to these works, a collection of excerpts on sieges (codex *Parisinus suppl. gr.* 607),⁹⁹ the *Excerpta Anonymi*, and the historical work by Leo the Deacon provide further evidence for the use of the *EC*.¹⁰⁰ Significantly, Leo the Deacon's passage on the source of the river Istros bears a striking resemblance to a passage in the *Excerpta Anonymi*, labelled as *Περὶ Ἰστρου τοῦ ποταμοῦ*. The question to be raised is whether Leo the Deacon and the anonymous compiler of the *Excerpta Anonymi* have used a common source and if they do so, what this source was. Could this common text be one or more excerpts drawn from one of the Constantinian collections?

2.4.1 The EC

The *EC* is a collection of historical excerpts accomplished under the auspices of the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus. The project started before the sole reign of Constantine Porphyrogenitus (945–959),¹⁰¹ lasted with certainty for decades, but we are not able to know when precisely it was completed.¹⁰² The analysis

96 cf. Ševčenko (1992a), 191 n.60. The same in Pratsch (1994), 70–71. See Signes Codoñer (2017), esp. 26–38 and Németh (2018), 121–144.

97 Németh (2018), 137–144.

98 Signes Codoñer (2017), 39. The same in Németh (2018), esp. 148–156

99 The excerpts on sieges seem to have been copied in the *Parisinus suppl. gr.* 607 earlier than the extant copies of the *EC* are executed. Similarities in content and excerpting method point to the use of Constantinian collections at an early stage of their redaction; cf. Németh (2010), 147–172; Németh (2018), 115–120 and 191–193.

100 On Leo the Deacon, see Panagiotakes (1965); Markopoulos (2000); Talbot and Sullivan (2005).

101 In *Theophanes Continuatus*, it is attested to that Constantine established a library in the Camillas palace accumulating books from all over the known world in order to accomplish the major project of the so-called *EC*; cf. *Theophanes Continuatus*, 206, 80–82. Constantine shared the throne with Romanos Lekapenus from 920 until 945.

102 According to A. Németh, Basil the Nothos stands behind the final production of the deluxe copies of the *EC* completed in the early years of Basil II (958–1025); Németh (2010), 1; Németh (2018),

of the content in the *EC* betrays attempts made by the emperor to impose imperial authority on the selection of knowledge of the past.¹⁰³ As mentioned already, the format of the *EC* and their manner of systematising historical works show affinities with other collections of historical excerpts.¹⁰⁴

The *EC* as they have survived transmit excerpts from twenty-six historiographers from the fifth century BC to the ninth century AD.¹⁰⁵ The excerpts have been singled out and grouped in fifty-three collections which, in the preface to the work, are called *ὑποθέσεις*.¹⁰⁶ Each of the five *ὑποθέσεις* that have come down to us corresponds thematically to a subject. Two collections have fully survived and the rest have been transmitted partially: the *Excerpta de virtutibus et vitiis* have survived in a tenth-century parchment codex, the *Peirescianus* (*Turonensis* 980).¹⁰⁷ The *Excerpta de sentiētiis* have been handed down in a palimpsest manuscript, namely the codex *Vaticanus graecus* 73.¹⁰⁸ The two *ὑποθέσεις Excerpta de legationibus* have been partially transmitted through different manuscripts. Both collections were contained in a codex, the *Scorialensis* B.I.4, deposited in the Escorial Library, which, unfortunately, was destroyed in a fire in 1671.¹⁰⁹ Finally, the *ὑποθέσεις Excerpta de insidiis* is partially preserved in two different manuscripts from the sixteenth century, namely the codices *Parisinus gr.* 1666 and *Scorialensis* Ω.I.11.¹¹⁰

37. Treadgold, by contrast, believes that the *EC* were completed not long before 959; Treadgold, (2013), 157.

103 Németh (2010).

104 See n. 94.

105 The *EC* transmit a passage taken from a second-century novelist named Iamblichus. It is the only fragment from a work of fiction included in the *EC*; Németh (2018), 7. For a complete list of the authors, see Lemerle (1971), 285–287; Flusin (2002), 546–550 and 558. Th. Büttner-Wobst suggested that there were twenty-eight excerpted authors. He includes Marcellinus, the author of *A Life of Thucydides*, whose excerpts are found in the *Excerpta de virtutibus et vitiis* and the anonymous continuator of Cassius Dio, whose excerpts are found in the *Excerpta de sentiētiis*; cf. Büttner-Wobst (1906), 88–120, esp. 96. See also the discussion about the authors included in Photius' *Bibliotheca* but not in the *EC* in Treadgold (2013), 160–162. On Constantine Porphyrogenitus' selection of authors to be excerpted in the *EC*, see Németh (2010), 38–50; Kaldellis (2012), 71–85; Németh (2018), esp. 171–184.

106 Németh (2018), 71–77 attempts to explain the choice of number fifty-three via Christian numerology, mathematics, and ideology.

107 On this manuscript, see *EV* I, viii–xlii. A. Németh, based on parallels in decoration between the codex *Turonensis* 980 and later manuscripts, suggested that the codex was made after Constantine Porphyrogenitus' death; Németh (2010), 97. P. Sotiroudis dates the codex *Peirescianus* to the eleventh century; cf. Sotiroudis (1989), 165–171.

108 On the codex *Vaticanus graecus* 73, see Mercati and De Cavalieri (1923), 67–78; Németh (2010), 127–134; Németh (2015), 281–330.

109 All copies from the lost codex we possess were made by Andreas Darmarios and his collaborators; Graux (1880), 93–97; de Boor (1902), 146–150. On the distinction between the two collections of *Excerpta de legationibus*, see Flusin (2002) and Carolla (2008), 129–170.

110 *El*, xviii–xx. On *Scorialensis* Ω.I.11, see Sotiroudis (1989), 174–178 and Carolla (2016), 241–243. *Parisinus gr.* 1666 contains only excerpts from Diodorus of Sicily and John of Antioch. On the textual transmission of Diodorus of Sicily's *Bibliotheca* via the *EC*, see n. 206 in Chapter 1.

Relying on the notes in the margins of the five surviving collections, scholars have suggested titles for the missing *ὑποθέσεις* of the *EC*.¹¹¹ In addition to the aforementioned cross-references, Németh argues that the topics of the thematic collections of the *EC* can be identified on the basis of the priorities of interest in other court treatises compiled on the mid-tenth century under the supervision of Constantine VII and Basil Lecapenus.¹¹² Despite this, he accepts that the cross-references transmitted in the margins of the extant copies of the *EC* are the most reliable source for the titles.¹¹³ In the *prooemium* to the *EC* the first *ὑπόθεσις* is called *περὶ βασιλέων ἀναγορεύσεως* (*On the Inauguration of Emperors*).¹¹⁴ Throughout the *EC* and other works attributed to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, we detect a particular interest in matters concerning the imperial court. Concerns about imperial hierarchy and the succession of emperors are also manifest in a number of titles transmitted in the *EC* as well as in the *De cerimoniis*.¹¹⁵ Suggested titles such as *περὶ διαδοχῆς βασιλέων* (*On the Succession of Sovereigns*),¹¹⁶ *περὶ γάμων* (*On Marriages*),¹¹⁷ *περὶ καيسάρων* (*On the Caesars*),¹¹⁸ *περὶ ἐπιβουλῶν κατὰ βασιλέων γεγονυῶν* (*On Conspiracies against Rulers*)¹¹⁹ and *περὶ πολιτικῶν διοικήσεων* (*On Political Affairs*)¹²⁰ are linked to Constantine's interest in the imperial court as well as in politics. A. Németh has also suggested that such titles reflect Constantine's insecurity about his legitimacy.¹²¹ K. Schreiner augments the list conjecturing

111 In this respect, the codex *Vaticanus gr.* 977 containing Theophylact Simocatta's *Historiae* and its continuation by the patriarch Nicephorus is of particular importance: the codex was used and marked by Constantine Porphyrogenitus' collaborators; cf. Schreiner (1987), 1–30. On numbers and names of the collections, see Wäschke (1882); Büttner-Wobst (1906b), 105–119; Lemerle (1971), 327–328; Schreiner (1987), 13–23; Flusin (2002), 553–555; Németh (2010), 65–69.

112 Németh (2018), 187–211.

113 Németh (2018), 186.

114 The title also occurs as a cross-reference in *Turonensis* 980, f. 39r; Németh (2018), 187.

115 See Németh (2018), 188. The table of contents of the *De cerimoniis* records the existence of a chapter on imperial succession; it is Chapter 42, which in the index of Book II is entitled: *Υπόμνημα ἐν συντόμῳ τῶν βασιλέων ἐν τῇδε τῇ μεγάλῃ καὶ εὐτυχιστάτῃ Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου καὶ ἀγίου Κωνσταντίνου*. This chapter has been lost in the manuscript tradition of the *De cerimoniis*. As, however, C. Mango and I. Ševčenko have argued the chapter is preserved in a palimpsest codex in Istanbul, the codex *Chalcensis S. Trinitatis* (125) 133; cf. Mango and Ševčenko (1962), 61–63.

116 Boissvain (1906), 289. A cross-reference to this title appears in *ES* 289: *ὡς γέγραπται ἐν τῷ περὶ διαδοχῆς βασιλέων*; Németh (2018), 188.

117 A cross-reference to the title occurs in *EV1*, 298; Büttner-Wobst (1906b), 116–117.

118 The cross-reference is found in the *EI* 75; Büttner-Wobst (1906b), 117.

119 This title is transmitted as a cross-reference in the *EI*. A similar title, probably referring to the same collection of passages, appears in the *EV1*, 62: *ῥῆται ἐν τῷ περὶ ἐπιβουλῆς*; Németh (2010), 81; Németh (2018), 189.

120 *EI* 22: *περὶ πολιτικῶν* and *EV1*, 207: *περὶ πολιτικῶν διοικήσεων*. Németh suggests that the sentence *τὸ ῥηθὲν ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς*, appeared in the *EV2*, 107, probably points to the same collection; Németh (2018), 194.

121 Németh (2017), 257. Holmes (2010), 55–80 shows that Constantine Porphyrogenitus exploited military compilation literature in order to gain political legitimacy and enhance his political authority. The Patriarch Nicholas I Mysticus (901–907 and 912–925) denied recognizing Con-

the existence of collections on festivals and the deaths of the emperors.¹²² The volume entitled *περὶ κυνηγίας* (*On Hunting*) can also be included in the interests of Constantine Porphyrogenitus' inner circle.¹²³ Constantine's interest in military affairs, specifically in war and diplomacy, is mirrored through the *ὑποθέσεις* bearing the proposed titles *περὶ στρατηγημάτων* (*On the Command of the Army*),¹²⁴ *περὶ νίκης* (*On Victory*),¹²⁵ *περὶ ἥττης* (*On Defeat*),¹²⁶ *περὶ ἀνακλήσεως ἥττης* (*On the Transformation of Defeat into Victory*),¹²⁷ *περὶ συμβολῆς πολέμων* (*On Battles*),¹²⁸ *(On Sieges)*,¹²⁹ *(On Reasons for War)*,¹³⁰ *περὶ δημηγοριῶν* (*On Public Speeches*),¹³¹ *περὶ πρέσβειων* (*On Embassies by the Romans to the Barbarians and On Embassies by the Barbarians to the Romans*).¹³² Constantine's interest in war-time virtues becomes manifest in the volume *On Virtue and Vice*.¹³³ Constantine Porphyrogenitus was also interested in geography and ethnography. Apart from the ethnographical digressions embedded in two other works attributed to him, the *DAI* and the *DT*, he appears to have included collections entitled as *περὶ ἐθῶν* (*On Customs*),¹³⁴ *περὶ ἐθνῶν* (*On Nations*),¹³⁵ and *περὶ οἰκισμῶν* (*On the Settlements*).¹³⁶

Scholars have also suggested titles for collections consisting of *ekphraseis* of monuments or vestments (*περὶ ἐκφράσεως*),¹³⁷ epigrams (*ἐν τοῖς ἐπιγράμμασι*),¹³⁸ letters (*περὶ ἐπιστολῶν*),¹³⁹ gnomic statements (*περὶ γνωμῶν*),¹⁴⁰ and mythol-

stantine Porphyrogenitus as a legitimate heir to the throne because he was the son of the emperor Leo VI and his fourth wife, Zoe Karbonopsina; on the controversies regarding the validity of Leo VI's marriage, see Oikonomides (1976a), 161–172 and (1976b). See also n. 2 in the Introduction.

122 Schreiner (1987), 21–23.

123 *ELg* 27. See also in Németh (2010), 83; Németh (2018), 197.

124 *ELg* 14; *ELg* 379; *EI* 33; *EVI*, 335; *EV2*, 116; *EV2*, 123; *ES* 93.19.

125 *ELg* 390.

126 *ES* 210.

127 *EVI*, 9.

128 *EI* 207. According to Németh, the title *περὶ συμβολῆς* transmitted in *EVI*, 99 refers to a separate thematic collection. He translates the *περὶ συμβολῆς* into *On Combats*; Németh (2018), 191.

129 The title is not transmitted in a cross-reference; Schreiner (1987), 21–23.

130 The title is not transmitted in a cross-reference; Schreiner (1987), 2–23.

131 *ELr* 484; *EVI*, 63; *EV2*, 153; *ES* 412; *EI* 4; *EI* 30; *EI* 48; *EI* 215; *EI* 222.

132 *ELg* 1–2, 4, 6, 7, 19, 65, 8, 81, 90, 121, 255, 270, 221, 229, 302, 364, 375, 380, 387, 390, 396, 410, 435–442, 477, 489, 513–568, 575, 591.

133 The cross-reference to the *EV* is found in *EI* 87: *περὶ κακίας καὶ ἀρετῆς*.

134 *ELr* 26.

135 *EVI*, 84.

136 *EVI*, 36.

137 *EVI*, 123, 23–24: *ἐν τῷ περὶ ἐκφράσεως*; see also in Büttner-Wobst (1906b), 111; Németh (2010), 91. Németh (2018), 196 makes reference to a hypothetical collection of the *marvels of Constantinople*. As we have seen such passages were also included in the *Excerpta Anonymi* that drew on the *Parastaseis*.

138 *EVI*, 207: *ζῆται ἐν τοῖς ἐπιγράμμασι*. See also in Németh (2010), 86–90.

139 *ELg* 451.

140 *EVI*, 212 and *EVI*, 254 transmit the title: *περὶ γνωμῶν*. The *ES* 222 transmits the title *περὶ γνωμικῶν ἀποστομισμάτων*. Németh (2018), 209–210 supports that the latter variant should be taken as an *authoritative title*.

ogy (*περὶ Ἑλληνικῆς ἱστορίας*)¹⁴¹ all excerpted from the historical texts that the excerptors of the *EC* had at their disposal. The titles of two other volumes reconstructed on the basis of the marginalia are *περὶ ἀνδραγαθημάτων* (*On Courageous Deeds*)¹⁴² and *περὶ τοῦ τίς τι ἐξεῦρε* (*On Inventors and Their Inventions*).¹⁴³ The former probably contained excerpts on peculiar events and the latter on various innovative ideas and their inventors.

Constantine's interest in theology is reflected in the title *περὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῶν* (*On Ecclesiastical Affairs*) of the *EC*.¹⁴⁴ The content of the collection bearing the title *περὶ παραδόξων* (*On Miraculous Events*)¹⁴⁵ is difficult to determine with accuracy. It is likely that this collection included passages on Christian miracles as well as on portents in non-Christian contexts. It is noteworthy that the *Excerpta de Legationibus gentium ad Romanos* transmit four excerpts drawn from the *Historia Ecclesiastica* by Socrates.¹⁴⁶ The possibility that other ecclesiastical historians were excerpted in the *EC* cannot be ruled out.¹⁴⁷ Constantine's interest in theology and hagiography is also expressed through works published on his initiative or under his reign: homilies on the translations of the relics of St John Chrysostom,¹⁴⁸ Gregory Referendarios' homily on the translation of the Mandylion,¹⁴⁹ Theodore Daphnopates' oration on the translation of the arm of

141 Büttner-Wobst (1906a), 100 argued that this collection would have included passages on *Pagan history*. Németh interprets the *περὶ Ἑλληνικῆς ἱστορίας* as *On Pagan Myths*; Németh (2018), 198–199. The cross-reference to this collection is found in *EVI*, 353: *ζήτει τὰ λείποντα περὶ ἑλληνικῆς ἱστορίας*.

142 *EI* 33; *EI* 222; *EVI*, 338; *EVI*, 354.

143 *ES* 222: *ζήτει ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ τίς τι ἐξεῦρε*. The statement has been taken as a cross-reference to the lost book *On Inventors and Their Inventions* in Schreiner (1987), 21 and Flusin (2002), 555. The same in Treadgold (2013), 159 who translates the statement as *On Who Discovered What*. Recently, Németh unburied de Boor's proposition that the statement may point to the existence of a now lost index book assisting the scribes of the final books of the *EC* to arrange the excerpted passages by topic. Accordingly, Németh renders the statement as *On Who Found What*; de Boor (1884a), 140–144; Németh (2018), 107–108.

144 *EVI*, 145.

145 *EVI*, 40–41; *EV2*, 172.

146 *ELg* 387–390.

147 Flusin (2002), 540.

148 Κωνσταντίνου ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ Χριστῷ, τῷ αἰωνίῳ βασιλεῖ, βασιλέως, υἱοῦ Λέοντος τοῦ σοφωτάτου καὶ ἀειμνήστου βασιλέως, λόγος, ἡνίκα τὸ τοῦ σοφοῦ Χρυσοστόμου ἱερὸν καὶ ἅγιον σκῆνος ἐκ τῆς ὑπερορίας ἀνακομισθὲν ὥσπερ τις πολυόλβος καὶ πολυέραςτος ἐναπετέθη θησαυρὸς τῇ βασιλίδι ταύτῃ καὶ ὑπερλάμπρῳ τῶν πόλεων. Εὐλόγησον πάτερ; cf. Dyobouniotes (ed.) (1926), 303–319. P. Lemerle rejected K. Dyobouniotes' identification of Constantine Porphyrogenitus as the actual author of the homily; cf. Lemerle (1971), 271.

149 Γρηγορίου ἀρχidiaκόνου καὶ ραυφερνδαρίου τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας Κωνσταντίνου πόλεως λόγος ὅτι νόμοις ἐγκωμίων οὐχ ὑπόκειται τὸ παράδοξον καὶ ὅτι πατριάρχαι τρεῖς ἀνετάξαντο ἐκμαγεῖον εἶναι Χριστοῦ, ὅπερ ἀπὸ τὰ Αἰδεσσα μετ' ἐνακόσια ἔτη καὶ ἐννεακαίδεκα μετηγήγετο βασιλέως εὐσεβοῦς ἐν ἔτει ζυνβ'; cf. Dubarle (ed.) (1997); Guscin (ed.) (2009), 70–87.

St John Prodromos,¹⁵⁰ the chains of St Peter,¹⁵¹ the translation of the relics of the Image of Edessa,¹⁵² a panegyric on the translation of the relics of St Gregory of Nazianzus,¹⁵³ and the *Synaxarion Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*.¹⁵⁴

In the following, I suggest that, for the chapter “On the River Istros”,¹⁵⁵ the compiler of the *Excerpta Anonymi* drew on a collection of geographical material, whereas for the chapters “On Cyrus”¹⁵⁶ and “On Remus and Romulus”¹⁵⁷ he drew on a Constantinian collection of occult science. Similarly, passages on Roman history in the *Excerpta Anonymi* derive from a collection on dreams and occult science. In what follows, I shall undertake a close analysis of the source texts of the *Excerpta Anonymi* chapters *Περὶ Ἰστρου τοῦ ποταμοῦ* (“On the Istros River”), *Περὶ Κύρου* (“On Cyrus”) and *Περὶ Ῥώμου καὶ Ῥωμύλου* (“On Remus and Romulus”).

2.4.2 The chapter *Περὶ Ἰστρου τοῦ ποταμοῦ*¹⁵⁸

Richard Wünsch indicated as sources of the chapter *Περὶ Ἰστρου τοῦ ποταμοῦ* of the *Excerpta Anonymi* passages from the *De Mensibus* and the *De magistratibus populi romani libri tres*, both composed by John Lydus.¹⁵⁹ Yet John Lydus was not the source for the excerptor. With only very few exceptions, the passages of the *De Mensibus* and the *De Magistratibus* do not bear any textual similarities with the *Excerpta Anonymi* chapter *Περὶ Ἰστρου τοῦ ποταμοῦ*. This conflicts with the fact that the *Excerpta Anonymi* normally remain faithful to the original text and, in many cases, copy their sources word by word. In fact, more than half of the

150 Ἐγκόμιον εἰς τὴν ἀνακομιδὴν τῆς τιμίας χειρὸς τοῦ Προδρόμου ἐξ Ἀντιοχείας γινομένην; cf. Latyshev (ed.) (1910), 15–38.

151 Λόγος εἰς τὴν προσκύνησιν τῆς τιμίας ἀλύσεως τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ κορυφαίου τῶν ἀποστόλων Πέτρου; cf. Batareikh (ed.) (1908), 978–1005. E. Batareikh (1908), 974–975 attributes the homily to John Chrysostom. In P. Lemerle’s view the homily was written on Constantine Porphyrogenitus’ initiative; cf. Lemerle (1971), 272.

152 Κωνσταντίνου ἐν Χριστῷ βασιλεῖ αἰωνίῳ βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων διήγησις ἀπὸ διαφόρων ἄθροισθεῖσα ἱστοριῶν περὶ τῆς πρὸς Αὐγαρον ἀποσταλείσης ἀχειροποιήτου θείας εἰκόνης Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν, καὶ ὡς ἐξ Ἑδέσης μετεκομίσθη πρὸς τὴν πανευδαίμονα ταύτην καὶ βασιλίδα τῶν πόλεων Κωνσταντινούπολιν; cf. Guscini (ed.) (2009), 8–69. The transfer of the *Mandylion*, which bore the image of Christ’s face, from Edessa to Constantinople was seen by Constantine Porphyrogenitus as an omen signifying his ascent to the throne. The text was incorporated in the *Menologion*; see Dobschütz (1901), 166–170; Høgel (2002), 63; Németh (2018), 32.

153 Λόγος εἰς τὴν ἐπάνοδον τῶν λειψάνων τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου; cf. Flusin (ed.) (1999), 40–79.

154 Flusin (2001) 41–47.

155 *Περὶ Ἰστρου τοῦ ποταμοῦ*; cf. *Excerpta Anonymi* 42, 5–44, 21.

156 *Περὶ Κύρου*; cf. *Excerpta Anonymi* 33, 1–36, 9.

157 *Περὶ Ῥώμου καὶ Ῥωμύλου*; cf. *Excerpta Anonymi* 36, 10–37, 29.

158 *On the River Istros*.

159 Wünsch (ed.) (1898), x–xx. On the *De mensibus*, see Bandy (2013). On the *De magistratibus*, see Bandy (1983). See also n.63.

passage *Περὶ Ἰστροῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ* is drawn from Herodotus.¹⁶⁰ For the rest of the chapter the source used by the compiler needs further investigation.

Specifically, the chapter *Περὶ Ἰστροῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ* can be divided thematically into four consecutive parts, which refer to the four rivers of Paradise: Istros (42, 5–43, 14), Nile (43, 14–26), Tigris and Euphrates (43, 27–44, 9) and again Nile (44, 10–21). Let us attempt to pin down the source text for each one of the four parts. The part on the river Istros (42, 5–43, 14) is composed from three separate texts (see Table 2.5): Herodotus' *History*,¹⁶¹ John Lydus' *De magistratibus*,¹⁶² and Ps.-Caesarius' *Quaestiones et responsiones*.¹⁶³ In particular, Herodotus appears to be the source text for the *Excerpta Anonymi* 42, 5–43, 2, the *De magistratibus* is the source for the *Excerpta Anonymi* 43, 3–11, and Ps.-Caesarius for the *Excerpta Anonymi* 43, 11–14. The material on the rivers Tigris and Euphrates (43, 27–44, 9) has been taken from the *Paraphrases in Dionysium Periegetam*.¹⁶⁴ Finally, the two passages on the Nile (*Excerpta Anonymi* 43, 14–26 and 44, 10–21) are taken from Diodorus Sicily's *Bibliotheca historica*¹⁶⁵ and John Lydus' *De Mensibus*, respectively.¹⁶⁶

On the basis of this table, it is apparent that the chapter *Περὶ Ἰστροῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ* of the *Excerpta Anonymi* is a mixture of different works, all concerned with the four aforementioned rivers, though. Impressively, the works combined in the chapter are of different literary genres; the text is made up of excerpts from two historical works (Herodotus, Diodorus of Sicily), a geographical treatise (Dionysius Periegetes), two antiquarian texts (John Lydus), and an ecclesiastical work (Ps.-Caesarius).

Table 2.5 The sources of the passage *On the Istros river*, 42, 5–44, 21

Theme	Source
Istros 42, 5–43, 2	Herodotus, <i>History</i> 4, 48–50
Istros 43, 3–11	John Lydus, <i>De magistratibus populi Romani</i> , 3, 32
Istros 43, 11–14	Ps.-Caesarius, <i>Quaestiones et responsiones</i> , ch. 67 and 163
Nile 43, 14–26	Diodorus of Sicily, <i>Bibliotheca historica</i> 1, 37, 9
Tigris and Euphrates 43, 27–44, 9	<i>Paraphrases in Dionysium Periegetam</i> 977–1000
Nile 44, 10–21	John Lydus, <i>De Mensibus</i> , 4, 107

160 M. Treu indicates Herodotus along with a passage from John Lydus' *De Mensibus* as the only sources of the chapter "On the Istros River"; cf. Treu (1880), 58.

161 *Herodotus*, 4, 48–50.

162 *De magistratibus populi Romani*, 3, 32.

163 *Quaestiones et responsiones*, Chapters 67 and 163.

164 *Paraphrases in Dionysium Periegetam*, 977–1000.

165 *Bibliotheca historica* 1, 37, 9.

166 *De Mensibus*, 4, 107.

Interestingly, such an approach towards source texts on the part of the *Excerpta Anonymi* is unique: in all the other chapters of the *Excerpta Anonymi*, the texts excerpted are clearly distinguished from each other and occasionally identified by the compiler himself. The exceptional situation in the chapter on the River Istros therefore makes it unlikely that the compiler of the *Excerpta Anonymi* was the compiler of the passage handed down to us under the title *Περὶ Ἰστρου τοῦ ποταμοῦ*. This hypothesis is corroborated when examining the collection in its entirety. The *Excerpta Anonymi* transmit a *sylloge* of excerpts just like those produced in Byzantium from the fifth century onwards. Excerpt collections appear to conform to a number of structural principles: the compiler of a *sylloge* excerpts pre-existent texts and edits them while respecting their general structure. Furthermore, the selection of excerpts in the *Excerpta Anonymi* was based on general criteria such as accuracy, clarity, brevity and yet faithfulness to the original narration. The compiler of the *Excerpta Anonymi* creates a new narrative on the basis of excerpts. The chapter *Περὶ Ἰστρου τοῦ ποταμοῦ*, by contrast, presents itself as a single excerpt but is in fact a brief compilation within a collection of excerpts. Throughout the *Parisinus suppl. gr.* 607a, with the exception of the chapter *Περὶ Ἰστρου τοῦ ποταμοῦ*, there is no evidence that our compiler merges separate source texts to create a single excerpt. The conclusion must be that the compiler of the *Excerpta Anonymi* has excerpted the passage on the four rivers of Paradise as a single entity from another manuscript. What was, however, the nature of that manuscript? Was it a different excerpt collection, miscellaneous writings, a depository of notes intended for the private use of the compiler, or a manuscript representing an intermediate stage to a final work? The composite nature of the passage, a conflation of different works on the same subject, could favour the latter argument. The hypothesis is further strengthened by the existence of another work containing a text very close to the chapter *Περὶ Ἰστρου τοῦ ποταμοῦ* of the *Excerpta Anonymi*: Leo the Deacon's *Historia* transmits a passage similar to that of the collection; the only divergence is that Leo the Deacon records that the Istros resurfaces in the Celtic Mountains, whereas in the *Excerpta Anonymi* the river reemerges in the Apennine Mountains.¹⁶⁷

Leo the Deacon was born ca. 950 in western Anatolia and came to Constantinople in his youth to receive his secondary education. He was ordained a deacon around 970 and joined the palace clergy in 976 during the reign of Basil II. Several passages in his *Historia* manifest his classical education.¹⁶⁸ As a member of the palace clergy he is likely to have had access to the imperial scriptorium and to the draft copies of the *EC*.¹⁶⁹

167 Leo the Deacon's work survives in the *Parisinus gr.* 1712, ff. 272r–322r (fourteenth c.). On *Parisinus gr.* 1712, see Snipe (1991), 543–548. Németh (2018), 159 mentions that a flyleaf containing Leo the Deacon's erased text was recently discovered in *Vaticanus gr.* 1307, f. i (thirteenth c.).

168 Talbot and Sullivan (2005), 9–10.

169 The same has also been supported by A. Németh; cf. Németh (2010), 99; Németh (2018), 158–161. On the existence of the imperial scriptorium, see Irigoien (1959), 177–181.

In his *Historia*, Leo the Deacon draws on a significant number of earlier historians, such as Herodotus, Thucydides, Diodorus of Sicily, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Procopius, and Agathias.¹⁷⁰ It is noteworthy that all of these historians had also been excerpted and used in the *EC*.¹⁷¹ In addition, Leo the Deacon's *Historia* contains a considerable number of speeches and digressions reflecting topics of the fifty-three Constantinian *hypotheses*: the origin of the Mysians, the customs of the Rus, and the accounts on the *Hole Tile*, and on the source of the river Istros.¹⁷² As mentioned above, Leo's passage on the source of the river Istros bears a striking resemblance to the passage in the *Excerpta Anonymi*, labelled as *Περὶ Ἰστροῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ*. The question to be raised is whether Leo the Deacon and the anonymous compiler of the *Excerpta Anonymi* used a common source and if they did so what was this source. Could this source be one or more excerpts drawn from one of the Constantinian collections?

2.4.3 *Περὶ Κύρου and Περὶ Ρώμου καὶ Ρωμύλου*¹⁷³

The other two chapters, under discussion, are “On Cyrus” and “On Remus and Romulus”. In the *Excerpta Anonymi* 32, 28–33, the anonymous compiler interrupts the sequence of excerpts to insert a statement of his own. Apparently, he intends to inform the reader about the content of the forthcoming chapters:

Καὶ εἶπον ἄν καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ καθ' ἐξῆς τοῦ χρόνου μέχρι σχεδὸν τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς. ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ δόξω θηρώμενος δόξαν κενὴν ταῦτα γράφειν, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῶν πλείστων πᾶσι γνωσκομένων Κύρου μνησθήσομαι καὶ Ρωμύλου σὺν τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ· τὰ γὰρ περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Πριάμου καὶ Οἰδίποδος τί καὶ γράφοιμι μηδενὸς τὰ κατ' αὐτοῦς ἀγνοοῦντος.

I could say even more of such things, one after another, up to our time, but in order not to be considered that I write about these things seeking vainglorious reputation, and because most of these things are known to all, I will mention Cyrus as well as Romulus and his brother. However, wherefore to write about Alexander, the son of Priam and about Oedipus, since everyone is acquainted with their stories?

If we take the statement at face value, we could say that the compiler had all four stories at hand, but that he selected only two, because they were less well known to the public. Moreover, the *Excerpta Anonymi* compiler names four characters,

170 Talbot and Sullivan (2005), 16–19. On the textual transmission of the work, see Panagiotakes (1965), 42–129.

171 On the use of Thucydides' *Historiae* in the *EC*, see Irigoin (1977), 242–244. On Diodorus, see n. 206 in Chapter 1. On Dionysius, see Sautel (2000), 90–91; Parmentier-Morin (2002), 461–476; Pittia (2002); Fromentin (2010). On Procopius, see n. 60 in this chapter. On Agathias, see Treadgold (2007), 279–290 and n. 50 in Chapter 3.

172 Talbot and Sullivan (2005), 16.

173 *On Cyrus* and *On Remus and Romulus*.

who all share a number of characteristics: first, they are stories about a son of a king, exposed to death but miraculously spared to accomplish great achievements later on, and second, dreams play a crucial role in all four narratives. The compiler prefers to recount only two of them, namely the story of Cyrus and the story of Remus and Romulus. At least two of these stories were known to the compilers of the *EC*: unlike the stories of Cyrus and Remus and Romulus, the story of Oedipus and of Alexander are included in the *EC*. The former is found in a short excerpt in the *EI* under the name of Nicolaus of Damascus.¹⁷⁴ The story of Alexander is presented briefly in the *EV I* where the excerptors used John of Antioch.¹⁷⁵ This renders it likely that the four stories had been excerpted and put together by the Constantinian excerptors in a now lost collection about dreams.

We can note in passing that it is likely that the *EC* also knew the two other stories. In the *EV I*, the excerptors included two passages concerning Remus and Romulus, under the name of Nicolaus of Damascus.¹⁷⁶ The excerpts were inserted immediately after excerpts narrating Cyrus' conquest of Lydia.¹⁷⁷ The coincidence in content and sequence with the *Excerpta Anonymi* is striking. The chapter *Περὶ Κόρου* in the *Excerpta Anonymi* records the Herodotean story of Cyrus' early life. Herodotus was also excerpted in the *EV 2*.¹⁷⁸ One of the excerpts juxtaposed in the *EV 2* was extracted from the story of Cyrus' early life, which is also included in the *Excerpta Anonymi*.¹⁷⁹ In particular, in the *EV 2*, we encounter the story of Harpagus, whom Astyages tricked into eating his own son. After the meal, Astyages' servants brought Harpagus the head, the arms, and the legs so that he would realise that he had eaten his own son. The previous part of the story is missing. It might or might not have been excerpted in one of the other fifty-three *hypotheses*.

The chapter *Περὶ Ρώμου καὶ Ρωμύλου* was inserted into the *Excerpta Anonymi* after the material on Cyrus and precedes a passage excerpted from Appian, namely the *Περὶ Ἀράβων μαντείας*.¹⁸⁰ In fact, the story of Cyrus is followed by two Appian excerpts, which are also thematically connected: they both narrate oracles that save someone's life, the life of *Ρώμου* and *Ρωμύλου* and the life of the author himself, respectively. With regard to the correlation between the *Περὶ Κόρου* and the two Appian excerpts, I have two points to make. First, on the left margin on f. 47v in the codex *Parisinus suppl. gr.* 607a there is a number precisely in front of the title *Περὶ Κόρου*, which reads: ις' (which equals 16). On the left margin on f. 53r, in front of the title *Περὶ Ρώμου καὶ Ρωμύλου*, the number ιζ' (e.d. 17)

174 *EI* 7. On the relationship between Nicolaus of Damascus and the *EC*, see Parmentier-Marin and Barone (2011), xi–lxi.

175 *EV* 1, 166–167.

176 *EV* 1, 349–353.

177 Though the excerpts were extracted from Dionysius of Halicarnassus, they were mistakenly inserted into text passages of Nicolaus of Damascus.

178 *EV* 2, 1–30.

179 *Excerpta Anonymi* 33, 1–36, 9.

180 *Excerpta Anonymi* 37, 30–38, 21.

occurs,¹⁸¹ and finally, on the left margin on f. 55v, in front of the title of the last Appian excerpt, we encounter the number ιη' (e.d. 18). The numeration implies an order. However, what does this order refer to? An order according to what? I suggest that the numeration at this point in the *Excerpta Anonymi* reflects the order by which the three excerpts had been copied in the manuscript which our compiler relied on. Given the fact that the three excerpts are thematically connected, this manuscript most probably was a dossier comprising material on omens and dreams, perhaps a depository of texts for later use. The fact that in the *EV* 2 two different passages, on Cyrus and Remus and Romulus respectively, had been copied in a sequence similar to that in the *Excerpta Anonymi* may be a coincidence. If we bear in mind, however, the way the Constantinian excerptors employed the complete narratives they had at hand, it seems probable that there was at least a draft manuscript containing, in sequence, material taken from the Herodotean version of Cyrus' early life and the Appian version of the founders of Rome.¹⁸²

2.4.4 The passages on Roman history

The *Excerpta Anonymi* 29, 14–32, 27 transmit a series of excerpts derived from the Cassius Dio tradition; some excerpts show similarities with Dio's direct tradition and some others exhibit textual congruence with Xiphilinus' epitome of Dio.¹⁸³ Interestingly, the concatenation of Dio excerpts in the *Excerpta Anonymi* is interrupted by four consecutive passages, which M. Treu either mistakenly assigns also to Cassius Dio or leaves unidentified.¹⁸⁴ Two of the passages, namely the *Ἄλλο Β'*¹⁸⁵ and the *Περὶ Νέρωνος*,¹⁸⁶ respectively, derive from Peter the Patrician's *Historia* preserved in the *ES* of the *EC*.¹⁸⁷

181 M. Treu here mistakenly indicates ις' in the *apparatus criticus* instead of ιζ'; cf. *Excerpta Anonymi* 36, 10.

182 The *Excerpta Anonymi* contain three further excerpts from Appian in the first part of the collection, that is, the patriographic one. The first passage is labelled as *Περὶ ἀγάλματος ἔχοντος ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ κέρατα* and was taken from Appian's book on the Syrian war (*Syrian War* 11, 57, 293–294). The second passage is entitled *Περὶ Αὔγουστον εὐτυχίας* and corresponds to Appian's book on civil wars (*Civil Wars* 2.57, 236). Finally, the last passage bears the title *Περὶ ἀγάλματος ἐν πέτρᾳ τῆς Ἀραβίας*. The text has been copied also in the *Patria II* (*Patria II*, 84). The word *πέτρα* refers to the city of Petra. Appian refers to the city of Petra again in the excerpt *Περὶ Ἀράβων μαντείας*, a fact that led P. Goukowsky to attributing the excerpt *Περὶ ἀγάλματος ἐν πέτρᾳ τῆς Ἀραβίας* also to Appian; cf. Goukowsky (1995), 63–70.

183 My thanks go to Dr. Dariya Rafiyenko for much helpful discussion on the matter: much attention is needed in dealing with U. P. Boissevain's edition of Cassius Dio. For U. P. Boissevain relied on Dio's direct tradition only when this is possible. In many cases, he combines Dio's sources in order to form a Dio text that is as reliable as possible. See, for instance, *CD* 59, 25, 5b–7 and 63, 7, 2.

184 Treu does not mention any source for the chapters *Περὶ Τιβερείου*, *Ἄλλο Β'* and *Ἄλλο Γ'* and erroneously ascribes the chapter *Περὶ Νέρωνος* to Cassius Dio; cf. Treu (1880), 58.

185 *Excerpta Anonymi* 31, 14–17.

186 *Excerpta Anonymi* 31, 24–30.

187 *ES*, 243, 11–13, and *ES*, 253, 23–27.

The *Ἄλλο Β* (*Excerpta Anonymi* 31, 14–17) is decidedly close to *ES* 14 of the *EC*. Stress should be laid on the fact that the *Excerpta Anonymi* as well as the *ES* put *τί σπουδάσεις* at the beginning of Tiberius' statement. Dio's *ἀποκτενεῖς* was substituted by the synonymous *φονεύσεις* in both the *Excerpta Anonymi* and the *ES*.

In addition, the *Excerpta Anonymi* exhibit significant similarities with another excerpt collection, namely, the *Exc.Salm.II*¹⁸⁸ with regard to the selective use of passages in the section on Roman history. Both excerptors have chosen to excerpt and include the same passages from the Cassius Dio tradition.¹⁸⁹ The wording is virtually identical. Accordingly, the excerptors appear to share an interest in occult science as well as in dreams predicting the future. They both incorporate texts dealing with emperors who mistakenly underrated the abilities of astrologers to foresee the future. The common selective use of passages testifies to the use of a common source, that is, an excerpt collection comprising certain excerpts from the Cassius Dio tradition.¹⁹⁰ The collection must have been on dreams and occult science.

I would like to draw attention to *Exc.Salm.II* 54. As Table 2.6 shows, the excerpt is impressively identical to a passage from Peter the Patrician's *Historia*, preserved in the *ES* 89 of the *EC*. The respective passage in the *Excerpta Anonymi* is, likewise, derived from the *ES*; the addition *τοὺς γόητας* in Peter the Patrician has been transmitted in both, the *Exc.Salm.II* and the *Excerpta Anonymi*. The same holds true for the sentence *καὶ αὐτοὶ νυκτὸς πρόγραμμα*, which is copied verbatim in the *Exc.Salm.II* 54 and the *Excerpta Anonymi* 31, 24–30. Cassius Dio, by contrast, says *καὶ ἐκεῖνοι* instead of *καὶ αὐτοί*. Moreover, the imperfect indicative *ἔμελλεν* at the end of the *Exc.Salm.II* 54 is only found in Peter the Patrician's text. Furthermore, that Dio's text was first abridged and used by Peter becomes manifest in the inclusion of the sentence *οὕτως ἀκριβῶς τὸ γενησόμενον προέγνωσαν* at the end of the *ES* 89. The *Exc.Salm.II* 54 do not excerpt the phrase.

188 The *Excerpta Salmasiana* are a *sylloge* of historical excerpts named after the French humanist Claude Saumaise, who copied them around the year 1606 from a mid-twelfth century codex in Heidelberg. The compiler of the *sylloge* remains anonymous but in all likelihood, he collected and put the excerpts together between the eighth and the eleventh–twelfth centuries. The *Excerpta Salmasiana*, in the form they have been handed down to us, represent a compilation of two distinct collections of excerpts. Each of the two collections is based on a different historiographical tradition. The first part, the *Exc.Salm.I* is transmitted under the name of John of Antioch. As far as the *Exc.Salm.II* are concerned, the arrangement of the selected excerpts reveals the activity of an excerptor who attempted to expand on the *Exc.Salm.I* by composing a *sylloge* running from the Deluge to the fifth century. The *Excerpta Salmasiana* are studied in Chapter 3.

189 *Exc.Salm.II* 44 = *Excerpta Anonymi* 29, 19–21 and 25–27 = *CD* 44, 17, 1 and 37, 52, 2, *Exc.Salm.II* 45 = *Excerpta Anonymi* 29, 28–30, 10 = *CD* 45, 1, 3–45, 2, 2, *Exc.Salm.II* 54 = *Excerpta Anonymi* 31, 24–30 = *Pet.Patr.* (*ES* 89) = *CD* 65, 1, 4, *Exc.Salm.II* 56 = *Excerpta Anonymi* 32, 1–9 = *CD* 67, 16, 2–3 *Exc.Salm.II* 57 = *Excerpta Anonymi* 32, 11–21 = *CD* 67, 18, 1–2.

190 It is noteworthy that *Exc.Salm.II* 53, 54, and 59 correspond to Peter the Patrician, *ES* 59, 89, and 112, respectively.

Table 2.6 Passages on Roman history excerpted in the *Excerpta Anonymi*

<i>CD 58, 23 (Xiph. 154, 7–8)</i> ¹⁹¹	<i>ES 14, 243, 11–13</i> ¹⁹²	<i>Excerpta Anonymi 31, 14–17</i>	
ἡγνόνει μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Γάιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἶπε ποτε αὐτῷ διαφερομένῳ πρὸς τὸν Τιβέριον ὅτι “ <u>σύ τε</u> <u>τοῦτον ἀποκτενεῖς καὶ σὲ</u> <u>ἄλλοι</u> ”.	Ὅτι διαπληκτιζομένων ποτὲ Γαίου καὶ Τιβερίου τοῦ ἐγγόνου ἔφη πρὸς τὸν Γάιον ὁ πάππος Τιβέριος “ <u>τί</u> <u>σπουδάξεις; καὶ σὺ</u> <u>τοῦτον φονεύσεις καὶ</u> <u>ἄλλοι σέ</u> ”.	διαπληκτιζομένων ποτὲ Γαίου τοῦ υἱοῦ Γερμανικοῦ καὶ Τιβερίου τοῦ υἱοῦ Τιβερίου ἔφη πρὸς Γάιον ὁ Τιβέριος “ <u>τί</u> <u>σπουδάξεις; καὶ σὺ</u> <u>τοῦτον φονεύσεις καὶ</u> <u>ἄλλος σέ</u> ”.	
<i>CD 65, 1, 4 (Xiph. 193, 23–30)</i> ¹⁹³	<i>ES 89, 253, 23–27</i> ¹⁹⁴	<i>Excerpta Anonymi 31, 24–30</i> ¹⁹⁵	<i>Exc. Salm. II 54</i> ¹⁹⁶
Οὐτίλλιος δὲ ἐπεὶ ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ ἐγένετο, τὰλλὰ τε διόκει ὥς που καὶ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ, καὶ πρόγραμμα ἔθετο δι’ οὗ τοὺς <u>ἀστρολόγους</u> ἐξήλασε, προειπόντες σφισιν ἐντὸς τῆσδε τῆς ἡμέρας, ῥητὴν τινα τάξας, ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς Ἰταλίας χωρῆσαι. καὶ αὐτῷ ἐκεῖνοι <u>νοκτὸς</u> ἀντιπροθέντες γράμματα ἀντιπαρήγγειλαν ἀπαλλαγῆναι ἐκ τοῦ βίου ἐντὸς τῆς ἡμέρας ἐν ᾗ ἐτελεύτησε. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως <u>ἀκριβῶς τὸ γενησόμενον</u> <u>προέγνωσαν</u> .	Ὅτι βιτέλλιος ἐξέβαλε <u>τοὺς γόντας καὶ</u> <u>τοὺς ἀστρολόγους</u> διὰ προγράμματος εἰπόντες αὐτοῖς ἐντὸς <u>ῥητῆς ἡμέρας</u> ἐκχωρῆσαι πάσης τῆς Ἰταλίας <u>καὶ αὐτοὶ</u> <u>νοκτὸς πρόγραμμα</u> <u>ἀντιτεθείκασιν</u> ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι αὐτὸν τοῦ βίου ἐν ᾗ τελευτᾷ <u>ἔμελλεν</u> . οὕτως <u>ἀκριβῶς τὸ</u> <u>γενησόμενον</u> <u>προέγνωσαν</u>	Ἐν τῷ τέλει τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ὀργισθεὶς <u>τοῖς</u> <u>γόνται καὶ ἀστρολόγους</u> ἐποίησε πρόγραμμα καὶ <u>ἀνατέθεικεν</u> αὐτὸ ἐμφαίνον ἐντὸς <u>τίνος ῥητῆς ἡμέρας</u> ἐξέρχεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐκ πάσης τῆς Ἰταλίας. οἱ δὲ <u>νοκτὸς καὶ</u> <u>αὐτοὶ ἀνατεθείκασιν</u> προσαγγέλλοντες ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι αὐτὸν τοῦ βίου ἐντὸς τῆς ἡμέρας ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν.	Οὐτίλλιος ἔθηκε πρόγραμμα <u>τοῦς</u> <u>γόντας καὶ</u> <u>ἀστρολόγους ἐντὸς</u> <u>ῥητῆς ἡμέρας</u> ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς Ἰταλίας, <u>καὶ</u> <u>αὐτοὶ νοκτὸς</u> <u>ἀντιτεθείκασιν</u> <u>πρόγραμμα</u> παραγγέλλοντες, ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι τοῦ βίου ἐντὸς ἡμέρας, ἐν ᾗ τελευτᾷ <u>ἔμελλεν</u> .

191 Transl. Banchich (2015), 31: Once when Gaius, the son of Germanicus, and Tiberius, the son of Tiberius were sparring, Tiberius said to Gaius, “Why hurry? You will kill him and another you”.

192 Transl. Banchich (2015), 31: Once when Gaius and Tiberius, his [Tiberius] descendant, were sparring, Tiberius the grandfather said to Gaius, ‘Why hurry? You will slay him and others you’.

193 Transl. Banchich (2015), 72: When Vitellius was in Rome, he was, I suppose, managing other matters as seemed right to him, and he issued an edict through which he expelled the astrologers, having told them to leave from all Italy within this day, having posted the specified one. And they, when they had issued a counter notice at night, in turn ordered him to depart from life on the day in which he died. And thus, on the one hand, they accurately prognosticated what was going to occur.

194 Transl. Banchich (2015), 72: Vitellius expelled the sorcerers and the astrologers through the edict, having told them to depart all of Italy on the specified day. And they, during the night, set up a counter edict stating that he was going to depart from life on the day in which he died. And thus, they accurately prognosticated what was going to occur.

195 At the end of his rule, irritated by the sorcerers and the astrologers, he edicted on what specified day they were to leave from all Italy. They, on the other hand, during the night, countered by announcing that he was going to depart from life on the very day he died.

196 Vitellius issued an edict to send the astrologers and the sorcerers away from Italy on a specified day. And they, during the night, countered by announcing that he was going to depart from life on the very day he died.

Strikingly, Excerpt 54 is not the only passage in the *Excerpta Salmasiana* to derive from Peter the Patrician. *Exc.Salm.II* 59 is blatantly identical to *ES* 112 of the *EC*. The *Exc.Salm.II* 59 preserves Peter's order (τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν δορυφόρων and καὶ ἐν ἀγρῷ ἔτη ζ') as well as the number of years that Similis lived (ἔτη ν'). Cassius Dio, on the other hand, records only that Similis had a life of many years (ἔτη τόσα), without giving the exact number.

Finally, *Exc.Salm.II* 53 corresponds to *ES* 59 of the *EC*. The passage transmits an oracle foretelling that the last of Aeneas' sons would kill his mother and govern.¹⁹⁷ Table 2.7 exhibits the *Excerpta Salmasiana* passages assigned to Peter the Patrician.

Table 2.7 Peter the Patrician's *Historia* in the *Excerpta Salmasiana*

<i>CD</i> 62, 18, 4 (<i>Xiph.</i> 169, 2–6)	<i>Pet.Patr. (ES 59)</i>	<i>Exc.Salm.II 53</i>
ἐπειδὴ τε ὁ Νέρων παραμυθούμενος αὐτοὺς οὐδαμοῦ ταῦτα τὰ ἔπη εὖρασθαι ἔλεγε, μεταβαλόντες ἕτερον λόγιον ὡς καὶ Σιβύλλειον ὄντως ὄν ἦδον· ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο “ἔσχατος Αἰνεαδῶν μητροκτόνος ἡγεμονεύσει”.	Ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ περιβοήτου ἔμπρησμοῦ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐλέχθη τοιοῦτόν τι λόγιον, ἔσχατος Αἰνεαδῶν μητροκτόνος βασιλεύσει.	Ὅτε δὲ ἐτέχθη εἶπον οἱ ἀστρολόγοι, ὅτι καὶ βασιλεύσει καὶ τὴν μητέρα φονεύσει· ἦν δὲ καὶ λόγιον· ἔσχατος Αἰνεαδῶν μητροκτόνος ἡγεμονεύσει.
<i>CD</i> 69, 19, 2 (<i>Xiph.</i> 253, 19–23 + <i>EVetV</i>)	<i>Pet.Patr. (ES 112)</i>	<i>Exc.Salm.II 59</i>
καὶ τὴν τῶν δορυφόρων ἀρχὴν ἄκων τε ἔλαβε καὶ λαβὼν ἐξίστατο, μόλις τε ἀφεθείς ἐν ἀγρῷ ἤσυχος ἐπτά ἔτη τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ βίου διήγαγε, καὶ ἐπὶ γε τὸ μνημα αὐτοῦ τοῦτο ἐπέγραψεν ὅτι “Σίμιλις ἐνταῦθα κεῖται βιούς μὲν ἔτη τόσα, ζήσας δὲ ἔτη ἐπτά.	Ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς Σίμιλις ἐπειδὴ βία <u>τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν δορυφόρων παρέλαβεν</u> , ἐξέστη τῆς ἀρχῆς <u>καὶ ἐν ἀγρῷ ἔτη ἐπτά</u> διήγεν· καὶ τελευτήσαντος ἐν τῷ μνημείῳ αὐτοῦ ἐπέγραψεν ὅτι Σίμιλις ἐνταῦθα κατάκειται βιούς μὲν <u>ἔτη πενήκοντα</u> , ζήσας δὲ ἔτη ἐπτά.	Ἀδριανὸς Σίμιλιν τινα, ἄνδρα φρονήσει καὶ ἐπιεικείᾳ κεκοσμημένον, ἠνάγκασε <u>τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν δορυφόρων παραλαβεῖν</u> , καὶ μόλις μὲν, ἔπεισε δ' οὖν. ὀλίγον δὲ ἐπισχὼν καὶ δεηθείς ἐξέστη τῆς ἀρχῆς <u>καὶ ἐν ἀγρῷ ἔτη ζ'</u> διαγαγὼν τελευτᾷ, ἐπιγραφῆναι προστάξας ἐν τῷ μνημείῳ αὐτοῦ· Σίμιλις ἐνταῦθα κεῖται, βιούς μὲν <u>ἔτη ν'</u> , ζήσας δὲ ἔτη ζ'.

197 The oracle is also found in the *Anthologia Graeca*; cf. *Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina*, 512.

If I am right in postulating a common source between the *Exc.Salm.II* and the *Excerpta Anonymi*, this source could be 1) a collection of excerpts on dreams and occult science; the excerpts are taken from Cassius Dio and Peter the Patrician's works and 2) Peter the Patrician's *Historia*.

The latter possibility is tempting, if very difficult to prove given the paucity of evidence for Peter's texts. The *ES* and *EL* of the *EC* are the unique sources for the sixth-century author from Thessaloniki.¹⁹⁸ The extant fragments from his history show a strong adherence to Dio's text.¹⁹⁹ This seems to be the only piece of evidence we possess with respect to his literary preference. The unidentified passages in the *Excerpta Anonymi* are congruent with the historical interests of Peter's and could easily plug gaps in his narrative as it was handed down in the *EC*. Nevertheless, both arguments are not sufficient to positively ascribe the whole section on Roman history in the *Excerpta Anonymi* to Peter the Patrician.

2.4.5 The EC as a depository of knowledge

As noted, I. Ševčenko was the first to argue that other treatises compiled in the palace also used material gathered in the first place for the *EC*.²⁰⁰ In fact, geographical interest dominates the *DT* and the *DAI*. The *DT* made use of historians excerpted also in the *EC*.²⁰¹ The same holds true for the *DAI*. In addition, the codex *Laurentianus Plut.* 55,4, which was a product of the imperial scriptorium, contains geographical information, too.²⁰²

Interestingly, there is also a group of histories that were certainly produced under the direction of Constantine Porphyrogenitus (944–959) and Basil the Nothos (that is under Nicephorus Phocas' reign, 963–969) through processes of compilation. This bunch of texts comprises Genesis' *Regum Libri Quattuor*,²⁰³

The oracle has also been transmitted as a later scribal addition to Symeon Logothetes' *Chronicon*; cf. Symeon Logothetes, *Chronicon*, 85.

198 The grammatical treatise *Περὶ Συντάξεως* transmits two brief quotations from Peter's *Historia*; cf. Bekker (ed.) (1814), 130 and 149.

199 Bleckmann (2015), 103–116; Roberto (2016), 51–67.

200 See n. 96.

201 See, for instance, passages taken from Nicolaus of Damascus and Polybius; Németh (2018), 128.

202 Dain and Foucault (1967), 362. The codex *Laurentianus Plut.* 55.4 is a collection of Leo VI's military treatises assembled by Constantine Porphyrogenitus. On the codex, see Mazzucchi (1978), 276–316, Rance (2007), 733–736; Breccia (2011), 139–140. See the similar remarks made in Németh (2018) esp. Chapter 5.

203 The history by Genesis covers more briefly the same period as the first part of the *Theophanes Continuatus* (813–867) and similarly to *Theophanes Continuatus* is addressed to Constantine Porphyrogenitus. The work survives in a single manuscript, *Lipsiensis gr.* 16 (eleventh c.), ff. 248r–285v. The narrative contains geographical notices and quotations from Homer (like the *Excerpta Anonymi*); cf. Lesmüller-Werner and Thurn (edd.) (1978), esp. xxi–xxvi.; Kaldellis (1998). Genesis completed his historical work before 961; Markopoulos (2009), 141. Genesis tends to explain place named with myths; Markopoulos (2009), 144 n.44.

the *Theophanes Continuatus*,²⁰⁴ Ps.-Symeon's *Chronographia*,²⁰⁵ and the two versions of Symeon Logothetes' *Chronicon*.²⁰⁶ These works, produced in imperial circles, show affinities in methodology, content, and sources. Accordingly, they quite often correlate with each other in terms of common references to the past, mythological figures, exaggerated accounts, and geographical allusions.²⁰⁷ The phenomenon implies the existence of a shared written tradition²⁰⁸ as well as a common repository of relevant references, that is a collection of historical-geographical material. J. Signes Codoñer holds the same view when arguing that a common source should be considered to be an anonymous collection of historical excerpts.²⁰⁹ When exploring the sources of the historical-geographical digressions encountered in the official histories throughout the tenth century, we arrive at two significant conclusions: 1) these original texts were also excerpted in the *EC* and 2) the sources were used in works which were compiled decades after Constantine Porphyrogenitus' death. The latter point may suggest that material employed in the Constantinian imperial scriptorium continued to be used and elaborated for years inside and out of it.

204 See n. 4 in the Introduction. The text has been handed down to us in a single manuscript, the codex *Vaticanus* gr. 167 and comprises six books or three distinct parts: Part 1 (four books on the reigns of Leo V, Michael II, Theophilus, and Michael III, respectively), Part 2 (a book entitled *Vita Basilii*), and Part 3 (a book on the reigns of Leo VI, Alexander, Constantine VII, Romanos I, Constantine VII, and Romanos II). The third part may consist of two separate parts given the distinct political orientation of each of them. On the title of the *Vita Basilii*, see Ševčenko (2011), 3–55.

205 The text is transmitted in the codex *Parisinus* gr. 1712 (fourteenth c.), ff. 18v–272r and remains unedited except for the folios 235r–272r edited first by F. Combefis, in Combefis (ed.) (1685), 401–498. This edition was reprinted by I. Bekker in Bekker (1838), 603–760. Beside Bekker's edition, a few passages (ff. 83r–88v) were published in Halkin (1959–1960), 7–27 and some others (ff. 200v–235r) in Browning (1965), 406–410. On the *Parisinus* gr. 1712, see Markopoulos (1978), 30–37 and Wahlgren (ed.) (2006), 46 and 87–89.

206 The first version of Symeon's chronicle was edited by S. Wahlgren; cf. Wahlgren (ed.) (2006). The second version remains poorly edited. Passages of parts of manuscripts preserved the second edition and were published in Bekker (1838), 353–481; Istrin (1922), 3–65; Markopoulos (1979), 91–100; Featherstone (1998), 420–433. On the manuscript tradition of the first and second version of the chronicle, see Wahlgren (ed.) (2006), 27–49. On the dating of the two versions, see also Markopoulos (1979), 83–119 and Treadgold (2013), 203–217. The identification of the Symeon Logothetes with Symeon Metaphrastes was disputed in Høgel (2002), 61–88 and Wahlgren (ed.) (2006), 3–8.

207 A. Markopoulos seems to be certain that Genesius' history and *Theophanes Continuatus* used common sources; cf. Markopoulos (2009), 137–150. Treadgold (2013), 180–181, Featherstone and Signes Codoñer (2015), 10–13 and Signes Codoñer (2017), 19 share A. Markopoulos' view. W. Treadgold sees the lost *Secret History* of Nicetas the Paphlagonian as the common source shared by Genesius and *Theophanes Continuatus*; cf. Treadgold, 180–196. Treadgold's view does not seem to be tenable though; see Ljubarskij (1987), 12–27 and n. 212 in Chapter 1. I. Ševčenko argued that the author of the *Regum Libri Quattuor* was a member of the literary circle of Constantine Porphyrogenitus; cf. Ševčenko (1992a), 171.

208 A. Diller first observed that the idea of historical embellishment is parallel to the revival of antique pagan themes in contemporary Byzantine plastic arts; cf. Diller (1950), 245, esp. n. 11.

209 Signes Codoñer (1993–1994), 319–341; Featherstone and Signes Codoñer (2015), 10–13. On the existence of such a source, see also Magdalino (2013c), esp. 200–206.

Specifically, the aforementioned histories transmit geographical allusions that originally occurred in Homer, Strabo, Stephanus Byzantius, Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *Antiquitates Romanae*, Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*, *Scholia* on Apollonius Rhodius, *Scholia* on Dionysius Periegetes, Arian's *Bithyniaca*, John Malalas' *Chronographia*, and Hesychius' *Patria*.²¹⁰ As noted, in addition to the imperial treatises manifesting the Constantine Porphyrogenitus' interest in geography and ethnography, *Laurentianus Plut.* 55.4, a codex assigned to the imperial scriptorium of the same period, displays the same preference for geographical and ethnographical passages.²¹¹ As far as the *Excerpta Anonymi* are concerned, the excerpt collection contains geographical references that occur likewise in some of the histories, namely the *Excerpta Anonymi* 49, 1–4 on Tarsus occur in Genesis²¹² and the *Excerpta Anonymi* 49, 17–18 on the origins of the name of the Medes bears significant resemblance to a passage in Ps.-Symeon.²¹³

I would also like to draw attention to two chapters embedded into the first part of the *Excerpta Anonymi*. The first part is mainly made up of passages on Constantinopolitan statuary. The thematic sequence is contaminated by two apparently irrelevant ethnographic digressions of two peoples, namely the Norici²¹⁴ and the Getae.²¹⁵ The first chapter is a mythical account of how the Norici adopted their ethnic name: a divinely sent boar was ravaging the land, until a man managed to catch it. Then the Norici shouted 'one man', which in their own language means *berounous* and that way the city was named Berounion. The account, not found elsewhere in Greek literature,²¹⁶ bears marked resemblance to a similar

210 For a detailed analysis of the common use of these allusions in the four official histories of the tenth century, see Diller (1950), 246–252. On the use of the geographical lexicon by Stephanus of Byzantium in works produced under the auspices of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, see Diller (1938) and Nawotka (1994), 323–324.

211 On the association of *Laurentianus Plut.* 55.4 to the imperial scriptorium, see Irigoin (1959), 177–181 and Irigoin (1977), 298–299. Other manuscripts assigned to this scriptorium are the two codices of the *EC* (*Turonensis* 980 and *Vaticanus gr.* 73), a personal manuscript of Basil the Nothos, the codex *Ambrosianus* B 119 sup., and the manuscript bearing the text of the *DC*, *Lipsiensis Rep.* I.17. On *Ambrosianus* B 119 sup., see Mazzucchi (1978); Németh (2018), 42–44.

212 Genesis, *Regum Libri Quattuor* 47, 6–10. The geographic notice on Tarsus is originally derived from Stephanus Byzantius; cf. Meineke (ed.) (1849), 605.6–13.

213 The passage, originally found in Stephanus Byzantius, has passed similarly changed in terms of structure to both the *Excerpta Anonymi* and Ps.-Symeon; cf. *Theophanes Continuatus*, 706.16. The *Excerpta Anonymi* claim that the Medes' name comes directly from Medea. Ps.-Symeon, instead, gives Medos as eponymous ancestor of the Medes. Herodotus claims that the name came directly from Medea herself, when she came to their land after leaving Athens; cf. Herodotus, *Historiae* 7.62.1. There are various traditions on the parentage of Medos: he was a son of Medea either by Aigeus (Ps.-Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 1.9.28), an Asian king (Diodorus, *Bibliotheca historica* 4.55.7), or Jason (Strabo, *Geographica* 11.13.10).

214 *Excerpta Anonymi* 8, 28–29, 9. On the passage as a source of information on Virunum, see Dobesch (1997), 107–128; Nollé (2001), 79 n. 238; Hofeneder (2010) 123–135.

215 *Excerpta Anonymi* 9, 10–13.

216 The only parallel is an entry in the *Suda*, which draws on the *Excerpta Anonymi*; cf. s.v. Βηρούσιον [158 T 1]).

digression about the naming of Italy in Genesisius:²¹⁷ some people, when crossing Italy, met a cow and shouted ‘Italian, Italian’, which in their dialect meant cow. The account is also unique in Greek literature. Both accounts seem to derive from a common tradition. (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Antiquitates Romanae* 1.35 and Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 1.8.2–3).

2.4.6 Conclusion

The *EC* appear to have been used in treatises produced within court circles as well as in non-imperial works. The latter were written by persons associated with the palace or the imperial library. The anonymous compiler of the *Excerpta Anonymi* must have drawn on draft copies produced during the redaction of the Constantinian collections.

As the analysis of the chapter “On the River Istros” has shown, the passage must have been excerpted from an earlier dossier, presumably a collection of notes on geography. The chapters “On Cyrus” and “On Remus and Romulus” reflect the selection and arrangement of similar material in the *EC*. The passages on Roman history in the *Excerpta Anonymi* derive from a collection of excerpts on dreams, which could have been produced during the redaction of the Constantinian collections. This strongly suggests that amongst now lost Constantinian collections of excerpts, there probably existed collections of geography, dreams, and portents. In the surviving Constantinian collections we detect excisions of passages on geography that can be explained by Constantine’s intention to include them in another thematic collection. To cite but one example: when excerpting Procopius for the *EL*, the excerptors leave out the description of Beroea.²¹⁸ The omissions in the *EC* cover a subject usually mentioned with the phrase ζῆται ἐν τῷ περὶ (Look for it in the) plus the name of the collection, which appears in the surviving manuscripts when a passage in the main narrative is missing. Concerning geographical materials, the cross-references reveal the existence of three relevant, but now lost, collections: περὶ ἐθῶν (*On Customs*), περὶ ἐθνῶν (*On Peoples*), and περὶ οἰκισμῶν (*On Settlements*). The possibility of yet more collections on the subject cannot be excluded.

2.5 Historical and cultural context

In this section, I explore the extent to which ideology, contemporary attitudes and preoccupations influence the transmission of knowledge to the succeeding ages. Accordingly, what follows is an attempt to contextualise the *Excerpta Anonymi*. Certain preoccupations in the *Excerpta Anonymi* confirm that they belong to a time when the transformative power and civilising influence of the Empire had been restricted. The implications of the new circumstances are reflected on the

217 Genesisius, *Regum Libri Quattuor* 82, 50–55.

218 *EL* 6 (2.7.2).

selection of excerpts as well as omissions and distortions of passages on the part of the compiler of the *Excerpta Anonymi*. It should also be stressed that the *Excerpta Anonymi* share concerns evident in other contemporary works, namely an emphasis on the prophetic meaning, dangers, and hidden powers of pagan statues as well as geographical and ethnographical interest. I shall begin by examining the attitude of the *Excerpta Anonymi* towards Roman emperors through a comparison with the *Parastaseis* and the *Patria II*. Then I elucidate the compiler's attitude towards ethnographic material of earlier centuries.

2.5.1 Portrayals of emperors in the *Excerpta Anonymi*²¹⁹

This section argues that, in the portrayals of emperors in the *Excerpta Anonymi*, we can detect the impact of the propaganda of the Macedonian dynasty: the *conception constantinienne*²²⁰ and the notion of *restricted ecumenism*.²²¹ Constantine Porphyrogenitus was considered the *New Constantine*²²² who attempted systematically to erode Justinian's reputation by distorting the emperor's military ambitions and policies of reforming and restoring the Roman state, as the age of Justinian I was a time of territorial expansion. It shall be shown how the *Excerpta Anonymi* use material from an earlier collection of excerpts, the conventionally called *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*, and how this compares to the use *Patria of Constantinople* made of the same work. In particular, it will become evident that the compiler of the *Excerpta Anonymi* holds a negative attitude towards Justinian I and that he does not include theological judgements or comments. I shall start by comparing the *Excerpta Anonymi* and the *Parastaseis* regarding emperors. As mentioned, these works relied on a shared source or the *Excerpta Anonymi* used the *Parastaseis*.

219 Section 2.5.1 originates in my article "History through an excerpt collection. The case of the *Excerpta Anonymi* and the *Patria of Constantinople*" that was submitted for the book edited by E. Amato, P. De Cicco, B. Lançon, and T. Moreau, *Les historiens fragmentaires de langue grecque à l'époque impériale et tardive* to be published by Presses Universitaires de Rennes.

220 The term was coined by Hélène Ahrweiler; cf. Ahrweiler (1975), 48. Leo VI's desire to compare his father, Basil I, with the king David and compared himself with the king Solomon; Markopoulos (1994), esp. 161–164; Shepard (2003), 341–345; Magdalino (2013c), 187–209. Basil I, the founder of the dynasty, came to be descended from Constantine the Great, the founder of Constantinople. The *Vita Basilii*, a work commissioned by Basil's grandson, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, introduced his genealogical links with Constantine the Great on the side of his mother and with the Arsacids, the Parthian dynasty, on his father's side. According to the *Vita Basilii*, Basil I and consequently his descendants are also descended from Alexander the Great; cf. *Vita Basilii*, 3, 23–27 ed. Ševčenko; Markopoulos (2006), 286–292.

221 The concept of *limited ecumenism*, as a specific theory about Byzantine foreign policy in this period, was first advanced by T. Lounges; cf. Lounges (1981), 49–85; Lounges (1990). For a reappraisal of his theory, see Magdalino (2013b), 23–42. Certain preoccupations in the *Excerpta Anonymi* seem to reflect the tenth-century *restricted ecumenism*. On the matter, see Section 2.5.2.

222 Markopoulos (1994), 162–166.

2.5.2 Comparison of the Excerpta Anonymi and the Parastaseis

a) Julian

In the *Parastaseis*, contemporary worries about idolatry are discernible throughout references to the emperor Julian the Apostate (361–363), the persecutor of Christians. The *Parastaseis* calls Julian *θεοστυγής*,²²³ which means hated by God, an epithet with theological weight that has been omitted by the compiler of the *Excerpta Anonymi*.²²⁴ *Parastaseis* Chapters 46–49, which again refer unfavourably to Julian, have also been omitted in the *Excerpta Anonymi*; in Chapter 46 Theodosius the Great, full of anger, breaks a statue of Julian's and forbids coins with his image;²²⁵ in Chapter 47 Julian is accused of leading a lot of people to idolatry;²²⁶ Chapter 48 reports the destruction of a statue depicting Jesus and the burning of a monk upon the orders of Julian;²²⁷ and in Chapter 49 Julian encourages people in idolatry.²²⁸ Chapter 70 of the

223 *Parastaseis*, Chapter 42: Κάμινος δὲ παμμεγέθης μεγάλη ἕως ἡμῶν διασωθεῖσα, ἔνθα Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ θεοστυγῆς προφάσει τῶν καταδίκων πολλοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ Χριστιανοὺς κατέκαυσε. (And there is an enormous great furnace, preserved until the present day, where Julian, hated by God, burned many Christians on the pretext of their being criminals).

224 A little further on in the same chapter, where the *Parastaseis* call the emperor Phocas ἀνάξιος, which means *unworthy* in theological terms, the *Excerpta Anonymi* and the *Patria* once more omit the theological epithet assigned to an emperor; cf. *Parastaseis*, Chapter 42; *Excerpta Anonymi* 15, 29.

225 *Parastaseis*, Chapter 46: Ἰουλιανοῦ χαραγὰς Θεοδόσιος ὁ μέγας ἡμαύρωσε· μεθ' ὧν καὶ τὴν τοῦτου στήλην ἔξω τῆς Χαραγῆς ἐστηκυῖαν θεασάμενος ἠρυσθρίασε, καὶ τοῖς συνοδεύουσιν ἐπέθετο, τίνος ἂν εἴη τὸ χάραγμα. Τῶν δὲ Ἰουλιανοῦ φησάντων, εὐθὺς ἐκεῖνον εἶπεν ὅτι μέλαν ἄνθρωπον τὴν στήλην τεθεῖμαι καὶ πᾶν ἠρυσθρίασα· καὶ παραυτίκα ταύτην κατέαξε καὶ δόγμα προέθηκεν, ὅτι ὅπου ἂν εὐρεθῇ ἐν χαραγαῖς νομίων τὸ τοιοῦτον ὑπόδειγμα καὶ μὴ τῷ δημοσίῳ καταμνηνθῇ, δημευθεὶς ὁ τοιοῦτος ἐξόριστος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως γένηται. (**Theodosius the Great wiped out the coinage of Julian.** In addition, when he saw his statue standing outside the Mint, he turned red and asked his companions whose likeness it was. When they replied that it was Julian's he said at once: 'I have seen a black man represented in a statue and I grew very red', **and at once he broke it and issued a decree saying** that whenever that same man's likeness was seen on coins and the Treasury was not notified, he who was responsible **should suffer confiscation and be banished from Constantinople**).

226 *Parastaseis*, Chapter 47: Πολλὸς ἦν Ἰουλιανὸς ἐν μαγανείαις· ὅθεν καὶ τοῖς εἰδώλοις εἰς στήλας βασιλικὰς, φασίν, ἐξεκόνιζε καὶ προσκυνεῖσθαι ταύτας ὡς βασιλέων εἰκόνας ἡνάγκαζεν. (**Julian was deeply involved in sorcery**; thus he fashioned eidola into the semblance of imperial statues, it is said, **and forced everyone to do obeisance to them as if to images of emperors**).

227 *Parastaseis*, Chapter 48: ταῦτα Ἰουλιανὸς θεασάμενος ἐπέθετο τὸ μυστήριον, καὶ μαθὼν Ἰησοῦ εἶναι τὸν ἀνδριάντα κατέκλασεν (...) Ἐνθα καὶ Μαρτύριος ἐπίσκοπος πολλὰ ἐξουθενήσας αὐτὸν ἐκὰν πλησίον τοῦ ναοῦ, ὡς ἔλεγον, εἰς θυσίαν θεοῖς. (Seeing this, then, **Julian asked its meaning** and **when he heard that the statue was of Jesus, he broke it** (...)) And there the **bishop Martyrius**, who strongly **opposed the emperor, was burned near the temple**, they say, as a sacrifice to the gods).

228 *Parastaseis*, Chapter 49: Διὰ τοῦτο ἡ μόνον ἐβασίλευσεν, καὶ ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ εἰκόνας αὐτῷ ἐν τε σανίσι καὶ χαλκουργήμασι μεγίστοις ἀνέθετο; (For this reason, as soon as he became emperor, **he set up images to him**, in Rome and Antioch, **in the form of panels and large bronze statues**).

Parastaseis is devoted to the so-called *Philadelphion*,²²⁹ but at the end of the passage, the *Parastaseis* report that Julian ejected his wife from the throne because she was a Christian. Although the *Excerpta Anonymi* have included that chapter, its compiler has excised the reference on Julian.²³⁰ If we bear in mind that Julian at that time embodied the enemy of Christianity,²³¹ such suppressions on the part of the compiler of the *Excerpta Anonymi* betray his admiration for the Roman past, which he primarily interprets as pagan.

b) Verina

Chapter 29 of the *Parastaseis* refers to two statues of Verina, the wife of Leo the Great (457–474 AD). It is noteworthy that the *Excerpta Anonymi*, 12, 24–32, have left out the last sentence of the excerpted passage, according to which Verina was very orthodox, omitting, once more, a religious designation.²³²

c) Anastasius

The *Excerpta Anonymi* excerpt Chapter 25 from the *Parastaseis*,²³³ where the emperor Anastasius (491–512 AD) is associated with the restoration of the church of Saint Menas.²³⁴ Such a choice contrasts, as shown below, with their silence concerning Justinian's building activities. It is noteworthy that some centuries earlier, Procopius, John Lydus, and Hesychius made favourable references to Anastasius that have been considered as implicit disapproval of Justinian's policies.²³⁵

d) Justinian I

Chapter 1 of the *Parastaseis* refers to the rebuilding of the *St Mocius* church and Chapter 2 reports the restoration of the *St Agathonikos* church both under Justinian's reign (527–565 AD).²³⁶ In addition, the unnamed emperor of

229 *Parastaseis*, Chapter 70: Ἰουλιανοῦ δὲ στήλη καὶ Ἀναστασίας τῆς αὐτοῦ γαμετῆς, ἦν διὰ τὸ εἶναι Χριστιανὴν ἐξέβαλε τῆς βασιλείας. (There was a statue of Julian and Anastasia his wife, whom he ejected from the throne because she was a Christian). On the *Philadelphion*, see Cameron and Herrin (1984), 265–266.

230 *Excerpta Anonymi* 19, 5–9.

231 The Patriarch Germanus condemned Julian in his letters addressed to two Anatolian bishops; cf. *PG* 98, col. 164 B, 165 C–D, 168 D–188 B.

232 *Parastaseis*, Chapter 29: Βερίνης ὀρθοδόξου Ἑλένης πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη ἦν γὰρ ὀρθόδοξος πάνν. (Long life to Verina the orthodox Helena'. For she was very orthodox).

233 The *Parastaseis* contain three chapters referring to the emperor Anastasius I (491–518 AD). The *Excerpta Anonymi* excerpts only one of these.

234 *Excerpta Anonymi* 11, 23–27: Ὅτι ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ ἁγίου Μηνᾶ ὄρυγμα εὗρέθη μέγα, ὅτε ἐκαθαίρετο, καὶ ὅσα ἀνθρώπων γιγάντων εἰς πλῆθος, ἅτινα θεασάμενος ὁ Ἀναστάσιος ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἐκπλαγεὶς εἰς τὸ παλάτιον κατέθετο εἰς θαῦμα ἐξαισίον. (That a great trench was found in the Church of St Menas when the church was being cleaned, and a lot of bones of giant men, which the Emperor Anastasius saw and marvelled at and deposited them in the palace as an extraordinary wonder).

235 Kaldellis (2005), 394.

236 *Parastaseis*, Chapter 1: Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀνεγείρεται ὁ αὐτὸς ναὸς καὶ ἵσταται ἕως ἡμῶν. (But in the days of the Emperor Justinian the same church was rebuilt and stands in our own day); *Parastaseis*, Chapter 2: Ὁ ἅγιος Ἀγαθόνικος ὑπὸ Ἀναστασίου τὸ

Chapter 4, associated with a wonder that happened when a statue was suddenly removed, could easily be Justinian I.²³⁷ None of the aforementioned chapters are included in the *Excerpta Anonymi*.

The *Parastaseis* Chapter 61 makes a reference to the statue of Justinian erected to commemorate his victory over the Persians.²³⁸ Although the author of the *Excerpta Anonymi* excerpted Chapter 61, he chose to omit the reference to Justinian's statue. In addition, Chapter 68 of the *Parastaseis*, which refers to another statue of Justinian, set up in the *Augusteum*, has been entirely eliminated.²³⁹ Finally, Chapter 81 of the *Parastaseis*, which transmits information about a statue in the *Zeuxippos*, erroneously assigned to Justinian I instead of Justin II, has also been excised in the *Excerpta Anonymi*.²⁴⁰

Only two chapters containing information on Justinian have been included in the *Excerpta Anonymi*. The first one is the *Parastaseis* Chapter 11 referring to the rebuilding of the Hagia Sophia and presenting Justinian in a favourable way.²⁴¹

In contrast to the *Parastaseis*, the *Excerpta Anonymi* describe the fact with brevity and limit it to one sentence only. It is also interesting that the name of the emperor is not accompanied by any typical epithet²⁴² and that the compiler of the *Excerpta Anonymi* adds an extra word to the text, which is an

πρότερον καὶ Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου τοῦ δεύτερου οἰκοδομήθη. (St Agathonikos was built in the first place by Anastasius and a **second time by Justinian the great**).

- 237 *Parastaseis*, Chapter 4: Ἐν τῇ κατογαίᾳ πόρτῃ τῇ πληρεστάτῃ στοιχεῖον ἴστατο Φιδαλείας τινὸς Ἑλληνίδος. Ἀρθείσης δὲ τῆς στήλης θαῦμα <ἦν> ἰδέσθαι μέγα, τὸν τόπον ἐκείνον ἐπὶ πολὺν σείεσθαι, ὥστε καὶ τὸν βασιλεῖα θαυμάσαι καὶ λιτὴν ἀπελθεῖν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ καὶ οὕτως παῦσαι Σάβα τοῦ ὁσίου δι' εὐχῶν τοῦτο ποιήσαντος; (At the ground-level gate, which has been filled up, stood a statue of a certain pagan, Fidalia. When the statue was removed, a great wonder was to be seen, namely that the place shook for a long time, so that even **the emperor marvelled** and sent a procession to the place and only stopped it in this way. St Sabas achieved this by his prayers).
- 238 *Parastaseis*, Chapter 61: Ἰουστινιανὸς ὁ μέγας ἐν τοῖς τοῦ καθίσματος κατ' ἔπος ἐποχεῖτο ἐν ἵππῳ χαλκῷ μετὰ τὴν νίκην Μήδων. (**Justinian the Great rode on a bronze horse**, after the victory over the Medes). On that statue, see Cameron (1977), esp. 42–48.
- 239 *Parastaseis*, Chapter 68: Ἐν δὲ τοῖς Σωζομενοῦ γράμμασι, φησὶν, Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐστίν, ὃ νῦν καθορᾶται τὸ μέγιστον τοῦ Φόρου ζώδιον. **But in the writings of Sozomen, they say, it is Justinian** who is seen there today.
- 240 *Parastaseis*, Chapter 81: Ἡ στήλη ἡ πρὸς τὸ Ζεύξιππον θεωροῦσα, ἥτοι ἔμπροσθεν, Ἰουστινιανοῦ καὶ Θεοδώρας ἐστίν· καθ' ἣν καὶ ἐδοξάσθη Ἰουστινιανός, ὅτε ἐτίθετο ἡ αὐτῇ στήλῃ, κράζοντος τοῦ Πρασίνου μέρους· Ἰουστινιανὸς καὶ Κωνσταντίνος νέοι ἀπόστολοι· ἐν οἷς καὶ Σοφία ἡ αὐτοῦ γαμετὴ παρὰ Πλούμβα τοῦ φιλοσόφου ἱαμβικοῖς μέτροις τοὺς ἐπαίνους ἐδέξατο. (**The statue that faces the Zeuxippos, that is in front of it, is of Justinian and Theodora**. When it was erected **Justinian was showered with praise**, the Greens chanting: '**Justinian and Constantine the new apostles**'. Also there was Sophia his wife, who received praise through iambic verses of the philosopher Plumbas).
- 241 *Parastaseis*, Chapter 11: ἄστινας Ἰουστινιανὸς μερίσας τῇ πόλει τὸν ναὸν τὸν μέγιστον ἀνεγείρει μετὰ πίστεως καὶ πόνου. Οἱ δὲ πεπειραμένοι τῶν προειρημένων περιερχόμενοι τὴν πόλιν καὶ ζητοῦντες εὐρήσουσιν οὐκ ὀλίγας. (These statues Justinian distributed about the city when he built the Great Church with faith and effort. Those who know the foregoing find a good number of them if they go around the city and look for them).
- 242 *Excerpta Anonymi* 9, 14: ὁς Ἰουστινιανὸς μερίσας τῇ πόλει τὸν μέγαν νῦν ναὸν ὀικοδόμησεν. (Justinian distributed (these statues) about the city when he built the present Great Church).

adverb of time, *vñv*, in order to emphasise that the Hagia Sophia was greater at the time of the completion of the *Excerpta Anonymi*.

e) Philippicus and Justinian II

The *Parastaseis* appear to be favourable to the emperor Philippicus (711–713 AD). This emperor had usurped the throne by deposing Justinian II (685–695, 705–711 AD), to whom the *Parastaseis* is hostile, calling him *ἄθεος* (= godless),²⁴³ whereas the *Excerpta Anonymi* name him *τύραννος* (= tyrant) twice.²⁴⁴ Justinian II was a very unpopular emperor known for his despotic tendencies. The compiler of the *Excerpta Anonymi* follows the unfavourable attitude of the *Parastaseis* towards Justinian II but he has replaced the religious epithet *ἄθεος* (= ungodly) with a secular one, that is *τύραννος* (= tyrant). Philippicus appears in another chapter of the *Excerpta Anonymi* titled *Περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ κυνηγίῳ σπηλῶν*,²⁴⁵ namely in the description of Philippicus' order for a statue to be buried when a certain philosopher, called John, informs him that the statue involved malevolent power. It is noticeable that the *Parastaseis* add that the philosopher John had found the malevolent power of the statue *by divine providence*, a statement which reinforces Philippicus' decision to bury it.²⁴⁶ This quotation has been omitted from the same extract in the *Excerpta Anonymi*. Strikingly, the compiler has chosen, once again, to throw out a theological comment.

The last reference to Philippicus in the *Excerpta Anonymi* is made in the chapter *Περὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ Ζευξίππῳ*.²⁴⁷ Philippicus is called *πράος*, which means the most gentle, alluding to the *Parastaseis* Chapter 82, in which Philippicus is also praised for being gentle and the picture painted by himself was admired by artists for its realism.²⁴⁸ The *Excerpta Anonymi* do not praise Philippicus extensively (they just call him *gentle*), in contrast to the *Parastaseis*. In my view, what could lead the compiler of the *Excerpta Anonymi* to adopt, to some extent, the favourable attitude of the *Parastaseis* towards Philippicus is the fact that Philippicus took the throne by murdering the *tyrant* Justinian II.

243 *Parastaseis*, Chapter 61: *Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ ἄθεου*. (the godless Justinian). It is also interesting that Philippicus was the first emperor to be hostile to the cult of images. He belonged to the *Monothelite* party. In the *Parastaseis* Chapter 37 Justinian II is identified as *tyrant*, as well: *τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν τυραννήσαντος* (when he was *tyrant* of Constantinople).

244 *Excerpta Anonymi* 17, 21 and 13, 27: *Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ τυράννου*. (the tyrant Justinian).

245 *Excerpta Anonymi* 12, 7–23.

246 *Parastaseis*, Chapter 28: *Ἰωάννης δέ τις φιλόσοφος φησιν, ὅτι 'μὰ τὴν θεῖαν πρόνοιαν οὕτως εὗρισκω ἐν τοῖς Δημοσθένους συγγράμμασιν ὑπὸ τούτου τοῦ ζωδίου ἀποκτανθῆναι ἐνδοξον ἄνδρα'.* A certain John, a philosopher, said 'By divine providence, I find it so in the writings of Demosthenes, that a man of rank would be killed by the statue'.

247 *Excerpta Anonymi* 20, 20–22: *Ζευξίππῳ λουτρῷ ὑπάρχουσα στήλη ἐκ χρωμάτων τοῦ Φιλίππικου ἐστὶ τοῦ πραοτάτου*. The coloured image in the Zeuxippus bath is of **Philippicus, the most gentle**.

248 *Parastaseis*, Chapter 82. *Φιλίππικου τοῦ πρῶου (...) Μεγάλως γὰρ ἐπῆνεσαν οἱ ζωγράφοι τὸν γράψαντα, ὅτι οὐκ ἐχώρησε τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως μορφήν πρὸς τὸ ἀρχέτυπον*. (Philippicus the gentle (...)) Painters greatly praised the artist, because he did not depart from the emperor's appearance with regard to the archetype).

The latter was the last member of Justinian's royal dynasty and the *Excerpta Anonymi*, as we have seen, contain a considerable number of cases in which we detect efforts made by the compiler to undermine the image of the emperor Justinian I. From this perspective, the hostility of *Excerpta Anonymi* to Justinian II could be interpreted as an indirect disapproval of Justinian I.

f) Leo III

The first iconoclast emperor, Leo III (717–741 AD), is recorded three times in the *Parastaseis* under the name *Leo the Isaurian* or *Conon*.²⁴⁹ The passages may have been written at the beginning of the eighth century, so it is not surprising that it includes references to emperors in relation to iconoclasm. References to iconoclast emperors were largely suppressed in later works. Indeed, throughout the *Excerpta Anonymi* there are no references to the *ungodly* emperor Leo III. Leo III is called *Conon* in the *Parastaseis* Chapters 1 and 72.²⁵⁰ Interestingly, Chapter 1 belongs to the part of the *Parastaseis* concerned with Arianism, namely the chapters 1 to 10, which the *Excerpta Anonymi* compiler has entirely excised. It is likely that the *Excerpta Anonymi* have intentionally excluded the part of the *Parastaseis* dealing with Arianism for two reasons: first, the part contains information that belongs to ecclesiastical history, a topic that is of no interest to the *Excerpta Anonymi*;²⁵¹ secondly and more intriguingly, the Chapters 1 to 10 supply us with information about the building activities of Justinian I (527–565 AD). It may be that these chapters were an important motive for the exclusion of the aforementioned chapters by the compiler of the *Excerpta Anonymi*, in connection with the political issues dominating during the tenth century and as an expression of the Macedonian dynasty's propaganda.²⁵²

249 *Parastaseis*, Chapters 1, 5d, 72. The *Parastaseis* Chapter 5d is supplied from the *Patria*. The entry characterises Leo III as *ἀλόγιστος* (irrational). In iconophile context, the term *ἀλόγιστος* was used to criticise iconoclasts. Under this perspective, the term, probably an addition from the *Patria*, fits well the iconophile stance of the latter; cf. Cameron and Herrin (1984), 177–178. The earlier attestation of the epithet *Conon* is found in the *Adversus Constantinum Caballicum* (PG 95, col. 336c). A. Berger dates the latter not before 802; cf. Berger (1988), 43.

250 The *Parastaseis* Chapter 5, even, naming Leo *Isaurian*, reports that many statues were destroyed by Leo III. On the two epithets in relation to Leo III, see Cameron and Herrin, 168–169.

251 It is noteworthy that the *Parastaseis* contain references to Arianism, linking the heresy of Arius with iconoclasm following thus the tendency of using Arianism in the iconoclastic polemic of the eighth century; cf. *Parastaseis*, Chapters 1, 7, 8, 10, and 39. The *Excerpta Anonymi* are more circumspect in writing about emperors, heresies, and doctrines. The *Excerpta Anonymi* refers to Arius himself only once. The *Excerpta Anonymi* chapter *Περὶ Ἀρείου* (*Excerpta Anonymi* 14, 25–31), corresponding to the *Parastaseis* Chapter 39, informs us that Arius met his death in the *Forum* and Theodosius represented him on a slab of marble, in order that passers-by could urinate and spit on it. However, it has to be pointed out that, whereas the author of that passage in the *Parastaseis* uses the wording *μυαρόν* in order to describe Arius' death, the author of the *Excerpta Anonymi* has changed it to *αἰσχιστόν*. I have already mentioned that in many cases the *Excerpta Anonymi* eliminates Christian terms in favour of secular ones.

252 On this, see Section 2.5.2.2.

g) Constantine V

The tendency of the *Excerpta Anonymi* to avoid references to iconoclast emperors is better reflected on the case of Constantine V (741–745 AD), Leo III's son. Two chapters from the *Parastaseis* contain references to events that could be dated to the time of Constantine V.²⁵³ The two chapters have not been included in the *Excerpta Anonymi*, an exclusion that fits the inclination of the *Excerpta Anonymi* to avoid, as we have seen, religious matters.

2.5.2.1 Comparison of the *Excerpta Anonymi* and the *Patria II*

Having analysed how the *Excerpta Anonymi* adapted its source text, I shall study how the *Excerpta Anonymi* themselves were adapted in the *Patria II*. Before discussing the attitude towards the aforementioned emperors in the *Patria II*, some remarks on the *Patria of Constantinople* are required. The text has been transmitted through a rich manuscript tradition analysed in detail by Preger.²⁵⁴ The *Patria of Constantinople* comprise four books originally produced at different periods of time but put together in an anthology around 989/990. The *Patria I* consists of the *Πάτρια Κωνσταντινουπόλεως κατὰ Ἡσύχιον Ἰλλούστριον* (*Patria of Constantinople by Hesychius of Miletus*), which is the only surviving fragment of Hesychius' *Chronicle* and a revised version or paraphrase of Hesychius's short final chapters, written in the sixth century.²⁵⁵ The *Patria II*, under the heading *Πάτρια τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. περὶ στηλῶν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ περὶ Ἀδιαβηνῆς* (*The Patria of Constantinople, on statues, together with a chapter on Adiabene*), have used the *Parastaseis* extensively.²⁵⁶ The *Patria III*, under the title *Περὶ Κτισμάτων* (*On Buildings*), is a compilation of 215 notices on foundations and buildings in Constantinople.²⁵⁷ The *Patria IV* or *Διήγησις περὶ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς μεγάλης τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐπονομαζομένης ἁγίας Σοφίας* (*Narrative about the Construction of the Temple of the Great Church of God the so-called Hagia Sophia*) is an account of the construction of the Hagia Sophia most likely composed in the middle of the ninth century.²⁵⁸

This chapter is only concerned with the *Patria II*.²⁵⁹ The complex manuscript transmission of the *Patria II* does not permit definite conclusions as to the textual relationship of the former with the *Parastaseis* and the *Excerpta Anonymi*. The first editor of the *Patria II* as well as Cameron and Herrin are inclined to support the view that the *Patria II* had extensively relied on the first part of the

253 *Parastaseis*, Chapter 15 and *Parastaseis*, Chapter 63.

254 Preger (1907), iii–xxv; Preger (1895).

255 Preger (1901), 1–18 and Preger (1907), 135–150.

256 Preger (1907), 151–209; henceforth, *Patria II*.

257 Preger (1907), 214–283.

258 Preger (1901), 74–108, and Preger (1907), 284–289.

259 The English translation of the passages is that of the edition of the *Patria of Constantinople* by Berger (2013).

Excerpta Anonymi.²⁶⁰ It has long been supported that the *Excerpta Anonymi* and the *Patria II* had used a common model, a manuscript which was derived from the same codex that *Parisinus gr.* 1336²⁶¹ comes from.²⁶² In fact, entries of the *Parastaseis* occur in the *Patria II* in the same abbreviated form as in the *Excerpta Anonymi*, with the same omissions. The *Patria II*, however, includes entries from the *Parastaseis* excised in the *Excerpta Anonymi* and in some cases supplement entries taken from the *Excerpta Anonymi* with material possibly drawn from another copy of the *Parastaseis*.

In particular, the *Excerpta Anonymi* do not include *Parastaseis* Chapters 1–10, 13–15, and 17. The *Patria II*, instead, incorporate the complete Chapters 1–20 of the *Parastaseis* at the end of the text. When looking at entries, such as the *Parastaseis* Chapters 42, 61, and 70, we detect that the *Patria II* supplement the passages with material not found elsewhere, i.e., neither in the *Parastaseis* nor in the *Excerpta Anonymi*. In addition, The *Patria II* entries 35–37, 45, 46a, 54–65, 72, 101, 103 are absent from both the *Parastaseis* and the *Excerpta Anonymi*. Finally, the *Patria* contain some references twice.²⁶³ It may be argued that the compiler of the *Patria II* had at hand not only the text of the *Excerpta Anonymi* but also a more extensive text of the *Parastaseis*.²⁶⁴ Nevertheless, this view is challenged by P. Odorico who argues that the *Parastaseis* is not a unitary work but that it was collected by a compiler in preparation of a chronicle.²⁶⁵ It seems more likely that the *Patria II* were indeed made in two stages drawing on the codex (codices) which the *Excerpta Anonymi* also drew on. Finally, the possibility that the *Excerpta Anonymi* were also in the possession of the compiler of the *Patria II* can by no means be excluded.²⁶⁶

When compared with the *Excerpta Anonymi*, the *Patria II* is characterised by an iconophile tone, albeit a less intense one than the one detectable in the other three books of the *Patria of Constantinople*. In the *Patria II* iconophile implications are conveyed through unfavourable references to iconoclast emperors, which had been excluded from the *Excerpta Anonymi*. In the *Patria II* Chapter 90, the iconoclast emperor Leo III is called *ἀλόγιστος* (irrational). Leo is also debased

260 Preger (1901), X; see also Cameron and Herrin (1984), 5–6.

261 The codex preserving the *Parastaseis*. On *Parisinus gr.* 1336, see Section 2.2.3.1.

262 P. Odorico also appears to hold the same view when supporting that the codex *Parisinus gr.* 1336 is nearer to the dossier used both by the *Parisinus suppl. gr.* 607a and the *Patria II*; cf. Odorico (2014b), 755–784. In Berger's view, the *Patria II* are divided into two parts: a. The *Patria II* 1–85 copied from the codex X, that is, a now lost codex from which the *Excerpta Anonymi* also derive, and b. the *Patria II* 86–110 copied from another manuscript containing the *Parastaseis*; cf. Berger (1988), 48–49 and 64–70.

263 *Parastaseis*, Chapters 16, 18, 20 = *Patria II* 16, 18, 19 = *Patria II* 102, 104, 105.

264 Cameron and Herrin (1984), 6–8. See also Berger (1988), 49 and 66, who disagrees with A. Cameron and J. Herrin.

265 On P. Odorico's view, see Odorico (2014b), 755–784.

266 The transmission of the *Parastaseis*, Chapters 42, 61, 70 is particularly interesting in this connection.

in the *Patria II* Chapter 68, which calls him *Conon*.²⁶⁷ As regards Constantine V, Leo III's son, the *Patria II* includes the *Parastaseis* Chapter 15 concerning him, though the chapter has been excised in the *Excerpta Anonymi*.²⁶⁸ It is also noteworthy that in the *Patria III*, Constantine V is given the epithet *κοπρόνυμος* (dung-named).²⁶⁹

The abusive epithet *κοπρόνυμος* is absent from the original text of the *Parastaseis* as well as from the *Excerpta Anonymi*.²⁷⁰ Nevertheless, the aforementioned references do not constitute theological comments on the part of the copyist of the *Patria II*. The textual framework in which they are used is not theological either. The epithets seem to have been copied as common characterisations ascribed to certain iconoclast emperors. The *Patria II* was not intended to deliver any ideological message in support of orthodoxy, for in the late tenth century its triumph was undeniable. Like the *Excerpta Anonymi*, the *Patria II* omits theological comments of the *Parastaseis*. The case of the emperor Julian in the *Patria II* is indicative. There, the references to this emperor are left out. In particular, Chapter 53 of the *Patria*, which contains a text close to that of the *Excerpta Anonymi*, omits the epithet *θεοστυγής* which occurred in the *Parastaseis*, as shown above.²⁷¹ Interestingly, neither the *Excerpta Anonymi* nor the *Patria* have included Chapters 46–49 of the *Parastaseis*, where Julian is portrayed unfavourably. Finally, the theological comment on Julian in the *Parastaseis* Chapter 70 is also excised in the *Patria* Chapter 48 (concerning the Philadelphion) and in the *Excerpta Anonymi*.²⁷²

The tendency in *Patria II* to follow the *Excerpta Anonymi* in avoiding religious references emerges once more in the Chapters 24, 25, 56, and 77. Accordingly, *Patria II* deletes the statement *μὰ τὴν θεῖαν πρόνοιαν* in Chapter 24 and the theological comment at the end of Chapter 25 according to which Verina was a truly orthodox Christian. Both passages preserve a text copied from the *Excerpta Anonymi*. The *Patria II* supplements the Chapter 25 with the additional information that the church of St Barbara was close to the *Artotyrianos*²⁷³ as well as the

267 On the term, see above n. 249.

268 *Patria II*, Chapter 105: *Περὶ τοῦ Ξηρολόφου. Τὸν δὲ Ξηρόλοφον πρόην θέαμά τινες ἐκάλουν· ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ κοχλίας ἰς' καὶ συνθετὴ Ἀρτεμις καὶ ἑτεραι πολλαὶ εἰς τὰς ἀψίδας· ἔσχατον δὲ ἐκλήθη Θεοδοσιακὸς Φόρος καὶ ἦν μέχρι Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Κοπρόνυμου.* (On the Xerolophos. Formerly, some people called the Xerolophos a spectacle. For in it were sixteen spiral columns, and a composite statue of Artemis, and many others on the arches. Finally, it was called the Forum of Theodosius, an appellation which lasted until the reign of Constantine Kopronymos).

269 Constantine V is mainly referred to as *Κοπρόνυμος* in the *Patria III*; cf. *Patria III*, Chapters 9, 68, and 149. The *Patria III* also portray Constantine V in an unfavourable way in *Patria III*, Chapters 68 and 134.

270 *Parastaseis*, Chapter 20; *Excerpta Anonymi* 11, 1–7.

271 *Patria II*, Chapter 53: *ὅθεν καὶ ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς προφάσει τῶν καταδίκων πολλοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ κατέκαισεν Χριστιανοὺς.* (Criminals were punished there, and Julian had many Christians burned in it on the pretext of them being convicted criminals).

272 See above n. 230.

273 On *Artotyrianos*, see Jannin (1964), 37 and 100.

epithet *Makelles* accompanying the name of the emperor Leo I.²⁷⁴ The *Patria* Chapter 53 deletes the epithet *ἀνάξιος*, which means unworthy, applied to the emperor Phocas in the *Parastaseis*.²⁷⁵ Finally, in Chapter 77, the *Patria* replaces the religious epithet *ἄθεος* (ungodly) with the secular epithet *τύραννος* (tyrant), to characterise Justinian II, obviously copying the *Excerpta Anonymi*.²⁷⁶

Proceeding to the case of Justinian I, we can now ask if the *Patria II* adopts the tenor of the *Excerpta Anonymi* in depicting this emperor.

The *Patria II* includes the *Parastaseis* chapters 1, 2, and 4 on Justinian I.²⁷⁷ As shown above, these chapters were excised in the *Excerpta Anonymi*. It is noteworthy that in Chapter 110 of the *Patria II* Justinian is referred to as *τοῦ μεγάλου* (the great) whereas in the *Parastaseis* the appellation was *τοῦ βασιλέως*.²⁷⁸ Chapters 86 and 107 of the *Patria II* are copied almost verbatim from the *Parastaseis* Chapters 4 and 2, respectively, referring to Justinian in a favourable way.²⁷⁹ In addition, the *Patria II* Chapter 96 draws directly on Chapter 11 of the *Parastaseis*, which praises Justinian I, even though this very Chapter 11 had been included in the *Excerpta Anonymi*.²⁸⁰ Entry 40 of the *Patria II* concerning the cistern of the Basilica reads as follows:

Ἡ δὲ καθεζομένη ἐπὶ δίφρου ἐκεῖσε μεγάλη στήλη ἐστὶν τοῦ Σολομῶντος, ἣν ἀνέστησεν ὁ μέγας Ἰουστινιανὸς κρατοῦντα τὴν σιαγὸνα αὐτοῦ καὶ ὀρῶντα

274 *Περὶ τῶν δύο στηλῶν Βηρίνης τῆς γυναικὸς τοῦ μεγάλου Λέοντος. Δύο στηλαὶ εἰσιν τῆς Βηρίνης, μία μὲν νοτιωτέρα τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Ἀγαθονίκου μετὰ τὴν ἀνοδὸν τῶν ἐκεῖσε βαθμίδων, ἑτέρα δὲ βορειοτέρα ἀντικρὺς αὐτῆς πλησίον τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς ἁγίας Βαρβάρας τοῦ Ἀρτοτυριανοῦ τόπου. Καὶ ἡ μὲν τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀγαθονίκου γέγονεν ζῶντος Λέοντος τοῦ Μακέλλῃ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς, ἡ δὲ τῆς ἁγίας Βαρβάρας μετὰ τὴν τελευταίην αὐτοῦ, ἡνίκα Βασιλίσκον τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτῆς ἔσπευσεν φυγόντος Ζήνωνος τοῦ γαμβροῦ αὐτῆς (On the two statues of Verina, the wife of Leo the Great. There are two statues of Verina, one to the south of <the church of> the holy martyr Agathonikos above the steps, and the other more to the north opposite her, near the church of Saint Barbara of the Artotirianos Topos. The statue of Saint Agathonikos was erected during the lifetime of Leo Makelles, her husband; the one at Saint Barbara after his death, when she crowned her brother Basiliskos after the flight of her son-in-law Zeno); cf. *Patria II*, Chapter 25.*

275 See n. 224.

276 See above; see also n. 244. The *Patria* add that the statue in question was the Scylla, part of a bronze group including the ship of Odysseus. The reference is not included in the *Parastaseis*. The *Excerpta Anonymi* do not transmit it either; cf. *Patria II*, Chapter 77; *Parastaseis*, Chapter 61. On the bronze group of Scylla, see Säflund (1972).

277 *Parastaseis*, Chapter 1: 'Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀνεγείρεται ὁ αὐτὸς ναὸς καὶ ἵσταται ἕως ἡμῶν· ἐν δόλῳ Μάρκελλος ἀναγνώστης φησὶν ὅτι ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας Κόνωνος τοῦ Ἰσαύρου πίπτει ὁ ναός. (But in the days of the Emperor Justinian the same church was rebuilt and stands in our own day. Marcellus the Lector falsely states that the church collapsed in the second year of Conon the Isaurian).

278 *Patria II*, Chapter 110: 'Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου ἀνεγείρεται ὁ αὐτὸς ναὸς καὶ ἵσταται ἕως ἡμῶν· (But in the days of Justinian the Great, the same church was rebuilt and stands to our own day). Interestingly, at this point, the *Patria II* delete the reference in the *Parastaseis* to Conon the Isaurian.

279 The *Parastaseis* Chapter 2 refers to the restoration of St Agathonikos under Justinian's reign and Chapter 4 refers to a miracle associated presumably with Justinian; see n. 236 and n. 237.

280 The *Excerpta Anonymi* describe briefly the rebuilding of the Hagia Sophia; see above.

τὴν ἁγίαν Σοφίαν ὅτι ἐνίκηθη εἰς μῆκος καὶ κάλλος ὑπὲρ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ
κτισθέντα ναὸν ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ.²⁸¹

The entry clearly emphasises the magnificence of the Hagia Sophia built by Justinian I but it is noteworthy that the *Parastaseis* and the *Excerpta Anonymi* do not transmit the above laudatory image of this emperor.²⁸²

The late-tenth-century *Patria II*, unlike the *Excerpta Anonymi*, does not yield significant evidence that its compiler intended to undermine the image of the emperor Justinian. In fact, it seems to be in line with the *Patria IV*, which supplies us with a laudatory image of Justinian.²⁸³ Nevertheless, the *Patria II* is silent with regard to Justinian's successful military policies or his achievements in the field of jurisdiction. The *Patria II*, as a genuine product of the *patriographic* genre, is exclusively concerned with the Constantinopolitan monuments and statuary. The entries on Justinian are favourably inclined like the ones dedicated to works ascribed to other emperors.

In conclusion, both texts, the *Excerpta Anonymi* and the *Patria II*, exhibit a special interest in ancient monuments and statues and discuss disparate and obscure facts associated with them. Their attitude towards emperors is conditioned by the aim for which each work was designed and the message their author desired to convey. Accordingly, the *Excerpta Anonymi* is a composition made for practical as well as didactical purposes. The portrayal of emperors in the *Excerpta Anonymi* is influenced by the political ideology current at the time of their composition. The selection, as well as the omissions and the insertions in the *Excerpta Anonymi* should be seen as influenced by the propaganda of the Macedonian dynasty. Aligned with this, the compiler of the *Excerpta Anonymi* undermines the images of Justinian I, Justinian II, and other members of their royal dynasty.

This contrasts with the portrayals of emperors in the *Patria II*. The author of the *Patria II* does not seem to have held particularly strong views on emperors of the past. For the *Patria of Constantinople* is an exposition of the Constantinopolitan statuary and monuments intended to emphasise not only the eminence of the city but also the link with the magnitude of Rome. The *Patria II* follows the *Excerpta Anonymi*, however, in avoiding religious references. The epithets accompanying emperors' names in the *Patria II* do not constitute theological comments on the part of the author but they have been copied as conventional characterisations ascribed to certain iconoclast emperors. The absence of theological judgements or comments and the selection of the material presented in the *Excerpta Anonymi* conform to their compiler's interests in the pagan statuary, the magic powers the statues conveyed, and portents and predictions that relied on occult science.

281 *Patria II*, Chapter 40: The great statue, which **Justinian the Great erected**, sitting on the chariot is Solomon holding his cheek and looking at Hagia Sophia, as he was awed by its size and beauty, **which is greater than that of the temple he built in Jerusalem.**

282 *Parastaseis*, Chapter 74; *Excerpta Anonymi* 19, 26–29.

283 Justinian is credited with the construction of the Hagia Sophia and other buildings in the *Patria IV*; cf. Preger (1901), Chapters, 2, 8–10, 12–18, 21–26, and 29.

Throughout the collection, the entries reflect antiquarian interest on the part of the compiler in historical figures, in Roman history, in geographical and in astronomical subjects.

2.5.3 *The politics of ethnography and geography in the Excerpta Anonymi*²⁸⁴

In the following, I aim to evaluate the perception of late antique ethnographic accounts in the tenth-century *Excerpta Anonymi*. I shall demonstrate that a scholar's attitude towards ethnographic material of preceding centuries is influenced by the cultural and political context of his age. I will examine the function of the ethnographic passages in Procopius and in the late antique ethnographical tradition, and then discuss the function they assume in the different cultural and political context of the tenth century.

To begin with, Chapter 20 of book VIII of Procopius' *De bellis*, which deals with the island of Brittia and the nations living on it, has been preserved in the codex *Parisinus suppl. gr.* 607a.²⁸⁵ Six excerpts have been selected, copied, rearranged, and synthesised by the anonymous author of the *Parisinus* in two separate chapters entitled "On the Island of Brittia" and "About the Sorcery of the Varni".²⁸⁶

It has long been recognised that the geographic and ethnographic descriptions of Procopius were published during the reign of Justinian I, at a time of territorial expansion and ideological transformation.²⁸⁷ They serve as vehicles of criticism of his own society by reflecting on how the Romans viewed themselves in relation to other peoples.²⁸⁸ The *Excerpta Anonymi*, instead, bear witness to a period in which the transformative power and civilising influence of the Byzantine Empire had been restricted. As will be shown, the compiler of the *Excerpta Anonymi* did not seek to change traditional perceptions of the other; he did not intend to make the reader reflect on dominant beliefs of those societies, but highlight the cultural differences in order to reinforce the geographical and political frontiers already in place.

2.5.3.1 *Ethnography and Geography*

Ethnography focuses on accounts of foreign peoples, their way of life, physical features, social structure, military organisation, religion and beliefs, sexual habits, laws and institutions, and geography. Ethnography and geography often appear in short or extensive digressions embedded in historical texts or other literary

284 Section 2.5.2 originates in my article "Geography and history in the *Excerpta Anonymi*" published in *Byzantion*, 87 (2017), 233–257.

285 The oldest codex containing the *De Bellis* is the fourteenth-century *Vaticanus gr.* 152.

286 The Greek original titles are: *Περὶ Βριττίας νήσου* and *Περὶ οἰωνοσκοπίας τῶν Οὐάρνων*.

287 See in general Cesa (1982), 189–215; Cameron (1993b); Maas (2007), 67–84.

288 Kaldellis (2013), 11–25.

genres such as epics or imperial panegyrics.²⁸⁹ In most cases, such ethnographical or geographical digressions retain their identity and predominant function within the narrative sequence. Very often, the digression is not an integral part of the main narration, so that it can be isolated and function separately from its original context.

Anthony Kaldellis distinguishes two subcategories of late antique ethnography. In the first one, ethnography is a description of a land with its people, incorporated into a historical text written from a distant point of view. In the second one, it is an account of foreign peoples written in the first person by an ambassador who has travelled to a foreign land.²⁹⁰

It could be argued with a fair degree of certainty that ethnography, for both classical and late antique literature, was mostly used to stress or even to confirm the cultural distinction between Romans and barbarians. Romans who wrote ethnographic accounts wanted to describe and emphasise the distance between the uncivilised barbarians and their own society. Roman rule characterised and reassured the civilised society. Thus, Romans considered as ‘barbarians’ peoples that had not yet been subjugated to Roman rule.²⁹¹ This distinction could easily justify Roman imperialism as Rome believed in the transformative power of Roman law and society and in the civilising mission of transforming barbarians into civilised people.²⁹² Therefore, Romans following classical models in their writings highlighted the well-established contrast between them and barbarians and so did authors of ethnographies from the fifth century onwards.²⁹³ The historians of the fifth and sixth centuries were aware of the power of the Roman Empire. Even the loss of western lands in the fifth century was considered a temporary event, and indeed, Justinian soon reconquered North Africa, Italy, and a part of Spain. Foreign peoples were regarded as culturally, politically, and militarily inferior seeking recognition from Constantinople.²⁹⁴ Accordingly, Roman ethnography and geography expressed contemporary attitudes, preoccupations, and politics.²⁹⁵

289 Kaldellis (2013), 2.

290 Kaldellis (2013), 1–2.

291 Maas (2003), 153.

292 Maas (2003), 157.

293 See for instance: Priscus of Panium’s account of the ambassador to Attila; cf. Blockley (1983), fr. 11.2.407–547. Priscus composed a history covering the period from ca. 430 AD to 476 AD in eight books. He was a member of an embassy sent by the emperor Theodosius II to the court of Attila the Hun. Thus, Priscus was able to give a vivid and trustworthy account of the ethnography of the Huns. On Priscus, see Treadgold (2007), 96–103 and Carolla (2008); Procopius’ description of the Huns and Moors; cf. Procopius, *De bellis* 1.3.2–7, and 4.11.5–13; and Agathias’ passages on the Franks; cf. Agathias, *Historiae* I.2.

294 Two prime examples are two passages in Procopius’ *De bellis*; cf. Procopius, *De bellis* 8.20.10 and 7.33.4.

295 See how political reasons affected Agathias’ positive description of the Franks; Agathias, *Historiae* I.2, I.7.1–3, II.1.6–7, II.23.8–9, II.25.3, III.5.1. See also Cameron (1965), 1203–1216; Cameron (1968), 95–140. On Agathias’ ethnography, see Chapter 3.

Procopius was very interested in geography and gives us extensive descriptions of lands, mountains and rivers, and their inhabitants.²⁹⁶ He begins the narrations of the Vandal and Gothic wars with extensive accounts of the geography of the Mediterranean and of Europe.²⁹⁷ He also introduces a major digression on the geography of Italy,²⁹⁸ on the ancestry of the Heruls,²⁹⁹ on the land of Thule and the ancestral customs of its inhabitants, on the Caucasian mountains and its peoples.³⁰⁰ Procopius used geographical mixed with historical and ethnographic material in his excursuses.³⁰¹

Procopius' ethnographic digressions can be understood as reflecting his age and the self-perception of late Roman society in relation to other peoples.³⁰² In line with one of the traditional functions of ethnography, Procopius intended to reflect on aspects of the customs, the social structure, the social justice and injustice of his own time through representations of the way of life of foreign peoples. Accordingly, barbarian features were occasionally idealised in order to reveal the immorality of the decadent Romans.³⁰³ At the same time, we must not forget that Procopius employed geography in the service of imperial history and his narratives in the *De bellis* reflected the emperor's military ambitions and policies of reforming and restoring the Roman state, as the age of Justinian I was a time of territorial expansion and ideological transformation.³⁰⁴

Noticeable is the decline of ethnography in the Middle Byzantine period, from the seventh century up to the thirteenth century, although the Byzantine scholars who wrote historical texts in those centuries were familiar with the previous tradition and had sufficient material to draw from as well as the know-how. Unlike their predecessors, middle Byzantine authors do not write contemporary ethnography, and middle Byzantine ambassadors are not open to recounting what they saw on their journeys.³⁰⁵ One of the reasons for this is that historiog-

296 Procopius, in his accounts of the Persian, Vandal, and Gothic wars, introduced information about foreign peoples, their land, and their customs having drawn from classical models. Herodotus' account of the Scythians had probably become the main source on which subsequent narrations of Huns, Chazars, Avars, and Turks were based.

297 Procopius, *De bellis* 3.1.4–19 and 5.12.

298 Procopius, *De bellis* 5.15.

299 Procopius, *De bellis* 6.14–15.

300 Procopius, *De bellis* 8.3.1–2.

301 Cesa (1982), 289–409; Revanoglou (2005). On Procopius in general, see Rubin (1954); Cameron (1996b); Kaldellis (2004).

302 Kaldellis (2013).

303 For a similar attitude in earlier historians, see Ammianus' ethnographic digression on the Persians; cf. *Ammianus Marcellinus*, 23.6. Priscus' account on the embassy to Atila; cf. Blockley (1983), fr. 11.2.407–547.

304 Maas (2007), 69. Av. Cameron also traces the sixth-century belief that Justinian would restore the magnificence of Roman antiquity in Procopius' *De aedificiis*; cf. Cameron (1996b), 112. On the *De aedificiis* in general, see Whitby (2000), 45–57. In the early years of Justinian's reign belong also the geographical treatises by Stephanus Byzantius and Hierocles; cf. Meineke (ed.) (1849); Billerbeck (ed.) (2006–2016); Honigsmann (ed.) (1939).

305 On the matter and the reasons for the decline in ethnography in the middle Byzantine period see Mango (1988–1989), 360–372 and Kaldellis (2013), 71–77.

raphy, the primary genre in which ethnographic and geographical accounts were embodied,³⁰⁶ from the eighth century onwards focused chiefly on Constantinople and the imperial court.³⁰⁷ Another chief reason for the decline of ethnography can be traced back to the Islamic conquests and the establishment of the Lombards in Italy and the Slavs and Bulgars on the Balkans, which seems to have provoked a significant decline in historiography as well.³⁰⁸ Consequently, from the seventh century onwards, historians were uncertain about the dominant position of the Roman Empire, whose territory had been continuously shrinking. They were, therefore, reluctant to apply similar interpretative strategies to ethnic differences as Procopius or Agathias had previously done. The historians preferred to write about nations that were not a big threat for the Empire or peoples that were subjects to the Romans.³⁰⁹

Despite the fact that after the seventh century ethnographical accounts were reduced markedly, ethnography did not disappear completely. In the middle Byzantine period, short ethnographical and geographical passages are to be found in texts, though not in histories or chronicles in the classical sense. Theophanes is a prime example of a middle period chronicler who avoids including descriptions of peoples in his work.³¹⁰ Contrary to Theophanes' text, the *Tactika* by Leo VI,³¹¹ a military treatise, Photius' *Bibliotheca*,³¹² the *DAI*, a manual of domestic and

306 In the fifth century, ethnographic accounts appear also in the ecclesiastical history of Philostorgius and in Palladius' work *De gentibus Indiae et Bragmanibus*. In the sixth century, ethnography appears in the hagiographical work of Ps.-Neilos of Ankyra called *Narrationes* and in *Topographia Christiana* by Cosmas Indicopleustes. In the middle Byzantine period ethnography is almost absent from Christian literature. Nevertheless, ethnography is traced in the *Vita Barlaam et Joasaph*, the *Vita Sancti Macarii Romani*, and the *Vita Andreae Apostoli*; cf. Kaldellis (2013), 64–67.

307 C. Mango first argued that Byzantine writers and the Byzantine public ceased to be interested in lands that had broken away from Constantinople under the Arab conquest in the seventh century; cf. Mango (1988–1989), 360–372.

308 Whitby (1992), 66–74; Haldon (1990), 425–435. It has been claimed to be due to the weakness of historians to interpret the failures of the Empire: the well-established faith in the superiority of Orthodoxy over 'the infidel peoples' was difficult to overcome. Defeat in religious war made it difficult for the Byzantines even to discuss their enemies and impossible to understand their motivation; cf. Kaldellis (2013), 71–77.

309 This is apparent amongst the historians of late antiquity. We encounter, however, such an attitude amongst the historians of the middle Byzantine period as well. See, for instance, Psellos' ethnographic account on the Pechenegs; cf. *Chronographia* 7.67–69.

310 Mango, Scott, and Greatrex (edd.) (2006).

311 Dennis (ed.) (2010). Ethnography can be found in military treatises such as the *Tactika* by Leo VI. It should be stressed that the rhetoric of the Christian empire, which originated in the age of Justinian, is apparent in Leo's *Tactika*. Thus, the Bulgars differ from the Hungarians because the first are Christians (*Tactika* 18.59), the Franks and the Lombards are Christians and therefore somewhat friendlier towards the Empire (*Tactika* 18.74) whereas the Saracens were always presented as enemies of the Romans because they were not Christians (*Tactika* 18.105).

312 Henry and Schamp (edd.) (1959–1991).

foreign policy by Constantine Porphyrogenitus,³¹³ and the *Vita Basilii*,³¹⁴ a historical biography, abound with ethnographic and geographical material. In addition to this, ethnographic passages were excerpted from classical and late antique writers and incorporated into collections of historical excerpts, such as the *Excerpta Anonymi* and the *Excerpta Salmasiana*.³¹⁵ It becomes manifest, therefore, that after the seventh century we only encounter short ethnographies or ethnographical excerpts inserted in a variety of literary structures. The issue to be investigated is what literary and political purposes the selection, extraction, and representation of ethnographic or geographical excerpts serve in the subsequent centuries of Byzantine history.

Certain passages in the *Excerpta Anonymi* show evidence of how a tenth-century compiler imposed a new meaning onto the excerpts of Procopius, thus shedding more light on the history of ethnography in the subsequent centuries of Byzantine history. Ethnography did not disappear completely, but its meaning changed profoundly, under the influence of the changed political circumstances of the tenth century.

2.5.3.2 *Περὶ Βριττίας νήσου and Περὶ οἰωνοσκοπίας τῶν Οὐάρνων*

The two chapters, *Περὶ Βριττίας νήσου* and *Περὶ οἰωνοσκοπίας τῶν Οὐάρνων*, are part of the historical part of the *Excerpta Anonymi*. As has already been noted, the text of the two chapters has been excerpted from the eighth book of Procopius' *De bellis*. It is clear that an ethnographic and geographic interest dominates this book published two years after Procopius had finished the first seven books of the *De bellis*.³¹⁶

Excerpt 1³¹⁷

The excerpt begins abruptly with the description of the geographical position of Brittia. Procopius states clearly that Brittia is an island: *Βριττία νῆσος*.³¹⁸ Brittia is only about two hundred stades from the continent, approximately opposite the mouth of the Rhine.³¹⁹ Then, Procopius distinguishes Brittia from Brettania and Thule; Brittia is situated between them.³²⁰ The former is situated in the West and

313 Moravcsik and Jenkins (edd.) (1967).

314 Ševčenko (ed.) (2011). On the text, see also Karpozilos (2002), 345–366; Kazhdan (2006), 137–144.

315 On the ethnographical passages embedded in the *Excerpta Salmasiana*, see Chapter 3.

316 On the date of publication of Book VIII, see Greatrex (1994) and Greatrex (2014a), 97.

317 See Appendix I: Text I.

318 *Excerpta Anonymi* 23, 12. Procopius repeatedly mentions in this chapter that *Βριττία* is an island; cf. Procopius, *De bellis*, 8.20.1, 4, 6, 7, 10.

319 *Excerpta Anonymi* 23, 14–15.

320 *Excerpta Anonymi* 23, 17. Procopius had already mentioned earlier that Brettania is larger than even Sicily; cf. Procopius, *De bellis* 6.6.28.

the latter in the East.³²¹ Procopius mentions that Brittia is inhabited by three peoples and that each of them has a king of its own. The three nations are the Angles, the Frisians, and the Britons. They dwell in a land belonging to the Franks.³²²

As can be observed in Appendix I: Text I, the first passage excerpted from Procopius halts at the point where Procopius gives us a brief description of a Frankish embassy at Justinian's court in Constantinople,³²³ in Paragraph 10. In Procopius' text, the Franks³²⁴ had invited some of the Angles who had settled on their land, to accompany them to Constantinople. The reason behind this obviously was, as Procopius states, to show that Brittia was ruled by the king of the Franks.³²⁵ What is of major importance there is that the Franks sent an embassy to Constantinople to secure Justinian's recognition of their claim to rule the land where the immigrants had settled.³²⁶ It is worth noting that in the *De bellis* 7.33.4 Procopius also tells us that the Franks did not consider their possession of Gaul secure until the emperor had put the seal of his approval upon their title.³²⁷

The passage on the Frankish embassy is absent in the *Excerpta Anonymi*. A closer look at the collection suggests that the suppression is possibly linked to the compiler's attitude towards Justinian throughout the *Excerpta Anonymi*. I showed already that omissions and modifications in the passages excerpted from

321 J. B. Bury supported the opinion that Brittia in Procopius' text means Britain; cf. Bury (1907), 79–88. A. R. Burn also believes that Brittia as well as Brettania represent Britain; cf. Burn (1955), 258. The argument that Brittia and Britain is one and the same island is reinforced by a comment that occurs later in the same chapter, viz. that on this island of Brittia men in ancient times had built a long wall, cutting off a large portion of it; cf. *Excerpta Anonymi* 24, 2–4. Jordanes, however, refers to British horses; cf. Jordanes, *Getica* II.15. Bury went further arguing that Procopius by Brittia meant Britain, but that he did not realise that the land he described was indeed Britain; cf. Bury (1907), 83. Thompson agrees that Brittia represents Britain but he believes that by Brettania Procopius meant Armorica, the province that nowadays is called Brittany; cf. Thompson (1980), 499; cf. Bury (1906a), n. 168, 157. Av. Cameron judges positively Thompson's proposition; cf. Av. Cameron (1996b), 215. The view that Brittia and Brettania are two different islands was supported by J. O. Ward, too; cf. Ward (1968), 465.

322 That this migration took place in the first half of the sixth century can be argued with certainty and Procopius' account of the immigration of people from Brittia to the Continent conforms with the situation presented by his contemporary Gildas; cf. Stenton (1967), 5–8 and Stevenson (1899), 32–46. Procopius' account also bears resemblance to an account written by a monk of Fulda shortly before the year 865; cf. Langebec, (ed.) (1773), 38–49 and Pertz (ed.) (1829), 673–681.

323 This Frankish embassy was set up in ca. 550; cf. Procopius, *De bellis* 8.20.10.

324 The term Franks (in Greek *Φράγγοι*) is not classical but is an ethnonym that emerged in late antiquity. The use of that name was not a form of classicism; cf. Kaldellis (2013), 112 and 115.

325 Procopius, *De bellis* 8.20.9–10.

326 Thompson argues that Procopius in writing this passage had in mind the move to Brittany started in the fifth century. According to Thompson, by Britannia Procopius means Brittany; cf. Thompson (1980), 499–503.

327 The matter of Roman power over Brittia during Justinian's reign has been treated by J. O. Ward; cf. Ward (1968), 460–471. It is likely that Justinian claimed a theoretical title over the island of Brittia. In the third book of the *De bellis* (cf. Procopius, *De bellis* 3.2.38), Procopius states that the Roman rule over Britain ended after 409. Roman rule is unlikely to have come to such an abrupt end; cf. Av. Cameron (1996b), 213. This topic has been treated by many scholars; cf. Thompson (1980), 409–503; Thompson (1982); Johnson (1980); Welsby (1982); Wood (1984), 1–25.

the *Parastaseis* occur intentionally and not without a goal. When reading the *Parastaseis* it turns out that the building activity of Justinian I figures rarely in the *Excerpta Anonymi* and is largely pruned away.

This we have to understand against the political background of the tenth century and as an expression of the Macedonian dynastic propaganda. Certain preoccupations in the *Excerpta Anonymi* confirm that they belong to the context of the tenth-century 'restricted ecumenism', as expressed in the treatises that appeared under the auspices of Constantine Porphyrogenitus. The concept of 'limited ecumenism', as a specific theory about Byzantine foreign policy in this period, was first advanced by T. Lounges.³²⁸ His theory, long neglected, was recently unburied and reappraised by P. Magdalino.³²⁹

Indeed, Constantine Porphyrogenitus only occasionally refers to Justinian I in the *DT*³³⁰ and Justinian I is markedly ignored in the *DAI*. Moreover, in the *EC*, an enterprise also undertaken under Constantine Porphyrogenitus' auspices, excerptors have intervened in the excerpts from the chronicle of Theophanes, distorting what the emperor had considered irrelevant to his purpose and presenting Justinian I unfavourably.³³¹ The geographical perspective outlined by Constantine Porphyrogenitus in his *DAI* is also determined by the prospects and expectations of possible imperial administration and rule in formerly imperial territories that were still considered to be within the grasp of the Empire.³³² But this Empire was smaller than the one Justinian I had conquered. The *DAI* Chapters 26–28, centred on the history of Italy and the Lombard invasions, seem to have been constructed to justify the Venetian, Lombard, and Frankish settlements on former imperial territories. Their content distorts the origins of the division of Italy into Frankish and Byzantine rule by providing 'information' with no basis in reality.³³³ The chapters appear to propagate the division of the West according to the political agenda of Constantine Porphyrogenitus.³³⁴ In the tenth century, the Macedonian dynasty had already accepted the division of the Empire, and Italy was considered definitely lost. Consequently, Constantine Porphyrogenitus intended to erode the memory of Justinian I by omitting or distorting the reconquest of Italy for the Byzantine Empire under the reign of this emperor.³³⁵

Seen from this perspective, the *Excerpta Anonymi* belong to a time when the transformative power and civilising influence of the Empire had already been

328 Lounges (1981), 49–85 and Lounges (1990).

329 Magdalino (2013b), 23–42.

330 *DT*, 61, 62, 63, 65, 70, 76.

331 Lounges (1981), 55.

332 Magdalino (2013b), 23–42.

333 In Chapter 27, Constantine Porphyrogenitus places the Lombard invasion in the eighth century, rather than in the sixth; cf. *DAI*, 27.

334 See also Von Falkenhausen (1989), 25–38. Chapters 29–36 are an attempt to make allowances for the settlement of the Croats and the Serbs in Dalmatia and the Balkans; cf. Magdalino (2013b), 23–42.

335 Lounges (1990).

restricted. Accordingly, the omission of the reference to the Frankish embassy should be placed within this historico-political context. The compiler wanted to avoid reminding Byzantine readers of the late-tenth century of a period in which the possession of Gaul by the Franks was not guaranteed until the emperor had put the seal of his approval upon their title.³³⁶

Excerpts 2 and 3³³⁷

The second excerpt from Procopius reports that the people who live closer to the Franks are the Varni. Only the river Rhine separates the Varni from the Franks, whereas the Britons are settled in another land, called *Τουβερνία*.

First, it is worth noting that the compiler is concise regarding that passage and greatly simplifies the original text. Let us have a look at the original context of the passage: after speaking about the geographical position of Brittia and the nations settled on it, Procopius goes on to narrate a curious story about the king of the Varni.³³⁸ This king, called Hermegisclus, predicted his own death on the basis of a portent he had suddenly seen: a bird that was croaking loudly, which Hermegisclus interpreted as a sign of his own death after forty days. Accordingly, the king, in a speech addressed to his people, warned them to take only Frankish women as spouses and not from the people of the Britons, because the former were their real neighbours. Similarly, the king compels his son to abandon his future wife because she belongs to the people of the Angli. The girl then decides to take revenge by waging war on the people of the Varni.³³⁹

The Procopian passage 8.20.18 is part of the speech of Hermegisclus. It is apparent, therefore, that the compiler of the *Excerpta Anonymi* has singled out a reference to the neighbours of the Varni and incorporated it as an independent piece of information into his text. Excerpt 3 is a short excerpt from the account on Hermegisclus, too. The *Excerpta Anonymi* author again cuts out an isolated piece from its genuine context, referring to the *mores* of the Angli. It is obvious that the author of the codex preferred to represent that story in an independent chapter, namely the chapter *Περὶ οἰωνοσκοτίας τῶν Οὐάρων*, which follows immediately.

Up to this point, the compiler has spoken about the geographical position of Brittia, has informed us on the nations settled on it and he now tells us something about the customs of one of the island's peoples. We never learn from the *Excerpta Anonymi* about the romantic story of a couple in Brittia. The author of the *Excerpta Anonymi* has also chosen to omit the conduct of the king of the Varni. The passage contains only three sentences reflecting the virtue amongst the Varni.

336 Procopius again refers to this; cf. *Procopius, De bellis* 7.33.4.

337 See in the Appendix I: Text I.

338 This account is the subject of the following chapter (Excerpt 6 in this book) in the anonymous collection, that is *Περὶ οἰωνοσκοτίας τῶν Οὐάρων*; cf. *Excerpta Anonymi* 25, 25–26, 4.

339 Procopius, *De bellis* 8.20.11–25.

It must also be stressed that the author of the *Excerpta Anonymi* has excluded the wording *βάρβαροι* (= barbarians) from his text. He never uses this characterisation to refer to peoples who settled in the West. For Procopius and surely for the Romans of the sixth century the foreign peoples who are presented through these digressions were first of all barbarians. What we detect throughout these six excerpts is an ethnographic account, the main goal of which is not to underline the superiority of the Romans over a foreign people.³⁴⁰ Interestingly, the excerpts comply with Constantine Porphyrogenitus' high regard for the Franks, which is evident especially in his *DAI*.³⁴¹ It should also be noted that, in this line, the *Excerpta Anonymi* compiler supplies better information on the West than Procopius did, by mentioning Hibernia³⁴² and by identifying the Germans with the Franks.³⁴³ It could also be argued that the *Excerpta Anonymi* compiler did not attempt to distinguish Brittia's nations from the Romans on the basis of their distinctive manners of living. Consequently, there is no reference to the social structure of these peoples, their religious beliefs, or their way of life. The fact that each of the three nations has its own king denotes merely that they are three distinct peoples who live in different parts of Brittia.

Excerpt 4³⁴⁴

Excerpt 4 is a very brief description of the Britons and the Varni's battle gear on the battlefield: peoples on Brittia have never seen horses. I suggest that at this point the compiler of the *Excerpta Anonymi* introduces a mini-military ethnography. He, once again, isolates a couple of sentences from an entire episode in order to offer what he considered most important to serve his purpose of thematic homogeneity throughout the compilation. The two sentences were excerpted from Procopius' account of the Angles' attack on the Varni, under the leadership of the woman whom the son of Hermegisclus had decided not to marry.³⁴⁵ The ethnographic digression of Excerpt 4 has been placed between the moral comment upon the Angli (Excerpt 3) and the tale of the dead souls that are ferried to Brittia (Excerpt 5). I believe that such a digression could be seen as an ethnographic addition to the previous brief representation of the people of Brittia and serves to introduce us to the fantastic and exaggerated account that follows. If the author

340 Leon VI in his *Tactika* includes a very brief description about Franks. It is likely that it was less urgent for the Empire of his time. Franks were Christian and generally friendly to the Empire; cf. *Tactika*, 18.74–92.

341 See, for instance, the *DAI*, 13.110–121.

342 I am indebted to Prof. Paul Magdalino for this remark. The only reference to Hibernia that I was able to find is the one in the *Expositio fidei* by Joannes Damascenus: *Εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ γνωσθεῖσαι ἐπαρχίαι τῆς γῆς ἥτοι σατραπῖαι αὐταί· Εὐρώπης μὲν ἐπαρχία ἡ δὲ, πίνακες ἰ'· α' Ἰουβερνία, νῆσος Βρετανική*; cf. *Expositio fidei*, 24b.1–2.

343 This piece of information is possibly taken from Procopius, *De bellis* 3.3.1. Agathias also identifies the Franks with the Germans; cf. Agathias, *Historiae* I.2.

344 See Appendix I: Text I.

345 Procopius, *De bellis* 8.20.26–31.

had stopped his narrative with the morality of Angli, the following tale would have been presented abruptly and without any ostensible reason.

Excerpt 5³⁴⁶

Excerpt 5 contains a story about the souls of the dead that are ferried to the island of Brittia by fishermen inhabiting the land of the Franks. It is likely that Procopius had heard that story from the Anglian members of the Frankish embassy at Constantinople.³⁴⁷ Procopius also states clearly that the story of the transfer of these souls was well known in Byzantium.³⁴⁸ It was a story recounted by men who had taken part in the transportation of the souls³⁴⁹ and was common knowledge amongst the Byzantines, so that Procopius claims he feels obliged to include it into his historical narrative.³⁵⁰ He adds a story, however, which he himself does not even believe to be true: he states that he will record a story that belongs to the sphere of mythology.³⁵¹

The same story was included in our anonymous collection. The question is what was the rationale for the selection of that passage. I suggest we have to think about the role the socio-political context played in the selection and the presentation of the present story. I propose that the incorporation of this kind of material is very much in line with the tenth-century Constantinopolitan political agenda: the notion of *restricted ecumenism*. Accordingly, the *Excerpta Anonymi* author consciously attempts to restrict himself and all the Byzantines in an area located in one part of the continent, whereas in another one, far away from Constantinople, a fictitious and frightening event takes place: fishermen conveying dead souls. In addition, we do not detect any covert comment upon any previous presence of Byzantines in Britain. The story is set in a distant place, distinguishing a civilised and erudite people on the one hand and an exotic and peculiar place and community on the other. The compiler of the *Excerpta Anonymi* represents Brittia as a fabulous place. The differentiation could thus justify why such a story would only take place distant from Constantinople and accordingly the description of Brittia and its peoples excludes in the *Excerpta Anonymi* the possibility of political inclusion and cultural transformation. The civilising mission of the Empire depicted in Justinian's missionary activity³⁵² and testified to in Procopius' writings is totally missing.³⁵³

346 See Appendix I: Text I.

347 Burn (1955), 259. F. M. Stenton argues that Procopius' narration shows a knowledge of Germanic customs, which could only have been acquired from a barbarian informant; cf. Stenton (1967), 5.

348 Procopius, *De bellis* 8.20.47.

349 Procopius, *De bellis* 8.20.47.

350 Procopius, *De bellis* 8.20.47.

351 Procopius, *De bellis* 8.20.47.

352 On the subject, see Beck (1967), 649–674; Av. Cameron (1996b), 120–125; Ševčenko (1988–1989), 7–27; Greatrex (2005), 477–509.

353 See Procopius' account of the Tzani's conversion; cf. Procopius, *De bellis* 1.15.18–25. Procopius' account of Heruls' conversion; cf. Procopius, *De bellis*, 6.14.33–34. See also Procopius' account of Tzani in *De aedificiis*, a work devoted to the building activity of Justinian; cf. Procopius, *De aedificiis* 3.6.1–14.

The compiler's attempt to reinforce the distinction between Byzantines and peoples in Brittia is also evident in the passage on Brittia excerpted from Cassius Dio.³⁵⁴ The description of Cassius Dio reveals a place impassable and inhospitable rather than a place worthy of being part of the Roman Empire: ὄρη ἄγρια καὶ ἄνυδρα καὶ πεδία ἔρημα καὶ ἐλώδη, μήτε τείχη μήτε πόλεις μήτε γεωργίας ἔχοντες, ἀλλ' ἐκ νομῆς, ἀκροδρύων καὶ θήρας ζῶντες (wild and waterless mountains and desolate and swampy plains, and they have no enclosures, nor towns nor tilled fields, but they live on their flocks, wild game, and certain fruits).³⁵⁵ The ethnographic description that follows reports mostly on the military equipment of the Kalydonians. The text puts an emphasis on their primitive poverty and their hardness on the battlefield: ὑπομένουσι δὲ καὶ λιμὸν καὶ ψῆχος καὶ τάλαιπωρίαν ἅπασαν· καταδύμενοι γὰρ εἰς τὰ ἔλη καρτεροῦσιν ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὕλαις τῷ τε φλοιῷ καὶ ταῖς ρίζαις διατρέφονται (They can endure hunger and cold and any kind of hardship; for they plunge into swamps and exist there for many days, and in the forests they support themselves upon bark and roots).³⁵⁶ The passage does not contain any reference, direct or indirect, to the importance of the foreign peoples' adoption of civilised life. In the *Excerpta Anonymi* ethnographic passages peoples become identifiers of the lands and the possibility of cultural transformation is totally lacking. It is worth mentioning that similar preoccupations are evident in the *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, a collection of hagiographies, the compilation of which is associated with the tenth-century imperial court, too.³⁵⁷ According to the vita of Aristoboulos, the Apostle was ordained bishop εἰς τὴν χώραν τῶν Βρεττανῶν, ἀγρίων ἀνθρώπων καὶ ὁμοτάτων (in the land of Britons', who were wild and savage people)³⁵⁸ and according to the vita of the Apostle Simon, the latter ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπίστων σταυρωθεὶς καὶ τελειωθεὶς θάπτεται ἐκεῖ (he was crucified by the infidels and after he died he was buried there).³⁵⁹

Excerpt 6³⁶⁰

Though the chapter *Περὶ οἰωνοσκοπίας τῶν Οὐάρνων*³⁶¹ breaks the alphabetical order, it was embedded at this point in the *Excerpta Anonymi* because the chapter

354 *Excerpta Anonymi* 21, 26–22, 19. A paraphrased version of the passage is found in the margins of f.24v in the fifteenth-century codex Athos, *Iviron* 175 which contains the chronicle by Michael Glycas. See Constantinides (2008), 15–23 with the marginal note edited on pp. 20–21. The chronicle of Michael Glycas is edited in Bekker (ed.) (1836). On Michael Glycas, see Hunger (1978), 422–426; Mavromati-Katsougiannopoulou (1984). On *Iviron* 175, see Constantinides (2008), 17–18.

355 *CD* 77.12.1.

356 *CD* 77.12.4.

357 On the relation with the imperial court, see n. 85 in Chapter 1.

358 *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, cols. 539.3–540.11.

359 *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, cols. 671.11–30 and 781.27–32.

360 See Appendix I: Text I.

361 *Excerpta Anonymi* 25, 25–26, 4.

refers to Brittia and its inhabitants (the nation of Varni). In addition, the chapter begins with the statement *Μνησθήσομαι δὲ καὶ περὶ οἰωνοσκοπίας*, written by the compiler and denotes that he felt the necessity to justify his choice to include a title that does not follow the previous alphabetical arrangement. It is possible that the author considered the passage so important that he needed to insert it at that point of his compilation: the chapter on the one hand provides additional information concerning the island of Brittia, and, on the other, links a nation of Brittia, namely that of the Varni, to the tradition of omens and prophecies. The introductory statement, *Οὔαρνοι ἔθνος εἰσὶ Βρεττανικόν*,³⁶² sets once again the event that follows in a distant place, in Britain.

The central point in Procopius' narration is the figure of Hermegisclus and his crucial decision to repudiate the wife chosen by his son, which leads to the war against the Angli later on. By contrast, the central point in the *Excerpta Anonymi* is the portent that Hermegisclus interpreted as an omen of his own death after forty days. Our compiler omits almost the entire story of Hermegisclus and only keeps the reference to the portent that made the king change the decision concerning his son's wedding. In the *Excerpta Anonymi*, the central point is the prediction of Hermegisclus' death. It is obvious that the author of the *Excerpta Anonymi* desired to include passages that matched, in terms of subject matter, the ones of the first part of the compilation, which concern prophecies, omens, and hidden powers.³⁶³

I have argued that Roman geographic descriptions reflect contemporary attitudes and the perception of the world current in the period they are composed. In the *Excerpta Anonymi* as well as in Procopius' ethnographical accounts, foreign lands and their people are set apart from civilisation by their isolation. Barbarian lands are inhospitable and impassable and cut their inhabitants off from contact with the Roman Empire. The people inhabiting these distant places have peculiar habits and beliefs. However, Procopius' geographic digressions come from the age of Justinian I, which was a time of territorial expansion and ideological transformation. His ethnographic accounts express a belief in the civilising influence of the Empire and in the transformative power of Roman imperialism by integrating foreign people into Roman institutions or into a Christian community. In Procopius' *De bellis* we encounter geographical accounts which reveal how the Romans helped these inferior nations on the way to civilisation. Such integrating efforts depicted primarily the superiority of the Romans over these peoples.

In the *Excerpta Anonymi*, instead, these ideas are missing. They rather use the difference in the civilisation level to reinforce already established geographical and political frontiers. In the foregoing pages I have suggested that this changed perception has parallels in other sources as well, in particular the Constantinian treatises. I would suggest that the author of the *Excerpta Anonymi* was writing

362 *The Varni are a nation of Britain*; cf. *Excerpta Anonymi* 25, 26–27.

363 The part that is predominantly based on the *Parastaseis*.

under the *pressure* of the dominant imperial policy, even if he has not been commissioned directly to serve it. It has to be stressed that an author belonging to the contemporary bureaucratic or intellectual milieu is likely to absorb the dominant ideology expressed at that time. Even if he is not a tool of propaganda, he is likely to be influenced by it. In fact, indirectly the codex depicts the contemporary political situation and contains information that seems to be anachronistic. However, the *Excerpta Anonymi* update the information about the past by placing it in a tenth-century context, thereby revealing the author's efforts to preserve certain texts by making them fit into a new time frame. As noted, the compiler of the *Excerpta Anonymi* collects and rearranges material that corresponds to meticulously selected themes, such as the otherness of non-Byzantines and the belief in portents. Finally, the *Excerpta Anonymi* reflect the choices and interests of its compiler, while, at the same time, betraying what kind of texts attracted particular attention in his own age.³⁶⁴

2.6 Conclusions

In this section, I would like to repeat the main arguments I have made in this chapter: 1) Paleographic, textual, and contextual evidence suggest that the *Excerpta Anonymi* date to the second half of the tenth century. 2) The *sylloge* comprises excerpts taken from a variety of sources; patriographic, geographic, geometric, and historical treatises. A certain number of excerpts had been excerpted in the *Excerpta Anonymi* through earlier collections of excerpts. Structurally, the passages were selected thematically and arranged alphabetically. The author of the *Excerpta Anonymi*, at times, breaks the alphabetical sequence of excerpts and inserts passages that clarify the content of earlier passages and enhance the thematic homogeneousness of the *sylloge*. 3) I also elucidated the working method applied in the *Excerpta Anonymi* and I identified the three procedures followed by a compiler, namely a) reading and selection, b) editing, and c) synthesis. 4) The *EC* and the *Excerpta Anonymi* share significant similarities in terms of content, format, and methodology. I suggested that, for the chapter "On the River Istros", the *Excerpta Anonymi* drew on a collection of geographical material, whereas for the chapters "On Cyrus" and "On Remus and Romulus" they drew on a Constantinian collection of occult science. Similarly, some passages on Roman history in the *Excerpta Anonymi* derive from a collection on dreams and occult science. And 5) The tenth-century socio-political context played a significant role in the selection and in the re-editing of excerpts. In particular, I suggest that a) the excerptor of the *Excerpta Anonymi* debases Justinian, and b) that Roman geographic and

364 The *Parisinus* interest in history matches a cultural revival that had started at the end of the eighth century and was lively during the tenth century. I. Ševčenko has pointed out that the *Ecloga chronographica* of George Syncellus, the *Chronographia brevis* of Patriarch Nicephorus and the *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* constitute the beginning of Byzantine interest in the past; cf. Ševčenko, (1992b) 279–293. See also Markopoulos (2006), 283–286. On Syncellus, see Adler and Tuffin (2002).

ethnographic descriptions in the *Excerpta Anonymi* reflect contemporary attitudes and the current perception of the world in the period they were composed in. It has also been shown that the purification of the text from religious references should be seen under the influence of the intellectual and cultural tendencies of the tenth century.

3 *Excerpta Salmasiana*

The *Excerpta Salmasiana* are an anonymous *sylloge* of historical excerpts named after the French humanist Claude Saumaise, who copied them around the year 1606 from a mid-twelfth-century codex in Heidelberg.¹ The *sylloge* was probably put together between the eighth and the eleventh–twelfth centuries. This chapter argues that the *Excerpta Salmasiana* comprise three distinct *syllogae* of excerpts: 1) the *Exc.Salm.I*, which consists of excerpts taken from a single historical work, namely John of Antioch's *Historia chronica*, 2) the *Exc.Salm.II*, which comprises excerpts from John Malalas' *Chronographia*, Cassius Dio's *Historiae Romanae*, and an unidentified lost chronicle that used a variety of late antique sources, and 3) a *sylloge* of excerpts from Agathias' *Historiae*.

The chapter 1) considers the manuscript transmission of the entire *Excerpta Salmasiana*, 2) surveys the relationship between the *Excerpta Salmasiana* and John of Antioch's chronicle, 3) undertakes a close analysis of the source texts each of the three *syllogae* depended on, 4) considers the selective use of historical material on the part of the compiler of the *Excerpta Salmasiana*, and 5) examines the methodological principles underlying the compilation process of the *Excerpta Salmasiana*. These last two points shall be undertaken on the basis of the third part, the excerpts from Agathias, which has hitherto received no scholarly attention at all.

3.1 Manuscript transmission

The *Excerpta Salmasiana* have been transmitted through three manuscripts, namely *Vaticanus gr.* 96 (mid-twelfth century), *Vaticanus pal.* 93 (mid-twelfth century), and *Parisinus gr.* 1763 (ca. 1606).

3.1.1 *Vaticanus graecus* 96

Bombyc., ff. IV + 229, 244 × 175 mm, (180 × 105, 187 × 112, 195 × 97 mm), II 28–35, sec. XII med.²

1 This manuscript is the codex *Vaticanus pal.* 93, about which see Section 3.1.2.

2 Biedl (1955), 52–60; Mercati and Franchi de' Cavalieri (1923), 108–109; Canart and Peri (1970), 370; Sotiroidis (1989), 187–188; Cook (2005), 190–193; Roberto (ed.) (2005b), LVII–LVIII; Mariev (2008), 26*–27*; Dorandi (2009), 8–9.

Vaticanus graecus 96 contains: 1r–10r: Flavius Philostratus, *Epistulae*;³ 11r–18v: Polemon, *Declamationes*;⁴ 19r–29v: excerpts from ps.-Hesychius' *De Viris Illustribus*;⁵ 29v–88r: excerpts from Diogenes Laertius' *Vitae philosophorum*;⁶ 88r–88v: anonymous, *Excerpta gnomologii*;⁷ 88v–89r: excerpts from Ps.-Herodotus' *Vita Homeri*;⁸ 89r–97v: Flavius Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists*;⁹ 97v–98v: excerpts from two *Lives of Demosthenes* by Zosimus¹⁰; 98v: an anonymous *epitome of Philip's life*;¹¹ 98v–99r: *gnomai*;¹² **99r–100v: Joannes Antiochenus, Exc.Salm. I; 100v–102v + 106r–111v + 103rv: anonymous, Exc.Salm. II; 103v–105v + 112r–114v: Agathias scholasticus, Historiae**; 114v–131v: Claudius Aelianus, *Variae historiae*;¹³ 131v–132r: Heraclides Lembus, *Excerpta politiarum*; 132r–157v: Claudius Aelianus' *De natura animalium*;¹⁴ 157v–159r: anonymous *excerpts on marvels*;¹⁵ 159r–229r: Claudius Aelianus, *De natura animalium*.¹⁶ F. 10v was left blank.

The codex transmits the series of historical excerpts under the heading: ἀρχαιολογία Ἰωάννου Ἀντιοχέως ἔχουσα καὶ διασάφησιν τῶν μυθευομένων (f. 99r).¹⁷ The series of excerpts is interrupted by a marginal note bearing the new title: ἐτέρα ἀρχαιολογία (f. 100v).¹⁸ Ff. 103r–105v have been inserted in a wrong position by a later binder, probably in the fourteenth–fifteenth centuries. The correct position of the folia in the codex is after f. 111v.¹⁹

In the margins, there are plenty of notes written in different hands.²⁰ N. G. Wilson argued that the codex was written by a scholar rather than a professional scribe.²¹ A. Biedl regards *Vaticanus gr.* 96 incomplete and dates the codex to the year 1300.²² Biedl compared the script of *Vaticanus gr.* 96 with the one of the

3 Kayser (ed.) (1964), 225–257.

4 Stefec (2013), 99–154; Stefec (ed.) (2016).

5 Marcovich (1999), 89–138.

6 Marcovich (1999), 140–320.

7 Published in Bertini-Malgarini (1986), 17–26.

8 Vasiloudi (2013), 93–108; The text is edited in Vasiloudi (2013), 156–158.

9 Kayser (ed.) (1838).

10 One of the two *Lives* is written by Zosimus of Ascalon, a grammarian who lived during the reign of Anastasius (491–518 ad). The other of the two *Lives* is anonymous. On Zosimus, see *PLRE* II, 1206. The two *Lives* were published by Westermann (1845), 297–309.

11 The text was edited in Cook (2005), 194.

12 See the text published in Cook (2005), 191, n. 11.

13 Dils (1971), 3–12; Dils (1974), vii–viii.

14 Part of the text in *Vaticanus gr.* 96 was published in De Stefani (1904), 154–158, 176–178.

15 Published in De Stefani (1903), 93–98.

16 See n. 14.

17 Transl. Mariev (ed.) (2008), 5: *John of Antioch's archeology containing the explanation of the mythical tales.*

18 *A different archeology.*

19 Biedl (1955), 53.

20 Sotiroudis (1983), 249–254.

21 Wilson (1977), esp. 221–222 and 235–237.

22 Biedl (1955), 53.

codex *Parisinus gr.* 1671,²³ prepared on behalf of Maximus Planudes in 1296, and proposed a terminus ante quem for *Vaticanus gr.* 96 after the year 1338. N. G. Wilson, instead, dated *Vaticanus gr.* 96 to the middle of the twelfth century. For his dating, he also relied on the script of the manuscript as well as on its relationship to the codex *Vaticanus pal.* 93. The latter is a direct copy from *Vaticanus gr.* 96 (ff. 10r–141r) and it was written before 1152, as a margin note on f. 10r reveals. Moreover, Wilson pointed out that at the bottom of f. 109 there are verses clearly written by a later hand. Wilson dated these verses between 1250–1280.²⁴ Finally, C. Giannelli, based also on the analysis of the marginalia, proposed a date close to the middle of the twelfth century.²⁵

The codex seems to have been kept in Constantinople by the end of the fifteenth century, being in the possession of various scholars such as Nicephorus Gregoras (1295–1359) and Matthaïos Kamariotes (died 1490).²⁶ Nothing is known of the circumstances under which the manuscript reached the Vatican Library, but it is certain that it was already there in 1518.²⁷

3.1.2 *Vaticanus Palatinus* 93

Bombyc., ff. II + 191 (immo 192), 278 × 199 mm, (246 × 163 mm), II 29–42, sec. XII med.²⁸

Vaticanus pal. 93 contains: 1r–2r: Joannes Damascenus, *De Immaculato Corpore*;²⁹ 2r–v: Ps.-Caesarius, *Quaestiones et Responsiones*;³⁰ 2v–3v: *Florilegia, Definitiones*;³¹ 4r–8r: Anastasius Sinaita, *Definitiones*;³² 8v–9v: *Florilegia, Definitiones*;³³ 10r: Marcus Antonius Polemon *In Cynaegirum*; 10r: anonymous, *Notae chronol. de rebus Constantinopolitanis*; 10v–41v: Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae philosophorum*; 42r: anonymous, *Excerpta gnomologii*; 42r–46r: Flavius Philostratus, *Vitae philosophorum*; 46r–46v: Zosimus, excerpts from two *Lives of Demosthenes*; 46v: anonymous, *epitome of Philip's life*; **47rv: Joannes Antiochenus, Exc.Salm. I**; **47v–52v: anonymous, Exc.Salm. II**; **52v–55r: Agathias scholasticus, Historiae**; 55r–64r: Claudius Aelianus, *Variae historiae*; 64r–64v: Heraclides Lembus, *Excerpta politiarum*; 64v–141v: Claudius Aelianus, *De natura animalium*; 141r–145r: Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*; 145r–146v: Xenophon,

23 Omont (1891), tables LXVII–LXVIII.

24 Wilson (1977), 235–237.

25 Giannelli (1939), 463.

26 Vasiloudi (2013), 93.

27 Biedl (1955), 59.

28 Biedl (1955), 60–70; Stevenson (1885), 46–47; Canarti and Peri (1970), 242; Sotiroidis (1989), 188–191; Roberto (ed.) (2005b), LVIII; Mariev (ed.) (2008), 27*–28*; Dorandi (2009), 5–6.

29 CPG 8117.

30 CPG 7482.

31 Furrer-Pilliod (ed.) (2000), 48–49.

32 CPG 7745a.

33 Furrer-Pilliod (ed.) (2000), 48–49.

Anabasis; 146v–147r: Xenophon, *Apologia Socratis*; 147r–147v: Xenophon, *Agesilaus*; 147v–151r: Xenophon, *Memorabilia*; 151r–191ar: Herodotus, *Historiae*; 191bv: anonymous, *Breve chronicum Constantinopolitanum* (inc: Ἀλέξιος ὁ Μούρτζουφλος ἐκράτησε μῆνας β').

Vaticanus pal. 93 transmits the series of historical excerpts under the heading: ἀρχαιολογία Ἰωάννου Ἀντιοχέως ἔχουσα καὶ διασάφησιν τῶν μυθεομένων (f. 47r). The title ἐτέρα ἀρχαιολογία, added in *Vaticanus gr.* 96, is missing. The codex was written by one or two hands³⁴ and as far as the *Excerpta Salmasiana* are concerned the codex is an exact copy of *Vaticanus gr.* 96.³⁵ The excerpt collection seems to be embedded in a shared set of texts (Philostratus, Aelian). Nevertheless, *Vaticanus pal.* 93 contains a significant number of orthographic mistakes as well as omissions of words or even of entire passages. Unlike *Vaticanus gr.* 96, the codex *Vaticanus pal.* 93 is written in an untidy minuscule. According to Wilson, the manuscript was executed prior to 1152.³⁶ Biedl, based on a reference at the end of the codex, suggested that *Vaticanus pal.* 93 was written in 1338.³⁷ Wilson, however, showed that the reference derived from a different hand than the rest of the text.

An indication transmitted on f. 191bv suggests that the codex was in Constantinople at least up to the middle of the fourteenth century. We know nothing about its fate in the next two centuries. The manuscript was brought to the *Bibliotheca Palatina* in Heidelberg in 1584 and from there it was moved to Rome in 1623.³⁸ The codex is deposited there till today.

3.1.3 Parisinus graecus 1763

Chartac. pp. 24, 206 × 155 mm, (190 × 135 mm), II 23–30, an. Ca. 1606.³⁹

Parisinus gr. 1763 contains: **1–3: Joannes Antiochenus, Exc.Salm. I;** **4–23: anonymous, Exc.Salm. II.**

The excerpts are headed by the title: ἀρχαιολογία Ἰωάννου Ἀντιοχέως ἔχουσα καὶ διασάφησιν τῶν μυθεομένων. The other title, ἐτέρα ἀρχαιολογία, is missing. Page 24 is empty. *Parisinus gr.* 1763 was copied by Salmasius in Heidelberg

34 N. G. Wilson holds the view that folios 2–62 were not written by the same hand as the rest of the codex; cf. Wilson (1977), 237. In P. Sotiroudis' view a later hand has only included minor additions to the body text; cf. Sotiroudis (1989), 188–191.

35 Sotiroudis (1989), 190–191.

36 Wilson (1977), 237.

37 F. 191bv transmits a short Chronic of Constantinople, the last sentence of which reads as follows: τὰ δὲ ἀναρρώσεως αὐτῆς [τῆς Πόλεως] ἔτη μέχρι συμπληρώσεως τῆς παρελθούσης ς' (ἰνδικτιῶν ος) εἰσὶν ος'. Accordingly, Biedl proposed the year 1338 since the text records that it was written 77 years after the liberation of Constantinople and the capture of the city by Michael VIII took place on 25 July 1261; Biedl (1955), 61.

38 Biedl (1955), 61.

39 Omont (1888b), 137; Sotiroudis (1989), 191–193; Roberto (ed.) (2005b), LVIII–LVIV; Mariev (ed.) (2008), 28*.

around the year 1606.⁴⁰ *Parisinus gr.* 1763 is a copy of *Vaticanus pal.* 93. Indeed, in a margin of *Vaticanus gr.* 96 is found a brief passage labelled *περὶ τοῦ Ἰορδανοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς ἱστορίας Φιλοστοργίου*. The same passage is also copied in the *Exc.Salm.II* of *Vaticanus pal.* 93 and from this codex it was later copied in *Parisinus gr.* 1763. Cramer published the *Excerpta Salmasiana* from this manuscript in 1839.⁴¹ Three more manuscripts transmit the *Excerpta Salmasiana* but all of them are copies either from *Vaticanus gr.* 96 or *Vaticanus pal.* 93. These codices are: *Neapolitanus gr.* 166 [II D 4],⁴² *Parisinus gr.* 3026,⁴³ and *Palatinus. gr.* 129 (Heidelberg).⁴⁴

With regard to the manuscript transmission of the two aforementioned *ἀρχαιολογίαι*, I have two points to make. First, the *Excerpta Salmasiana*, in the form they have been handed down to us, represent a compilation of three distinct collections of excerpts, which is, however, held together by a shared interest across the three of them. Each of the collections is based on a different historiographical tradition: 1) the *Exc.Salm.I* are transmitted under the name of John of Antioch.⁴⁵ In S. Mariev's edition of John of Antioch the *Exc.Salm.I* are made up of thirty-nine excerpts.⁴⁶ The *Exc.Salm.I* embrace excerpts, which retain coherence in terms of content and narrative sequence. It is difficult, however, to say if the selection of excerpts was made by the anonymous compiler of the entire *Excerpta Salmasiana* or if he copied a pre-existing *sylloge*. 2) With the *Exc.Salm.II*, an excerptor attempted to expand on the *Exc.Salm.I* by composing a *sylloge* running from the Deluge to the fifth century ad, relying mostly on Malalas⁴⁷ and Cassius Dio.⁴⁸ The later insertion *ἑτέρα ἀρχαιολογία* at the point where the *Exc.Salm.II* begin is an indication that the two collections of excerpts stem from different sources. The later hand that added the title *ἑτέρα ἀρχαιολογία* was aware of the fact that the second part of the *Excerpta Salmasiana* had not been excerpted from the same historical work containing the *Exc.Salm.I*, that is, the *Historia*

40 See Biedl (1955), 69.

41 Cramer (1839), 383–401.

42 On the codex: Gelzer (1894), 394–395; Eleutheri (1981), 17–18; Sotiroudis (1989), 193–197.

43 Vitelli (1895), 382–384; Sotiroudis (1989), 197–200.

44 Biedl (1948), 100–106; Sotiroudis (1989), 200–201.

45 John of Antioch's *Historia chronica* run from Adam to the reign of Justinian or to the year 610.

The work is preserved in fragments. On the different views of the content of the *Historia chronica*, see Roberto (ed.) (2005b); Mariev (ed.) (2008), and Section 3.2. John of Antioch relied heavily on a variety of earlier historical accounts; on the sources used by John of Antioch, see Mariev (ed.) (2008), 32*–41*.

46 Mariev (ed.) (2008) p. 4–10. In Roberto's edition the *Exc.Salm.II* consist of thirty-seven excerpts.

47 John Malalas (ca. 490–570) composed a historical account running from the Creation to the death of Justinian I (y. 565). His work, which is partially preserved, is likely to have been composed in two stages. The part dealing with the years after 532 shows a Constantinopolitan point of view (contrary to the Antiochene point of view of the earlier part). This part was either added by Malalas at some point or it was written by a different author; Van Nuffelen and Van Hoof (2020); Thurn (ed.) (2000); Meier, Radki-Jansen, and Schulz (2016); Carrara, Meier, and Radki-Jansen (2017).

48 On Cassius Dio, see Section 2.2.3.

chronica of John of Antioch.⁴⁹ And 3) to these two was added the collection of excerpts from Agathias of Myrina's *Historiae*.⁵⁰ Together, the *Exc.Salm.I* and *II* plus the Agathias collection make up a single *sylloge* of excerpts that betrays a single interest. All the excerpts are concerned with omens, dreams, and superstition as well as cultural and religious beliefs of peoples surrounding Byzantium.

Second, the *sylloge* shows that late antique authors, such as Cassius Dio, John Malalas, John of Antioch, and Agathias circulated through excerpt collections throughout the Byzantine period. Specifically, the *Exc.Salm.I* show that the compiler intended to compile an excerpt collection from John of Antioch's historical work. The thematic homogeneity of Malalas excerpts in the *Exc.Salm.II* coupled with the fact that a significant part of these excerpts were also used by chroniclers in the tenth–eleventh centuries mirror the existence of a collection of Malalas excerpts, which the excerpts were taken from.⁵¹ Cassius Dio is the main source of the second part of the *Exc.Salm.II*. The fact that part of the excerpts are very similar to the excerpts taken from Dio in the tenth-century *Excerpta Anonymi* indicates that Cassius Dio circulated in an excerpt collection, which both, the *Exc.Salm.II* and the *Excerpta Anonymi* must have drawn on (see Section 3.3.2).

The structure and sources of the *sylloge* will be elucidated in the following sections. Before we proceed, however, a few remarks on the relationship between the collection and the historical work of John of Antioch are required.

3.2 *Excerpta Salmasiana* and John of Antioch

The *Excerpta Salmasiana* are often associated with the so-called *Johannische Frage*,⁵² which I need to discuss briefly, so as to lead us to a better understanding of a series of problems central to the nature of the collection. The oldest and best manuscript of the *Excerpta Salmasiana* is the codex *Vaticanus gr. 96*,⁵³ dated to the mid-twelfth century. As noted, the series of excerpts in the manuscript is labelled *ἀρχαιολογία Ἰωάννου Ἀντιοχείως ἔχουσα καὶ διασάφησιν τῶν μυθευομένων*

49 In fact, this point could support that the compiler of the *Excerpta Salmasiana* is not the compiler of the *sylloge* of John of Antioch. Even U. Roberto's view that the *Exc.Salm.I* derive from Julius Africanus does not change the fact that this part of the *Excerpta Salmasiana* compilation was excerpted from a historical treatise.

50 Agathias of Myrina's *Historiae* are dated to the second half of the sixth century. Agathias also wrote series of epigrams, the so-called *Cycle* and *Daphniaka*. An epigram identifies Agathias as *curator civitatis* in Smyrna (Cameron 1970, 2). The *Agathian* passages are edited for the first time in the appendix of this book; see Appendix I: Text II. On Agathias' life and works, see Cameron (1970); Kaldellis (1999); Kaldellis (2003); Schulte (2006).

51 See Section 3.3.2.

52 The debate amongst scholars about the historical excerpts that could or should not be ascribed to John of Antioch, author of the universal chronicle known as the *Historia chronica*. According to S. Mariev, John of Antioch wrote his chronicle in the first half of the sixth century; cf. Mariev (ed.) (2008), 8*. U. Roberto, instead, dates him to the early seventh century; cf. Roberto (ed.) (2005b), XI–XX.

53 On the codex, see above in Section 3.1.1.

(f. 99r). However, a note was inserted in a different hand in the margin of f. 100v, namely *ἐτέρα ἀρχαιολογία*.

The insertion sparked a debate among scholars as to which of the two parts is originally derived from John of Antioch. The proposition that the first part (e.g., *Exc.Salm.I*) does not derive from John of Antioch was first advanced by Patzig, who argued that the second part (e.g., *Exc.Salm. II*) did.⁵⁴ De Boor, by contrast, put forward that solely *Exc.Salm.I* belong to John of Antioch, whereas the second part derives from an anonymous but now lost chronicle,⁵⁵ which was also used by subsequent writers, such as Symeon Logothetes, Ps.-Symeon, George Cedrenus, and Constantine Manasses.⁵⁶ U. P. Boissevain, in turn, proposed that only the first part of the *Exc.Salm.II*, namely up to Excerpt 44, derived from John of Antioch.⁵⁷

This disagreement continues among the latest editors: S. Mariev follows de Boor and accepts only the *Exc.Salm.I* as the genuine work of John of Antioch⁵⁸ and argues that *Exc.Salm.II* derive from a paraphrased version of Malalas' chronicle.⁵⁹ U. Roberto, instead, regards the first part spurious, and ascribes the second part to John's historical work.⁶⁰ Roberto assigns the *Exc.Salm.I* to Julius Africanus and argues that they represent an anonymous collection of excerpts extracted from Books III and IV of the *Chronographiae* by Julius Africanus.⁶¹ As far as the *Exc.Salm.II* are concerned, U. Roberto believes that they entirely stem from an epitome of the *Historia chronica* of John of Antioch. In his view, the anonymous compiler of the epitome downgraded the stylistic and linguistic register of the *Historia chronica*, in line with the working method of most of the excerptors at that time.⁶² In this way, he attempts to explain the obvious discrepancies between the *Exc.Salm.II* and the excerpts of the *Historia chronica* incorporated into the *Excerpta Constantiniana* (*EC*) in terms of style, language, and historiographical tradition. Indeed, from *Exc.Salm.II* 44 onwards the *sylloge* differs markedly from the *EC*:⁶³ the section dealing with Roman history in the *Exc.Salm.II* is based on Cassius Dio, whereas in the *EC* it is derived from Eutropius. Indeed, the comparison of the excerpts in the *EC* and those in the *Excerpta Salmasiana* confirms that

54 Patzig (1900), 357–369.

55 De Boor (1899), 298–304; de Boor (1893), 195–211.

56 On the passages from the *Exc.Salm.II* found in Symeon Logothetes, Ps.-Symeon, Cedrenus, and Manasses, see Table 3.6 and Appendix II: Table V.

57 Boissevain (1887).

58 Mariev (ed.) (2008), esp. 16*.

59 Mariev (2009), 189–190.

60 Roberto (ed.) (2005b), LIII–LVII, LXXIII–LXXVII.

61 Julius Africanus' *Chronographiae* comprised five books and run from the Creation to 221 ad. The surviving fragments of his work were edited in Wallraff, Roberto, Pinggèra, and Adler (2007). On Julius Africanus and his prominent role in the development of Christian chronography, see the papers published in Wallraff (2006).

62 Roberto (ed.) (2005b), LXII.

63 The numbering of the excerpts is that of the edition of the *Historia chronica* by Roberto (ed.) (2005b).

the *Exc.Salm.II* derive from a different historiographical tradition⁶⁴ and that they cannot derive from John of Antioch.⁶⁵ Therefore, the marginal note inserted in *Vaticanus gr.* 96 must refer to the material that follows it.⁶⁶

The question to be raised, then, is what the source of the *Exc.Salm.II* was. In the following, I shall argue that the *Exc.Salm.II* were a *sylloge* of historical excerpts composed, at least partially, in the tenth century and then added to the *Exc.Salm.I*, so as to form a collection of historical excerpts on the topic of the legendary Greco-Roman past of the Byzantine Empire.

3.3 Structure and sources of the *Excerpta Salmasiana*

I shall now discuss the structure and the sources of each of the three *syllogae* constituting the *Excerpta Salmasiana*.

3.3.1 *Excerpta Salmasiana I*⁶⁷

The *Exc.Salm.I* comprise thirty-nine excerpts taken from a single historical work, namely John of Antioch's *Historia chronica*. John of Antioch derived his information from Africanus' *Chronographiae*.⁶⁸ In terms of content, the thirty-nine excerpts deal with Greek-Hellenistic, Jewish, and Egyptian history. H. Gelzer and E. Patzig argued that the selection of excerpts on the part of the excerptor was not accidental.⁶⁹ Excerpts 1–24 are concerned with the interpretation of Greek myths.⁷⁰ Chronologically, they cover the period from the Exodus to the first Olympiad and thematically, they reflect on Greek mythological history, while making references to contemporary Jewish and Egyptian persons or events. The last three excerpts of this group, namely excerpts 22–24, refer to the origins of Greek feasts associated with competitive games, such as the Isthmia in Corinth and the Pythia in Delphi. In addition, the entire group of excerpts exhibits an interest in synchronising Greek mythology and Jewish and Greek history.⁷¹

Excerpt 25 marks a turning point in the thematic sequence of excerpts by introducing us to Egyptian history. In particular, Excerpts 25–32 are dealing with the origins of Egyptian history, the first reigns of Egypt, and peculiar facts and wonders that occurred during the reigns of several pharaohs.

64 Boissevain (1887), 161–178; de Boor (1899), 298–304; Sotiriadis (1888), 1–126.

65 B. Bleckmann, *Review of Roberto*; Bleckmann (2009), 61–78; Van Nuffelen (2012), 439–440.

66 Mariev (2006), 546; Paschoud (2006), 333–334.

67 The numbering of the excerpts is that of the edition of the *Historia chronica* by Mariev (ed.) (2008).

68 Wallraff, Roberto, Pinggéra, and Adler (2007), esp. XXXIX–XLII.

69 Gelzer (1880), 118–119; Patzig (1900), 357–369, here 366–367. H. Gelzer, however, argued that both the *Exc.Salm.I* and the *Exc.Salm.II* are written by John of Antioch. According to H. Gelzer, there have been two versions of the *Historia chronica*: the original one and a reworked one.

70 The passages are originally derived from diverse ancient authors who attempted to rationalise texts on Greek mythology (Palaephatus, Philochorus, Didymus).

71 Roberto (2005a), 281–286.

Finally, Excerpts 33 to 39 show some inconsistencies in terms of content. In particular, Excerpt 33 marks a shift to Greek history once more. Excerpt 34 transmits an etymology for the Peloponnese peninsula. Excerpts 35–38 turn back to the topic of Greek competitive games, and the final Excerpt 39 makes a seemingly irrelevant reference to Holofernes, the general of the Chaldean king of the Neo-Babylonian Empire, Nebuchadnezzar II.

It becomes apparent, therefore, that the *Exc.Salm.I* are thematically divided into two parts. As concerns the first part (Exc. 1–24), the criterion of selection is the interest in mythological accounts. The second part (Exc. 25–39) is dominated by a concern about peculiar events and wonders associated with Oriental history. The excerptor intended to collect passages that rationally explain Greek mythical accounts. Accordingly, the careful selection of such passages and the arrangement of excerpts represent the activity of an excerptor who was interested in the διασάφησις τῶν μυθευομένων (explanation of the mythical tales). Syncellus and Eusebius drew on the same tradition of Julius Africanus.⁷² Whereas Syncellus and Eusebius cite Philochorus,⁷³ Palaephatus,⁷⁴ and Didymus⁷⁵ as the original authors of the mythical accounts, the excerptor of *Exc.Salm.I* omit references to these authors.⁷⁶ It is impossible to say whether the compiler of the *Exc.Salm.I* was in possession of the entire *Historia chronica* or made use of another excerpt collection.

3.3.2 Excerpta Salmasiana II

The *Exc.Salm.II* represent a selection of a variety of texts, which were re-edited and often extensively abridged before their inclusion in the *sylloge*. Occasionally, the original text is much changed pointing to either already summarised and contaminated texts which the compiler came across in another collection of excerpts or to efforts made by the compiler himself to epitomise and summarise the source texts he had at hand.

Provided that the *Exc.Salm.II* definitely does not derive from John of Antioch, the main issue that should trouble scholarship is the identification of its source or sources. The two main suggestions regarding the origin of the *Exc.Salm.II* are the following. U. P. Boissevain supported that from Excerpt 44 onwards the *sylloge* derives from a lost chronicle.⁷⁷ De Boor, by contrast, argued that the entire

72 Wallraff, Roberto, Pinggéra, and Adler (2007), XXXI–XXXIV, XLII–XLIV.

73 *Exc.Salm.I* 7 = Sync. 185.23–26; *Exc.Salm.I* 8 = Sync. 188.25–26; *Exc.Salm.I* 18 = Eus.-Hier. *Chron.* 58a; Sync. 191.19–27.

74 *Exc.Salm.I* 9 = Eus.-Hier. *Chron.* 50d; Sync. 189.8–11; *Exc.Salm.I* 11 = Sync. 190.12–15; *Exc.Salm.I* 13 = Eus.-Hier. *Chron.* 55h; Sync. 190.27–191.3; *Exc.Salm.I* 14 = Eus.-Hier. *Chron.* 56f; Sync. 183.25–27; *Exc.Salm.I* 17 = Eus.-Hier. *Chron.* 57d; Sync. 191.16–17; *Exc.Salm.I* 20 = Eus.-Hier. *Chron.* 62h.

75 *Exc.Salm.I* 10 = Eus.-Hier. *Chron.* 52c-d; Sync. 189.29–190.4.

76 See also Roberto (2005a), esp. 261–288.

77 Boissevain (1887).

Exc.Salm.II drew on a lost chronicle.⁷⁸ Except for the ostensibly differing opinions, both scholars agree that a chronicle stands behind the entire or a part of the production of the *Exc.Salm.II*. S. Mariev highlighted the textual similarities between some excerpts in the *Exc.Salm.II* and some excerpts preserved in the codex *Parisinus gr.* 1630 and concluded that the excerpts in both came from a paraphrased version of Malalas' chronicle.⁷⁹ In the following, I shall attempt to highlight some specific textual features of the *sylloge* that could shed some light on the question as to the original source of the *Exc.Salm.II*. First, let us have a look at the content of the *Exc.Salm.II*; the *sylloge* consists of eighty-two excerpts, which, in my view, can be divided into two main parts according to themes: the *Exc.Salm.II* 1–43 and the *Exc.Salm.II* 44–82.

3.3.2.1 *Exc.Salm.II A*

In *Exc.Salm.II A* (Exc. 1–43), the compiler shares with Malalas an interest in signs and oracles as well as in Euhemeristic interpretations of the Greek and oriental mythology. Excerpts 1–37 run from the creation to the Trojan War. According to Roberto, the compiler of the *sylloge* relied on the *Chronographia* by John Malalas.⁸⁰ Indeed, the bulk of the Excerpts 1–37 are drawn from John Malalas, but not without exceptions; Exc. 16, Exc.18, Exc. 23, and Exc. 27–30 must be assigned to sources other than Malalas.

Table 3.1 shows that the first part of the *Exc.Salm.II* relies on Malalas as well as on Plutarch, Dictys, Charax, and Procopius. The compiler of this part appears to have made direct use of Dictys in the Excerpts 27–30, rather than indirect use through Malalas.⁸¹ With regard to the use of Procopius, U. Roberto, who sees John of Antioch as the author of the *Exc.Salm.II*, suggests an intermediate source between the *sylloge* and Procopius. Procopius is the source in the *Exc.Salm.II* 81 and 82 as well.

Table 3.1 Excerpts in the *Exc.Salm.II A* that do not derive from John Malalas

<i>Excerpt</i>	<i>Source</i>
Exc. 16	Plutarch, fr. 187, 2 Bern
Exc. 18	Procopius, <i>De Bellis</i> 4.10, 13–22
Exc. 23	Charax, <i>FGrHist</i> 103 F 37
Exc. 27–30	Dictys, III 15–16, II 27, II 45

78 de Boor (1899), 298–304; de Boor (1893), 195–211.

79 Mariev (2009), esp. 179–185.

80 Roberto (ed.) (2005b), CXXV.

81 Sotiroudis (1989), 146.

Excerpts 38–43 make up a mix of passages taken from Malalas, Suetonius, John Lydus, Diodorus, and Julius Africanus. Excerpt 38 marks a turning point with regard to the content and format of the first part of the *Exc.Salm.II*. Specifically, from Excerpt 38 onwards the text deals with prominent historical figures or Roman emperors. Interestingly, this focus on emperors is also applied, as shown below, in the second part of the *Exc.Salm.II*. Excerpts 39–41 dealing with the court and institutions in Ancient Rome derive from the *De genere vestium* (Περὶ ὀνομάτων κυρίων καὶ ιδέας ἐσθημάτων καὶ ὑποδημάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἷς τις ἀμφιέννυται) and the *De regibus libri tres* of Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus. It is difficult to say whether the compiler used the Latin text or an intermediary work in Greek.⁸² Diodorus of Sicily is the source of Excerpt 42. The original text underwent much alteration and was contaminated with information probably derived from Aelian's *Varia Historia*.⁸³

3.3.2.2 The codex Parisinus gr. 1630 (B) and *Exc.Salm.II A*

Excerpts 1–23 of *Exc.Salm.II A* bear significant similarities with the text transmitted on a series of folios (234r–239v) in the codex *Parisinus gr. 1630* (B). B is a fourteenth-century, miscellaneous codex consisting of 278 folia of Oriental paper.⁸⁴ It contains more than a hundred texts of different authors and literary genres: medical texts, epigrams, poems, theological texts, homilies, geometrical texts, epistles, and historical excerpts. The codex has also been subject to the so-called *Johannische Frage*.⁸⁵ Cramer, was the first to attribute the text in B to Malalas.⁸⁶ A few years later, G. Sotiriadis' research on the text in B demonstrated that the major part of the text in the codex derives from Malalas, but for a few excerpts, which must be attributed to John of Antioch.⁸⁷ P. Sotiroudis confirmed G. Sotiriadis' arguments except that he attributed two more passages to John of Antioch.⁸⁸

Recently, S. Mariev embarked upon a close analysis of the text in B and the corresponding passages in the *Exc.Salm.II*, the *Suda*, the direct tradition of

82 The Greek title of the *De genere vestium* has been handed down to us in the *Suda*; cf. *Suda* T 895 Τράγκυλλος. The Latin title is transmitted in *Serv. ad. Aen.* 7.612 = fr. 165 Reiff; cf. Power (2014), 231. Gelzer considered the *Chronographiae* of Julius Africanus as the Greek text transmitting Suetonius' passages; Gelzer (1880), 236.

83 *Varia Historia* VI 8.

84 On the codex, see Omont (1888b), 109–112; Sotiroudis (1989), 213–214; Thurn (ed.) (2000), 6–8.

85 I have already referred to Patzig's various surveys supporting that the *Exc.Salm.II* as well as almost all the excerpts in B come from John of Antioch; cf. Patzig (1892), (1896), (1897), (1900), and (1901). K. Müller shared a similar view: the text in B stems from John of Antioch; cf. Müller (1851), 540. U. P. Boissevain and C. de Boor, instead, were confident that the text in B was not from John of Antioch. U. P. Boissevain, as noted already, considered a chronicle now lost as the source behind both, the text in B and the *Exc.Salm.II*; Boissevain (1887), esp. 173–178.

86 Cramer (1839), 379.

87 Sotiriadis (1888), esp. 84–91.

88 Sotiroudis (1989), esp. 19–25.

Malalas' text, and the *EC*.⁸⁹ He arrived at the conclusion that the first part of B (ff. 234r, 16–237r, 7) must derive from the direct *Malalas* tradition, whereas the second part of B (ff. 237r, 7–239, 7) deviates from it. Indeed, this part represents a much more shortened and altered version of Malalas's text. S. Mariev attributed the origins of the second part to a secondary *Malalas* tradition. In S. Mariev's view, the common passages between B and *Exc.Salm.II A* must represent a common source. If we accept S. Mariev's argument, the *Exc.Salm.II* 1–12 must stem directly from Malalas' text and the *Exc.Salm.II* 13–23 must come from a secondary *Malalas* tradition, that is, a paraphrased Malalas text.

What could possibly shed light on the quest for the derivation of the passages in the *Exc.Salm.II* is the examination of the textual relationship between the *Exc.Salm.II* 1–12 and the direct tradition of Malalas (PV, O, A). This would help us comprehend the two thorny issues in S. Mariev's view: 1) the establishment of a common source between B and the *Exc.Salm.II* in relation to two distinct *Malalas* traditions in both texts, and 2) the source of the rest of the *Exc.Salm.II*, that is the excerpts after the last common excerpt in B (238v, 27–239r, 11) and in the *Exc.Salm.II* (Excerpt 23).

For the sake of clarity, I repeat the results of S. Mariev's survey: 1) B relied both on the direct tradition of Malalas (M) and a paraphrased version of this tradition (P), 2) the *Exc.Salm.II* and B relied on a common source, 3) the *Exc.Salm.II*, the *Suda* and B relied on the same source.⁹⁰

Table 3.2 depicts S. Mariev's view. The column under the siglum B bears the folia transmitting Malalas' texts in the *Parisinus gr.* 1630. The numeration of the excerpts from the *Exc.Salm.II*, in the third column, is the one given by U. Roberto in his edition of John of Antioch. In the first column, Malalas's text is represented by the direct tradition (A, PV, O = M) and the shortened version of it (=P).

In what follows, I argue that the comparison between the *Exc.Salm.II*, B and the *Suda* indicates that the common *Malalas* passages in the *Exc.Salm.II* and the *Suda* derive from a common source X. X must have contained passages from Malalas, which had already been abridged (T) and contaminated with passages taken from a variety of other texts, such as Plutarch and Charax (II). With (Ψ) I indicate the stage at which the shortened *Malalas* excerpts and passages from other authors were combined. The *Suda* remains closer to X, while the *Exc.Salm.II* shorten even further passages from X. Mariev showed that B, in its entirety, depended both, on the direct *Malalas* tradition M and on a paraphrased version of it (P). As I will show, the latter was not identical to X, though. It is more likely that P comes from the same source that X derives from. The situation could be illustrated as in the following scheme: Figure 3.1

First, it is noteworthy that, as Table 3.2 shows, two *Salmasian* excerpts, namely, fr.4 and fr.14 as well as a part of fr.17 are absent in B. What is not

89 Mariev (2009), 177–190.

90 The *Suda* used both, the direct Malalas tradition (M) and the paraphrased version of it (P); cf. Mariev (2009), 185.

Table 3.2 Malalas' *Chronographia* in B and in the *Exc.Salm.II*

<i>Malalas, Chronographia</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>Exc.Salm.II</i>
1, 7, 39–1, 11, 18 (M)	235r, 15–235v, 10	fr.1–3
1, 11, 9–18 (M)		fr.4
1, 12.19, 30 (M)	235v, 10–14	fr.5
1, 13, 43–52 (M)	235v, 20–25	fr.6
1, 14, 53–87 (M)	235v, 25–32	fr.7
1, 15, 88–10 (M)	236r, 13–18	fr.8
2, 1, 1–22 (M)	236r, 18–28	fr.9
2, 3, 41–53 (M)	236r, 32–236v, 2	fr.10
2, 4, 54–76 (M)	236v, 2–18	fr.11
2, 6, 81–28 (M)	236v, 18–27	fr.12
2, 11, 24–87 (P)	237r, 9–21	fr.13
2, 15 (P)		fr.14
2, 18, 7–53 (P)	237v, 14–25	fr.15
	237v, 28–29	fr.16
3, 9 (P)	238r, 5–17	fr.17
	238r, 20–21	fr.18
3, 12, 97–19 (P)	238r, 25–30	fr.19
4, 3, 29–40 (P)	238v, 1–3	fr.20
4, 5, 44–74 (P)	238v, 4–8	fr.21
4, 9, 91–24 (P)	238v, 27–239r8	fr.22
	238r, 8–239r, 11	fr.23

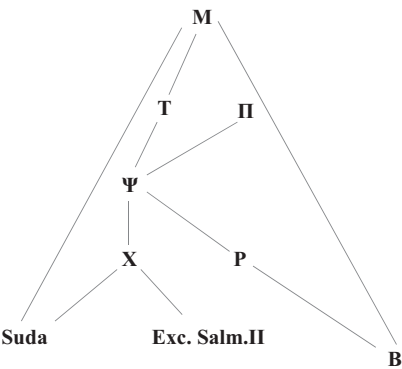


Figure 3.1 The codex *Parisinus* gr. 1630 (B) and the *Exc.Salm.II* A.

found in B is present in Malalas, though. Interestingly, the passages in question are present in what S. Mariev calls the *direct tradition* of Malalas' text, namely, in the codex *Baroccianus* 182 (O). This is an indication that the *Exc.Salm.II* did ultimately originate in Malalas' *Chronographia*.

With regard to the derivation of the *Exc.Salm.II*, the case of the fr.8 is of particular importance (Table 3.3). The passage is concerned with Hephaestus, the

Table 3.3 The derivation of the *Exc.Salm.II* 8

<i>Malalas, Chronographia I, 15, 88–10</i>	<i>Exc.Salm.II 8</i>	<i>B, 236r, 13–18</i>	<i>Suda H 661'Ἡφαιστος</i>
Ὅτε οὖν ὁ αὐτὸς Ἑρμῆς εἰς τὴν Αἰγυπτον ἦλθεν, ἐβασίλευσε τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τότε ἐκ τοῦ γένους τοῦ Χάμ ὁ Μεστράφι. οὐτίνος τελευτήσαντος ἐποίησαν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν Ἑρμῆν βασιλέα. καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐτη λθ' ἐν ὑπερφηανίᾳ. καὶ <u>μετ' αὐτὸν ἐβασίλευσε <τῶν> Αἰγυπτίων ὁ Ἡφαιστος</u> ἡμέρας ,αχπ', ὡς γίνεσθαι ἐτι δ' ἡμισυ καὶ ἡμέρας λη'. οὐκ ᾔδεισαν γὰρ τότε μετρησαὶ ἐνιαυτοὺς οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι, ἀλλὰ τὴν περίοδον τῆς ἡμέρας ἐνιαυτοὺς ἐκάλουν. τὸν δὲ αὐτὸν Ἡφαιστον <θεὸν> ἔλεγον. ἦν γὰρ <u>καὶ πολεμιστὴς καὶ μυστικός. ὅστις ἐξέλθων εἰς πόλεμον συνέπεσεν σὺν τῷ ἱππῶ αὐτοῦ καὶ πληγεῖς ἔμεινεν χωλεύων.</u> ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς Ἡφαιστος νόμον ἔθηκεν τὰς Αἰγυπτίων γυναῖκας μονανδρεῖν καὶ σωφρόνως διάγειν, τὰς δὲ ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ εὐρίσκομένας τιμωρεῖσθαι. καὶ νῦν χαρίστησαν αὐτῷ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι, διότι πρῶτον νόμον σωφροσύνης <τούτων> ἐδέξαντο. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς Ἡφαιστος <u>ἀπὸ μυστικῆς πινος εὐχῆς τὴν ὀξυλάβην ἐδέξατο ἐκ τοῦ ἀέρος εἰς τὸ κατασκευάζειν ἐκ σιδήρου ὄπλα.</u> ὅθεν καὶ ἐπικρατὴς νῦν ῥέθη εἰς τοὺς πολέμους. ἀπεθέωσαν οὖν αὐτὸν ὡς σωφροσύνην νομοθετήσαντα καὶ τροφὴν ἀνθρώποις διὰ κατασκευῆς ὅπλων εὐρηκότα καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις δύναμιν καὶ σωτηρίαν ποιήσαντα· <u>πρὸ γὰρ αὐτοῦ ῥοπάλοις καὶ λίθοις ἐπολέμουν.</u>	Μετὰ δὲ Ἑρμῆν ἐβασίλευσεν Αἰγύπτου Ἡφαιστος, <u>ὃς πολεμῶν ἐπλήγη τὸν πόδα καὶ γέγονε χολός.</u> ἐνομοθέτησε δὲ οὗτος πρῶτος μονανδρίαν ταῖς γυναῖξί, καὶ δι' εὐχῆς τὴν ὀξυλάβην ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀέρος ἐδέξατο καὶ κατασκεύασεν ἀπὸ σιδήρου πολεμικὰ ὄπλα.	Μετὰ Ἑρμῆν ἐβασίλευσεν Αἰγυπτίων Ἡφαιστος, ὃν καὶ θεὸν ἐκάλουν· ἦν γὰρ καὶ πολεμιστὴς καὶ μυστικός. ὃς συμπεσόντος αὐτῷ ἱππου ἐν τῷ πόλεμῳ πληγεὶς ἔμεινε χωλεύων. ἀπὸ δὲ μυστικῶν εὐχῶν τὴν ὀξυλάβην ἐδέξατο ἐκ τοῦ ἀέρος εἰς τὸ κατασκευάζειν ἐκ σιδήρου ὄπλα· ὅθεν καὶ ἐπικρατὴς νῦν ῥέθη εἰς τοὺς πολέμους. πρὸ γὰρ αὐτοῦ ῥοπάλοις καὶ λίθοις ἐπολέμουν. ἐνομοθέτησε δὲ καὶ ταῖς Αἰγυπτίων γυναῖξί μονανδρεῖν καὶ σωφρόνως διάγειν.	Ὅτι Ἑρμοῦ βασιλεύσαντος εἰς Αἶγυπτον καὶ θανόντος, Ἡφαιστος παραλαμβάνει τὴν βασιλείαν, ἡμέρας ,αχπ'· ὡς γίνεσθαι ἐτι δ' , μῆνας ζ', ἡμέρας ἦ'. οὐκ ᾔδεισαν γὰρ τότε Αἰγύπτιοι ἐνιαυτοὺς μετρησαί, ἀλλὰ τὴν περίοδον τῆς ἡμέρας ἐνιαυτὸν ἔλεγον. ἦν δὲ μυστικός καὶ πολεμικός· διὸ <u>καὶ θεὸν αὐτὸν ἐκάλουν· ὅστις πολεμῶν ἐπλήγη τὸν πόδα καὶ γέγονε χολός.</u> ἔθηκε δὲ καὶ νόμον τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις σωφροσύνης· οὐκ ᾔδεισαν γὰρ μονανδρεῖν αἱ τούτων γυναῖκες. <u>ὑπὸ δὲ μυστικῆς εὐχῆς τὴν ὀξυλάβην ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀέρος ἐδέξατο, δι' ἧς κατασκεύασεν ἀπὸ σιδήρου ὄπλα πολεμικὰ καὶ γεωργικὰ ἐργαλεῖα.</u> <ὅθεν καὶ ἐπικρατὴς εὐρέθη εἰς τοὺς πολέμους>· <u>πρὸ γὰρ αὐτοῦ μετὰ ῥοπάλων καὶ λίθων ἐπολέμουν.</u>

successor of Hermes to the throne of Egypt. The text records that Hephaestus was once wounded in war and went lame. According to the text, he was the king who introduced monogamy to the people of Egypt. Hephaestus received the tongs from the air, by which he constructed iron weapons for war.

The text is also preserved in Malalas, B and the *Suda*. Although both the *Exc. Salm.II* 8 and B transmit an abridged version of Malalas' text, the two versions differ markedly. First, I would like to draw attention to the phrase *ὃς πολεμῶν ἐπλήγη τὸν πόδα καὶ γέγονε χωλός*. The sentence is found in the *Suda* verbatim. B transmits additional information as to how Hephaestus was wounded; he fell with his horse: *ὃς συμπεσόντος αὐτῷ ἵππου ἐν τῷ πόλεμῳ πληγείς ἔμεινε χωλεύων*. The text in B derives from the direct Malalas tradition: *ὅστις ἐξελθὼν εἰς πόλεμον συνέπεσεν σὺν τῷ ἵππῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ πληγείς ἔμεινεν χωλεύων*. Second, I would like to highlight the adjective *πολεμικά* occurring at the end of both, the *Exc.Salm.II* 8 and the entry in the *Suda*. The adjective *πολεμικά* summarises the following passage in Malalas' text: *ἔπλων εὐρηκότα καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις δύναμιν καὶ σωτηρίαν ποιήσαντα*. On the other hand, the text in B comes, once again, directly from Malalas's text as it is preserved in the direct tradition. The identical beginning in the *Exc.Salm.II* 8 and B (*Μετὰ Ἑρμῆν ἐβασίλευσεν Αἰγυπτίων Ἡφαιστος*)⁹¹ could be explained by the existence of the common source Ψ in the transmission of the shortened version of Malalas' text.

Table 3.2 also shows that three excerpts in the *Exc.Salm.II* (fr.16, fr.18, and fr.23) which are not found in Malalas exhibit similarities with the text in B. The three passages in question are included in the *Suda*, though: *Exc.Salm.16* = B = *Suda* I 422, *Exc.Salm.18* = B = *Suda* X 79, *Exc.Salm.II* 23 = B = *Suda* Δ 250. The textual comparison between the *Exc.Salm.II*, B and the *Suda* confirms that they all descend from a common text. Table 3.4 presents the case of the *Exc.Salm.18* = B = *Suda* X 79.

The *Exc.Salm.II* 18 is, in fact, an abridged version of the text in the *Suda*. Passages exhibit literal similarities and the vocabulary is almost identical. The past participle *ἀναγραφάμενοι* and the verb *ῥῆκσαν*, occurred in the *Suda*, were turned into a verb (*ἐπέγραψαν*) and a participle (*μετοικήσαντες*) in the *Exc.Salm.II* 18, respectively. The text in B is identical to the beginning of the entry in the *Suda*, too. B transmits also the exact year of Moses' death: *ἑτῶν ρκ'*. This piece of information is absent in both the *Suda* and the *Exc.Salm.II* 18. It is obvious that the passage in B derives from the same tableau (Ψ) as X, where the *Suda* X 79 and the *Exc.Salm.II* 18, also come from.

S. Mariev and Roberto have drawn attention to *Exc.Salm.II* 15. This excerpt, the corresponding passage in B, and the *Suda* share a common error when referring to *Ἐλληνα* as the giant who took part in the construction of the Tower of Babel.⁹² According to S. Mariev, the error in the shortened version of Malalas' text points to a common source between its transmitters. However, as shown

91 The *Exc.Salm.II* 8 transmits a *δε* after the *μετὰ* and *Αἰγύπτου* instead of *Αἰγυπτίων*.

92 Mariev (2009), 184; Roberto (ed.) (2005b), L–LI.

Table 3.4 The *Exc.Salm.II* 18, B and the *Suda*

Exc.Salm.II 18	B, 238r, 20–21	Suda X 79 Χαναάν
οἱ δυνάσται τῶν ἐθνῶν ὑπ’ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ναυῆ διωκόμενοι, καὶ μὴ προσδεχθέντες παρ’ Αἰγυπτίων, εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἄφρων χώραν μετοικήσαντες ἐπέγραψαν ἡμεῖς ἐσμέν Χαναναῖοι, οὓς ἐδίωξεν Ἰησοῦς ὁ ληστής.	μ’ δὲ ἔτη <u>συμφιλοσοφήσας</u> <u>τῷ λαῷ τελευτᾷ</u> <u>ἑτῶν ρκ’</u> , <u>διάδοχον Ἰησοῦν</u> <u>τὸν τοῦ Ναυῆ</u> <u>καταλιπὼν</u> .	Χαναάν: ὄνομα κύριον. καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ Χαναναῖοι. ὅτι Μαῦσῃς μ’ ἔτη <u>συμφιλοσοφήσας τῷ λαῷ τελευτᾷ</u> , <u>διάδοχον καταλιπὼν Ἰησοῦν τὸν τοῦ</u> Ναυῆ · ὅστις κατῴκισε τὸν Ἰσραὴλ ἐν γῇ, ἣ ἐπηγγεῖλατο κύριος τῷ Ἀβραάμ· ἔστι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Αἰγύπτου κυκλομένη διὰ θαλάσσης καὶ ξηρᾶς· ἐκβάλων πάντας τοὺς βασιλεῖς καὶ δυνάστας τῶν ἐθνῶν · οἵτινες ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ διωκόμενοι διὰ τῆς παραλίου Αἰγύπτου τε καὶ Λιβύης κατέφυγον εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἄφρων χώραν, τῶν Αἰγυπτίων μὴ προσδεξαμένων αὐτοῦς, διὰ τὴν μνήμην τὴν προτέραν, ἣν ἔπαθον δι’ αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἐρυθρᾷ καταποντισθέντες θαλάσση· καὶ προσφυγόντες τοῖς Ἄφροις, τὴν ἐρημον αὐτῶν ῥῥησαν χώραν, ἀναδεξάμενοι τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὰ ἦθη, καὶ ἐν πλαξὶ λιθίναις ἀναγραφάμενοι τὴν αἰτίαν, δι’ ἣν ἀπὸ τῆς Χαναναίων γῆς ῥῥησαν τὴν Ἀφρικὴν. καὶ εἰσὶ μέχρι νῦν αἱ τοιαῦται πλάκες ἐν τῇ Νουμιδίᾳ, περιέχουσαι οὕτως· ἡμεῖς ἐσμέν Χαναναῖοι, οὓς ἐδίωξεν Ἰησοῦς ὁ ληστής . καὶ θηλυκὸν Χαναναία. καὶ Χανανίτις γῆ.

above, the *Exc.Salm.II* and B are more likely to have included the mistake through different paths.

To sum up, the textual comparison between the *Exc.Salm.II* 1–23 and excerpts in B reveals a stage at which shortened passages from Malalas’ *Chronographia* were contaminated with passages excerpted from a variety of other texts. I signify this stage in the stemma above with the siglum Ψ. The common *Malalas* passages in the *Exc.Salm.II* 1–23 and B belong to two different versions of Ψ, respectively. As can be seen in the stemma presented above, the *Exc.Salm.II* 1–23 derive from X, whereas the corresponding passages in B derive from P.

As already noted *Exc.Salm.II* 24–43 are not found in B. Yet, the majority of them originate in Malalas’ *Chronographia*.⁹³ Five of these excerpts are also preserved in the *Suda*: *Exc.Salm.II*. 24 = *Suda* A1 23, *Exc.Salm.II*. 26 = *Suda* T 7, *Exc.*

93 See Appendix II: Table III.

Table 3.5 The *Exc.Salm.II* 32, Malalas and the *Suda*

<i>Malalas</i> , Chronographia 5, 12, 9–12	<i>Exc.Salm.II</i> 32	<i>Suda</i> Π 34 Παλλάδιον
ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ Παλλάδιον, ζῳδιον τῆς Παλλάδος μικρὸν ξύλινον, ὃ ἔλεγον εἶναι τετελεσμένον εἰς νίκην, φυλάττοντα τὴν πόλιν ἐνθα ἀπόκειται ἀπαράληπτον. τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ Παλλάδιον ἔδωκε τῷ Τρώφ βασιλεῖ μέλλοντι κτίζειν τὴν πόλιν Ἀσιός τις, φιλόσοφος καὶ τελεστής.	τὸ ἐν Τροίᾳ Παλλάδιον ζῳδιον ἦν μικρόν, ὑπὸ Ἀσίου τινός φιλοσόφου κατασκευασθέν εἰς φυλακὴν τῆς πόλεως.	Παλλάδιον: τοῦτο ἦν ζῳδιον μικρὸν ξύλινον, ὃ ἔλεγον εἶναι τετελεσμένον, φυλάττον τὴν βασιλείαν τῆς Τροίας: ἐδόθη δὲ Τρωϊ τῷ βασιλεῖ κτίζοντι τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ Ἀσίου τινός φιλοσόφου καὶ τελεστοῦ.

Salm.II. 30 = *Suda* P 146, *Exc.Salm.II.* 32 = *Suda* Π 34, *Exc.Salm.II.* 40 = *Suda* A 4126. When comparing the *Exc.Salm.II* 24–43, Malalas' text and the *Suda* we arrive at the conclusion that a common source stands, once again, behind *Exc.Salm.II* 24–43 and the *Suda*. It is highly likely, therefore, that (Ψ) is the source of the entire *Exc.Salm.II* 1–43. Table 3.5 presents the case of the Malalas 5, 12, 9–12 = *Exc.Salm.II* 32 = *Suda* Π 34.

The *Exc.Salm.II* 32 is concerned with the Palladium, a wooden statue, believed to guard the kingdom of Troy.⁹⁴ I would like to draw attention a) to the use of the imperfect ἦν in the *Exc.Salm.II* and the *Suda*, in the place of the present tense ἐστὶ in Malalas, and b) to the sentence ὑπὸ Ἀσίου τινός φιλοσόφου in the *Exc.Salm.II*, which is found in the *Suda* verbatim.

3.3.2.3 The source of *Exc.Salm.II* A, 1–43

Provided that what I call (Ψ) is the source of the *Exc.Salm.II* 1–43, the next question to be answered is what kind of text (Ψ) was. To begin with, four historical works have made extensive use of excerpts included in *Exc.Salm.II*: Symeon Logothetes' *Chronicon*, Ps.-Symeon's *Chronographia*, George Cedrenus' *Compendium historiarum*, and Constantine Manasses' *Breviarium Chronicum*.⁹⁵ Two of these, namely Ps.-Symeon's chronicle and a part of Symeon Logothetes' chronicle attached to the text of George the Monk, were produced in imperial circles in the tenth century. The histories show affinities in methodology, content, and sources. Accordingly, they quite often correlate with each other in terms of common references to the past, of mythological figures, exaggerated accounts, and geographical

⁹⁴ The *Exc.Salm.II* 32 mistakenly transmits that the statue was constructed by a philosopher named Asios: the Palladium was given to the king of Troy, when he was founding the city, by a philosopher and priest called Asios. On the presence of Palladium in Malalas, see Praet (2016), 294–297.

⁹⁵ See Appendix II: Table V.

allusions. The phenomenon implies the existence of a common source.⁹⁶ As has been mentioned, J. Signes Codoñer argued that the common source must have been a collection of historical excerpts.⁹⁷ This could mean that Symeon Logothetes, Ps.Symeon, and the compiler of the *Exc.Salm.II* drew on a common source and not necessarily that the *Exc.Salm.II* were used directly by the historians. In addition to these two chronicles, the tenth-century *Excerpta Anonymi* bear significant similarities with the *Exc.Salm.II* in the selection of excerpts from Cassius Dio (on these excerpts, see below). Accordingly, my argument is that the *Exc.Salm.II* are likely to have drawn on a number of earlier collections of excerpts.

In my view, despite the contamination of the Malalas text, *Exc.Salm.II* 1–43 are very likely to have been derived from a single text, that is the Ψ in the stemma presented above. To support my argument, I have two points to make. First, the textual transmission and composite nature of group 1–43 corroborate that it stems from a common source in its entirety. Excerpts 1–43 represent a conflation of different texts, but their basis must be the chronicle of Malalas. The compiler of Ψ extracted and edited the Malalas material, while respecting its general structure and meaning. The passages taken from other sources, by contrast, underwent so much alteration that it is difficult to identify them. Obviously, the compiler of Ψ – a collection of excerpts or a chronicle – contaminated the Malalas text with this other material to form a new text, from which the first part of the *Exc.Salm.II* stems.

My second point is related to the common use of passages between the *Exc.Salm.II* and the tenth-century Symeon Logothetes and Ps.-Symeon's tradition. These historical works contain texts found throughout the *Exc.Salm.II*. It is also accepted by contemporary scholars that both histories drew part of their material from collections of excerpts produced and circulated inside and outside imperial circles.⁹⁸ When examining the textual relationship between the *Exc.Salm.II* and the two histories, we come to interesting conclusions. First, one common passage is not from John Malalas. The presence of Excerpt 40 in Ps.-Symeon indicates (a) a common source for Ps.-Symeon and the *Exc.Salm.II* or (b) the use of the *Exc.Salm.II* by the Ps.Symeon. Both possibilities point to an aggregation of material from Malalas and texts from other sources. Second, the augmented passages of *Exc.Salm.II* 1–43 are amongst those used on the part of Ps.-Symeon, but they are not used by Symeon Logothetes. The last fact could mean that Symeon Logothetes did not use the first part of the *Exc.Salm.II* but a collection of excerpts containing exclusively John Malalas' excerpts (Table 3.6).

3.3.2.4 *Exc.Salm.II B*, 44–65

Excerpts 44–65, dealing with Roman history from Julius Caesar to Commodus, derive, with one exception, from the Cassius Dio tradition; some excerpts show

⁹⁶ See n. 208 in Chapter 2.

⁹⁷ See n. 209 in Chapter 2.

⁹⁸ Markopoulos (1994), 167; Markopoulos (2003), 189–190.

Table 3.6 Passages in common between Malalas, the *Exc.Salm.II* 1–43, Symeon Logothetes' *Chronicon* and Ps.-Symeon's *Chronographia*

<i>Malalas, Chronographia</i>	<i>Exc.Salm.II</i>	<i>Symeon Logothetes' Chronicon</i>	<i>Ps.-Symeon's Chronographia</i>
Malalas I 7–8	<i>Exc.Salm.II.</i> 1–3		
Malalas I 11	<i>Exc.Salm.II.</i> 4		<i>Ps.-Sym.</i> 27r, 25–32
Malalas I 12	<i>Exc.Salm.II.</i> 5	<i>Sym.Log.</i> 28.4, 19–21	
Malalas I 13	<i>Exc.Salm.II.</i> 6		
Malalas I, 14, 53–87 (M)	<i>Exc.Salm.II.</i> 7	<i>Sym. Log.</i> 28.5, 23–24	<i>Ps.-Sym.</i> 27r, 33–27v, 4
Malalas I 15	<i>Exc.Salm.II.</i> 8		
Malalas II 1	<i>Exc.Salm.II.</i> 9		
Malalas II 3	<i>Exc.Salm.II.</i> 10		
Malalas II 4	<i>Exc.Salm.II.</i> 11		<i>Ps.-Sym.</i> 27v, 32–28r, 9
Malalas II 6	<i>Exc.Salm.II.</i> 12		<i>Ps.-Sym.</i> 28r, 13–27
Malalas II 11	<i>Exc.Salm.II.</i> 13		<i>Ps.-Sym.</i> 28v, 23–29r, 12
Malalas II 15	<i>Exc.Salm.II.</i> 14		<i>Ps.-Sym.</i> 29r, 38–29v, 29
Malalas II 18	<i>Exc.Salm.II.</i> 15		
	<i>Exc.Salm.II.</i> 16		
Malalas III 9	<i>Exc.Salm.II.</i> 17		
	<i>Exc.Salm.II.</i> 18		
Malalas III 12	<i>Exc.Salm.II.</i> 19		
Malalas IV 3	<i>Exc.Salm.II.</i> 20	<i>Sym. Log.</i> 37.2, 6–7	
Malalas IV 5	<i>Exc.Salm.II.</i> 21	<i>Sym. Log.</i> 37.4, 20	
Malalas IV 9	<i>Exc.Salm.II.</i> 22		
	<i>Exc.Salm.II.</i> 23		
Malalas IV 18	<i>Exc.Salm.II.</i> 24		
Malalas V 2	<i>Exc.Salm.II.</i> 25		
Malalas V 9	<i>Exc.Salm.II.</i> 26		<i>Ps.-Sym.</i> 41v, 38–42r, 2
	<i>Exc.Salm.II.</i> 27		
Malalas V 24	<i>Exc.Salm.II.</i> 28		
Malalas V 8	<i>Exc.Salm.II.</i> 29		
	<i>Exc.Salm.II.</i> 30		
Malalas V 14	<i>Exc.Salm.II.</i> 31		
Malalas V 12	<i>Exc.Salm.II.</i> 32		
Malalas V 17–18	<i>Exc.Salm.II.</i> 33		
Malalas V 19–20	<i>Exc.Salm.II.</i> 34		
Malalas VII 4	<i>Exc.Salm.II.</i> 35		
Malalas V 43	<i>Exc.Salm.II.</i> 36		
	<i>Exc.Salm.II.</i> 37		
Malalas VII 5	<i>Exc.Salm.II.</i> 38		<i>Ps.-Sym.</i> 70r, 20–33
	<i>Exc.Salm.II.</i> 39		
	<i>Exc.Salm.II.</i> 40		<i>Ps.-Sym.</i> 70v, 12–14
	<i>Exc.Salm.II.</i> 41		
	<i>Exc.Salm.II.</i> 42		
	<i>Exc.Salm.II.</i> 43		

similarities with Dio's direct tradition and some others exhibit textual congruence with Xiphlinus' epitome of Dio.⁹⁹ Only Excerpt 61 derives from Eutropius. All excerpts have been selected thematically to correspond to subject matters, such as emperors' dreams and occult science. The compiler of this part excerpts passages on Roman emperors. The selected passages briefly reflect on personal traits, life, deeds, and deaths of certain emperors. It should be noticed that historical writings, where the narration was focused on a certain emperor's life, became fashionable from the tenth century onwards.¹⁰⁰ Their aim was to laud the emperors and legitimise their political authority. Though the *Exc.Salm.II* are far from being an attestation of imperial legitimacy, the focus on emperors is striking. In addition, and as can be seen in Table 3.7, the *Exc.Salm.II* exhibit significant similarities with the mid-tenth century *Excerpta Anonymi* with regard to the selective use of passages in the section on Roman history. Both excerptors have chosen to excerpt and include the same passages from the Cassius Dio tradition and the wording is virtually identical. Accordingly, the excerptors appear to share an interest in occult science as well as in dreams predicting the future. They both incorporate texts dealing with emperors who mistakenly underrated the abilities of astrologers to foresee the future. The common selective use of passages testifies to the use of a common source, that is, an excerpt collection comprising excerpts from the Cassius Dio tradition¹⁰¹ about dreams and occult science.¹⁰² The textual relationship between the *Excerpta Salmasiana* and the *Excerpta Anonymi* was discussed in detail in Chapter 2 (see Section 2.4.4). Here I shall confine myself to presenting the shared historical excerpts in the two collections of excerpts (Table 3.7). The passages are originally derived from Cassius Dio and Peter the Patrician.

Table 3.7 Shared passages in the *Exc.Salm.II* and the *Excerpta Anonymi*

<i>Exc.Salm.II</i>	<i>Excerpta Anonymi</i>	<i>Pet.Patr.</i>	<i>CD</i>
<i>Exc.Salm.II</i> 44	<i>Excerpta Anonymi</i> 29, 19–21, 25–27		<i>CD</i> 44, 17, 1 and 37, 52, 2
<i>Exc.Salm.II</i> 45	<i>Excerpta Anonymi</i> 29, 28–30, 10		<i>CD</i> 45, 1, 3–45, 2, 2
<i>Exc.Salm.II</i> 54	<i>Excerpta Anonymi</i> 31, 24–30	<i>Pet.Patr. (ES 89)</i>	<i>CD</i> 65, 1, 4
<i>Exc.Salm.II</i> 56	<i>Excerpta Anonymi</i> 32, 1–9		<i>CD</i> 67, 16, 2–3
<i>Exc.Salm.II</i> 57	<i>Excerpta Anonymi</i> 32, 11–21		<i>CD</i> 67, 18, 1–2

99 Much attention is needed in dealing with U. P. Boissvain's edition of Cassius Dio. See n. 183 in Chapter 2.

100 Markopoulos (1994), 159–170; Markopoulos (2006), 277–297.

101 It is noteworthy that *Exc.Salm.II* 53, 54, and 59 correspond to Peter the Patrician, *ES* 59, 89, and 112, respectively.

102 See Section 2.4.4.

3.3.2.5 Exc.Salm.II B, 66–82

Excerpts 66–82 represent a conflation of passages from ostensibly different sources (Table 3.8). Thematically, the passages deal with Roman emperors and generals.

U. Roberto considers Excerpts 66–82 as part of John of Antioch's chronicle. In his view, John of Antioch drew on Eutropius, Zosimus, Ammianus Marcellinus, and Priscus.¹⁰³ Table 3.9 shows the parallel passages for each of the Excerpts 66–82 as suggested by U. Roberto.¹⁰⁴

Excerpts 66 and 67 are not closely based on Dexippus and Zosimus, respectively (Table 3.10). The text in the *Exc.Salm.II* is largely abridged. The end of the *Exc.Salm.II* 66 (*Τὰ γυναικάς βουλομένας ἐγκύους γενέσθαι λέγουσι πίνειν ἀπὸ τοῦ Στρυμόνος ποταμοῦ καὶ κύειν*) is absent in the passage attributed to Dexippus by Syncellus. There is no proof that the text was part of a lost fragment in Dexippus' *Skythika*. Moreover, the beginning of the *Exc.Salm.II* 66 departs from Dexippus in terms of language and style, as well. Similarly, *Exc.Salm.II* 67 deviates from Zosimus' text. Though, the *Exc.Salm.II* 67 transmits the piece of information found in Zosimus, the vocabulary is thoroughly different. For instance, the *Exc.*

Table 3.8 *Exc.Salm.II B*, 66–82

Exc.Salm.II	Theme
Exc. 66	Gallus (251–253)
Exc. 67	Probus (276–282)
Exc. 68	Numerian (283–284)
Exc. 69	Carinus (283–285)
Exc. 71	Diocletian (284–305); Maximian (286–305)
Exc. 72	Constantine the Great (306–337)
Exc. 73	Julian (360–363)
Exc. 74	Constantine the Great (306–337)
Exc. 75	Licinius (308–324)
Exc. 76–79	Julian (360–363)
Exc. 80	Valentinian I (364–375)
Exc. 81	Galla Placidia, regent to Valentinian III (423–437); Bonifacius and Flavius Aetius, both Roman generals
Exc. 82	Valentinian III (424–455); Petronius Maximus (455)

103 Roberto (ed.) (2005b), CXXV–CLV. Zosimus' *Historia Nova* covers the period from 238 AD to 410 AD in six books. Zosimus relied heavily on Dexippus, Eunapius, and Olympiodorus. His history has survived in a single manuscript, *Vaticanus gr.* 156 (eleventh c.). On Zosimus, see Ochoa (1990). Publius Herennius Dexippus (ca. 210–275 AD) wrote an account of the wars against the Heruls and the Goths, the so-called *Σκυθικά*, the *Τὰ μετ' Ἀλέξανδρον*, and a universal chronicle up to 270 AD. On Publius Herennius Dexippus, see the introductory chapters to the editions of his texts by Mecella (2013) and Martin (2006).

104 Roberto (ed.) (2005b), CXXV–CLV.

Table 3.9 The *Exc.Salm.II* B, 66–82 and parallel passages

Exc.Salm.II	Parallel passages
Exc. 66	Dexippus, <i>FGrHist</i> 100 F 22
Exc. 67	Zosimus, <i>Historia nova</i> I 67, 2
Exc. 68	Eutropius, <i>Breviarium</i> IX 18, 2
Exc. 69	Eutropius, <i>Breviarium</i> IX 19, 1
Exc. 70	Diodorus of Sicily, <i>Bibliotheca historica</i> IV 5, 2
Exc. 73	Ammianus Marcellinus, <i>Res Gestae</i> XV 8, 17
Exc. 74	Ammianus Marcellinus, <i>Res Gestae</i> XXI 14, 1
Exc. 75	Ammianus Marcellinus, <i>Res Gestae</i> XVI 10, 16; Zosimus, <i>Historia nova</i> II 27
Exc. 78	Ammianus Marcellinus, <i>Res Gestae</i> XVIII 1, 4
Exc. 80	Eunapius fr. 30
Exc. 81	Marcellinus Comes, <i>Annales</i> 432, 2–3; Procopius, <i>De bellis</i> 3.3.14–36; Jordanes, <i>Romana</i> 330
Exc. 82	Hydatius, <i>Chronicon</i> 167; Procopius, <i>De bellis</i> 4.4.16–28

Table 3.10 The *Exc.Salm.II* 66 and 67

<i>Exc.Salm.II</i> 66	<i>Dexippus</i> 100 F 22 (cf. Syncellus, <i>Ecloga chronographica</i> 459, 5–16)
Γάλλου βασιλεύσαντος, ιε΄ ἔτη ἐκράτησε λοιμὸς, κινήθεις ἀπὸ Αἰθιοπίας ἕως τῆς δύσεως· μετεδίδοτο δὲ ἀπὸ ἱματίων καὶ ψιλῆς θέας· καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι περάσαντες τὸν Ἴστρον ἔλαβον φ΄ πόλεις. <u>Τὰ</u> <u>γυναικας βουλομένας ἐγκύους</u> <u>γενέσθαι λέγουσι πίνειν ἀπὸ τοῦ</u> <u>Στρυμόνος ποταμοῦ καὶ κύειν.</u>	Σκύθαι περαιωθέντες οἱ λεγόμενοι Γότθοι τὸν Ἴστρον ποταμὸν ἐπὶ Δεκίου πλείστοι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐπικράτειαν κατενέμοντο. οὗτοι τοὺς Μυσοὺς φεύγοντας εἰς Νικόπολιν περιέσχον· (...) καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα βασιλέα πάλαι τινὰ γενόμενον ὕπατον Γάλλον ἀναγορεύουσιν ἅμα Βουλουσινᾶ τῷ Δεκίου παιδί· οἱ καὶ βασιλεύουσι κατὰ Δέξιππον μῆνας ιη΄, (...)
<i>Exc.Salm.II</i> 67	Zosimus, <i>Historia nova</i> 1.67.2
Πρόβου ἀρχθέντος, βροχὴ γέγονε σίτον κατάγουσα, ὃν συναγαγόντες σωροὺς μεγάλους ἐποίησαν. <u>Ἐπὶ</u> <u>Αὐρηλιανοῦ πεκάδες ἀργυραῖ</u> <u>κατηνέχθησαν.</u>	ἄπλετος ὄμβρος καταρραγεῖς συγκατήγαγε ταῖς ψακάσι καὶ σίτον, ὥστε καὶ σωροὺς αὐτομάτως ἐν τόποις τισὶ <u>συντεθῆναι.</u>

Salm.II 67 gives ἐποίησαν instead of συντεθῆναι, while the phrase Ἐπὶ Αὐρηλιανοῦ πεκάδες ἀργυραῖ κατηνέχθησαν is absent in Zosimus.

The same holds true for Excerpts 68–69, which transmit a heavily summarised version of Eutropius’ text (Table 3.11).

The textual discrepancies rule out any direct link between the *Exc.Salm.II* and the above presented passages from Dexippus, Zosimus, and Eutropius. Besides, such a link would be irreconcilable and incongruous with the excerpting method throughout the *Exc.Salm.II*. The *Exc.Salm.II*, as the employment of the excerpted

Table 3.11 The *Exc.Salm.II* 68 and 69

<i>Exc.Salm.II</i> 68	Eutropius, <i>Breviarium</i> IX 18, 2
Νουμεριανὸς τυφλωθεὶς ἐν κεκαλυμμένῳ φορεῖω ἀπὸ Περσίδος ἐβαστάζετο· ὃν λάθρα ἀνεῖλεν ὁ πενθερός, καὶ ἔλαθεν νεκρὸς φερόμενος ἕως ἐκ τῆς δυσωδίας ἐδηλώθη.	Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ὁ παῖς <u>Νουμεριανός</u> , συνεκστρατεύσας αὐτῷ, <u>δόλῳ</u> θνήσκει <u>τοῦ κηδεστοῦ</u> . Ἄπρως δὲ ἦν ὄνομα αὐτῷ. Καὶ θνήσκει τὸν τόπον τόνδε· <u>ἐπιρροῆς αὐτῷ κατὰ</u> <u>τῶν ὀμμάτων γενομένης</u> , οὐ δυνάμενος ἀλύπως δέχεσθαι τὸν καθαρὸν ἀέρα, <u>ἐπιθείς ἑαυτὸν φορεῖω καὶ δέρμασι</u> <u>πανταχόθεν περικλείσας</u> , ἦνυε τὴν ὁδόν. Ὁ τοίνυν Ἄπρως, <u>ἀνελὼν αὐτόν, ἔκρυπτε τὸν θάνατον</u> , πρὶν δὴ τῶν ἐπομένων τινὲς ἠναγκάστησαν <u>ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ νεκροῦ</u> <u>δυσωδίας περιεργάσασθαι καὶ μηνῦσαι τῷ στρατῷ τὸ</u> <u>γεγενημένον</u> . Ἐκρυπτε δὲ τὴν τελευταίην Ἄπρως, αὐτὸς κρατῆσαι τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιθυμῶν.
<i>Exc.Salm.II</i> 69	Eutropius, <i>Breviarium</i> IX 19
Καρῖνος ὀμότατος ἦν· ὃς καὶ τοὺς ποτε ἐν τῷ παιδευτηρίῳ σκώψαντας εἰς αὐτὸν ἡμῖνато.	Ἐν τούτοις δὲ ὄντων τῶν ἐκ Περσίδος ἐπανιόντων, <u>Καρῖνος</u> ὁ καταλειφθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς Ἰλλυριοῦς τε καὶ Γάλλους φυλάττειν καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, <u>πάσας ὑπερβάς ἀτοπίας</u> , τοὺς μὲν ἀνήρει, <u>πλάττων ἐγκλήματα</u> , τῶν δὲ τὰς εὐνὰς ὑβρίζεν. Ἥδη δὲ καὶ τῶν συμπεφοιτηκῶτων αὐτῷ τινὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν γενομένων ἐν τῇ νεότητι προσκρουσμάτων <u>ὀμότατα διεχρήσατο</u> , καὶ ἀπεστυγείτο παρὰ πάντων ὁμοίως. Ἄλλ' ὁ στρατὸς ἅπας Διοκλητιανὸν ἀνεῖπε βασιλέα, ἀφανῆ τινα καὶ ἄσημον. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν δημοσίου γραμματέως παῖδᾶ φασιν, οἱ δὲ ἀπελεύθερον Ἀνουλίνου τινὸς συγκλητικῷ γεγενέναι.

passages from Dio Cassius shows, remain close to their sources in terms of structure, vocabulary, and style. Such incompatibility in content and style between, on the one hand, the *Exc.Salm.II* and, on the other, Dexippus, Eutropius, and Zosimus seem to point to an intermediate stage of development of the information preserved in the three historians.

As far as Excerpts 73–78 are concerned, B. Bleckmann satisfactorily showed that they do not stem from Ammianus Marcellinus; the *Exc.Salm.II* and Ammianus made, instead, use of a common source.¹⁰⁵ In particular, B. Bleckmann argues that the final part of the *Exc.Salm.II* derives, for the most part, from a high-quality late antique source.¹⁰⁶ In B. Bleckmann's view, the *Exc.Salm.II* 66–79 draw on the so-called *Leoquelle*, a source covering events of the third and fourth centuries. The *Leoquelle*, which exhibits similarities with the history of Ammianus Marcellinus in content, was also used by Peter the Patrician as well as by a number of later Byzantine works, such as Logothetes' chronicle, the *Σύνοψη Ἱστοριῶν* by George

105 Bleckmann (2009); Bleckmann (2010); Bleckmann (2015).

106 Bleckmann (2010), 57–58.

Cedrenus, and the *Ἐπιτομή Ἱστοριῶν* by John Zonaras.¹⁰⁷ B. Bleckmann identified Nicomachus Flavianus as the author of the *Leoquelle*.¹⁰⁸

On internal evidence (common pagan, anti-Constantinian, and philo-Julian elements) and on the basis of parallels with Zonaras and Symeon Logothetes, the *Exc.Salm.II* appear to have made use of the *Leoquelle* in the following excerpts (Table 3.12).¹⁰⁹

Excerpts 68, 69, and 70 are also likely to derive from the *Leoquelle*, for they show affinities with pagan late antique historiography in content and style.¹¹⁰ Excerpts 71, 76, 80, 81, and 82, by contrast, do not belong to the same tradition. Excerpt 71 shows parallels with a passage in Manasses' *Breviarium Chronicum*, written ca. 1145.¹¹¹ Excerpt 76, which deals with a dream of the emperor Julian, remains unidentified. Excerpt 80 is an excerpt from Malalas' *Chronographia*.¹¹² According to Excerpt 80, the emperor Vallentinian I burned alive a man called Rhodanos who had seized some property from a widow. The anonymous compiler returns to

Table 3.12 The *Exc.Salm.II* and the *Leoquelle*

Exc.Salm.II	Parallel	Other evidence
Exc. 66	Zonaras, <i>Epitome historiarum</i> 12, 21	Pagan and Anti-Constantinian elements
Exc. 67	Zonaras, <i>Epitome historiarum</i> 12, 29	
Exc. 72		
Exc. 73	Amm.Marcellinus, <i>Res Gestae</i> XV, 8, 17	Philo-Julian elements
Exc. 74	Amm.Marcellinus, <i>Res Gestae</i> XXI, 14, 1	
Exc. 75	Amm.Marcellinus, <i>Res Gestae</i> XVI, 10, 16; Zosimus, <i>Historia nova</i> II 27; Zonaras, <i>Epitome historiarum</i> 13, 5	
Exc. 77		Pagan and Philo-Julian elements
Exc. 78	Amm.Marcellinus, <i>Res Gestae</i> XVIII 1, 4; Zonaras, <i>Epitome historiarum</i> 12, 8–9	
Excerpt 79	Symeon Logothetes, <i>Chronicon</i> 91, p. 115 Wahlgren; Zonaras, <i>Epitome historiarum</i> 13, 14	

107 In the 1980s, M. DiMaio argued that Zonaras drew on John of Antioch; cf. DiMaio (1980), 158–185. M. DiMaio's arguments relied on previous research on the matter done by E. Patzig; cf. Patzig (1896), 24–53 and Patzig (1897), 322–356. Their hypothesis was strongly questioned when P. Sotiroudis postulated that the Salmasian John of Antioch is spurious; cf. Sotiroudis (1989).

108 On Nicomachus, see 15, *PLRE* I, 347–349. See also Bleckmann (1995), 83–99.

109 Table 3.12 is based on Bleckmann (2010), 58–59.

110 Bleckmann (2010), 58–59.

111 On the dating of the *Breviarium Chronicum*, see Jeffreys (2012), 273–274.

112 Malalas, *Chronographia* 13, 31.

Malalas and he, once again, singled out the most important pieces of information of Malalas' text and unified these in a new entity. Excerpt 81 records that Galla Placidia, regent to Valentinian III (423–437), had two generals: Bonifacius and Flavius Aetius. Bonifacius was given Libya to rule. Aetius was seized with jealousy and he plotted to overthrow Bonifacius. His plan, however, was not successful. Excerpt 82 records the assassinations of Aetius and Valentinian III, plotted by Petronius Maximus. Both passages show similarities with Procopius' *De bellis*.¹¹³ The record of events in the *Exc.Salm.II* and Procopius differ markedly with what is transmitted in the Constantinian John of Antioch, which is based on Priscus' account.¹¹⁴ B. Bleckmann argues that the textual comparison of the *Exc.Salm.II* and Procopius' *De bellis* suggests that the *Exc.Salm.II* relied on an intermediary source containing Procopius.¹¹⁵

To sum up, the textual transmission of the *Exc.Salm.II* does not lead to a definitive conclusion regarding the sources used by the compiler. De Boor's view that the *Exc.Salm.II* was a *sylloge* of excerpts taken from a single chronicle does not seem to be tenable, given the difference in style and narrative technique in Excerpts 44–82. Boissevain's assertion that Excerpts 1–44 and 45–82 derive from two distinctive, now lost, chronicles, respectively, comes closer to the evidence detected above (see Tables 3.6, 3.7, and 3.8). Excerpts 45–65 and 66–82 obviously belong to two different traditions, though. Despite their thematic uniformity, it is not likely that they were excerpted from a single text (a chronicle in U. P. Boissevain's view). As mentioned above, the use of certain passages from Cassius Dio points to an earlier collection of *Dio* excerpts. In my view, the *Exc.Salm.II* appear to have been compiled from a) excerpts from a now lost work based on Malalas' text, from what I indicated (Ψ) in my stemma (*Exc.Salm.II A*), b) passages excerpted from a collection of excerpts from Cassius Dio and Peter the Patrician (*Exc.Salm.II B*, first part), and c) excerpts from a now lost source on events of the third and fourth centuries, possibly from what Bleckmann calls the *Leoquelle*. This series of excerpts was augmented with passages taken from later sources, namely Procopius and Malalas (*Exc.Salm.II B*, second part) (Table 3.13).

Table 3.13 The source texts of the *Exc.Salm.II*

Exc.Salm.II	Source text
<i>Exc.Salm.II A</i> 1–43	(Ψ)
<i>Exc.Salm.II B</i> 44–65	A collection of excerpts from Cassius Dio and Peter the Patrician
<i>Exc.Salm.II B</i> 66–82	<i>Leoquelle</i>

113 Exc. 81 = Procopius, *De bellis* 3.3.14–36; Excerpt 82 = Procopius, *De bellis* 4.4.16–28.

114 This is a further indication that the *Exc.Salm.II* do not belong to the chronicle by John of Antioch.

115 Bleckmann (2010), 60–61.

3.3.3 *The Agathias part*

The last part of the *sylloge* makes up a brief collection of excerpts extracted from a single historical work, namely the *Historiae* by Agathias of Myrina.¹¹⁶ The part comprises 50 excerpts on ethnography and geography and was attached to the so-called *Excerpta Salmasiana* in order to form a coherent *sylloge* of excerpts. Thematically, the excerpts deal with the Franks, the Goths, the Alamanni, the Colchians, and the Sassanians. In particular, the excerpts are thematically divided into three parts; Excerpts 1–13 and 50 are concerned with the West, Excerpts 14–41 are concerned with Egypt, the Caucasus, and Persia, and Excerpts 42–49 are concerned with Constantinople. The first group of excerpts takes up the narrative thread at the point where the *Exc.Salm.II* had left off, namely, western affairs. In terms of subject matter, the second group is similarly compatible with the *Exc.Salm.I* as well as with the first part of the *Exc.Salm.II*. Excerpts 44–49 deal with the two earthquakes that hit Constantinople in 557 and 558, respectively and record two tricks played by Anthemius, the architect of the Hagia Sophia, on Zeno. The 50 excerpts of the codex *Vaticanus gr.* 96 and *Vaticanus Pal.* 93 are edited for the first time in the appendix of this book.¹¹⁷ The edition is accompanied by a commentary.

3.4 The selective use of historical material in the *Excerpta Salmasiana*

The study of the content of the *Agathias* part enables us to contextualise the *Excerpta Salmasiana* and sheds light on the reciprocal influence between late antique texts and the tenth-century Constantinopolitan cultural environment. In what follows, I shall first discuss the function of the ethnographic passages in Agathias, and then consider the function they assume in the different cultural and political context within the *Excerpta Salmasiana* when they were compiled.

3.4.1 *Agathias on the others*

Following the example of Procopius, Agathias augmented his *Historiae* by a good deal of ethnographic and geographical accounts. Specifically, besides his short accounts of the Alamanni (*Historiae* 1.6.3–7), the Franks (*Historiae* 1.19.2, 2.5.2–8, 2.14.8–11), the Colchians (*Historiae* 2.18.4–5) and the Dilimnitai (*Historiae* 3.17.6–9), Agathias enriched his narrative with three long excursions, one on the Franks (*Historiae* 1.2.1–7.7) and two on Persia (*Historiae* 2.22.6–27.9, 4.23.7–30.5). In all of them, Agathias reflects on the religion, culture, and military tactics of the barbarians.

¹¹⁶ Keydell (ed.) (1967); Frendo (transl.) (1975).

¹¹⁷ See Appendix I: Text II.

As far as the digression on the Franks is concerned, Agathias deviates from the traditional hostile representation of the Franks in late antique historiography. Scholarship has long recognised Agathias' eulogy of the Franks as well as the distortion of reality in their representation.¹¹⁸ Agathias' positive attitude towards the Franks has been read by scholarship in more than one way. Some scholars explained Agathias' eulogy of the Franks in the light of the political situation in Constantinople in the early 570s; the court was seeking Frankish help in driving the Lombards out of Italy.¹¹⁹ This view is, however, challenged by A. Kaldellis, who assigned Agathias' praise of the Franks to the historian's moral agenda, attested also in the preface to his work. According to this line of thinking, Agathias desired to teach Romans a moral lesson through a praiseful representation of the Franks.¹²⁰ Whether one opts for the first or the second interpretation, what is certain is that Agathias' passages on Western or Eastern peoples reveal more about the Romans themselves than about the nations in question.

The first of the two long digressions on Persia are concerned with customs and religious beliefs of the Sassanians.¹²¹ The second digression deals with the annals of the Sassanian kings.¹²² For both, Agathias drew his material mostly from the *Persian Royal Annals*¹²³ as recounted to him by Sergius, an interpreter at the Sassanian court.¹²⁴ In addition to this source, Agathias supplemented his account with material derived from popular accounts of the Sassanians as well as from an earlier handbook of chronology.¹²⁵ The content of the two accounts reveals that Agathias was very interested in representing the various Persian dynasties as well as the characteristics and qualities of the Persian kings. Even the first of the two excursuses on Persia, dealing ostensibly with Persian religious customs,

118 Gottlieb (1969); Cameron (1970); Lounges (2005); Kaldellis (2013). Procopius, *De bellis* 6.25.1–9 presents the Franks as utterly savage and faithless barbarians, Christians in name only; cf. Kaldellis (2013), 23.

119 Cameron (1968), 116, 138–139; Gottlieb (1969), 156–159; Cameron (1970) 50, 51, 120–121, 129; Lounges (2005), 35–37.

120 Kaldellis (1999), 206–252; Kaldellis (2013), 23–24.

121 Agathias, *Historiae* 2.22.6–27.9.

122 Agathias, *Historiae* 4.23.7–30.5.

123 Agathias refers to this work as the *Περσικαὶ βιβλίοι* and *βασιλικά ἀπομνημονεύματα*; cf. *Historiae* 4.30.2 and 4.30.3. Av. Cameron has no doubt that the *Annals* must have originally been written in Pahlavi, that is Persian.; cf. Cameron (1969–1970), 162. From a different view, suggesting that the *Royal Annals* were first written in Syriac, see Baumstark (1894), 368–369. The *Persian Royal Annals* were extensively used by the now lost *Book of Lords* or *Khvadhaynamagh*. Later Arabic and Persian chroniclers drew heavily on the *Khvadhaynamagh*; cf. Cameron (1969–1970), 112. For the Persian archives, see Lee (1993), 177.

124 Agathias claims that his version should be preferred over that of Procopius because it is based on the Persian archives; cf. *Historiae* 4.30.5.

125 In fact, the excursus contains little material directly from the *Annals*. According to Av. Cameron, Agathias should have had no familiarity with earlier Greek historiographical accounts of the customs of the Sassanians. On the sources, in general, used by Agathias for the Sassanians' religion, see Cameron (1969–1970), 90–111.

includes a brief chronological subsection cataloguing the Persian kingdoms from the Assyrian dynasty onwards (*Historiae* 2.25.4–26.1).

Throughout his *Historiae*, Agathias follows the traditional ethnographical model of differentiating between the superior Romans and the inferior foreigners in terms of culture but not in terms of military capacity. Indeed, besides Agathias, other writers of the same period hint at a possible admiration for the barbarians' achievements, both, in war and in diplomacy. Attention should be drawn to the fact that it is only the Oriental world that attracts such a positive portrayal in late antique historiography;¹²⁶ Agathias, Procopius, Peter the Patrician, and Ps.-Maurice's *Strategikon* provide us with sufficient evidence that the Romans had great respect for the Sassanian's patriotism, braveness on the battlefield, and diplomatic manoeuvres.¹²⁷

By contrast, the attitude of late antique historians towards Western people was different. Procopius, for instance, when digressing briefly on the Vandals, the Heruls, and the people of Brittia, confines himself to only giving classical negative stereotypes.¹²⁸ Thus, he emphasised the distinction between the uncivilised barbarians and the civilised Romans in his endeavour to justify Roman imperialism.¹²⁹ The willingness of historians of late antiquity to accept that the Sassanians were not inferior to the Romans in war and diplomacy can be understood in relation to the political context of the sixth century. A possible explanation could be that those historians espoused a positive approach to the Persians after having met them at embassies or on diplomatic missions.¹³⁰ Another reason could be sought in the need to create a strong adversary in order to juxtapose the qualities of the Byzantine Empire, all the more so since in late antiquity the Byzantines had already been defeated several times by the military strength of the Sassanians.¹³¹ But first and foremost, depictions of despotic Persian kings were meant to criticise

126 The *Strategikon* praises the Persians (cf. Ps.-Maurice, *Strategikon* 11.4). Menander represents favourably the Persian diplomat Yesdegusnaph (cf. Menander fr. 6.1.100–101). See also Agathias, *Historiae* 2.22.5, 2.28.1–6, 2.32.5 and Procopius, *De bellis* 1.2.1–10, 1.2.11–15, 1.7.29–35, 1.11.1–35. See also Peter the Patrician's positive view of Persia (cf. *Peter the Patrician*, fr. 13; *FHG* 188).

127 The topic has been treated in Canepa (2009), 79–121, 188–225; McDonough (2010), 55–66; Drijvers (2010), 67–76. On *Strategikon*, a military manual attributed to the emperor Maurice, see the edition by Dennis (1981).

128 Procopius, *De bellis* 4.6.5–14 on the Vandals; Procopius, *De bellis* 5.15, 6.14–15 on the Heruls and peoples of Thulle; Procopius, *De bellis* 8.20 on peoples of Brittia. Unlike Agathias, Procopius' opinion of the Franks was very negative as well (cf. Procopius, *De bellis* 6.25.1–9). It should be noticed that Agathias emphasises only the Frankish political institution and religion, which according to him are identical to those of the Romans. I would argue in favour of A. Kaldellis' view, that Agathias' account of the *politeia* of the Franks aimed to criticise the Roman social and political institution; cf. Kaldellis (2013), 21–25.

129 Maas (2003), 153–157. See also Section 2.5.3.1.

130 That could be the case of Procopius, Menander and Peter the Patrician; cf. McDonough (2010), 57–59.

131 An idea proposed by J. W. Drijvers, without, however, being further developed; cf. Drijvers (2010), 75.

Roman emperors, whereas favourable portrayals of the Persian army or diplomacy should be interpreted as veiled attempts to disapprove of the diplomatic policies of Roman emperors.¹³²

3.4.2 *The politics of ethnography in the Agathias part of the Excerpta Salmasiana*

In the following, I argue that the excerptor of the *Agathias* part must have made a heedful selection of passages from *Agathias* and imbued them with a new meaning. As noted, *Agathias*' ethnographic accounts of Western peoples as well as of the Sassanians serve certain literary purposes, namely, that of providing the Romans with moral paradigms and criticising current imperial policies. The sequence of excerpts in the *Excerpta Salmasiana*, instead, does not fulfil the same political function and objective. To my view, the *Agathias* part narrates the traditional cultural distinction between Romans and barbarians in order to reinforce the geographical and political frontiers already in place. The tenor of the concatenation of excerpts is determined by the political context of the tenth century. In what follows, the numeration of the excerpts from the *Agathias* part is the one given in my edition of the text presented in the appendix of this book (Appendix I: Text II).

Agathias' goals required him to digress on the political system of the Franks (*Historiae* A 19, 2) and enrich his narrative with a comparison between the Franks and the Alamanni (*Historiae* A 6, 3–7). The excerptor of the *Agathias* part, by contrast, excised any reference to the social order, government, or religion of the Franks or the Alamanni (see Excerpts 1 and 2). The *Agathias* part does not share *Agathias*' eulogy of the Franks either. In the *Agathias* part the Franks are like barbarians. The excerptor limits himself to briefly recording the derivation of the names of the Franks (Excerpt 1) and the Alamanni (Excerpt 2) and he stresses that the latter are a dark-skinned people (Excerpt 2). It should be noticed that Procopius (*De bellis* 4.6.5–14) correlated the darker skin with negative moral characteristics and when he portrays the Epthalitai favourably he puts emphasis on their white skin stating that they were not as ugly as the other Huns (Procopius, *De bellis* 1.3.2–7). The excerptor of the *Agathias* part depicts barbarians in a positive light, only when he comes to refer to their successes in war. For instance, during the siege of Cumae by the Byzantines, Aligern, a Goth military leader, killed Palladius, a Roman official and companion of the Roman general Narses (Excerpt 3). There is nothing negative in the description of Aligern. On the contrary, Aligern is described as, ἄριστος ἐπὶ τοξικῇ (Excerpt 3).¹³³

132 It is noteworthy that John Lydus' interest in Persian institutions should be viewed in the light of conveying implicit criticism of Justinian's institutional reforms; cf. John Lydus, *De Magistratibus* 3.34. On the politics of ethnography in late antique historiography, see Maas (1992); Kelly (1994), 161–176; Kaldellis, (2013), esp. 10ff.

133 Exc. 3: Aligern, one of the leaders of the Goths, was so excellent in throwing javelins that when he shot an arrow, even if it happened to strike against a stone or some other hard object,

Similarly, the representation of the Persian burial customs (Excerpts 17 and 25), the Persian habit of incest (Excerpts 18 and 19), their pagan feasts (Excerpt 20), and their dualism (Excerpt 21) serve to enhance the cultural superiority of the Byzantines over the Persians. In the *Agathias* part any, even negative reference to the political system of the Sassanians is absent. In sixth-century Byzantium, such allusions served, as already mentioned, as a covert expression of political opposition and a criticism of the despotic system imposed by Justinian. In the tenth century, instead, such a strategy was out of date. Accordingly, in the *Agathias* part, Persian despotism is not topical anymore and what is needed to be emphasised is a) the false religion of the Persians as well as the danger of coming into contact with their infidel beliefs and customs and b) their brutality, savagery, and ferocity in war, from which the Romans had severely suffered in the past. Significantly, the latter implies, likewise, how many perils and hazards were to meet them again in a fight. Thus, the Roman emperor Valerian was captured, tortured, and eventually flayed to death (Excerpt 37). Cappadocia was savagely and fiercely pillaged by Sharpur's army (Excerpt 38). Persian kings tend to treat defeated rival leaders to the most lamentable and deplorable fate (Excerpt 39). From this perspective, the *Agathias* part is compatible with attempts to deal with Islam in Byzantine literature after the seventh century. After the Arab conquests, Byzantine historians, theologians, and philosophers view Arabs and their religion as a deviation of the *true* religion, that could threaten and contaminate Orthodox Christianity.¹³⁴

To my mind, the *Excerpta Salmasiana* are witness to the ideological consequences of the shrinkage of the Empire after the seventh century. The snippets of ethnography in the collection of excerpts reveal, obliquely, the geopolitical position of Constantinople. The excerptor bases himself on classical models of representation of the *other*. Thus, like classical ethnographers, the excerptor of the *Agathias* part underscores the distinctiveness between Romans and barbarians. Unlike his late antique predecessors (Procopius, John Lydus, Peter the Patrician, Agathias, and Menander), he omits any outrightly or covertly positive assertion of the Persian civilisation, moral character or military capacity of individual Persian kings. The excerpts emphasise the otherness of opponents to Byzantium insofar as any contact with their irreconcilable and perilous beliefs as well as their cruelty and inhumanity in war are deemed to be dangerous and undesirable. Thus, the purpose of the ethnographical selection in the *Exc.Salm.* differs markedly from that of the late antique writers. The change of the geographical status-quo (the definite loss of the eastern provinces in the seventh century and of central and

it smashed it to pieces with the sheer force of its trajectory. He shot an arrow from the wall at Palladius, a general of the Romans, which ran through the man's shield, breastplate and body.

134 The examples of religious polemic in Byzantine literature given by Kaldellis (2013), 76 do not simply reflect theological attacks against Islam on the part of the Byzantines. The sources reveal also their concern about a likely contact with the infectious beliefs of Islam. On the hostile views of Byzantines towards Islam after Arab conquests, see Ducellier (1996), 146–174.

Northern Italy in the ninth–tenth centuries)¹³⁵ fundamentally altered the political context within which ethnography was written.¹³⁶

3.5 Towards the methodological principles of the *Excerpta Salmasiana*

This section scrutinises the methodological principles underlying the compilation process of the *Exc.Salm.* The examination of the structure of the *Exc.Salm.* in the previous sections revealed how the historical excerpts were arranged in the collection of excerpts. This section sets out to embark upon a detailed analysis of single excerpts included in the *Exc.Salm.* The comparison of passages in the *Exc.Salm.* with the original texts, as preserved in earlier manuscripts, will shed light on the textual alterations as well as on structural modifications made by the excerptor of the *Exc.Salm.* The analysis of the textual interventions on the part of the excerptor of the *Exc.Salm.* enables us to reconstruct the three steps of redacting an excerpt collection as seen already in the *EC* and the *Excerpta Anonymi*: a. reading of the whole source text and selection of passages, b. rewriting of the source text, and c. composition of a new unity.

In what follows, I present a number of instances of the changes imposed on the original text in the course of the redaction of the *Exc.Salm.* The focus will be on the last part of the *Exc.Salm.*, namely the *Agathias* part, which comprises 50 excerpts selected thematically, since ethnography and geography dominate the *sylloge* of excerpts. It is also noteworthy that the excerptor endeavoured to keep up to the original sequence of the passages. It is only in three cases that an excerpt breaks up the succession of the passages in *Agathias' Historiae*.¹³⁷

Before discussing the textual alterations detected in the *Agathias* part, I would like to note that a significant portion of excerpts (19 out of 50 excerpts) is identical or very nearly identical to the text transmitted by the primary *Agathias* manuscript tradition.¹³⁸ The rest of the excerpts exhibit textual deviations. The alterations do not modify the original narrative sequence, though. Accordingly, the excerptor of the *Agathias* part intervenes in the original text but he does not epitomise it. His principles of re-editing material extracted from a historical text are identical to those detected in the *EC* and the *Excerpta Anonymi*. The excerptor chose to appropriate rather than to summarise the original narrative. In this way, he intervenes in the old text insofar as to make its content suitable for the aims of his collection.

135 On the impact of the Arab conquests on the Constantinopolitan policies, see Whittow (1996), esp. Chapter 6.

136 This altered perception of late antique ethnographic accounts is detected in the *Excerpta Anonymi* too. See Section 2.5.3.2.

137 Excerpts 21, 29, and 47.

138 On the primary *Agathias* manuscript tradition, see Keydell (ed.) (1967), XI–XXXIV.

a) Additions and excisions

In 13 excerpts in particular one or more words, taken out of the original text, were added to the beginning of the excerpt.¹³⁹ Such additions were intended to plug the gaps in the context that had arisen when extracting a single passage from the whole unit. Let us have a look at *Agathias* Excerpt 3 of the *Exc.Salm* (Table 3.14). The passage originally comes from the section where Agathias narrates the siege of the city of Cumae by the Byzantines. The *Agathias* part extracted the following episode: in the course of a fight, a Roman general named Palladius was killed by a Goth military figure named Aligern. The historical context of the episode is missing; e.g., the Byzantine attempt to subdue Cumae. Thus, the focus shifts to the proficiency of the Goth leader in throwing arrows.

As it becomes clear from the texts in the table, the opening of Excerpt 3 (*Ἀλίγερνός τις Γότθος ἡγεμὼν*) is absent in *Historiae* 1.9.3–4. In fact, this passage derives from an earlier section in Agathias' text. In *Historiae* 1.8.6 Agathias introduces us to Aligern: *Ἀλίγερνός γάρ ὁ Τεῖα νεώτατος ἀδελφὸς τοῦ ἡγεμόνος τῶν Γότθων*. The excerptor of the *Agathias* part appears to be aware of the fact that splitting a text and extracting a piece of information from it might cause a certain incomprehensibility. Indeed, the insertion of the aforementioned phrase into Excerpt 3 makes the excerpt intelligible and transforms it into an independent piece of text. The same strategy to overcome such obstacles in excerpting a text is to be found in other collections of historical excerpts as well (the *EC*, the *Excerpta Anonymi*, the *Epitome*, and the *Excerpta Planudea*).

In most cases, that is, in 21 out of 50 excerpts material which was originally found in Agathias' text was reduced. On the one hand, such omissions served the

Table 3.14 The *Agathias* excerpt 3 of the *Exc.Salm*.

<i>Agathias</i> , <i>Historiae</i> 1.9.3–4	<i>Exc.Salm. Excerpt 3</i>
3. τά γε μὴν Ἀλίγερνου τοξεύματα καὶ μάλα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀρίδηλα ἦν. ροίζω τε γὰρ πολλῶ καὶ ταχυτῆτι οὐ σταθμητῇ τὰ ἐκείνου ἐφέρετο βέλη, ὥς εἴπερ καὶ ἐς λίθον τινὰ ἐμπέσοιεν ἢ ἕτερόν τι σκληρόν καὶ ἀτέραμνον, διαρρήγνυσθαι ἅπαν τῇ βίᾳ τῆς ρύμης. 4. Παλλάδιον γοῦν ἐκεῖνον (ἦν δὲ οὐ τῶν ἐρραθυμημένων παρὰ τῷ Ναρσῇ ὁ Παλλάδιος, ἀλλὰ στρατεύματός τε ἡγεῖτο Ῥωμαϊκοῦ καὶ ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις ταξιάρχοις ἐτέλει,) ἰδὼν γοῦν αὐτὸν Ἀλίγερνός σιδήρῳ τεθωρακισμένον καὶ φρονήματι ζῆν πολλῶ τῷ τείχει ἐπιφερόμενον ἀφίησι βέλος αὐτῷ ἐκ τοῦ μετέωρου καὶ αὐτίκα διεπερόνησε τὸν ἄνδρα διαμπαῖς αὐτῷ θώρακι καὶ ἀσπίδι·	3. Ἀλίγερνός τις Γότθος ἡγεμὼν τοσοῦτον ἦν ἄριστος ἐπὶ τοξικῇ ὥστε εἰ ἐπαφῆκε βέλος, κἂν εἰς λίθον τινὰ ἐνέπεσεν ἢ εἰς ἕτερόν τι ἀτέραμνον, διαρρήγνυτο ἅπαν τῇ βίᾳ τῆς ρύμης. Παλλάδιον γοῦν Ῥωμαῖον στρατηγὸν βαλὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους διαμπαῖς τὸν ἄνδρα διεπερόνησεν αὐτῷ θώρακι καὶ ἀσπίδι.

139 See the numeration of excerpts in Table 3.19.

Table 3.15 The *Agathias* excerpt 6 of the *Exc.Salm.*

<i>Agathias, Historiae 1.11.3</i>	<i>Exc.Salm. Excerpt 6</i>
3. ἐκέλευσεν ἅμα Ἰωάννη τῷ Βιταλιανοῦ καὶ πρὸς γε Βαλεριανῷ καὶ Ἀρταβάνῃ καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλοις στρατηγοῖς καὶ ταξιάρχοις ξὺν τῷ πλείονι καὶ ἀλκιμωτάτῳ στρατῷ τὰς Ἄλπεις τὸ ὄρος <u>περιελθόντας</u> , ὃ δὴ ἐν μέσῳ Τουσκίας τε τῆς χώρας καὶ Αἰμιλίας <u>ἀνέχει</u> , ἀμφὶ τὸν Πάδον ἰκέσθαι τὸν ποταμὸν αὐτοῦ τε στρατοπεδευσάμενους καὶ τὰ ἐρυμνά.	6. ὅτι αἱ Ἄλπεις τὸ ὄρος ἐν μέσῳ Τουσκίας τῆς χώρας καὶ Αἰμιλίας ἀνέχει.

compiler's intent to include as much thematically connected material as wanted. On the other hand, omissions served the compiler's aim at accuracy and brevity, principles which are outlined in the preface to the *EC*.¹⁴⁰ Let us consider Excerpt 6, which like Excerpt 3, belongs to the context of Narses' expedition in Italy (Table 3.15).

In *Agathias*' text, Narses comes to realise that it was impossible to take Cumae at that time and so orders his forces to move to the region of Tuscany and attempt to restore control over the towns there. He therefore ordered Fulcaris, the new leader of the Heruls, to set off along with John, the nephew of Vitalian, with Valerian, and Artabanus, and other Roman generals and commanders for the area surrounding the river Po. Narses instructed them to go through the Alps, that is, between Tuscany and Emilia. The excerptor of the *Agathias* part left out the entire historical context and only singled out the geographical note on the Alps. The excerptor's awareness of the lack of context in the new excerpt leads him to a dual intervention: he adds the conjunction *ὅτι* at the head of the excerpt and excises the *περιελθόντας* (the participle would not make sense without the verb *ἐκέλευσεν* and its historical context) originally found in the middle of the sentence.

Excerpt 15 represents a similar case, as well (Table 3.16). The rewriting of the original text consists in both textual insertions and omissions. Excerpt 15 deals with the origins of the Lazi. According to the ancient tradition, the Lazi are descended from the Egyptians.

The phrase *νῦν λεγόμενοι* in Excerpt 15 is a supplement on the part of the excerptor. The phrase, which is not transmitted throughout the relevant section in *Agathias*' text, can be found in *Historiae* 1.2.1, where *Agathias* refers to the origins of the Franks. The passage has, also, been excerpted in Excerpt 1 of the *Agathias* part: <Οἱ> νῦν λεγόμενοι Φράγγοι, Γερμανοὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐκαλοῦντο. δῆλον δέ· ἀμφὶ Πῆγον γὰρ ποταμὸν οἰκοῦσι καὶ τὴν ταύτην ἡπειρον, ἔχουσι δὲ καὶ Γαλλίων τὰ πλεῖστα. The insertion of the phrase (*νῦν λεγόμενοι*) in Excerpt 15 served to make the text clearer within its new context. The repetition of the same sentence at the beginning of Excerpt 15 points to a technique traced in the *EC* as

Table 3.16 *Agathias*-excerpt 15 of the *Exc.Salm.*

<i>Agathias</i> , <i>Historiae</i> 2.1.4–5	<i>Exc.Salm. Excerpt 15</i>
4. οἱ δὲ Λαῖοι Κόλχοι τὸ παλαιὸν ὠνομάζοντο, καὶ οὗτοι ἐκεῖνοι τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες. τοῦτό τε οὐκ ἂν τις ἀμφιγνοήσῃ τεκμαιρόμενος τῷ τε Φάσιδι καὶ Καυκάσῳ καὶ τῇ περὶ ταῦτα ἐκ πλείστου οἰκῇσιν. 5 λέγεται δὲ τοὺς Κόλχους <u>Αἰγυπτίων εἶναι ἀποίκους</u>, φασὶ γὰρ πολλῶ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἐπίπλου τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰάσονα ἡρώων καὶ πρό γε τῆς τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἐπικρατείας καὶ τῶν Νίνου τε καὶ Σεμιράμιδος χρόνων <u>Σέσωστρίν τινα βασιλέα Αἰγύπτου</u> μεγίστην στρατιὰν ἐκ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἀγείραντα καὶ ἅπασαν τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπελθόντα καὶ <u>καταστρεψάμενον</u>, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷδε ἀφικέσθαι τῷ χώρῳ <u>ἀπόμοιράν</u> τε ἐνταῦθα <u>καταλιπεῖν τοῦ ὁμίλου</u>, καὶ τοῖνυν ἐνθὲνδε τὸ τῶν Κόλχων κατὰγεσθαι γένος.	15. οἱ γὺν λεγόμενοι <u>Λαῖοι</u>, Κόλχοι τὸ παλαιὸν ὠνομάζοντο· εἰσὶ δὲ Αἰγυπτίων ἀποικοί. Σεσώστριος βασιλέως Αἰγύπτου πᾶσαν κατεστρεψαμένου τὴν Ἀσίαν, καὶ ἀπόμοιραν ἐνταῦθα τοῦ ὁμίλου καταλιπόντος.

well: there is an important number of cases in which the same text was included twice, as part of a different excerpt from the same author, in a single or in two different collections of the *EC*. D. Rafiyenko has spotted 54 such cases throughout the extant parts of the *EC*.¹⁴¹

b) Repositions

In three excerpts the intervention on the part of the excerptor consists in a. textual additions or omissions and b. in the rearranging of words within the old text.¹⁴² Excerpt 23 of the *Agathias* part, concerning the philosophical interests of Chosroes I, is a typical example (Table 3.17).

The beginning of Excerpt 23 (*περὶ Χοσρόου*) is a passage extracted from the preceding paragraph in *Agathias*' text. The excerptor, once again, tackled the lack of context for the selected passage by enriching it with information taken from the original text.

c) Changes in vocabulary

In four other excerpts, the *Agathias* part transmits a text which shows marked dissimilarities from the original either in vocabulary or in changes in the word order of the original text.¹⁴³ This is the case, for instance, with Excerpt 37 (Table 3.18).

141 The classification of the instances given by D. Rafiyenko seems to blur the methodological strategies of the excerptors even further. Especially the distinction of reiterations she makes between what she calls *patchworking* and *extraction*; Rafiyenko (2017), 291–324.

142 See Table 3.19.

143 See Table 3.19.

Table 3.17 The *Agathias* excerpt 23 of the *Exc.Salm.*

<i>Agathias</i> , <i>Historiae</i> 2.28.2	<i>Exc.Salm. Excerpt</i> 23
28. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ βραχέα ἄττα περὶ Χοσρόου διεξελθὼν αὐτίκα ἔγωγε ἀνὰ τὰ πρότερα καὶ δὴ ἐπανήξω. ὑμνοῦσι γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ ἄγανται πέρα τῆς ἀξίας, μὴ ὅτι οἱ Πέρσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔνιοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ὥς λόγων ἐραστὴν καὶ φιλοσοφίας τῆς παρ' ἡμῖν ἐς ἄκρον ἐλθόντα, μεταβεβλημένων αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐς τὴν Περσίδα φωνῆν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν συγγραμμάτων. 2 καὶ τοίνυν φασίν, ὅτι δὴ ὅλον τὸν Σταγειρίτην καταπιὼν εἶη μᾶλλον ἢ ὁ ῥήτωρ ὁ Παιανιεύς τὸν Ὀλόρου τῶν τε Πλάτωνος τοῦ Ἀρίστωνος ἀναπέπλησται δογμάτων καὶ οὔτε ὁ Τίμαιος αὐτὸν ἀποδράσειεν ἂν, (...).	23. ἐλέγετο περὶ Χοσρόου ὥς ὅλον καταπιὼι τὸν Σταγειρίτην ἤπερ τὸν Ὀλλόρου ὁ Παιανιεύς.

Table 3.18 The *Agathias* excerpt 37 of the *Exc.Salm.*

<i>Agathias</i> , <i>Historiae</i> 4.23.7	<i>Exc.Salm. Excerpt</i> 37
7. ὁ δὲ Σαβώρης ἄδικός τε ὢν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ μαιφόνος καὶ ὀξὺς μὲν εἰς ὀργὴν καὶ ὀμότητα, βραδὺς δὲ πρὸς φειδῶ καὶ συγγνώμην, εἰ μὲν καὶ ἐφ' ἐτέροις αὐτῷ πρότερον τόδε τὸ ἄγος ἐξείργασται, οὐκ ἔχω σαφῶς ἀπισχυρίσασθαι· ὅτι δὲ Βαλεριανὸν τὸν Ῥωμαίων ἐν τῷ τότε βασιλέα προσπολεμήσαντά οἱ καὶ εἴτα νενικημένον, ὁ δὲ ζωγρία ἐλὼν τόνδε τὸν τρόπον ἐτιμωρήσατο, πολλὴ μαρτυροῦσα ἡ ἱστορία.	38. Σαβώρης ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς πολεμήσαντά οἱ τὸν Ῥωμαίων βασιλέα Βαλλεριανὸν ζωγρία ἐλὼν ἀπέδειρεν ἀπ' αὐχένος ἄχρι ποδῶν.

Excerpt 37 transmits the lamentable fate of the emperor Valerian, who was flayed to death by Sharpur I. The phrase *Σαβώρης ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς* introducing Excerpt 37 is not transmitted as such by *Agathias*. But the phrase summarises the context of the entire section in *Agathias'* text. The focus of Excerpt 37 lies on the savagery and cruelty of the Persian king. The verb *ἐτιμωρήσατο* was, therefore, substituted with *ἀπέδειρεν* and the closing passage of Excerpt 37 (*ἀπ' αὐχένος ἄχρι ποδῶν*) is a supplement on the part of the excerptor.

Table 3.19 exhibits what was shown in the previously presented instances: a selected passage could involve two or even three types of changes, e.g., insertions and omissions of material or the rearranging and omission or addition of material.

The reworking of selected passages in the *Agathias* part involved textual changes similar to those in other collections of historical excerpts, such as the *EC* and the *Excerpta Anonymi*. The compilation process in all the aforementioned collections was determined by similar principles and methods, as they are outlined in the preface to the *EC*. Accordingly, the prime goal of the compilers was the thematic arrangement of the selected material, presenting it with accuracy and brevity, while retaining the sequence of the original narrative. The compilers had to cope with the issue of flawed contextualisation caused by their excerpting

Table 3.19 Type of textual changes in the *Agathias* part

No changes	Additions	Omissions	Rearranging	Changes in vocabulary
Excerpts: 1, 2, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 17, 18, 19, 22, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 32, 34, 45	Excerpts: 3, 5, 14, 15, 22, 23, 31, 33, 37, 39, 41, 46, 47	Excerpts: 3, 4, 5, 6, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16, 20, 21, 25, 30, 38, 39, 40, 40, 41, 42, 44, 47	Excerpts: 22, 35, 46	Excerpts: 36, 40, 42, 50

methods. It is evident that with all three collections the excerptors resorted to identical strategies in order to establish the context in the excerpted passages as follows: a) an introductory sentence, made up of material from the original text is inserted into the excerpts. As noted, this technique is detectable throughout the *EC*, as well. The excerptors of the *EC* supplemented the excerpted passages with short sentences summarising the original text.¹⁴⁴ This strategy is not an innovation on the part of Constantine VII's team, though. It was applied in the *Excerpta Anonymi* as well as in the so-called *Epitome of the Seventh Century*.¹⁴⁵ Yet, shortening the original text shifted the thematic focus of passages in all of them, the *EC*, the *Excerpta Anonymi*, and the *Epitome*. b) omissions of text passages. This seems to have been the most common strategy on the part of the compilers. There are instances in the *EC* in which the entire passage was omitted but for key phrases and names.¹⁴⁶ It has been shown in Chapter 2 that a significant number of selected passages in the *Excerpta Anonymi* had been shortened before their inclusion in the *sylloge*.¹⁴⁷ And c) repetitions of passages. This method can also be seen in the *EC*, the *Excerpta Anonymi*, and the *Epitome*.¹⁴⁸

3.6 General conclusions on the *Excerpta Salmasiana*

Chapter 3 concerned the study of the content and structure of the so-called *Excerpta Salmasiana*. Since the *sylloge* is often associated with the scholarly debate on the composition of the genuine corpus of John of Antioch, I first discussed this matter by offering an overview of the ongoing scholarly discussion. In this chapter, I argued that the *Excerpta Salmasiana* transmit a compilation of three distinct *syllogae* of excerpts: 1) the *Exc.Salm.I*, which consist of excerpts taken from a single

144 See the examples given by Rafiyenko (2017), 291–324.

145 On the redaction of the *Epitome*, see Section 4.4.3.

146 Rafiyenko (2017), 291–324.

147 See Section 2.3.

148 Rafiyenko (2017), 291–324.

historical work, namely John of Antioch's *Historia chronica*; 2) the *Exc.Salm. II*, which comprise excerpts from a variety of late antique texts. In particular, I distinguished between the *Exc.Salm.II A* and the *Exc.Salm.II B*; each have their own characteristics in terms of sources. The *Exc.Salm.II A* consist of excerpts from a now lost work based on Malalas' text. The *Exc.Salm.II B* are composed of excerpts from a collection of excerpts by Cassius Dio and Peter the Patrician as well as from passages derived from what B. Bleckmann calls the *Leoquelle*; and 3) a *sylloge* of passages on ethnography and geography excerpted from Agathias' *Historiae*. As I have suggested, the selection and the re-editing of excerpts in the *Agathias* part were determined by the political context of the tenth century. The passages reflect on a period in which the Empire had territorially shrunk and its civilising influence had been restricted. Finally, in this chapter I embarked upon a close analysis of the working method applied by the excerptor in the *Agathias* part. It became evident that the *Agathias* part reflects a traditional mode of selecting, re-editing, and presenting earlier historical material. The examination of the modifications which the selected text passages underwent, corroborated the view that the *Agathias* part shares compositional methods and excerpting techniques with all the other collections of historical excerpts examined in this book.

4 The *Epitome of the Seventh Century*

A *sylloge* of passages taken from a number of historical works is known under the conventional title *Epitome of the Seventh Century* (hereafter *Epitome*). The *Epitome* comprises excerpts from the ecclesiastical histories by Eusebius of Caesarea,¹ Gelasius of Caesarea,² and Theodorus Anagnosta³ as well as excerpts from John Diacrinomenus⁴ and Philip of Side,⁵ and a series of anonymous fragments.⁶

- 1 Eusebius (260/265–339) *HE* covered the period from Jesus Christ to 325 AD. Barnes (1980), 197–198 argues that Eusebius wrote four different versions of his *HE*. According to W. Treadgold, Eusebius produced a fifth version around the year 326; in this version, a few references to Crispus were omitted; cf. Treadgold (2007), 39. Burgess (1997), 471–504 thinks that Eusebius produced three version of the *HE*. Cassin, Debié, and Perrin (2012) suggest the existence of one edition only; cf. Van Nuffelen and Van Hoof (2020).
- 2 Gelasius' *HE*, which have come down to us only in fragments, supplemented and continued that of Eusebius. Rufinus of Aquileia and Socrates of Constantinople drew heavily on Gelasius' work, although usually without mentioning him as their source. On the extant fragments from Gelasius' *HE* see in Wallraff, Marinides, and Stutz (edd.) (2017). On the view that the text should be dated between 439 and 475 and, therefore, not to be assigned to Gelasius of Caesarea, see Van Nuffelen (2002), 621–640. According to Blaudeau, the extant fragments of Gelasius are the remains of an updated version of his original work by a later author; Blaudeau (2006), 500.
- 3 The *HE* by Theodorus Anagnosta (late fifth–early sixth c.), which is partially preserved, dates back to the year 518. G. C. Hansen published the surviving books 1 and 2 of Theodorus' *HE* in Hansen (ed.) (1995), 1–151. The text originally covered events from the reign of Constantine to the accession of Justin I (306–512); Van Nuffelen and Van Hoof (2020).
- 4 The composition date of Diacrinomenus' (late fifth–early sixth c.) historical work is placed after the year 512. The text has been handed down to us in fragments. The fragments have been published in Hansen (ed.) (1995), 152–157. On Diacrinomenus, see Pouderon (1997); Blaudeau (2001), 76–97.
- 5 The historical work by Philip of Side (first half of the fifth c.) covered the period from Adam down to his own time. The text was composed between 426–439; Van Nuffelen and Van Hoof (2020). The text was edited in Heyden (2006).
- 6 The codex *Parisinus gr.* 1555a transmits two series of anonymous fragments of the periods from 527 to 609 AD, and from 465 to 562 AD, respectively. G. Greatrex, B. Pouderon, and G. C. Hansen agree that only the first of the two anonymous series of fragments was part of the *Epitome*, whereas the second one was a later addition. Pouderon suggests a possible connection between the second series of fragments and John of Antioch; cf. Pouderon (1998), 170–174, 180–182. See also Hansen (ed.) (1995); Greatrex (2014b), 10–12.

This chapter a) considers the manuscript tradition of the *Epitome*, b) demonstrates that the text is a collection of passages excerpted from different sources, contrary to the widely held opinion that the *Epitome* was the summary of a single work,⁷ c) reflects on the original structure of the *Epitome*, and d) examines the use of Eusebius' *HE* by the compiler of the *Epitome*. In particular, the examination of the Eusebian excerpts shall help us establish how the manuscripts of the *Epitome* are related to each other and what distinctive contribution was made by the compiler, and determine the working method applied in the *sylloge*.

The passages excerpted from Eusebius are edited in the appendix (Appendix I: Text IV).

4.1 Manuscript transmission

The *Epitome* has been transmitted through five manuscripts, namely *Parisinus supp. gr.* 1156, ff. 26r–29v (tenth century), *Auctarium* E.4.18 (Oxford), ff. 136r–143v (tenth century), *Athonensis*, *Vatopedinus graecus* 286, ff. 91r–218r (thirteenth century), *Parisinus gr.* 1555 A, ff. 7r–23v (thirteenth–fourteenth centuries), and *Baroccianus gr.* 142, ff. 212r–224r, 236r–240r (fourteenth century).⁸

4.1.1 *Parisinus suppl. gr.* 1156

Bombyc., ff. 29, 192 × 290 mm (150 × 240 mm), 33, sec. X–XI.⁹

Parisinus supp. gr. 1156 contains: 1: Leontius Hierosolymitanus presbyter, *Hom. In Samaritanam*;¹⁰ 1r–1v: Basilus Seleuciensis, *In Duos Euangelii Caecos*;¹¹ 2r–2v: Joannes Chrysostomus, *Thema: Prodigus*; 3r–3v: Theodoretus Cyrrhensis, *Interpretatio in Amos*;¹² 4r–4v: Theodoretus Cyrrhensis, *Interpretatio in Abdiam*;¹³ 5r–10v: *Catenae in Psalmos*;¹⁴ 11r: Ephraem Graecus, *De His, Qui Animas Ad Impudicitiam Pelliciunt*;¹⁵ 11r–12v: Ephraem Graecus, *De Abstinendo Ab Omni Consuetudine Perniciosa*;¹⁶ 13r–14r: Aristoteles philosophus, *Historia*

7 Nautin (1994), 213–243; Pouderon (1998), 170–171; Greatrex (2014b), 10–11.

8 According to Nautin, *Baroccianus gr.* 142 and *Athonensis Vatopedinus* 286 were copies from a common exemplar, different from the one that *Parisinus gr.* 1156 and *Parisinus gr.* 1555a come from; Nautin (1994), 214. According to G. C. Hansen, *Parisinus suppl. gr.* 1156 represents the *Epitome* better; Hansen (ed.) (1995), XXV, XXXIII–XXXIX. In P. Blaudeau's view, the scribe of *Parisinus gr.* 1555a has reduced by a quarter the records he found in *Parisinus suppl. gr.* 1156; cf. Blaudeau (2006), 537, esp. n. 217.

9 On the codex, see Hansen (ed.) (1995), XXIV–XXV.

10 CPG 7912.

11 CPG 6656.36.

12 CPG 6208.02; BHG 71–71a; PG 81, col. 1697 C11–1701 A12.

13 CPG 6208.05; BHG 1–1d; PG 81, col. 1713 B10–1716 D3.

14 CPG C10–C40.

15 CPG 3998.

16 CPG 4000.

animalium;¹⁷ 15r–20v: Joannes Philoponus, *In Aristotelis analytica priora commentarius*;¹⁸ 21r–22v: Sextus Empiricus, *Hypotyposes*;¹⁹ 23r–25v: Paulus Aegineta medicus, *Epitome medica*;²⁰ **26r–29v: Anonymous, Epitome.**

The codex contains excerpts of the *Epitome* taken from Theodorus Anagnosta's and John Diacrinomenus' historical works. In particular, ff. 26r–27r and ff. 28r–29v transmit Theodorus Anagnosta's and John Diacrinomenus' passages, respectively. These excerpts were first published by E. Miller.²¹ They correspond to Excerpts E 477–496, E 520–524, and E 525–561 in the edition by Hansen.²² Unlike the excerpts from Theodorus Anagnosta, those from John Diacrinomenus in *Parisinus suppl. gr. 1156* are headed by the title: *Ἰωάννου τοῦ Διακρινομένου ὅσα ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ σποράδην ὡς ἀναγκαιότερα παρεξέλαβον*.²³ G. C. Hansen showed that the *Parisinus suppl. gr. 1156* relied on a manuscript which was a direct copy of the original *Epitome*.²⁴

4.1.2 Oxford, Auctarium E.4.18²⁵

Bombyc., ff. 1r–143v, sec. X

Auctarium E.4.18 contains: 1r–132v: Theodoretus Cyrrhensis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*; 132v–136r: Proclus Constantinopolitanus, *Epistulae*; 136r–143v: **anonymous, Epitome.**

Auctarium E.4.18 contains excerpts of the *Epitome* taken from Eusebius' *HE*. F. 136r bears the heading *Σύνοψις τῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Ἱστορίας Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Παμφίλου*.²⁶ In its present state the manuscript lacks the folia bearing extracts from Eusebius' *HE* 1.10–5.24. Yet the manuscript preserves Eusebian passages not found in the other witnesses of the *Epitome*.

4.1.3 Parisinus graecus 1555 A

Chartac., ff. 10+194, II 29, sec. XIV.²⁷

Parisinus gr. 1555a contains: A–J: mutilated folia containing historical fragments; 1r–3r: Josephus, *Ὑπομνηστικὸν βιβλίον*;²⁸ 3r–4r: an anonymous calculation

17 Berger (2005); Ronconi (2012), 137–166.

18 Wallies (ed.) (1905).

19 Excerpts from book 3; cf. Mutschmann (ed.) (1912).

20 See the edition by Heiberg (1921–1924).

21 Miller (1873), 396–403.

22 Hansen (ed.) (1995), 136–141 and 150–157.

23 *John Diacrinomenus, all that I found scattered in his work and necessary to be excerpted.*

24 Hansen (ed.) (1995), XXXV–XXXVII. The same had been supported by P. Nautin; cf. Nautin (1992), 173–174.

25 Parmentier and Hansen (1998), xii–xiii; Hansen (ed.) (1995), XXXVII.

26 *Abridgment of the Ecclesiastical History by Eusebius (the student) of Pamphilus.*

27 On the codex, see Omont (1898), XCIX; Hansen (ed.) (1995), XXV–XXVI; Pouderon (1998), 170–171.

28 The *Ὑπομνηστικὸν βιβλίον* by Joseph is published in *PG* 106 col. 15–176.

of the years from Adam to Christ; 4r–5r: anonymous, an incomplete list of Roman emperors as far as Tiberius II (578); 5r–7r: Eustathius historicus, *Chronica Epitome*;²⁹ 7r–23v: **anonymous, *Epitome***; 23v–27v: anonymous, *Notitia Episcopatum*.³⁰

The full text is in Greek and it is now deposited in the National Library of France. *Parisinus gr.* 1555a is a faithful copy of *Parisinus suppl. gr.* 1156, since it repeats the same orthographic errors of its prototype.³¹ J. A. Cramer published the part of the *Epitome* preserved in this manuscript in 1839.³²

The text of the *Epitome* begins from the second column on f. 7r bearing excerpts from Eusebius without being preceded by any title. The Eusebian text reaches as far as f. 9v. What follows is a short series of excerpts attributed by scholars to Gelasius or to a pseudo-Gelasius (f. 9v).³³ After these excerpts, *Parisinus gr.* 1555a sequentially transmits excerpts from the *HT* (ff. 9v–15v) and the *HE* by Theodorus Anagnosta (ff. 15v–20r), and also from the *HE* by John Diacrinomenus (ff. 20r). None of these series of excerpts is preceded by a title. The *Epitome* ends with a series of anonymous excerpts down to the reign of Phocas (ff. 20v–21v). It is unlikely that the series of excerpts which ensues (ff. 21v–23v) was part of the original *Epitome*.³⁴

At the bottom of f. 3r, a series of names are written in a later hand: Πέτρος, Μαρίας Μανώλης, Γεώργιος, Θεώφλη μοναχή (diplomatic transcription). At the bottom of f. 6r in a later hand: δέξου χήρ μου ἀγαθὴ μάθε γράφε γράμματα καλὰ μὴ δαρθῆς καὶ πεδευθῆς καὶ στέρα μετανοθῆς.³⁵ The verses constitute an alternative version of a poem in seven syllables which appears quite often in Byzantine manuscripts: Ἀρξου χεῖρ μου ἀγαθὴ γράφε γράμματα καλὰ· μὴ δαρίε· καὶ ληπεθῶ.³⁶

4.1.4 Athonensis Vatopedinus graecus 286

Bombyc., ff. 305, 220 × 300 mm, 19–22, sec. XIII.³⁷

Athonensis Vatopedinus graecus 286 contains: 1–305: Iobius monachus, *Opera*; 62v–64v: Photius, *Bibliotheca*;³⁸ 65r–90r: *Hagiographica*, *Petrus et*

29 The text bears the *Epitome* of Flavius Josephus' *Antiquitates Judaicae* by Eustathius of Epiphania. Eustathius' text is edited in Allen (1988). On Eustathius of Epiphania, see Brodka (2006), 59–78; Treadgold (2007), 709–745.

30 The text bears the title: Τάξις προκαθεδρίας τῶν ὁσιωτάτων πατριαρχῶν, μητροπολιτῶν καὶ αὐτοκεφάλων; cf. *Parisinus gr.* 1555a, f. 23v.

31 G. C. Hansen gives a number of cases in which *Parisinus gr.* 1555a faithfully follows the errors of its prototype; cf. Hansen (ed.) (1995), XXVI.

32 Cramer (1839), 87–114.

33 Nautin (1992); Van Nuffelen (2002). On the matter, see Section 4.3.

34 Pouderon (1998), 170–174, 180–182; Hansen (ed.) (1995), XXV; Greatrex (2014b), 10–12.

35 This is a diplomatic transcription of the text. An English translation of it would be: *accept (it), my good hand, learn, write good letters, so as not to be beaten and chastised and later be regretful.*

36 cf. Athos, Vatopedi 58, f. 1r. See Vassis (2005), 77; Kadas (2000), 12. See also the occurrences of the poem in <http://www.dbbe.ugent.be/typ/3084>.

37 On the codex, see Hansen (ed.) (1995), XXVI–XXVII.

38 *Bibliotheca*, cod. 222.

Paulus ap. (SS.), Commentarius metaphrasticus;³⁹ 90v–91r: *Ascetica*; **91r–218r: anonymous, Epitome**; 218v–221v: Maximus Confessor, *De Duabus Christi Naturis*;⁴⁰ 221v–223r: Joannes Damascenus, *Opera*; 223r–285r: Theodorus Abucara, *Opuscula varia*; 223r–298r: Leontius scholasticus, *Liber De Sectis*;⁴¹ 285v–298r: *varia florilegia*; 298r–302v: Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *Commentarii in Iohannem*.⁴²

Parts from the *Epitome* are preserved on ff. 91r–218v. In particular, ff. 91r–108r contain excerpts from Eusebius' *HE*. F. 91r bears the title: *Συναγωγή ιστοριῶν διαφόρων ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ σάρκα γεννήσεως τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἐξῆς, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχουσα ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου λόγου τῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Ἱστορίας Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Παμφίλου*.⁴³ As I shall demonstrate below, this heading must have been the original title of the *Epitome* and should be ascribed to its compiler. In addition to the aforementioned heading, on the margin of f. 91r we find: *ἐκλογαὶ καὶ ταῦτα*. The last excerpt from Eusebius is followed by a sentence added by the compiler of the *Epitome*: *ἕως τούτων ἱστορεῖ ὁ Εὐσέβιος*.⁴⁴ Ff. 108r–108v contain excerpts from Gelasius. Ff. 108v–201r transmit excerpts from Theodorus Anagnosta's *HT*. An ornamented initial letter (*M*) on f. 108v marks the beginning of the new section. The first excerpt from the *HT* in *Athonensis Vatopedinus graecus* 286 is excerpt E 5 in the edition by Hansen.⁴⁵ Finally, ff. 201r–218v bear excerpts from Theodorus Anagnosta's *HE*.

4.1.5 Baroccianus gr. 142

Chartac., ff. 292, 165 × 250mm, 40–44, sec. XIV.⁴⁶

Baroccianus gr. 142 contains: 1r–9r: Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulus, *Tabula in Sozomeni Historiam*; 9r–153v: Sozomenus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*; 154v–202v: Euagrius scholasticus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*; 155r–205r: Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulus, *Tabula In Euagrii Scholastici Historiam*; 205r–211r: Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulus, *Opera*; 205r–212r: Flavius Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae*; 210v–211r: Flavius Josephus, *Josephi vita*; **212r–224r: anonymous, Epitome**; 225r–235r: Theodoretus Cyrrhensis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*; **236r–240r: anonymous, Epitome**; 240v–241v: Photius, *Bibliotheca*; 243r–261r: Philostorgius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*; 262r–v: Atticus Constantinopolitanus, *Ep ad Cyrillum*

39 BHG 1493.

40 CPG 7697.13.

41 CPG 6823.

42 CPG 5208.

43 *Collection of various accounts running from the Nativity according to the flesh of our Lord and onwards, it begins with the first book of the Ecclesiastical History by Eusebius (the student) of Pamphilus.*

44 *Up to these matters Eusebius narrates.*

45 Hansen (ed.) (1995), 3–4.

46 On the codex, see de Boor (1884b), 478–494; Gentz and Aland (1949), 104–117; Hansen (ed.) (1995), XXVII–XXVIII; Pouderon (1997), 169–192.

Alexandrinum;⁴⁷ 262v–263r: Atticus Constantinopolitanus, *Ep Ad Petrum Et Aedesium Diaconos Alexandrinos*;⁴⁸ 263r–264r: Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *Ep 76 Ad Atticum*;⁴⁹ 263r–264r: Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *Epistulae* (1–92); 264r–v: Ps.-Dionysius the Areopagita, *Epistulae* 1–10;⁵⁰ 264v–265v: Basilius Caesariensis, *Epistulae*;⁵¹ 265v–268v: Manuel Charitopulus, *Responsiones Canonicae*; 266r–268v: Germanus Marcutzas III, *Opera*; 270r–276: Ius canonicum, *Canones*. 278r–279v: Hippolytus, *Syntagma chronologicum*;⁵² 279v–280v: Eusebius Caesariensis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*; 279v–281v: Hegesippus, *Hypomnemata*;⁵³ 282r: Epiphanius Monachus, *De Vita B. Virginis*;⁵⁴ 282r: Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*; 282r–283v: *Varia*; 284r–288r: Epiphanius of Salamis, *Index Apostolorum (cum Indice discipulorum ex Dorotheo)*;⁵⁵ 288r–292v: Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulus, *De Patriarchis*.

Due to the removal of some folios, the excerpts from the *Epitome* are preserved in two different parts in the manuscript. Ff. 212r–216r contain excerpts from Eusebius' *HE* followed by excerpts from Gelasius (f. 216r), and the *HT* (ff. 216v–224r). The last Eusebian excerpt is followed by a sentence added by the compiler of the *Epitome*: ἕως τούτων ἱστορεῖ ὁ Εὐσέβιος. Between the *Gelasian* part and the excerpts from the *HT*, a long excerpt from Philip of Side appears (ff. 216r–216v). The excerpt is absent from the other three attestations of the *Epitome*. G. C. Hansen does not exclude the inclusion of the excerpt in the *Epitome* but he has doubts about the original placing of it within the *sylloge*.⁵⁶ The excerpts from the *HT* are preceded by a heading: Ἐκ τῶν Σωζομενοῦ, οἷς παρέξεν ὁ Θεόδωρος τὰ τοῦ Θεοδώριτου καὶ Σωκράτους, ἐν οἷς εὔρε τινα τῶν δύο ζένον τι παρὰ Σωζομενοῦ ἱστορήσαντα.⁵⁷ In the present state of the manuscript the series of excerpts from the *Epitome* is interrupted by excerpts from Theodoret of Cyr (ff. 225r–235r).⁵⁸ The excerpts from Theodorus Anagnosta's *HE* are transmitted on ff. 236v–240r and they are introduced by a heading, as well: Ἐκλογαὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας Θεοδώρου ἀναγνώστου.⁵⁹ On the margin of f. 236v there is a scholion:

47 CPG 5652, BHG 0873kb.

48 CPG 5653.

49 CPG 5376, BHG 873kb.

50 CPG 6604–6613.

51 CPG 2900.

52 BHG 779h–779hd, 1046i.

53 CPG 1302.

54 BHG 1049.

55 BHG 152k.

56 Hansen (ed.) (1995), XXXVIII. de Boor considered the excerpt as part of the original *Epitome*; de Boor (1884b), esp. 487 and de Boor (1888), esp. 173–174. Nautin appears to hold the same view in Nautin (1994), esp. 224–233. Yet Pouderon (1994), esp. 163–190 suggests that B is based on a reworked version of the *Epitome* from which the passage in question comes from.

57 Excerpts from Sozomen, which Theodore joined with passages from Theodoret and Socrates, and in which he identified what subject the two narrated differently from Sozomen.

58 Theodoret (ca. 393–466) wrote an ecclesiastical history covering the period from 325 AD to 428 AD. His work is fully preserved. See the edition of the text in Parmentier and Hansen (1998).

59 Extracts from the Ecclesiastical History of Theodorus Anagnosta.

ἀπὸ φωνῆς νικηφόρου καλλίστου τοῦ ζανθόπουλου.⁶⁰ G. C. Hansen suggests that this part in *Baroccianus gr.* 142 could have been dictated by Nicephorus Callistus to the amanuensis or that the codex was copied on Nicephorus' initiative.⁶¹ According to G. C. Hansen, Nicephorus may have made extensive use of excerpts from a number of historical works preserved in *Baroccianus gr.* 142 including the *Epitome*.⁶² Some excerpts from the *Epitome* were placed on the margins of a number of folia in *Baroccianus gr.* 142 by a different hand. Nevertheless, they appear to have been copied from the same source just like the excerpts in the text body. G. C. Hansen marks the excerpts transmitted on the margins as B2.⁶³ The series of excerpts from the *HT* and the *HE* by Theodorus Anagnosta have been handed down with several gaps, which can be identified when comparing *Baroccianus gr.* 142 with *Athonensis Vatopedinus graecus* 286.⁶⁴

4.1.6 The ἀπὸ φωνῆς in *Baroccianus gr.* 142

The meaning of the expression ἀπὸ φωνῆς occurring in titles of works of various literary genres has long been debated. Yet after M. Richard's article on how the ἀπὸ φωνῆς should be interpreted by modern scholars, there is not any other contribution to the subject. The French philologist showed, through a significant number of examples, that from the fifth to the eighth centuries the phrase ἀπὸ φωνῆς in most cases precedes the name of a Byzantine professor or grammarian and should consequently be interpreted as 'd'après l'enseignement oral de' or 'pris au cours de'.⁶⁵ From the ninth century onwards, by contrast, the ἀπὸ φωνῆς always precedes the name of the author of a work mentioned in the title and it should be interpreted as 'de', 'par', 'selon', 'd'après'.⁶⁶ M. Richard drew attention to titles preceding works covered by the umbrella term *compilation* literature, as well. He argued that in this sort of writings the ἀπὸ φωνῆς indicates the compiler of the work mentioned in the title.⁶⁷ M. Richard presented as examples

60 According to Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos.

61 Hansen (ed.) (1995), XXVII.

62 G. C. Hansen runs counter to G. Gentz's thesis that Nicephorus Callistus drew on a better text than the one preserved in *Baroccianus*; cf. Hansen (ed.) (1995), XXVII, XXXIII–XXXV; Gentz and Winkelmann (1966), 188–190.

63 E 261, 262, 278, 318, 324, 381; cf. Hansen (ed.) (1995), XXVII.

64 On the excerpts from the *Epitome* that are missing, see Hansen (ed.) (1995), XXVIII.

65 Richard (1977), 206 and 220. There are a few exceptions though: the expression ἀπὸ φωνῆς in the titles of the sixth-century work: Προκοπίου Γαζαίου χριστιανοῦ σοφιστοῦ εἰς τὰ ἅσματα τῶν Ἀσμάτων ἐξηγητικῶν ἐκλογῶν ἐπιτομή ἀπὸ φωνῆς Γρηγορίου Νύσης καὶ Κυρίλλου Ἀλεξανδρείας κ.τ.λ. (PG 87(2), col. 1545), and Εἰς τὸν Ἐκκλησιαστικὴν Προκοπίου χριστιανοῦ σοφιστοῦ εἰς τὰ ἅσματα τῶν Ἀσμάτων ἐξηγητικῶν ἐκλογῶν ἐπιτομή ἀπὸ φωνῆς Γρηγορίου Νύσης καὶ Κυρίλλου Ἀλεξανδρείας κ.τ.λ. (Devreesse (1928), col. 1163) as well as in the title of the seventh-century encomium: Ἐγκώμιον. τὸν βίον δηλοῦν τοῦ μακαρίου Παταπίου τέλειον ἀπὸ φωνῆς Ἀνδρέου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κρήτης (PG 97, col. 1233) should be interpreted as 'written by' or 'according to'; cf. Richard (1977), 197–199 and 205–206.

66 Richard (1977), 222.

67 Richard (1977), esp. 213–217.

the *epitome* of Philostorgius' *HE* ἀπὸ φωνῆς Φωτίου πατριάρχου⁶⁸ as well as the *eklogae* from Theodorus Anagnosta's *HE* ἀπὸ φωνῆς Νικηφόρου Καλλίστου τοῦ Ξανθοπούλου written on f. 236v in *Baroccianus gr.* 142. Yet, in my view, a distinction should be made between the two aforementioned works. Photius gives a summary of Philostorgius' *HE* in his *Bibliotheca*⁶⁹ and scholarship has long verified that Photius is the actual compiler of the *epitome*. On the other hand, we now know that *Baroccianus gr.* 142 transmits a *sylloge* of excerpts compiled centuries before Nicephorus Callistus lived, and attested also in three other codices. Nicephorus is not the author of the *sylloge*. Moreover, the sentence ἀπὸ φωνῆς Νικηφόρου Καλλίστου τοῦ Ξανθοπούλου is repeated in the margin of f. 212v in *Baroccianus gr.* 142 as part of the initial title of the work: *Συναγωγή ἱστοριῶν διαφόρων ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ σάρκα γεννήσεως τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἐξῆς, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχουσα ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου λόγου τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Παμφίλου ἀπὸ φωνῆς Νικηφόρου Καλλίστου τοῦ Ξανθοπούλου*.⁷⁰ If we accept Hansen's view that Nicephorus in writing his own chronicle relied on material found in *Baroccianus gr.* 142, the codex is likely to depict an intermediary stage in the preparation of his chronicle. In this case, the ἀπὸ φωνῆς is likely to signify that the so-called *Epitome* was copied in *Baroccianus gr.* 142 on Nicephorus' initiative. We cannot be certain, though. It is also likely that *Baroccianus gr.* 142 transmits a version of the *Epitome* edited by Nicephorus himself. It is noteworthy that *Baroccianus gr.* 142 and *Athonensis Vatopedinus gr.* 286 do not always transmit the same order of excerpts or they transmit a different excerpt while excerpting the same source text (see Appendix II: Table VI). The changes may be attributed to Nicephorus Callistus. I should add here that, as shall be shown below (see Section 4.4), the *Epitome* contains material that was not originally found in the selected passages. The additional material is recorded in all five manuscripts of the *Epitome*, though. It is not possible to attribute these insertions to Nicephorus. Regarding the insertions that occurred in *Baroccianus gr.* 142 only, we cannot be certain about the authorship.

To conclude, the interpretation of the ἀπὸ φωνῆς as meaning 'written by' in *Baroccianus gr.* 142 could be misleading. I would suggest that the rendering 'according to' better signifies the phrase in this case. For Nicephorus was neither the original compiler of the *Epitome*, nor the rewriter of a new version of it, that would be, a new autonomous text.

4.2 The *Epitome* as an excerpt collection

This seventh-century assemblage has, so far, only received attention for the passages it transmits. Accordingly, the *Epitome* has always been studied as a source of

68 Philostorgius, *HE*, 4.

69 *Bibliotheca*, cod. 40.

70 *Collection of various accounts running from the Nativity according to the flesh of our Lord and onwards, it begins with the first book of the Ecclesiastical History by Eusebius (the student) of Pamphilus, according to Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulos.*

the ecclesiastical excerpts included in it. In fact, the *Epitome*, apart from excerpts from Eusebius, Gelasius, and Philip of Side, preserves significant parts of the so-called *HT* and the *HE* by Theodorus Anagnosta,⁷¹ and excerpts from John Diacrinomenus' *HE*.⁷² P. Nautin supported that the *Epitome* is descended from an earlier collection comprising the complete texts of a number of ecclesiastical histories. P. Nautin regarded Theodorus Anagnosta as the author of the aforementioned collection.⁷³ Moreover, there appears to have been a consensus amongst P. Nautin, G. Greatrex, and B. Pouderon about the content of that compilation.⁷⁴

The label *Epitome* assigned to the whole assemblage and its connection with a hypothesised earlier collection by Theodorus Anagnosta mirrors, in my view, the concentration of scholars on the content of the *Epitome* rather than on the structure and composition of the overall assemblage. Moreover, the designation *Epitome* for our seventh-century *sylloge* could be compatible, to a certain extent, with the abridged form of the incorporated texts, but is definitely incompatible, however, with the overall structure of the assemblage, for the so-called *Epitome* is a typical product of the *culture of sylloge*. The author of this *sylloge* constructs a new narrative on the basis of a series of excerpts. The arrangement of the excerpts in the *Epitome* shows that the compiler had initially devised a chronological framework, which, then, enabled him to place the collected passages. The *Epitome* makes up a unity of chronologically and thematically connected excerpts extracted from a number of different works and acts as a new and autonomous piece of literature. In the following, I argue that the *Epitome* is not the synopsis of a compilation made by Theodorus Anagnosta. In my view, the *Epitome* is an actual *sylloge* of excerpts created from different and separate sources. To argue this, I shall show that the initial title of the *Epitome*, as transmitted in the manuscript tradition, must be assigned to the excerptor of the *Epitome*, and that the structure and the format of the *Epitome* explain the origin of the actual *sylloge*.

To begin with, the *Epitome* itself transmits its material under the following titles.

For the headings in the manuscript transmission of the *Epitome*, please see Table 4.1.

P. Nautin has argued that the initial heading (*Συναγωγή ἱστοριῶν διαφόρων... τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Παμφίλου*) was the original title of the collection put together by Theodorus Anagnosta, which, in Nautin's view, is the unique source used by the *Epitome*. Nautin interprets the word *Συναγωγή* in the

71 On the relationship between Theodorus Anagnosta and the compiler of the *Epitome*, see Greatrex (2014b), 121–142 and Nautin (1994) esp. 224–226, 233–238.

72 Blaudeau (2001), 76–97.

73 Nautin (1994), 213–243.

74 In P. Nautin's view, the compilation comprised the *HE* by Eusebius of Caesarea with the addition of the history by Gelasius of Caesarea, the so-called *HT* (a compilation by Theodorus Anagnosta based on the histories by Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret) and the *HE* by Theodorus Anagnosta covering the period 439–518 AD; cf. Nautin (1994), 218–224 and 229–30; Greatrex (2014b), 10–11; Pouderon (1998), 170–171. On the *HT*, see Blaudeau (2006), 518; Treadgold (2007), 170.

Table 4.1 The headings in the manuscript transmission of the *Epitome*

Manuscript	Heading	Excerpts
<i>Ath. Vat.</i> 286 and <i>Barocc. gr.</i> 142	<i>Συναγωγή ἱστοριῶν διαφόρων ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ σάρκα γεννήσεως τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἐξῆς, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχουσα ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου λόγου τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Παμφίλου.</i> Collection of various accounts running from the Nativity according to the flesh of our Lord and onwards, it begins with the first book of the Ecclesiastical History by Eusebius (the student) of Pamphilus.	Eusebius, <i>HE</i> and Gelasius, <i>HE</i>
<i>Barocc. gr.</i> 142	<i>Ἐκ τῶν Σωζομενοῦ, οἷς παρέβλεψεν ὁ Θεόδωρος τὰ τοῦ Θεοδορίτου καὶ Σωκράτους, ἐν οἷς εὔρε τινα τῶν δύο ξένων τι παρὰ Σωζομενοῦ ἱστορήσαντα. Ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου βιβλίου.</i> Excerpts from Sozomen, which Theodore joined with passages from Theodoret and Socrates, and in which he identified what matter which of the two narrated differently from Sozomen.	Theodorus Anagnosta, <i>HT</i>
<i>Barocc. gr.</i> 142	<i>Ἐκλογαὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας Θεοδώρου ἀναγνώστου. Βιβλίον πρῶτον.</i> Selections from the Ecclesiastical History by Theodorus Anagnosta. First Book.	Theodorus Anagnosta, <i>HE</i>
<i>Parisinus suppl.</i> <i>gr.</i> 1156	<i>Ἰωάννου τοῦ Διακρινομένου ὅσα ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ σποράδην ὡς ἀναγκαιότερα παρεξέβαλον.</i> John Diacrinomenus, all that I found scattered in his work and necessary to be excerpted.	John Diacrinomenus, <i>HE</i>
<i>Auctarium E.</i> 4.18	<i>Σύνοψις τῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Ἱστορίας Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Παμφίλου.</i> Abridgment of the Ecclesiastical History by Eusebius (the student) of Pamphilus.	Eusebius, <i>HE</i>

title as the gathering and arrangement of complete historical texts, the first of which was the *HE* by Eusebius of Caesarea. P. Nautin believes that Theodorus included Eusebius' entire work in a collection because (a) Theodorus refers to a similar intention of compiling a collection of complete ecclesiastical histories in the surviving prologue to his own *HE*,⁷⁵ (b) Theodorus mentions Eusebius of Caesarea in the preface, shortly before mentioning Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, and

75 The prologue has been handed down to us through the codex *Marcianus gr.* 344, ff. 1–13; Hansen (ed.) (1995), 1. The codex, in fact, transmits only Books 1 and 2 of what is known as the *Historia Tripartita*.

(c) excerpts from the *HT*, nominally assigned to Theodorus Anagnosta, are part of the *Epitome* as well.⁷⁶

Nevertheless, Theodorus' *HE* does not begin with Eusebius (as the *Epitome* does) but with Theodorus' *HT*. In addition to this, the prologue in the codex *Marcianus* is preceded by the following heading: *Θεοδώρου ἀναγνώστου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας Βιβλίον α'.*⁷⁷ P. Nautin explains these inconsistencies by surmising the existence of two manuscripts for the entire hypothetical Theodorus' collection; one containing Eusebius' work and one containing the rest of the collection.

I would like to note that there is no such reference to Eusebius of Caesarea in the preface implying that Theodorus included Eusebius' work in a collection.⁷⁸ On the contrary, Theodorus' use of the term *σύνταξιν* in identifying both his own and Eusebius' history in the prologue, shows that Theodorus regards himself as a continuator of Eusebius, not only in terms of content but in method and literary format, as well.⁷⁹ The term *σύνταξις* stresses the creation of a structure out of the collected sources. Theodorus, at this point, reveals his method in compiling his own history. Furthermore, Eusebius' excerpts in the *Epitome* are followed by passages from Gelasius.⁸⁰ Theodorus does not mention Gelasius in his prologue. If Theodorus had really composed a collection comprising a number of ecclesiastical histories, he should also have mentioned Gelasius as one of Eusebius' continuators.⁸¹

The title in *Marcianus* confirms that Theodorus was the author of the *HE* and the content of *Marcianus* bears out that the *HT* was part of it.⁸² The excerpts from the *HT*, by contrast, are introduced in the *Epitome* by a different title: *Ἐκ τῶν Σωζομενοῦ, ... τι παρὰ Σωζομενοῦ ἱστορήσαντα.*⁸³ And the excerpts from the *HE* are introduced by the heading *Ἐκλογαὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας Θεοδώρου ἀναγνώστου.*⁸⁴ The very last fact means that the compiler of the *Epitome* draws on two different sources when extracting Theodorus' *HT* and *HE*, respectively. This could also be an indication that the two parts of the work circulated at some point independently from one another.

76 Nautin (1994).

77 *The Ecclesiastical History by Theodorus anagnosta in Constantinople. First Book.*

78 Delacenserie (2016), 70–75.

79 Εὐσεβίου τοῦ θαυμασιωτάτου τοῦ ἐπὶ κλην Παμφίλου κεκτημένος περὶ τὴν συλλογὴν τῶν ἀνέκαθεν τὰς τοιαύτας ἐκκλησιαστικὰς ὑποθέσεις λογίων ἀνδρῶν συγγραφέων, οὐ μόνον λέγω τῶν παρὰ Χριστιανοῖς φιλοσοφῶντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρ' Ἑβραίοις, καὶ τήνδε τὴν ἱστορικὴν **σύνταξιν** ποιησαμένου ἄχρι τοῦ εικοστοῦ ἔτους τῆς φιλοχρίστου; Hansen (ed.) (1995), 1. See also the translation of the passage in Delacenserie (2016), 69–70.

80 There is a disagreement as to the authorship of these excerpts; see Van Nuffelen (2002). See also Section 4.4.

81 Delacenserie (2016), 70–75.

82 The existence of the title in the prologue signifies according to Nautin that Theodorus did not write a continuation to the work of an earlier historian; Nautin (1992), 164–170.

83 *Baroccianus gr.* 142, f. 216v.

84 *Baroccianus gr.* 142, f. 236v.

P. Nautin also supported the idea that Book 1 of Theodorus' *HE* in the *Epitome* corresponds to Book 5 of the original *HE* by Theodorus. With regard to this proposition of Nautin's, I have two points to make: (a) Theodorus does not himself name any Book 5 in his *HE* and (b) even if we accept Nautin's argument, the fact that Book 5 of the *HE* occurs as Book 1 in the manuscript transmission of the *Epitome* once again bears out the evidence that the excerptor of the latter must have relied on two different sources. Each source contained only one of the two texts.

Accordingly, the *Epitome* is made up of collections of selections. One should ask why then it is not labelled as such in the title (e.g., ἐκλογή, ἐκλογαί). To my mind, the initial title in the *Epitome* transmitted in the codices *Baroccianus* gr. 142, f. 212r and *Athonensis Vatopedinus* 91r (Συναγωγή ἱστοριῶν διαφόρων... τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Παμφίλου) must be assigned to the excerptor. For the term *συναγωγή* itself entails the notions of *συλλογή* and *ἐκλογή*. In fact, *συναγωγή* points to the organisation of material accumulated (*συλλογή*) through the process of selection (*ἐκλογή*). The term *συναγωγή* fits in with the manner by which knowledge is transmitted through our text.⁸⁵

The crucial question to be raised should be as to why the term *epitome* should be assigned to the title of the work by contemporary scholars. In its first edition by J. A. Cramer,⁸⁶ the work bears the title *Ἐκλογαὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας*. In fact, as we have seen, in the Byzantine period, the term identified collections of selections.⁸⁷ In the case of the so-called *Epitome*, we have nothing less than a conflation of selected passages, such as in John Chrysostom's and Sopater's case. The use of the words *συναγωγή*, *συλλογή*, and *ἐκλογή* by the Byzantines was discussed in Chapter 1. Here I will confine myself to noting that the examination of the headings preserved in the manuscript tradition of the *Epitome of the Seventh Century* points to the method applied by the compiler. The *Epitome of the Seventh Century*, is an *ἐκλογή*, or a *συλλογή* or a *συναγωγή* of different sources through the process of abridgement. The vocabulary transmitted in the headings (Συναγωγή, ἐκ τῶν, Ἐκλογαί) is identical to the one seen in the *syllogae* catalogued by Photius as well as in a significant number of works compiled on the basis of excerpts.⁸⁸ Additionally, the excerpts from Eusebius were arranged under subheadings that indicate which book of the *HE* each series of excerpts was taken from: ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου βιβλίου (BV), ἐκ τοῦ τρίτου λόγου (BV), ἐκ τοῦ τετάρτου βιβλίου (V), ἐκ τοῦ πέμπτου βιβλίου (OB), ἐκ τοῦ ἕκτου βιβλίου (OB), ἐκ τοῦ ἑβδόμου βιβλίου (OB), ἐκ τοῦ ὀγδόου βιβλίου (OB), ἐκ τοῦ ἐννάτου βιβλίου (OB), and ἐκ τοῦ δεκάτου λόγου (OB). The subheadings hint at the selection of a number of passages to be embedded into the *Epitome*. The same holds true for a subheading introducing passages

85 See also Section 1.1.1.

86 Cramer (1839), 87–114.

87 See Chapter 1.

88 Odorico (2011a).

from John Diacrinomenus in *Baroccianus* gr. 142. As already noted, the excerpts from John Diacrinomenus are preceded by a title only in *Parisinus* gr. 1555a. Nevertheless, a marginal note on f. 239v in *Baroccianus* gr. 142 reads as follows: ἐκ τοῦ α' λόγου καὶ ταῦτα.

To conclude, the compiler of the *sylloge* put together excerpts selected from different sources, namely from Eusebius' work, Gelasius' history, a source only containing the first part of Theodorus' *HE* (i.d. *Historia Tripartita*), another source only containing the second part of Theodorus' *HE*, John Diacrinomenus' *HE*, and an unidentified chronicle (i.d. the anonymous series of excerpts). The text should be seen as a product of the *culture of sylloge*. The *Epitome* is an example of literature compiled by processes of compilation. In what follows, I shall discuss the structure of the *Epitome* as it is transmitted in the five extant manuscripts.

4.3 The structure of the *Epitome*

It has become clear by now that it is impossible to arrive at any definite conclusion as to the size of the original *Epitome*. The data provided by the content of the five manuscripts transmitting parts of the *Epitome* are shown in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2 The *Epitome* in the five extant manuscripts

<i>Epitome</i>	<i>Parisinus</i> <i>suppl. gr.</i> 1156	<i>Parisinus</i> <i>gr. 1555a</i>	<i>Athonensis</i> <i>Vatopedinus</i> <i>graeus</i> 286	<i>Baroccianus</i> <i>gr. 142</i>	<i>Auctarium</i> <i>E.4.18</i>
Excerpts from Eusebius' <i>HE</i>		ff. 7r–9v	ff. 91–108	ff. 212r–216r	ff. 136r–143v
Excerpts from Gelasius' <i>HE</i>		f. 9v	ff. 108r–108v	ff. 216r	
Excerpts from Philip of Side's <i>Historia</i> <i>christiana</i>				ff. 216r–216v	
Excerpts from the <i>HT</i>		ff. 9v–15v	ff. 108v–201r	ff. 216v–224r	
Excerpts from Theodorus Anagnosta's <i>HE</i>	ff. 26r–27r	ff. 15v–20r	ff. 201r–218v	ff. 236v–239v	
Excerpts from John Diacrinomenus' <i>HE</i>	ff. 28r–29v	f. 20r		ff. 239v–240r	
Anonymous series of excerpts		ff. 20v–21v			

The *Epitome* as it has been handed down in the *Parisinus gr.* 1555a comes immediately after excerpts from Flavius Josephus' *Antiquitates Judaicae* (ff. 5v–7r). Interestingly, a similar sequence occurs in another manuscript transmitting the *Epitome*, namely *Baroccianus gr.* 142. Ff. 205v–211r of *Baroccianus gr.* 142 contain excerpts from Flavius Josephus' *Antiquitates Judaicae* and *Vita*.⁸⁹ Nevertheless, Josephus should not be taken as part of the original *Epitome*: the excerpts from Josephus in *Parisinus gr.* 1555a are preceded by the name: *Εὐσταθίου Ἐπιφανέως Συρίας*. Moreover, the content of the *Josephus* excerpts has nothing to do with the chronological arrangement of the excerpts of the *Epitome*.⁹⁰

As the initial title of the *Epitome* (*Συναγωγή ἱστοριῶν διαφόρων...τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Παμφίλου*) indicates, the first part of the *sylloge* consisted of excerpts from Eusebius' *HE*. De Boor was the first to notice that excerpts from Eusebius had been supplemented with texts not originally derived from his *HE*. De Boor published his findings in an article in 1888.⁹¹ The concatenation of excerpts from Eusebius' *HE* shall be discussed in detail in Section 4.4. The *Eusebian* part is followed by excerpts, the attribution of which to Gelasius of Caesarea is disputed. To begin with, de Boor argued that the excerpts which come immediately after Eusebius in the *Epitome* must be assigned to the *Historia christiana* by Philip of Side.⁹² P. Nautin and G. C. Hansen supported that the text must be assigned to Gelasius of Caesarea (fourth c.).⁹³ By contrast, P. Van Nuffelen argued that the series of excerpts ensuing Eusebius in the *Epitome* is, originally, derived from an author of the fifth century. Van Nuffelen runs counter to the traditional view that Gelasius of Caesarea wrote a church history, which then served as unacknowledged source for Rufinus and Socrates. Van Nuffelen, by contrast, showed that the extant excerpts in the *Epitome* must postdate Rufinus and Socrates and are thus wrongly attributed to Gelasius.⁹⁴ The excerpts from the text of the so-called ps.-Gelasius are not preceded by any heading in the manuscript transmission of the *Epitome*. As noted, in *Baroccianus gr.* 142, ps.-Gelasius is supplemented with a passage from Philip of Side.⁹⁵ It is impossible to say if this passage was the only one

89 The two works, which survive complete, were edited in Niece (1887–1890) and Niece (repr. 1955), 321–389, respectively.

90 The same in Hansen (ed.) (1995), XXVII.

91 De Boor (1888), 169–171. The additions were republished in Nautin (1994), 219–220.

92 De Boor (1888), esp. 173.

93 Nautin (1992), 163–183; Hansen (ed.) (1995), XXXVIII. De Boor published first the passages; de Boor (1888), 182–184. P. Nautin published the Greek text with a French translation; Nautin (1992), 174–178. See also the edition of the excerpts by Hansen (1995), 158–159. The latest edition of the extant fragments of Gelasius is by Wallraff, Marinides, and Stutz (2017).

94 Van Nuffelen (2002), 621–640.

95 See Section 4.1.5. The excerpt was published by Hansen (ed.) (1995), 160.

excerpted from Philip of Side in the *Epitome*.⁹⁶ The excerpt in *Baroccianus gr.* 142 deals with the Christian school (διδασκαλεῖον or Ἀκαδημαϊκή σχολή) of Alexandria. The passage names the prominent figures that taught at the school during the first centuries of Christianity. Philip of Side is followed by excerpts from Theodorus Anagnosta's *HT* and *HE*. The excerpts, which are introduced by two different headings in *Baroccianus gr.* 142, appear to have been excerpted from two distinct sources.⁹⁷ The excerpts from the *HE* are augmented with passages taken from the *HE* by John Diacrinomenus. The *Athonensis Vatopedinus graecus* 286 does not contain any passages from John Diacrinomenus. The codex ends the arrangement of excerpts abruptly with an excerpt from Theodorus Anagnosta's *HE*: μακεδόνιος ἀσκητικὸς ἦν καὶ ἱερὸς ὡς ὑπὸ Γενναδίου τραφεῖς, οὗ καὶ ἀδελφιδοῦς, ὡς λόγος, ὑπῆρχεν.⁹⁸ The last part of the *Epitome* comprises a series of 18 anonymous excerpts which, chronologically, bring the *sylloge* down to the year 610. These excerpts were published by Cramer.⁹⁹ Excerpt 16 lists the popes from Vigilius to Boniface IV.¹⁰⁰ The latter was Pope from 25 September 608 to his death in 615.

For G. C. Hansen's edition of the *Epitome*, see Table 4.3.

4.4 The *Epitome* and the *HE* of Eusebius of Caesarea

The manuscript transmission of the *Epitome* only leaves space for speculation about the accurate content of it. Nothing can be safely said about how much of the genuine collection has been handed down to us. Yet by combining the extant excerpts of the assemblage in the five codices, we can come to a number of verifiable conclusions about the structure, composition, and function of it. The focus of this section relies on the use of Eusebius' *HE* by the seventh-century *Epitome*. Regardless of how much more Eusebian excerpts were initially included in the *Epitome*, the textual transmission of the *sylloge* permits us to study and explore the working method of the excerptor and the function of the *sylloge*. In what follows, I put forward what the transmission of the Eusebian excerpts reveals as to a) the relationship of the manuscripts of the *Epitome*, b) the textual additions by the compiler, and c) the working method applied in the *sylloge*.

96 The attribution of the excerpt to Philip of Side has been affirmed in Pouderon (1994) and Heyden (2006), esp. 214–215.

97 See Section 4.2. In *Athonensis Vatopedinus graecus* 286 the excerpts from the *HE* come after those from the *HT* without any distinctive sign.

98 This is Excerpt E 458 in the edition by G. C. Hansen.

99 Cramer (1839), 109, 26–111, 31.

100 Cramer (1839), 111, 20–23.

Table 4.3 The *Epitome* in G. C. Hansen's edition

<i>Epitome</i>	Parisinus suppl. gr. 1156	Parisinus gr. 1555a	Athonensis Vatopedinus 286	Baroccianus gr. 142
Excerpts from Gelasius' <i>HE</i> ¹⁰¹		1–2, 6 (p. 158–159)	4–5 (p. 158–159)	1, 3–6 (p. 158–159)
Excerpt from Philip of Side's <i>Historia christiana</i> ¹⁰²				p. 160
Excerpts from the <i>HT</i>		5–6, 14, 19, 24, 26, 28, 32–33, 51–52, 56–58, 65–66, 75–76, 78, 87, 90, 98, 142–145, 153, 200, 216–218, 223, 255, 268–271, 280, 287, 293–295, 301–307, 319, 322, 333–334	5–9, 12–14, 20–35, 37–47, 49–66, 68–69, 71–87, 89–94, 97–111, 113–127, 129–153, 155–185, 187–205, 207–221, 223– 268, 270–285, 287–311, 313–335	1–4, 35–58, 62–64, 101, 105, 108–111, 113–114, 116–127, 129–137, 140–149, 172–175, 177– 182, 184–185, 189, 193, 195–196, 199–203, 207–211, 213, 216–217, 219–221, 223–225, 227–228, 230–231, 233–235, 243–244, 247– 248, 250–253, 255, [261–262B2], 264–265, 268–276, [278B2], 279–281, 283, 285–288, 291, 293–299, 301–306, 310, 312–314, 316, [318B2], 319–323, [324B2], 325–327, 329–331, 333
Excerpts from Theodorus Anagnosta's <i>HE</i>	477–496, 520–524	340, 353, 355, 360, 365–371, 374, 377, 382–388, 393–394, 396, 398, 400, 409–410, 417, 425–428, 430, 463, 465, 516–517	336–358, 360–365, 368–373, 376, 378–387, 389–392, 395–396, 398, 400–406, 409–411, 416–417, 422, 424–425, 431–434, 440, 445, 455–456, 458	353–354, 359–360, 363, 365, 367–370, 374–377, [381B2], 382–385, 388, 390–392, 394, 396, 398–405, 407–408, 412–414, 419–420, 435– 439, 446–450, 453, 455, 457–458, 461–463, 466, 468–469, 471, 473–475, 483–486, 492–494, 499, 501, 507, 512–513, 515, 524, 528–529, 530, 536, 538, 542–545, 547–549, 552–553, 555–556, 557–559, 561
Excerpts from John Diacrinomenus' <i>HE</i>	E 525–561			

101 Hansen published these excerpts separately; cf. Hansen (ed.) (1995), 158–159.

102 The excerpt is published independently; cf. Hansen (ed.) (1995), 160.

4.4.1 The relationship between the manuscripts of the Epitome

According to P. Nautin, *Baroccianus gr.* 142 (B) as well as *Athonensis Vatopedinus graecus* 286 (V) depend on a common copy of the *Epitome*, different from the one that *Parisinus gr.* 1155a (P) and *Parisinus supp. gr.* 1156 (M) descended from.¹⁰³ Although Nautin republished the passages of several lost patristic authors inserted within the series of excerpts from Eusebius' *HE*, he strikingly neglected *Auctarium* E.4.18 (O), a significant witness of the first part of the so-called *Epitome*.¹⁰⁴ Hansen's view deviates partially from Nautin's: Hansen indicates the common source of B and V as β . Yet, he found some common readings between BV and P. In Hansen's view, the similarities could be explained by the existence of the version α , which both β and P (and its prototype M) come from. Hansen appears to be aware of the importance of O in the reconstruction of the *Eusebian* part of the *Epitome*,¹⁰⁵ yet his edition excludes the *Eusebian* part and his study of the relationship between the manuscripts of the *Epitome* is only based on BVP and M. As I shall show, though the textual comparison of the Eusebian excerpts of the *Epitome* provides us with a more complicated picture, it verifies Hansen's view.

The *Epitome* as preserved in P transmits 18 excerpts from Eusebius' work, covering chronologically the period from Christ's birth down to the reign of Maximinus II Daia (311–313 ad). In the present state of M, the prototype of P for Theodorus Anagnosta's *HE* and John Diacrinomenus' *HE*, the Eusebian excerpts are missing. O, B, and V add a significant number of excerpts.¹⁰⁶ O, as mentioned, is missing a significant number of folia that originally must have contained extracted passages from Eusebius. The *Epitome* as preserved in O transmits 67 excerpts from Eusebius, covering chronologically the period from Christ's birth down to Constantine's victories against the emperors Maxentius and Licinius. B and V cover the same time span. B contains 97 excerpts from Eusebius whereas V transmits 74 Eusebian excerpts in total.¹⁰⁷ In what follows, I shall look into the Eusebian excerpts preserved in OPBV. In nine cases, the four codices transmit a common excerpt from Eusebius' work.¹⁰⁸ The numbering of excerpts is that given in my edition of the entire first part of the *Epitome* in the appendix (Appendix I: Text V) of the book.

- a) O transmits the following significant mistakes: E 6,5; $\psi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\eta$ VB: $\psi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\omega\acute{\nu}$ O; E 7, 12 εἶναι BP: ἔστι O; E 81, 20 Ἱπποκράτους VBP: Ὑπποκράτους O:

103 Nautin (1994), 213–214.

104 Nautin, (1994), 219–221.

105 Hansen (ed.) (1995), XXXVII.

106 A few of these fragments have been published by de Boor and Nautin; de Boor (1888), 169–171; Nautin 1994. 219–221. See also below Section 4.2.

107 On the common passages in the three codices, see Appendix II: Table VI.

108 These are Excerpts: 1, 6, 7, 81, 103, 110, 111, 117, and 118. In 31 cases an excerpt is only contained in B and V. In four cases an excerpt is only transmitted in P and B. In a single case, an excerpt is only preserved in P and O. In 15 cases an excerpt is only preserved in O and B and in eight cases an excerpt is found only in O and V. Most of the variants are orthographical mistakes that occurred in P. The different readings are found in the apparatus of the edition of the excerpts in the Appendix I: Text V.

- Ἰπολύτου correxi HE 6, XX.2; E 103, 11 διήλεγξε VB: διέλεγξεν O; E 103, 18 κατέβαλε VB: ἔβαλλεν O; E 111, 26 συσχεθεῖσα VPB: συσχεθεῖσας O; E 117, 15 Μαξιμιανὸς VBP: Μαξιμίνος O.
- b) **V** transmits the following significant mistakes: E 6, 2 τῆς ἀρχῆς OBP: om. V; E 6, 4 τοῦ OB: om. V; E 7, 8 χρόνῳ OBP: om. V | Κύριος OBP: Χριστὸς V; E 81, 19 τοῦ OPB: τῶν V; E 103, 12 ταύτης OB: αὐτῆς V; E 103, 13 ἦν OB: om. V; E 103, 16 Λαοδικείας OBP: Λαοδικίας V; 110, 17 Νικομηδείας OBP: Νικομήδου V | πλήθει OBP: πλήθι V; E 110, 18 ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις γεγεννημένον OB: γενομένου ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις V; E 111, 24 κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν OBP: εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν V; E 111, 28 μάρτυρας BP: μαρτυρίας V: μα[*lac.*] O; E 117, 16 μαραινόμενος OBP: κατεχόμενος V; E 118, 21 ἀπέλιπεν OB: ἀπολιπὼν V.
- c) **B** transmits the following significant mistakes: E 1, 4 μβ' OVP: μα' B; E 1, 7 ιθ' OVP: ιη' B; E 6, 1 ἔτει OVP: ἔτος B; E 7, 8 ἐπετέλει OPV: ἐτέλει B; E 81, 17 συναγωγὴν βιβλίων OVP: βιβλίων συναγωγὴν B; E 81, 18 τὰς OVP: om. B; E 81, 20 ἐπίσκοπον OPV: ἐπισκόπου B; E 103, 14 Φιρμιλιανὸς OV: Φιρμιλλιανὸς B | Καππαδοκίας OV: om. B; E 103, 15 Ἱεροσολύμων Ὑμέναιος V: Ἱεροσολύμων Ὑμένεος O: Ὑμέναιος Ἱεροσολύμων B; E 110, 19 κατ' αὐτῶν OPV: om. B; E 111, 23 ἐμαρτύρησεν OPV: ἐμαρτύρησαν B; E 111, 28 τὸ¹ OV: om. B; E 118, 9 ἀλλὰ OVP: om. B | αὐτοῦ OPV: αὐτὸν B; E 118, 22 καὶ OV: om. B; E 118, 23 γαμβρὸς OV: om. B | τοῦ OV: om. B; E 118, 24 τε OV: om. B.
- d) **P** transmits the following significant mistakes: E 6, 26 ιβ' B: δωδεκάτῳ OV: δὲ δεκάτῳ P
- e) **O** and **B** share the following significant mistakes: E 6, 2 Χριστοῦ P: Κυρίου OB: om. V; E 6, 5 ὑπατεία V: ὑπατία OB; E 81, 20 τὰ PV: τοῦ OB; E 110, 18 ἐμπρησμοῦ PV: ἐμπυρισμοῦ OB.
- f) **OV** share the following significant mistakes: 103, 17 εἰσὶν BP: εἰσί OV; 103, 17 ὑπέργρηως B: ὑπέργρηος OV.
- g) **V** and **B** share the following significant mistakes: E 1, 7 καὶ ἐτάφη P: om. OVB; E 81, 20 Ἰπποκράτους VBP: Ὑπποκράτους O: Ἰπολύτου correxi HE 6, XX.2
- h) **P** and **V** share the following significant mistakes: E 81, 20 Ζεφυρῖνον OB: Ζέφυρον PV; E 110, 1 Ἐκ τοῦ ὁγδόου βιβλίου B: Ἐκ τοῦ ἡ' βιβλίου O: om. PV; E 110, 18 ὁ OB: om. PV; E 117, 13 Ἐκ τοῦ ἐννάτου βιβλίου B: Ἐκ τοῦ θ' βιβλίου O: om. PV; E 117, 15 ὅς καὶ OB: om. PV

The results of the comparison between the shared passages in O, V, B, and P can be summed up as follows: we identify: a) ten instances in which **OBP** have a common reading against **V**, b) 11 instances in which **OVP** have a common reading against **B**, c) three instances in which **BVP** have a common reading against **O**, and d) one instance in which **OBV** have a common reading against **P**. The aforementioned results do not verify Nautin's view that **B** and **V** are copies from a template different from the one that **P** comes from. Hansen's view of the existence of a version of the *Epitome*, (**α**), used by the prototype of **B** and **V**, namely (**β**), as well as by the prototype of **P** seem to be more tenable.

The stemma in Hansen's view is as follows (Figure 4.1).

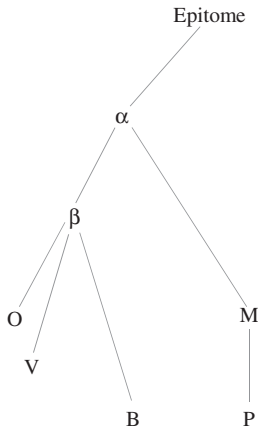


Figure 4.1 The relationship between the manuscripts of the *Epitome*.

4.4.2 Passages added to the selected Eusebian text

The study of the Eusebian passages in O, V, B, and P confirms de Boor's discovery, namely that the excerpts from Eusebius transmitted in the *Epitome* include material that is not originally found in Eusebius' *HE*.¹⁰⁹ Table 4.4 contains all the passages written by the compiler himself and added to the selected Eusebian text. As already mentioned, a number of these passages have already been edited by de Boor by relying on B. Nautin's republished de Boor's edition and he compared it with the text transmitted in V and P. He also accompanied the Greek text with a translation in French. Yet Stevens, who recognised the significance of O with regard to the Eusebian part of the *Epitome*, provided a new and slightly expanded edition of de Boor's edition.¹¹⁰ De Boor's catalogue of excerpts includes Excerpts 5 (O) = 5 (B); 12 (B); 31 (B) = 26 (V) = 4 (P); 36 (B) = 30 (V) = 5 (P); 39 (B) = 33 (V); 46 (B); 47 (B) = 38 (V); 48 (B); O 47 = 84 (B) and 85 (B). Stevens added two more passages: 52 (O) = 60 V and 66 (O) = 97 (B) = 73 (V). I augment his selection here by adding even more passages that must have been excerpted from a source other than Eusebius' *HE*. The additional material must be attributed to the excerptor of the *Epitome*, since the insertions are similar to those that occurred throughout all the source texts of the *Epitome*.¹¹¹ The excerptor inserts into his source texts information on writings that Eusebius does not mention himself.

109 De Boor (1888), 167–184.

110 Stevens, (2018), esp. 635–639.

111 G. C. Hansen points out that though Theodorus Anagnosta rarely makes changes in his source texts (Theodoret, Socrates, and Sozomen), the excerptor of the *Epitome*, by contrast, intervenes in Theodorus' text more actively by adding data on a number of canons and epistles; Hansen (ed.) (1995).

Table 4.4 Passages added to the selected Eusebian text

Epitome	(O)	(B)	(V)	(P)	
Exc. 1	Exc. 1	Exc. 1	Exc. 1	Exc. 1	τῷ δὲ ἰθ' τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐσταυρώθη καὶ ἐτάφη καὶ ἀνέστη καὶ ἀνελήφθη.
Exc. 5		Exc. 5			ἦν δὲ ὁ Ἀφρικανὸς ἀπὸ Ἑμμαοῦς τῆς κώμης τῆς ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ, ἐν ἣ οἱ περὶ Κλεόπαν ἐπορεύοντο, ἥτις ὕστερον δίκαια πόλεως λαβοῦσα κατὰ πρεσβείαν Ἀφρικανοῦ Νικόπολις μετωνομάσθη.
Exc. 6	Exc. 6	Exc. 6	Exc. 3	Exc. 2	ἐπιτροπεύειν πρὸ τριῶν ἐτῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ θείου τοῦ Χριστοῦ βαπτίσματος.
Exc. 7	Exc. 7	Exc. 7	Exc. 3	Exc. 3	ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ ὁ Κύριος ἐπετέλει τὰ θαύματα, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἕως τοῦ θείου σταυροῦ καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως.
Exc. 7	Exc. 7	Exc. 7		Exc. 3	οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι.
Exc. 7	Exc. 7	Exc. 7		Exc. 3	ὥς εἶναι δῆλον ὅτι λέγων Λουκᾶς.
Exc. 8		Exc. 8	Exc. 4		ὁ ἐπὶ Φήστου σὺν τῇ ἀδελφῇ Βερενίκη Παῦλον τὸν ἅγιον ἀπόστολον κρίνας εἰς Καισάρειαν. καὶ τούτων αἱ ἀποδείξεις πρόδηλοι παρὰ τῷ Ἰωσήπῳ καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων ταῖς Πράξεσιν.
Exc. 10		Exc. 10	Exc. 7		φησὶ ὁ Εὐσέβιος.
Exc. 11		Exc. 11	Exc. 8		Φίλιππος ὁ τὸν Κανδάκην βαπτίσας τὸν Αἰθίοπα οὐκ ἦν ἀπόστολος (...) Κανδάκην δὲ φησι πρῶτον ἐξ ἐθνῶν βαπτισθῆναι.
Exc. 12		Exc. 12			Φίλιππος 'στόμα λαμπάδων', Ἡρωδιάς 'ἀπατωμένη', Ἡρωδης 'δερματίνῃ δόξᾳ' κατὰ Πιέριον.
Exc. 33		Exc. 31	Exc. 26	Exc. 4	ἀναφέρει δὲ ὁ Ἡγήσιππος καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν καὶ φησιν ὅτι ὁ μὲν ἐκαλεῖτο Ζωκῆρ, ὁ δὲ Ἰάκωβος.
Exc. 33		Exc. 31			ἱστορεῖ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἀναγκαῖα.
Exc. 38		Exc. 36	Exc. 30	Exc. 5	εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα εὐαγγέλια ψευδῆ· τὸ κατὰ Αἰγυπτίους, καὶ κατὰ τοὺς δώδεκα, καὶ κατὰ Βασιλείδην.
Exc. 39		Exc. 37		Exc. 6	τοῦ ἀγίου ἀποστόλου Παύλου.
Exc. 42		Exc. 39	Exc. 33		καὶ Πιέριος δὲ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ λόγῳ τῶν εἰς τὸ Πάσχα πολὺ ἐνίσταται ὅτι Παῦλος εἶχε γυναῖκα καὶ ταύτην τῷ θεῷ διὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀνέθετο, τῇ πρὸς αὐτὴν κοινωνία ἀποταξάμενος.
Exc. 49		Exc. 46			Παπίας ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ λόγῳ λέγει ὅτι Ἰωάννης ὁ Θεολόγος καὶ Ἰάκωβος ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνηρέθησαν.

(Continued)

Table 4.4 (Continued)

Epitome	(O)	(B)	(V)	(P)
Exc. 50		Exc. 47	Exc. 38	Παπίας ὁ εἰρημένος ἰστόρησεν ὡς παραλαβὼν ἀπὸ τῶν θυγατέρων Φιλίππου, ὅτι Βαρσαβᾶς ὁ καὶ Ἰουστός δοκιμαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπίστων ἰὸν ἐχίδνης πιὼν, ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπαθὴς διεφυλάχθη. ἱστορεῖ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα θαύματα καὶ μάλιστα τὸ κατὰ τὴν μητέρα Μαναΐμου τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστᾶσαν <καὶ> περὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάντων, ὅτι ἕως Ἀδριανοῦ ἔζων.
Exc. 51		Exc. 48		Ὁ δὲ Χρυσόστομος ἐν τῇ α' ὁμιλίᾳ τοῦ δευτέρου τμήματος τῆς α' πρὸς Κορινθίους ἐπιστολῆς λέγει ὅτι καὶ <οἱ> ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἀναστάντες ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ οἱ πρὸ αὐτῶν πάντες ἀπέθανον.
Exc. 52		Exc. 49		τοῦ δὲ Κοδράτου καὶ χρῆσιν τίθησιν ὁ Εὐσέβιος.
Exc. 58		Exc. 53		ὦν καὶ τὸν κατάλογον Εὐσέβιος ἐποιήσατο.
Exc. 67		Exc. 62		καὶ δύο ἀρχὰς κατὰ Ἐμπεδοκλέαν κηρύττειν σπουδάζοντος.
Exc. 69	Exc. 9			παλαιῶν συγγραφέων πονήμασι πολλοῖς ἐντετυχηκεῖναι φησὶν ὁ Εὐσέβιος, ὦν τὰ μὲν ὀνομαστὶ ἀπηρίθμησεν· τὰ δὲ ἀνωμύμως παρέδωκεν.
Exc. 77	Exc. 10			καὶ τοῦ μὲν Τατιανοῦ μνημονεύει καὶ ὁ Εὐσέβιος Κασσιανοῦ δὲ οὐδαμῶς
Exc. 78	Exc. 17		Exc. 44	ἕτεροι δὲ Κλήμεντι τῷ Ῥωμαίῳ τὴν ἐρμηνείαν προσάγουσι.
Exc. 81	Exc. 21	Exc. 71	Exc. 46	Exc. 10 ἐξ ἧς ὁ Εὐσέβιος τῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας τὰς ὕλας λαβεῖν οὐκ ἠρνήσατο.
Exc. 83	Exc. 23	Exc. 73		ποίας δὲ πόλεως ἦν ἐπίσκοπος οὐ λέγει Εὐσέβιος.
Exc. 91	Exc. 31	Exc. 77		ὦν καὶ τὸν κατάλογον παρέθετο Εὐσέβιος τὰ κατὰ Ναύατον γράφων.
Exc. 98	Exc. 39		Exc. 54	Exc. 11 ἦν τινα στήλην κατέβαλεν ὁ Παραβάτης.
Exc. 106	Exc. 45			ἐξ ὧν καὶ χρῆσει παρατίθεται ὁ Εὐσέβιος, ἐπαίνους δὲ λέγει περὶ Ἀνατολίου ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων.
Exc. 108	Exc. 47	Exc. 84		ὁ δὲ Πιέριος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ λόγῳ τῶν εἰς τὸ Πάσχα ἐνίσταται.

(Continued)

Table 4.4 (Continued)

Epitome	(O)	(B)	(V)	(P)	
Exc. 108	Exc. 47	Exc. 85		ὅτι Παῦλος ὁ ἀπόστολος γυναῖκα εἶχε καὶ αὐτὴν τῷ θεῷ διὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καθιέρωσεν τῆς πρὸς αὐτὴν κοινωνία ἀποταξάμενος. ἐνέτυχον δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐτέροις σπουδάσμασι πλείοσιν ἀναγκαίοις καὶ μάλιστα τῷ περὶ τῆς θεοτόκου καὶ τῷ εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ Ὡσηέ. Θεόδωρος δὲ τις συνηγορῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ γράψας δι' ἐπὼν ἐν τρισκαιδεκάτῳ λόγῳ φησὶν ὅτι καὶ Πιέριος Ἰσίδωρος ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ἐμαρτύρησαν καὶ ναὸν ἔχουσιν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ μέγιστον. ἐν δὲ τῷ λόγῳ τῷ εἰς τὸν βίον τοῦ ἀγίου Παμφίλου ὁ Εὐσέβιος θαυμαστὰ λέγων καὶ πολλὰ περὶ Πιερίου φησιν ὅτι καὶ τὸν ἅγιον Πάμφιλον αὐτὸς ὁ Πιέριος πλεῖστα ὠφέλησεν ἐν τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ.	
Exc. 111	Exc. 50	Exc. 87	Exc. 58	Exc. 15	περὶ ὧν ζητητέον, εἰ ἀριθμοῦνται εἰς μάρτυρας.
Exc. 113	Exc. 52		Exc. 60		λέγει δὲ ἐν τοῖς Χρονικοῖς κανόνσιν ὁ Εὐσέβιος ὅτι ἐν Ἐλενουπόλει τῆς Βιθυνίας κεῖται ὁ ἅγιος.
Exc. 116	Exc. 55				ὁ τὴν νῦν δεκάβιβλον τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας ἐπερχόμενος ἴσεται.
Exc. 117	Exc. 56	Exc. 90	Exc. 63	Exc. 16	ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς ὁ Ἐρκούλιος, ὃς καὶ ἀγχόνῃ τὸν βίον μετέλλαξε. Διοκλητιανὸς δὲ μακρὰ νόσῳ μαραινόμενος ἐδαπανήθη.
Exc. 118	Exc. 57	Exc. 91	Exc. 64		γαμβρὸς ἐπ' ἀδελφῇ Κωνσταντία τοῦνομα τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου γενόμενος, τῆς δὲ εὐσεβείας καὶ τῆς χρηστότητος αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ξένος καὶ ἔκφυλος.
Exc. 129	Exc. 66	Exc. 97	Exc. 73		ἐν οἷς καὶ τοὺς ἐν Σεβαστείᾳ μαρτυρήσαντας τεσσαράκοντα λόγους κατέχει κοσμηθῆναι τῷ μαρτυρίῳ ἕως τούτων ἱστορεῖ ὁ Εὐσέβιος.
Exc. 130	Exc. 67	Exc. 97	Exc. 74		

With regard to the passages quoted above, the following remarks can be made:

- 1) Excerpts 1 E, 6 E, 7 E, 81 E, 111 E, and 117 E are included in all four manuscripts. As noted, O, B, V, and P are likely to depend on a common version of the *Epitome*. Exc. 91 E is transmitted by O 31, 77 B, and 51 V. The additional sentence is not found in 51 V, though. Exc. 118 E is handed down by all four

manuscripts: 57 O, 91 B, 64 V, 17 P. The augmented passage by the compiler of the *Epitome* is only found in 57 O, 91 B, and 64 V.

- 2) Seven excerpts from de Boor's catalogue are nominally assigned to three obscure authors of the second and the third centuries: Papias (46 B; 47 B = 38 V; 48 B),¹¹² Hegesippus (31 B = 26 V = 4 P), and Pierius (12 B; 39 B = 33 V; O 47 = 84 B, 85 B).
- 3) Exc. 5 E = 5 O = 5 B transmits two pieces of information; (a) Cleopas walked (from Jerusalem) to Emmaus, a village in Palestine, and (b) Emmaus, the village in Palestine, assumed the name Nicopolis, when the historian Africanus was its ambassador. None of the information mentioned above is included in Eusebius' *HE*. Cleopas appears in Luke (24, 13–27) and Eusebius quoted Luke 24, 13 in two other writings, namely, the *Onomasticon*¹¹³ and the *Supplementa ad quaestiones ad Marimum*.¹¹⁴ Interestingly, the notice on the older name of Nicopolis reoccurs, in a totally different context, in the part of the *Epitome* bearing excerpts from the *HT*: *Ἐν Νικοπόλει τῆς Παλαιστίνης τῇ ποτε Ἐμμαοῦς πηγῇ ἐστὶν παντοίων παθῶν ἀνθρώπων τε καὶ ἀλόγων ἰάσεις παρέχουσα, ἐν ᾗ λόγος τὸν κύριον ἐξ ὁδοιπορίας τοὺς πόδας ἀπονίψασθαι*.¹¹⁵ The passage in the *HT* is originally derived from Sozomen's *HE* V 21, 5–22, 1. Sozomen does not make any reference to Africanus' office either. The same holds true for the Latin version of Sozomen's *HE*, the compilation by Cassiodorus.¹¹⁶ It is Jerome's Latin translation of Eusebius' *Chronicon*,¹¹⁷ the Armenian translation¹¹⁸ of it, the *Chronicon paschale*,¹¹⁹ and George Syncellus' *Ecloga chronographica*¹²⁰ that transmit a passage close to exc. 5 E. (See Table 4.5.)

Since the passage occurs in the Armenian translation of Eusebius' *Chronicon*, the text recorded in Jerome and the *Chronicon paschale* are literally identical. The notice on the old name of Nicopolis must be attributed to Eusebius' *Chronicon*. All three texts, Jerome's translation, the compiler of the *Chronicon paschale* and Syncellus do not include the remark about Cleopas' attempt to reach Emmaus (Luke 24, 13), though. Interestingly, Syncellus seems to be familiar with the passage in Luke. This can be inferred

112 The 48 E = 45 B = 37 V is a fragment from Papias transmitted by the *HE* of Eusebius; cf. Eusebius, *HE* 3, XXXIX.1–2, XXXIX.4.

113 *Ἐμμαοῦς ὅθεν ἦν Κλεόπας ὁ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Λουκᾶν Εὐαγγελίῳ. αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ νῦν Νικόπολις τῆς Παλαιστίνης ἐπίσημος πόλις*; cf. *Onomasticon* 90, 16.

114 *καὶ ἡ αὕτη δὲ ὥρα συνίσταται ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ τοὺς περὶ Κλεόπαν εἰς τὴν Ἐμμαοῦν γενέσθαι, κάκειθεν ἐπανεληλυθέναι εἰς τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ἥδη πού πάντως ἐσπέρας καταλαβοῦσης*; cf. PG 22, col. 1000, 38–42.

115 Cf. Hansen (ed.) (1995), 60, 23–25.

116 Cf. Cassiodorus, *HE* VI.42. I am indebted to Dr. Emerance Delacenserie for this remark.

117 Helm (ed.) (1956).

118 Karst (ed.) (1911). See also Drost-Abgarjan (2006), 255–262.

119 Dindorf (ed.) (1832); Whitby and Whitby (transl.) (1989). See also Treadgold (2007), 340–349; Burgess and Kulikowski (2013), 224–227.

120 Mosshammer (ed.) (1984); Adler and Tuffin (edd.) (2002).

Table 4.5 The origin of 5 E

5 E	<i>Jerome</i> , <i>Chronicon</i> , 214, 20–24	<i>Eusebius</i> , (<i>Armenian translation</i> , <i>Karst</i> , 224)	<i>Chronicon paschale</i> 499, 5–7	<i>Syncellus</i> , <i>Ecloga chronographica</i> 439, 15–18
ἦν δὲ ὁ Ἀφρικανὸς ἀπὸ Ἑμμαοῦς τῆς κόμης τῆς ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ, ἐν ᾗ οἱ περὶ Κλεόπαν ἐπορεύοντο, ἦτις ὕστερον δίκαια πόλεως λαβοῦσα κατὰ πρεσβείαν Ἀφρικανοῦ Νικόπολις μετωνομάσθη.	In Palaestina Nicopolis, quae prius Emmaus vocabatur, urbs condita est legationis industriam pro ea suscipiente Iulio Africano scriptore temporum.	In Palestine wurde Alt-Emaus erneuert und Nikopolis genannt unter Vorstand des Julios Aphrikanos, des Chronographen, und diesbezüglicher Bittgesandtschaft desselben an den König.	Παλαιστίνης Νικόπολις, ἢ πρότερον Ἑμμαοῦς, ἐκτίσθη πόλις, πρεσβεύοντος ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς καὶ προϊσταμένου τοῦ τὰ χρονικὰ συγγραψαμένου.	Ἑμμαοῦς ἡ ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ κόμη, περὶ ἧς φέρεται ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς εὐαγγελίοις, Νικόπολις ἐτιμήθη καλεῖσθαι ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, Ἀφρικανοῦ πρεσβευσασμένου τὰς ἱστορίας ἐν πενταβίβλῳ συγγραψαμένου.

by the phrase: *περὶ ἧς φέρεται ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς εὐαγγελίοις* in *Ecloga chronographica* 439, 16. The notice that Emmaus was Africanus' hometown is missing in Jerome, the *Chronicon paschale*, and Syncellus' chronicle, as well. The information on Africanus' origins is unique. The *Suda*, instead, calls him a *Libyan*¹²¹ and a fragment from Africanus' *Cesti* in the Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 412 transmits a controversial sentence about Africanus' descent: *τὴν τ' ἐ[μ]μὴν σύμπασαν ὑπόθεσιν ἀνακειμένην εἰ[ρ]ήσεις ἐν τε τοῖς ἀρχαίοις τῆς ἀρχαίας π[α]τρίδος κολων[ία]ς [Α]ἰλίας Καπιτωλίνης τῆς Παλαιστίνης κὰν Νύση τῆς Καρίας*.¹²² According to this fragment, Africanus was originally from the Roman Near East. Jerusalem was given the name Colonia Aelia Capitolina after the refounding of the city under the Roman emperor Hadrian. If this is the case, the notice that Ἦν δὲ ὁ Ἀφρικανὸς ἀπὸ Ἐμμαοῦς τῆς κόμης τῆς ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ (5 O ans 5 B) is incorrect. It is impossible to know where the compiler of the *Epitome* drew the mistaken remark about Africanus' hometown from. It is tempting to think that, as far as exc. 5 E is concerned, George Syncellus and the compiler of the *Epitome* made use of a common source.¹²³ As already mentioned, a passage recording that the city of Nicopolis was initially called Emmaus is inserted in the part of the *Epitome* bearing excerpts from the *HT*. Africanus is absent there. The very last fact suggests that the two parts in the *Epitome* did not rely on a single text, as Nautin and Hansen support.

- 4) In 8 B = 4 V, the mention of Berenice, Agrippas II's sister, alludes to the Act. 25, 13–14 and Acts 26, 1–2. Berenice is not mentioned in Eusebius' *HE* whatsoever. The possibility that the name of Agrippas II's sister is an addition by the compiler can by no means be excluded.
- 5) Exc. 11 B = 8 V transmits that Candace, a man of Ethiopia, was promptly baptised in some nearby water by Philip the Evangelist. Both elements occur in the Act. 8, 26–40. Eusebius, instead, does not give the name of the Ethiopian man and records that the Ethiopian *received from Philip by revelation the mysteries of the divine word*.¹²⁴
- 6) 113 E nominally assigns the information that Lucian the Martyr was buried at the city of Helenopolis to Eusebius' *Chronicon*. Helenopolis was formerly called Drepana and was given the name Hellenopolis by the emperor

121 Ἀφρικανός, ὁ Σέκτος χρηματίσας, φιλόσοφος, Λίβυς, ὁ τοὺς Κεστοὺς γεγραφὼς ἐν βιβλίοις κδ'; cf. *Suda*, α 4647 Ἀφρικανός.

122 And you will find my proposed passage in its entirety deposited in the archives of the former homeland, Colonia Aelia Capitolina of Palestine, and in Nysa of Caria; cf. Wallraff, Scardino, Mecella, and Guignard (edd.) (2012), 31. J. R. Vieillefond saw this passage as evidence of Africanus' Jewish origin. His theory has generally been rejected. On Vieillefond's interpretation of this passage, see Wallraff, Scardino, Mecella, and Guignard (edd.) (2012), XII–XIII.

123 M. Wallraff, in his edition of Julius Africanus' *Cesti*, includes George Syncellus' testimony on Africanus' descent. Nevertheless, M. Wallraff appears to be unaware of the existence of exc. 5 in the *Epitome* as preserved in *Auctarium* E.4.18 and *Baroccianus* gr. 142.

124 Eusebius, *HE* 2, I.13.

Constantine (reign 306–337) to honour his mother Helena.¹²⁵ Jerome and the *Chronicon paschale*, once again, transmit a blatantly identical passage on the refoundation of Drepana, an event that took place in the year 327. The dating of the refoundation of Dremana in 327 by Jerome makes it impossible that the passage originally derived from Eusebius' *Chronicon*, the last edition of which was completed in 325 AD.¹²⁶ Interestingly, the passage on Drepana occurs in Theophanes' *Chronographia*, as well. Theophanes agrees with Jerome's chronology and the *Chronographia* appears to follow Jerome's text up to the year 346. Since Theophanes' text contains more information than Jerome's, R. W. Burgess concluded that the two chroniclers made use of a common source for the events from 325 up to 346 AD.¹²⁷ (See Table 4.6).

R. W. Burgess postulated that the passage in common comes from the so-called *Continuatio Antiochensis Eusebii*, that is, an anonymous continuation of Eusebius' *Chronicon*, written in Greek and covering the years 325–350.¹²⁸ In fact, the passage in question records two events. It connects the restoration of

Table 4.6 The origin of 113 E

113 E	Jerome, <i>Chronicon</i> , 231, 22–25	<i>Chronicon paschale</i> , 527	<i>Theophanes</i> , <i>Chronographia</i> 28, 3–4
λέγει δὲ ἐν τοῖς Χρονικοῖς κανόνσιν ὁ Εὐσέβιος ὅτι ἐν Ἐλενουπόλει τῆς Βιθυνίας κεῖται ὁ ἅγιος.	Drepanam Bithyniae civitatem in honorem martyris Luciani ibi conditi Constantinus instaurane ex vocabulo matris suae Helenopolim nuncupavit.	Δρέπανον ἐπικτίσας ὁ βασιλεὺς Κωνσταντῖνος ἐν Βιθυνίᾳ εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Λουκιανοῦ ὁμόνυμον τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ Ἐλενούπολιν κέκληκεν.	Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ ἔτει καὶ Δρεπάναν ἐπικτίσας εἰς τιμὴν Λουκιανοῦ τοῦ ἐκεῖσε μάρτυρος ὁμόνυμον τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ Ἐλενούπολιν κέκληκεν.

125 According to Procopius, Drepana was the birthplace of Helena; cf. Procopius, *De aedificiis* 5.2.1–5. The renaming of the city is also attested in Eusebius' *Vita Constantini* 4, 61.1; Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* 26, 8.1; Malalas, *Chronographia* 13, 12; Socrates, *HE* 1, 17. On Helena's hometown, see also Drijvers (1992), 9–19.

126 Burgess (1997), esp. 501–502.

127 The shared passages between Jerome and Theophanes are also found in a significant number of chronicles written in Greek (e.g., *Chronicon paschale*), Syriac, and Arabic. In all of them, the common passages must derive from a single source, now lost. See also the list of chronicles which made use of the now lost source in Burgess (1999), 116–117.

128 Burgess (1999), esp. 113–143. R. W. Burgess attempted to reconstruct the now lost text of the *Continuatio* by relying on textual parallels between chronicles that made use of the *Continuatio*, namely Jerome's *Chronicon*, Theophanes' *Chronographia*, the so-called *Chron. 724*, the *Chronicon paschale*, Michael the Syrian's chronicle and the so-called *Chron. 1234*; cf. Burgess (1999), 150–177. According to R. W. Burgess, the author of the *Continuatio Antiochensis Eusebii* was a

Drepana with the martyrdom of Lucian: Constantine had restored the city in honour of Lucian the Martyr.¹²⁹ Theophanes' information that Lucian was martyred in Drepana (τοῦ ἐκεῖσε μάρτυρος) is actually not true. Lucian was tortured and executed in Nicomedia.¹³⁰ His dead body was then brought to Drepana and was buried there.¹³¹ The martyrdom and burial of Lucian at Drepana happened in 313, and Constantine's refounding of the city took place in 327.¹³² The latter, as noted, is unlikely to have been included in Eusebius' *Chronicon*. As far as the note on Lucian is concerned, it is absent in the Latin as well as the Armenian translation of Eusebian's *Chronicon*. It is impossible to know whether the phrase was recorded in Eusebius' original work. The notice is not attested in any of the chronicles we know that relied on Eusebius; it only occurs in the historical context of the renaming of Drepana in texts that drew on the *Continuatio*.¹³³ The most likely explanation we can come up with is that the *Epitome* drew on the *Continuatio*, as well. The compiler of the *Epitome* might have been unaware of the fact he used a continuation to Eusebius' chronicle, though. This is logical if we reflect that the *Continuatio* has the same phrasing, wording, and structure as Eusebius' *Chronicon*.¹³⁴ It is also possible that the *Continuatio* circulated together with the *Chronicon* without any distinction between the texts whatsoever.

4.4.3 The redaction of the Eusebian part

The aim of this section is to identify how a Byzantine compiler consciously selected, excerpted, put together, and organised material from earlier texts in order to form a coherent collection of historical excerpts. The study of the content of the *Epitome* generates marked results with respect to the excerpting method of its compiler: the deconstruction of texts and their reconstruction in a new context. In particular, the content and arrangement of the Eusebian excerpts reveal the three procedures of redacting an excerpt collection: a. reading of the whole source text and selection of passages, b. rewriting of the source text, and c. composition of a new unity. With regard to the Eusebian excerpts, the rewriting of the selected

Nicene; cf. Burgess (1999), 126. The fact that he accepts the deposition of Athanasius (339 AD) suggests that the author of the *Continuatio* has probably been pro-Arian. J. Reidy (2015), by contrast, identifies the author with Eusebius of Emesa. Such speculation is to be resisted; cf. Van Hoof and Van Nuffelen (2017).

129 On Lucian the Martyr, see Downey (1974), 337–342.

130 Eusebius' *HE* 8, XIII.2; 9, VI.2; *PG* 114, col. 408 (*Vita Luciani*).

131 Jerome, *De Viris Illustribus* 77: *Passus est Nicemediae ob confessionem Christi sub persecutione Maximini sepulchrum Helenopoli Bithyniae*. Philostorgius, *HE* 24, 23–27, records that the city of Helenopolis was founded by Helena because in this place Lucian was buried: ὅτι δὲ Λουκιανὸς ὁ μάρτυς ἐκεῖσε τύχον μετὰ τὸν μαρτυρικὸν θάνατον ὑπὸ δελφίνος ἐκκομισθεῖς. Yet, Philostorgius uses as source the *Vita Luciani* (*PG* 114, col. 397–416); cf. Bidez (1981), XCII–XCIV and CXLVII–CLI.

132 On the date of Helena's death, see Drijvers (1999), 13 and 73–76.

133 Philostorgius for the section on Lucian relied on the *Vita Luciani*; see above n. 131.

134 Burgess (1999), 122–131.

passages involved changes in terms of their structure and content. The changes consist in a. rearranging of passages, and b. textual additions.

Upon careful examination of the excerpted passages, it turns out that their synthesis in the *Epitome* was based on the principles revealed in the *prooemium* to the *EC* as well as seen in the contents of other contemporary or later collections of excerpts. These principles are selection (*ἐκλογή*), brevity (*συντομία*), and accuracy (*ἀκρίβεια*). Likewise, we know from other collections that the excerptor had to select historical material according to certain precise themes. Successful selection in terms of themes would determine the tie between the various parts throughout the collection. In what follows, I put forward a number of instances of the aforementioned alterations in format and content of the excerpts in the course of the redaction of the *Epitome*. I shall confine myself to considering the 18 excerpts from the *Epitome* as preserved in P (see Table 4.7). Nine out of 18 excerpts in total in P are also found in the rest of the manuscripts of the *Epitome* (O, B, and V).

Table 4.7 The redaction of the Eusebian part

Epitome(<i>E</i>)	Auctarium <i>E. 4.18(O)</i>	Barocc. gr. <i>142(B)</i>	Ath. Vat. <i>286(V)</i>	Paris. gr. <i>1555a(P)</i>	Eusebius' HE
1	1	1	1	1	HE 1, V.1–2, X.1
6	6	6	3	2	HE 1, IX.2–4
7	7	7	3	3	HE 1, X.1–7
33		31	25, 26	4	HE 3, XVII.1, XVIII.1, XX.1–5; Hegesippus fr.3 de Boor 1888
38		36	30	5	HE 3, XV.3–6; fontem non inveni
39		37		6	HE 3, XVII.1–6
40		38		7	HE 3, XVIII.1–2, XVIII.6
54		50		8	HE 4, X.1, XI.2, XI.5
64		59		9	HE 5, V.1–3
81	21	71	46	10	HE 6, XX.1–2
98	39		54	11	HE 7, XVII.1, XVIII.1–2
100	40			12	HE 7, XXV.1
103	42	82	55	13	HE 7, XXVII.1–2, XXVIII.1, XXIX.2, XXXII.6, XXXII.13
110	49	86	57	14	HE 8, VI.6
111	50	87	58	15	HE 8, III.1. XI.2 XII.3, XII.5
117	56	90	63	16	HE 8, XIII.11
118	57	91	64	17	HE 8, XIII.12–15
120	60		67	18	HE 8, XIV.1–2, XIV.5, XIV.7, XVI.1

Four out of the 18 excerpts in P are only included in B and just a single excerpt in P is transmitted in O.

The *Epitome* begins with the chronological calculation of Christ's birth, baptism, crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension (1 E). This account takes up the first three excerpts of the *sylloge* in OBVP.¹³⁵ I would like to draw attention to the last sentence of the first excerpt: τῷ δὲ ἰθ' τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐσταυρώθη καὶ ἐτάφη καὶ ἀνέστη καὶ ἀνελήφθη. The sentence sums up the content of the following two excerpts in the *Epitome* and, therefore, it makes up a short introduction, composed by the compiler himself, who combined a few words of the original text. It should be remembered that the compilers of the *EC* and the *Excerpta Anonymi* often altered the beginning of a text in the same way.¹³⁶

6 P erroneously records that Pilate was given the administration of Judea in the tenth year of Tiberius' reign. But Pilate was appointed procurator of Judea in the twelfth year of the reign.¹³⁷ O, B, and V, instead, give τῷ ἰβ' ἔτει (in the twelfth year). The mistake in P must have been caused in the transmission of the text. The copyist of P is likely to have misread the manuscript he was using. The *Epitome* adds that Pilate's appointment took place three years before Christ's baptism¹³⁸ and the following excerpt (7 E) reports that the baptism occurred in the fifteenth year of Tiberius' reign. The compiler's addition at that point is crucial for the clarity of the passage since it corrects the chronological reckoning of the events; Pilate was given the administration of Judea in the twelfth year of the reign of Tiberius.¹³⁹

In 7 E (see Table 4.8) the intervention on the part of the compiler consists in rearranging the passages as well as in replacing words with others that explain the text better. Let us have a look at the original context of the passage. Eusebius first quotes the Apostle Luke explaining that Jesus completed the whole time of his teaching while Annas and Caiaphas were high priests. Immediately after this quotation, Eusebius copies verbatim a passage from Josephus' *Antiquitates Judaicae* giving the names of the four high priests appointed after Annas and before Caiaphas. The compiler of the *Epitome*, instead, puts the passage taken from Josephus first and concludes with Luke's words. The rearrangement of the passages indicates that the compiler had first read through the text, and then made a copy of the selected passages he wanted to include in the *Epitome*. The draft copy made it easier for him to employ his selections independently. Finally, Eusebius transmits that the Romans entrusted the high priesthood to the ἄλλοι, which in the text means *different men*. In the *Epitome*, by contrast, the ἄλλοι has

135 The three excerpts are taken from the second half (sections V–X) of the first book of Eusebius' *HE*. The BV transmit more excerpts taken from this part of Eusebius' work. On the excerpts transmitted in the BV but not in P, see Appendix II: Table VI.

136 See, for example, the cases in the *EL* 29 and the *Excerpta Anonymi* 29, 1–13.

137 Eusebius also gives τὸ δωδέκατον ἔτος; cf. Eusebius, *HE* 1, IX.2.

138 ἐπιτροπεύειν πρὸ γ' ἐτῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ θείου τοῦ Χριστοῦ βαπτίσματος.

139 P. Nautin's argument is that the mistake must be due to the amanuenses, since the expression τῷ δωδεκάτῳ ἔτει could easily sound like τῷ δὲ δεκάτῳ ἔτει; cf. Nautin (1994).

Table 4.8 7 E and Eusebius' *HE*

7 E	HE I, X
ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ ὁ Κύριος ἐπετέλει τὰ θαύματα, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἕως τοῦ θείου σταυροῦ καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως. τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἐνιαύσιον παρὰ Ῥωμαίων οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐνεχειρίζοντο, ἐν οἷς τῷ ιε' ἔτει τοῦ Τιβερίου Ἄννας ἱεράτευσε. τῷ δὲ ις' Ἰσμάηλος ὁ Φαβὶ καὶ τῷ ιζ' Ἐλεάζαρος ὁ τοῦ Ἄννα καὶ τῷ ιη' Σίμων ὁ τοῦ Καμίθου, καὶ τῷ ιθ' Ἰώσηπος ὁ καὶ Καϊάφας, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Ἰώσηπος, ὡς εἶναι δῆλον ὅτι λέγων Λουκάς τὸ ὅλον κήρυγμα γεγονέναι ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Ἄννα καὶ Καϊάφα, διὰ τῶν ἄκρων τὸ ὅλον ἐδήλωσεν τοῦ χρόνου διάστημα, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἐσταυρώθη.	ἐπὶ τούτων δὴ οὖν, κατὰ τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν ἔτος πεντεκαιδέκατον Τιβερίου Καίσαρος ἄγοντος, (...) Φησὶν δὲ αὐτὸν ἡ θεία γραφὴ τὸν πάντα τῆς διδασκαλίας διατελέσαι χρόνον ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Ἄννα καὶ Καϊάφα, δηλοῦσα ὅτι δὴ ἐν τοῖς μεταξὺ τῆς τούτων ἔτεσιν λειτουργίας ὁ πᾶς τῆς διδασκαλίας αὐτῶ συνεπεράνθη χρόνος. (...) ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ἡγεμόνων ἄλλοτε ἄλλοι τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἐπιτρεπόμενοι, οὐ πλεῖον ἔτους ἐνός ἐπὶ ταύτης διετέλουν. ἱστορεῖ δ' οὖν ὁ Ἰώσηπος τέσσαρας κατὰ διαδοχὴν ἐπὶ Καϊάφαν ἀρχιερεῖς μετὰ τὸν Ἄνναν διαγενέσθαι, κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν τῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας γραφὴν ὧδε πως λέγων· «Οὐαλέριος Γράτος, παύσας ἱεραῖσθαι Ἄνανον, Ἰσμάηλον ἀρχιερέα ἀποφαίνει τὸν τοῦ Φαβί, καὶ τοῦτον δὲ μετ' οὐ πολὺ μεταστήσας, Ἐλεάζαρον τὸν Ἀνάνου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως υἱὸν ἀποδείκνυσιν ἀρχιερέα. ἐνιαυτοῦ δὲ διαγενομένου καὶ τόνδε παύσας, Σίμωνι τῷ Καμίθου τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην παραδίδωσιν. οὐ πλέον δὲ καὶ τῷδε ἐνιαυτοῦ τὴν τιμὴν ἔχοντι διεγένετο χρόνος, καὶ Ἰώσηπος, ὁ καὶ Καϊάφας, διάδοχος ἦν αὐτῷ». (...)

been substituted by the phrase *οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι*, which makes the text more precise. The inclusion of the *οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι* suggests, once again, the familiarity of the compiler with the broader context of the text he finally extracted.

33 E transmits an Eusebian passage on Domitian, the last emperor of the Flavian dynasty. Turning back to the original context of the passage, we discern that the compiler omitted the description of the encounter between Domitian and Judas' sons completely. The compiler of the *Epitome* merely records that Domitian was crueller and more hostile to Christians than Nero himself. Domitian condemned John the Theologian to live on the island of Patmos. But when the emperor encountered the virtuous grandsons of Judas, the brother of Christ, he decreed the end to the persecution of the Church. 33 E in the *Epitome* has been supplemented with a brief passage not originally found in Eusebius. The additional passage records the names of Judas' grandsons. The addition reads as follows: *ἀναφέρει δὲ ὁ Ἠγήσιππος καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν καὶ φησιν ὅτι ὁ μὲν ἐκαλεῖτο Ζωκὴρ, ὁ δὲ Ἰάκωβος*. As can be seen in Table 4.7, the additional reference is transmitted in all three codices containing 33 E (BVP). In fact, B transmits a longer text: *ἀναφέρει δὲ ὁ Ἠγήσιππος καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν, καὶ φησιν ὅτι ὁ μὲν ἐκαλεῖτο Ζωκὴρ, ὁ δὲ Ἰάκωβος. Ἱστορεῖ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἀναγκαῖα*.

It is noteworthy that such additions on the part of the compiler of the *Epitome* are frequent throughout the entire *sylloge* of excerpts. Virtually all additions concern sources the compiler used supplementarily in the *Epitome*.¹⁴⁰ G. C. Hansen and P. Nautin agree that the passages added to the *Epitome* should be assigned to the compiler of the *Epitome*.¹⁴¹

5 P is, likewise, a textual intervention on the part of the compiler of the *Epitome*. 5 P reads as follows: *εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα εὐαγγέλια ψευδῆ· τὸ κατὰ Αἰγυπτίους, καὶ κατὰ τοὺς δώδεκα, καὶ κατὰ Βασιλείδην*. The text is absent in Eusebius. The compiler of the *Epitome* must have relied on a different source, at this point. In the *HE* 4, VII, Eusebius only refers to the leaders of two heresies: Saturninus and Basilides. In B and V, the excerpt 5 P appears at the end of a passage excerpted from Eusebius but is absent in P.¹⁴² The passage in B and V deals with epistles written by heretical figures and circulated under the names of apostles. P contains only what seems to have been written by the compiler of the *Epitome* himself. The absence of the Eusebian excerpt in P must not necessarily be attributed to the hypothesis that it descends from a different copy of the *Epitome* from the one that B and V come from. Besides, P transmits only a small portion of the series of excerpts from Eusebius' *HE*.

39 E and 40 E are concerned with two heretical movements, the heresy of Ebionites and that of Cerinthus, respectively. In both excerpts, the original text is transmitted in the *Epitome*, shortened, and simplified. In Excerpt 39 E the phrase *τοῦ μὲν ἀποστόλου* has been replaced by the sentence *τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Παύλου*. The substitution, like the one in Excerpt 7 E, makes the passage lucid. The name of the apostle is easily inferred from the general context of the original text.

Heresies and heretical figures appear to be the compiler's main interest, thematically. The theme of heresies is the focal point of Book 3 in Eusebius' *HE*. Book 3 contains three chapters, each of which deals with a heresy; the heresy of Ebionites, the heresy of Cerinthus, and the heresy of the Nikolaitans, respectively. At this point, B is, once again, most helpful in our effort to establish the contents of the *Epitome*. 39 B = 33 V transmits an excerpt taken from the last part of Eusebius' Book 3.¹⁴³ In the excerpt, the apostles are tested by the prospect of marriage. This subject matter refers to the beliefs of the heresy of the Nikolaitans. Accordingly, it turns out that the *Epitome*, in its original form, contained excerpts on all three heretical movements mentioned in Eusebius.

Excerpt 54 E is thematically connected to the two preceding excerpts. Excerpt 54 E is concerned with the heretical teachings by Valentinus and Cedro. The end of the original Eusebian passage (*HE* 4, X) was singled out and moved to the beginning of Excerpt 54 E, serving as prefatory material to it. Thus, the compiler

140 See Section 4.4.2.

141 G. C. Hansen and P. Nautin, however, see the so-called *Epitome* as a summary of Theodorus Anagnosta's collection of historical works in their entirety; Nautin (1994), 219–223; Hansen (ed.) (1995).

142 Eusebius, *HE* 3, XXV.3–6.

143 Eusebius, *HE* 3, XXX.1–2.

introduces us, first, to the two heretic teachers and then he excerpts the following Eusebian section (*HE* 4, XI) and briefly records their teachings. Again, there is nothing different from the method applied in the *Excerpta Anonymi* or the *EC*.

A similar intervention on the part of the excerptor occurs in 64 E of the *Epitome* (see Table 4.9). The passage deals with a certain Alcibiades who used to partake solely of bread and water. The martyr Attalus, however, persuaded him to partake of everything without restraint and give thanks to God. The beginning of the passage in the *Epitome* reflects, once again, the compiler's method in synthesising his work. The passage begins with the statement that Alcibiades was one of the martyrs in France. The information derives from the end in Eusebius' original passage. Such internal changes suggest that the compiler worked on a copy of the entire passage.

81 E refers to the library at Aelia set up by Alexander, Bishop of Jerusalem. In the original text, Eusebius admits that he used material found in the library in composing his own history. Eusebius reports the names of several writers he drew from. The compiler of the *Epitome* transmits Eusebius' report of the valuable writings he discovered in the library in Jerusalem. Such a quotation would certainly reinforce the reliability of the *Epitome*.

98 E represents the story of a woman who found relief from her disease at the hands of the Saviour. Our compiler specifies that the story took place in Paneion, which is a piece of information derived from an earlier part of the Eusebian text. The compiler's intention was to clarify the text and make it more intelligible.

100 E condenses into a short passage of five lines two sections of the *HE*. The passage transmits Dionysius' view on the authorship of the Apocalypse. Eusebius,

Table 4.9 64 E and Eusebius' *HE*

64 E	Eusebius HE 5, III
Ἀλκιβιάδου τινὸς τῶν <u>ἐν Γαλλίᾳ μαρτύρων</u> ἐγκρατευομένου πολὺν καὶ μηδέποτε μεταλαμβάνοντος πλὴν ἄρτου καὶ ὕδατος, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ πειρωμένου ποιεῖν, ἀπεκαλύφθη Ἀττάλῳ τῷ μάρτυρι ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ, μετὰ τὸν ἐν τῷ ἀμφιθεάτρῳ πρῶτον αὐτοῦ ἀγῶνα, κατεπεῖν τινὰς ὅτι οὐ καλῶς ποιεῖ Ἀλκιβιάδης μὴ χρώμενος τοῖς κτίσμασι τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ἄλλοις τύποις σκανδάλου γενόμενος. ὦν ἀκούσας Ἀλκιβιάδης, πάντων μεταλαμβάνων, ἡγαρίσκει τῷ Θεῷ.	(2) Ἀλκιβιάδου γάρ τινος ἐξ αὐτῶν πάνν ἀνχηρὸν βιοῦντος βίον καὶ μηδενὸς ὅλως τὸ πρότερον <u>μεταλαμβάνοντος, ἀλλ' ἢ ἄρτω μόνῳ καὶ ὕδατι</u> <u>χρωμένου πειρωμένου</u> τε καὶ ἐν τῇ εἰρκτῇ οὕτω διάγειν, Ἀττάλῳ μετὰ τὸν πρῶτον ἀγῶνα ὄν ἐν τῷ ἀμφιθεάτρῳ ἦνυσεν, ἀπεκαλύφθη ὅτι μὴ καλῶς ποιοῖ ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης μὴ χρώμενος τοῖς <u>κτίσμασι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἄλλοις τύπον σκανδάλου</u> <u>ὑπολειπόμενος.</u> (3) <u>πεισθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης</u> <u>πάντων ἀνέδην μετελάμβανεν καὶ ἡγαρίσκει τῷ</u> <u>θεῷ·</u> οὐ γὰρ ἀνεπίσκεπτοι χάριτος θεοῦ ἦσαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἦν σύμβουλον αὐτοῖς. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὥδι ἐχέτω· (...) ἐκτελούμεναι πίστιν παρὰ πολλοῖς τοῦ κάκεινους προφητεύειν παρεῖχον καὶ δὴ διαφωνίας ὑπαρχούσης περὶ τῶν δεδηλωμέν ων, αὐθὶς οἱ κατὰ τὴν Γαλλίαν ἀδελφοὶ τὴν ἰδίαν κρίσιν καὶ περὶ τούτων εὐλαβῇ καὶ ὀρθοδοξοτάτην ὑποτάττουσιν, ἐκθέμενοι καὶ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς τελειωθέντων <u>μαρτύρων.</u>

through a long chapter, transmits almost verbatim a long extract from Dionysius' work, in which Dionysius presents opinions of several others on the authorship of the Apocalypse, while justifying his own slant on the matter. According to Dionysius the *Apocalypse* of John the Divine could have been written by someone called John, other than the Evangelist.

103 E is made up of passages taken from several sections of Book 7 of Eusebius' *HE*. Two of the passages were taken from *HE* 7, XXXII. In Loeb's edition the section covers 20 pages.¹⁴⁴ 103 E is not the only excerpt from *HE* 7, XXXII was originally planned to be included in the *Epitome*, though. O transmits four further excerpts from the same Eusebian section: 44 O and 45 O concern Anatolius who became bishop in Laodicea, 66 O concerns Agapius who succeeded Theotecnus in the episcopal see of Caesarea in Palestine, and 47 O = 84 B deals with Pierius, bishop of Alexandria, and Meletius, bishop of the churches in Pontus.¹⁴⁵

110 E and 111 E are concerned with the persecution under the emperor Diocletian. Eusebius' Book 8 deals with the persecutions of Christians and narrates the martyrdoms of several known bishops. 110 E constitutes a reference to the martyrdom of Anthimus the bishop of Nicomedia. The compiler of the *Epitome* supplements the excerpt with a statement made up of passages taken from different parts of Book 8. The added text informs us that during the persecution under Diocletian countless Christians were murdered: ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Διοκλητιανὸς Χριστιανοὺς τοῦτο πεπραχέναι, διὰ τὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατ' αὐτῶν διωγμὸν σωρηδὸν κατ' ἀγέλας τὰς Χριστιανῶν μυριάδας ἀνείλεν. The addition is a recapitulation of what Eusebius describes throughout Book 8 of his *HE*. The insertion of brief passages summarising the original Eusebian text is typical of the method of the compiler of the *Epitome*.

Excerpt 111 E opens by repeating the statement of the preceding passage: Διοκλητιανὸς φρικωδέστατον κατὰ Χριστιανῶν ἤγειρε διωγμὸν καὶ πολλὰς μυριάδας Χριστιανῶν κατὰ πάντα τόπον ἀνείλεν. This is an indication that the two passages were excerpted, copied, and re-edited separately and were then put together by the compiler. All instances in the *Epitome* discussed so far bear out that the abridgement and the excerpting were done simultaneously. What follows the opening statement is, once again, a gathering of passages from different parts of Book 8. 111 E reports the martyrdom of Adautus and the story of a woman who threw her children and herself into the river in order to avoid the tortures by the soldiers. The passage closes with a question raised by our compiler himself, whether such kinds of death can be counted amongst the martyrdoms of Christians. It is noteworthy that 111 E respects the original sequence of excerpts in Eusebius' *HE*. What follows is Excerpt 111 E. The corresponding passages in Eusebius are given in parentheses.

144 Kirsopp (ed.) (1965), 226–245.

145 Eusebius, *HE* 7, XXXII is devoted to the most conspicuous churchmen of Eusebius' age. The major part of the section is concerned with the *Canons of Pascha* by Anatolius. Eusebius quotes verbatim a long passage of the *Canons*.

111 E: παντοίας κατὰ τῶν μαρτύρων ἐπινοήσας βασάνους (HE 8, III.1) ἐν οἷς καὶ μεθ' ὧν ἐμαρτύρησεν Ἀδακτος μάγιστρος, ἐφ' οὗ γέγονε κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν (HE 8, XI.1), τὸ τῆς γυναικὸς, τῆς βίῃ καὶ γένει καὶ κάλλει σώματος περιβοήτου, ἥτις σὺν δυσὶ θυγατράσι παρθένοις, κάλλει καὶ συνέσει διαβοήτοις, μετὰ πολλὰς φυγὰς συσχεθεῖσα, φόβῳ τοῦ μὴ διαφθαρεῖν αὐταῖς τὴν σωφροσύνην (HE 8, XII.3), ἐαυτὴν σὺν ταῖς θυγατράσιν ἔρριψε κατὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ (HE 8, XII.5). περὶ ὧν ζητητέον, εἰ ἀριθμοῦνται εἰς μάρτυρας.

Excerpt 117 E recounts the bad end that Diocletian had in comparison with the glorious, successful, and happy life of Constantius presented in 118 E. Exc. 120 E is a brief summary of the following section of Eusebius' text, namely, Section XIV of Book 8. Excerpt 120 E refers to the tyrannical reigns of Maxentius and Maximin.

4.5 General conclusions on the *Epitome*

The study of the compositional structure and method of the so-called *Epitome* suggests that the work is not descended from a single collection comprising the complete texts of a number of church histories. The *Epitome*, instead, is a *sylloge* of excerpts extracted from different and separate sources. As I showed, the initial heading is congruent with the working method and compositional principles applied in the *sylloge* and it is likely that the heading was added by the excerptor himself. The manuscript transmission of the *Epitome* does not allow us to arrive at any tangible conclusion as to the exact size of the original *sylloge*, though. The examination of the excerpted passages from Eusebius' *HE* revealed the three steps of redacting an excerpt collection: a) reading and selection, b) re-editing, and c) composition. The study of the working method in the *Epitome* lead to the following deductions: a) similar to the structure detected in the *Excerpta Salmasiana*, the excerptor of the *Epitome* made a careful selection of thematically connected passages and placed them in a predetermined chronological framework, b) in consonance with the arrangement of material in all the other collections of historical excerpts examined in this book, the *Epitome* retains the original series of excerpts, and c) the excerptor of the *Epitome* intervenes in the text by employing the same strategies as detected in the *EC*, the *Excerpta Anonymi*, and the *Excerpta Salmasiana*.

5 *Excerpta Planudea*

A compilation of passages taken from a number of profane and religious texts and transmitted under the name of Maximus Planudes is known under the conventional titles *Συναγωγή* and *Excerpta Planudea*.¹ In particular, the *Συναγωγή* comprises excerpts from classical geographers and philosophers, historians of the late antique and middle Byzantine period as well as Christian writings. This chapter 1) surveys the manuscript transmission of the *Συναγωγή*, 2) examines the content and structure of the collection, and 3) undertakes a close analysis of the excerpts on Roman history included in the *Συναγωγή*.

5.1 Manuscript transmission

5.1.1 *The codices*

The *Συναγωγή* has been fully transmitted through five manuscripts, namely *Laurentianus Plut.* 59, 30 (thirteenth/fourteenth centuries), *Neapolitanus gr.* 165 (fourteenth century), *Vaticanus Pal.* 141 (fourteenth/fifteenth centuries), *Vaticanus gr.* 951 (fifteenth century), and *Parisinus gr.* 1409 (fourteenth/fifteenth centuries).

5.1.1.1 *Laurentianus Plut. 59, 30 (= L)*

Bombyc. (ff. 1–103) et chartac. (ff. 104–346), sec. XIII–XIV.²

Laurentianus Plut. 59, 30 contains: **1r–103v: Maximus Planudes, *Excerpta Planudea***; 104r–142v: Didymus Alexandrinus, *Fragmenta in Proverbia*;³ 142v–146v: Maximus Planudes, *Locutiones populares collectae*;⁴ 146v–148v:

1 On the *sylloge* of excerpts made by Maximus Planudes, see Boissvain (1895), CXI–CXXIII; Wünsch (1898), L–LIX; Diller (1937), 296–301; Wendel (1950), 2232–2236; Gallavotti (1987), 125–126; Pérez Martin (1997), 77.

2 On the codex, see Bandini (1768), 549–553; Wünsch (1898), LIII–LIV; Bühler (1987), 127–130; Sotiroudis (1989), 202–203; Ferroni (2011), 327–334.

3 On the text, see *CPG* 2552; Bühler (1987), 126–135.

4 See Piccolomini (1879), 321–330; Kurtz (1886).

Philostratus Flavius, *Epistulae*;⁵ 148v–149r: Diogenianus, *Proverbia*;⁶ 149r–151r: Maximus Planudes, *Epistulae*;⁷ 151r–157r: Libanius, *Epistulae ad Basilium magnum*;⁸ 151r–157r: Basilius Caesariensis, *Epistulae ad Libanium sophistam*;⁹ 157v–159v: Libanius; 160–346r: Libanius, *Orationes*.¹⁰

In its current condition, L is an acephalous composite codex.¹¹ It consists of three distinctive codicological units differing in material and in hand. As far as the dating of L is concerned, scholars agree that the different units were created between the late thirteenth and early fifteenth centuries¹² and that the codex is not written by Planudes' hand.¹³ The first unit of L consists of the ff. 1–103,¹⁴ made up of thirteen quaternions of oriental paper,¹⁵ and is written by a scholarly hand dated to the late thirteenth century.¹⁶ This part contains the *Συναγωγή* in its entirety. Perez-Martin identified the scribe of the first part of L (ff. 1–103v) with Leon Bardales, a disciple of Maximus Planudes.¹⁷ In Perez-Martin's view, the hand in L is also identical with the hand traced in *Laurentianus Conv. Soppr.* 71, *Vaticanus gr.* 253, 258, 1950, *Cant. Add.* 1732, part of *Vindobonensis phil. gr.* 21 and *Ambrosianus C* 235.

5.1.1.2 Neapolitanus gr. 165 (= N)

Chartac., ff. 238, 308 × 233mm, II. 42, an. 1325.¹⁸

Neapolitanus gr. 165 contains: 1r: various unidentified passages; 1v: Gregorius Nazianzenus, *Ad Themistium epist.* 38 et *epist.* 24;¹⁹ 2r–2v: Gregorius Nyssenus, *Epist.* 2 *De iis qui adeunt Hierosolyma*;²⁰ 3r: *Idyllium* (vv. 1–270);

5 Kayser (1871), XIV.

6 CPG 177–180.

7 Ep. 48 and 49 in Leone (ed.) (1991).

8 Foerster (1927), 223.

9 CPG 2900.d.

10 Foerster (1903), 417.

11 The first folio is missing. On the term *composite* codices, see Nyström (2009), 42–48.

12 Diller (1937), 297; Bühler (1987), 127; Ferroni (2011), 327–328.

13 Diller (1937), 297; Perez-Martin (1997), 77–80.

14 The second unit is dated to the fourteenth century. It comprises ff. 104r–159v made of western paper. The second unit contains proverbs by Zenobius, by Maximus Planudes, and by Diogenianus as well as epistles by Maximus Planudes and by Libanius. The third unit is dated to the fourteenth–fifteenth centuries. It is made up of ff. 160r–346r made of oriental paper. The third unit transmits orations by Libanius; Bühler (1987), 127–140.

15 The now lost beginning of the codex contained excerpts from the *Varia historia* (Ποικίλη Ἱστορία) by Aelian; cf. Ferroni (2011), 327.

16 Diller (1937), 297. Ferroni argues in favour of Fryde's dating at the beginning of the fourteenth century; Fryde (1996); cf. Ferroni (2003), 99.

17 Perez-Martin (1997), 77–80. On Leon Bardales, see Taxis (2011), 97–113.

18 On the codex, see Cirillo (1832), 146–155; Sotiroudis (1989), 203–205; Formentin (1995), 124–131; Ferroni (2011), 334–335.

19 PG 37, col. 80; PG 37, col. 60.

20 PG 46, col. 1009–1016.

5r–92v: Maximus Planudes, *Excerpta Planudea*; 93r–140v: Euripides (*Vita Euripidis, Hecuba, Orestes, Phoinissae, Troades*); 141r–196v: Sophocles (*Vita Sophoclis, Ajax, Electra, Oedipus tyrannus*); 196v: Joannes Tzetzes, *De Differentia Poetarum*;²¹ 196v: Proclus, *Vita Hesiodi*; 197r–197v: Isaac Tzetzes, *Vita Hesiodi*; 198r–214v: Hesiodus, *Opera et dies*; 215r–236v: Theocritus, *Vita Theocriti* and *Idyllia* 1–0; 237r–237v: Pindarus, *Vita Pindari, De lyricis, De lyra, Scholium in Olymp.* I v. 1.

This is a miscellaneous codex, which is dated shortly after L and written in a calligraphic hand.²² The text of the Planudean *sylloge* is found on ff. 5r–92v. In the upper left margin on f. 5r, the *Συναγωγή* is preceded by the syllable *μαζ*, which is the abridgement for *Μάξιμος*.

5.1.1.3 Vaticanus Pal. 141 (= Pal)

Chartac., ff. 378, 210 × 145 mm, II. 35–37, sec. XIV–XV.²³

Vaticanus Pal. 141 contains: 2v–4r: Maximus Planudes, *Stichera et canones in s. Diomedem*; 4r–5r: Manuelis Philae, *Versus*; 5r–83r: Maximus Planudes, *Epistulae et Epigrammata*; 83v–90r: Maximus Planudes, *Comparatio hiemis et veris*; 90r–117v: Maximus Planudes, *Laudatio SS. Petri et Pauli*; 117v–118r: Maximus Planudes, *Epigrammata*; 118r–136r: Maximus Planudes, *Encomium in S. Diomedem m. Nicaeae*; 136v: Maximus Planudes, *Epigramma in s. Diomedem*; 136v: Maximus Planudes, *Tetrastichon in novercam suam*; 136v: Maximus Planudes, *Canon in S. Demetrium*; 137v–138v: Maximus Planudes, *Idiomela in S. Mocium*; 138v–139r: Maximus Planudes, *Epigrammata*; 139r–140r: Maximus Planudes, *Precationes*; 140r–140v: Maximus Planudes, *Στίχοι ἐπιτάφιοι*; 140v: Maximus Planudes, *Στιχηρά στανροθεοτοκία*; 141r–150r: Maximus Planudes, *Oratio in sepulturam Christi*; **150r–285r: Maximus Planudes, *Excerpta Planudea***; 285r–288r: anonymous *Oracles*; 288r–378r: Georgius Lacapenus, *Epimerismi*.

The codex is dated to the third decade of the fourteenth century²⁴ and written in a calligraphic hand. The *Συναγωγή* by Maximus Planudes is transmitted on ff. 150r–285r. The full title of the *sylloge* by Maximus Planudes is transmitted in Pal: *Συναγωγή συλεγείσα ἀπὸ διαφόρων βιβλίων παρὰ τοῦ σοφωτάτου καὶ λογιωτάτου καὶ τιμωτάτου ἐν μοναχοῖς κυροῦ Μαξίμου τοῦ Πλανοῦδη· πάντῃ ὠφέλιμος*. L. Ferroni, repeating E. Piccolomini's suggestion, finds it unlikely, on the grounds of the structure of the *Συναγωγή*, that this heading was the original title of Planudes' *sylloge* of excerpts.²⁵ In the following I cast doubt on this, supporting that the title fits the format and structure of the *Συναγωγή*.

21 The text is edited in Gaisford, (1823), 12, l. 22–14, l. 2.

22 Diller (1937), 297.

23 On the codex, see Stevenson (1885), 71–73; Wunsch (1898), LIII–LIV; Canart and Peri (1970), 248; Sotiroudis (1989), 205–206; Ferroni (2011), 338–340.

24 Gallavotti (1987).

25 Ferroni (2011), 339–340; cf. Piccolomini, (1874), 101.

5.1.1.4 Vaticanus gr. 951 (= V)

Chartac., ff. 260, II. 29–30, sec. XV.²⁶

Vaticanus gr. 951 contains: 1r–8v: Heraclitus rhetor, *Allegoriae*; **9r–152v: Maximus Planudes, Excerpta Planudea**; 152v–156v: Michael Psellus, *Τοῦ Ψελλοῦ ἐξήγησις τῶν Χαλδαϊκῶν ῥητῶν Χαλδαϊκὸν λόγιον*;²⁷ 157r–169v: Michael Psellus, *Ἐξήγησις τῶν Χαλδαϊκῶν ῥητῶν*;²⁸ 169v–213v: Hermes Trismegistus, *Ἑρμοῦ τοῦ τρισεγίστου. Λόγοι*;²⁹ 213v–214r: *Brevis textus incerti auctoris*; 220r–260r: Maximus Planudes, *Capita de caritate*.³⁰

V is a miscellaneous codex dated to the second half of the fourteenth century.³¹ The *Συναγωγή* is transmitted on ff. 9r–152v under the heading: *Μαζίμου μοναχοῦ τοῦ Πλανούδη συναγωγή ἐκλεγείσα ἀπὸ διαφορῶν βιβλίων· πάντῳ ὠφέλιμος* (collection made up of selections from several books by Maximus Planudes, the monk, altogether useful). The title is similar to the one found in Pal. The title is a later addition, though. Diller attributes the insertion of the title to a seventeenth-century cataloguer of the Vatican Library.³² Ff. 214v–219v in V were left blank.

5.1.1.5 Parisinus gr. 1409 (= Par)

Chartac., ff. A–D + 161, 210 × 140mm, II. 22–38, sec. XIV.³³

Parisinus gr. 1409 contains: **1r–134v: Maximus Planudes, Excerpta Planudea**; 135v–139r: anonymous *Proverbia Greco-barbara*; 139r–140r: Pythagoras, *Carmen aureum*; 140r: anonymous, *Aenigmata*; 140v: Iulianus Flavius Claudius, *Versus*; 140v–141r: anonymous *Oracula varia*; 141v–143v: anonymous, *Narratio utilis de Christi ordinatione*; 144r–145v: anonymous, *Opusculum de providentia*; 146r–158v: Plutarchus, *Ad Pollianum epistula*; 158v–159v: anonymous, *incipit*: Ἐπεὶ Διπλοβατύτης Κερασφόρος, πατὴρ Ὀνοδήμου, μητὴρ Ἐκάβης, φυλῆς Τραγωνίτιδος. *Desinit*: μὴ παρατρέπειν τὴν δεδομένην τῷ τῶν φαυλοβίων κοινῶς; 159v–160v: Joannes VI Cantacuzenus, *incipit*: Μεθεκτὸν κι ἀμέθεκτον τὸν θεὸν λέγοντες. *Desinit*: τὸ δὲ τῇ πρὸς τὴν οὐσίαν, καὶ μίαν καὶ δύναμιν; 161r–161v: *Officia Magnae Ecclesiae*.

26 On the codex, see Wünsch (1898), LII; Canart and Peri (1970), 516; Sotiroudis (1989), 206–207; Ferroni (2011), 337–338.

27 O'Meara (ed.) (1989), 126–144. The text halts abruptly on f. 152v.

28 O'Meara (ed.) (1989), 126–146, 146–148, 148–151. Ff. 157r–169v transmit the *ἐξήγησις τῶν Χαλδαϊκῶν ῥητῶν* supplemented with the *ἐκθεσις κεφαλαιώδης καὶ σύντομος τῶν παρὰ Χαλδαίους δογμάτων* and the *ὑποτύποις κεφαλαιώδης τῶν παρὰ Χαλδαίους ἀρχαίων δογμάτων*, both originally written by Psellus. See Ferroni (2011), 337–338.

29 See Nock, Festugière, and Ramelli (edd.), (2006).

30 PG 90, col. 959–1073.

31 Ferroni (2011), 337. Wünsch dates the codex to the sixteenth century; cf. Wünsch (1898), LII.

32 Diller (1937), 297.

33 On the codex, see Omont (1888b), 39; Wünsch (1898), LII–LIII; Sotiroudis (1989), 207–209; Ferroni (2011), 336–337.

This is an acephalous codex dated to the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century.³⁴ It was copied by Manuel Phralites.³⁵ The *Συναγωγή* by Maximus Planudes is found on ff. 1r–134v.³⁶ F. 135r was left blank. The texts transmitted by ff. 158v–159v and ff. 159v–160v are not mentioned in the inventory by H. A. Omont. L. Ferroni does not identify them, either. After inspection of the codex, I concluded that the text on ff. 159v–160v is actually a collection of passages from an epistle sent by the emperor John VI Cantacuzenus (reign 1347–1354) to Paul, the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople since 1366.³⁷ The text on ff. 158v–159v is very close to a legal text attributed to the Cardinal Isidore, a fervent supporter of the union between the Churches of East and West (1385–1463).³⁸ If this is the case, the passage in Par is likely a later insertion.

5.1.2 *The relationship between the manuscripts of the Συναγωγή*

According to A. Diller, L was the archetype of the other four manuscripts transmitting the *sylloge* by Maximus Planudes, because a) L does not bear scribal mistakes which appeared in the rest of the codices and b) marginal notes of L were copied by the scribes of the other four manuscripts.³⁹ C. Wendel holds a different view, without explaining his proposition, though.⁴⁰ According to C. Wendel, the L must not be taken as the archetype of the other manuscripts. L. Ferroni shares A. Diller's view that L, N, V, Pal, and Par stem from a single source and that L is the older and best manuscript transmitting the *Συναγωγή*. In his view, however, there are many cases in which L contains a reading different from the rest of the manuscripts of the *Συναγωγή*.⁴¹ He based this on an examination of the part of the *Συναγωγή* containing Plato. Nevertheless, further research needs to be done on the matter, since the instances L. Ferroni presents are mainly orthographical variants between the L and the rest of the codices. Besides, L. Ferroni's conclusions are only based on a single part of the *Συναγωγή*. L. Ferroni also argued that N and Pal are dependent on a common text and that V is not copy of any of the rest of the manuscripts.⁴² Both points exclude that L was the archetype of the other codices. It should also be noted that the text transmitted in L has been subjected to textual corrections. Moreover, a number of notes and headings were inserted into the margins of the codex. It cannot be ruled out that the hand, which corrected the text in L in terms of grammar and

34 Wendel considers Par coeval to Pal; cf. Wendel (1950), 2232–2236. Wünsch dates the codex between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; cf. Wünsch (1898), LIII.

35 Diller (1956), 90; Gamillscheg (1989), 351.

36 Ferroni was the first to notice the incorrect description of the *Συναγωγή* in the *Parisinus gr.* 1409 by Omont. Ferroni corrected the description of the *Συναγωγή* in Ferroni (2011), 336–337.

37 The text of the epistle can be found in Tinnefeld and Voordeckers (1987), ep. 5.

38 See the text that is entitled *Τὸ ψήφισμα* in Mercati (1926), 163–165. G. Mercati published the text transmitted on f. 188 in the codex *Vaticanus gr.* 914.

39 Diller (1937), 297.

40 Wendel (1950), 2232.

41 Ferroni (2011), esp. 340–346.

42 Ferroni (2011), 340–350.

vocabulary and added the marginal notes, was identical with the hand that had copied the entire *Συναγωγή* in the manuscript.⁴³ In line with A. Diller's and L. Ferroni's view, in what follows, I treat L as the best witness to Planudes' *Συναγωγή*.

Three more codices transmit parts of the *Συναγωγή*: *Ottobonianus gr.* 345 (sixteenth century), *Vaticanus Pal. gr.* 209 (y. 1463), and *Palatinus Heidelb. gr.* 129 (fifteenth/sixteenth centuries).⁴⁴ Excerpts from the *Συναγωγή* in *Ottobonianus gr.* 345 show significant textual similarities with *Pal.*⁴⁵ Ff. 263r–266r of *Vaticanus Pal. gr.* 209 contain a small number of excerpts from the *Συναγωγή*. The excerpts were copied by Isidore Ruthenus.⁴⁶ The text on ff. 263r–266r is likely to derive from the *Συναγωγή* as it is preserved in V.⁴⁷ Finally, ff. 90r–97r of *Palatinus Heidelb.* 129 transmit excerpts copied probably from L.⁴⁸

5.1.3 Maximus Planudes

Maximus Planudes was born in Nicomedia around 1250.⁴⁹ After the reconquest of 1261, he resided in Constantinople where he taught grammar, mathematics, harmonics, and rhetoric.⁵⁰ Planudes embraced monastic life around the year 1283. He stayed at the monastery of Chora before he moved to the monastery of Christ Akataleptos by 1299. Planudes is considered one of the most prolific scholars of the Palaeologan Renaissance. Surviving manuscripts from his *scriptorium* reveal his manifold literary interests: poetry,⁵¹ epistolography,⁵² philosophy,⁵³ geography,⁵⁴ astronomy,⁵⁵ geometry,⁵⁶

43 Piccolomini (1874), 112.

44 On the codices, see Roberto (ed.) (2005b), CIX; Ferroni (2006), 99–109. On *Ottobonianus gr.* 345, see also Wünsch (1898), LII. On *Vaticanus Pal. gr.* 209, see also Wünsch (1898), LIV.

45 Diller (1937), 297.

46 Diller (1937), 297, n. 1. Isidore Ruthenus was an erudite scholar of the fifteenth century with a special interest in astronomy, mathematics, geography, and medicine. On manuscripts copied by Isidorus Ruthenus, see Mercati (1926).

47 Diller (1937), 297.

48 Diller (1937), 297.

49 On Maximus Planudes' life and literary activity, see also Wendel (1950), 2202–2253; Constantinides (1982), 66–89; Wilson (1996), 230–241; Mergiali (1996), 34–42.

50 Constantinides (1982), 68–71.

51 Planudes copied a series of poems by Gregory of Nazianzus in the codex *Laurentianus Plut.* 32,16; cf. Bandini (1961), 143–145; Fryde (2000), 234. On the codex, see below n. 65.

52 Planudes compiled a collection of his own letters. The collection comprised 121 letters, addressed to Andronicus II and other important figures of his time; cf. Leone (ed.) (1991).

53 Apart from excerpts from Plato which were included in the *Συναγωγή*, Planudes himself copied passages from *Crito* and *Phaedo*; Hunger (1961), 151–152; Turyn (1972), 214.

54 Excerpts from Strabo's *Geographica* and Pausanias' *Graeciae descriptio* were inserted into the *Excerpta Planudea*. Planudes edited, also, Ptolemy's *Geographia*, dated to the second c. AD. On the codices on Ptolemy's text owned by Planudes, see; Fryde (2000), 253–257.

55 Planudes was concerned with Aratus' *Phaenomena*, an astronomical poem, dated back to third c. bc.

56 Planudes partially edited the *Arithmetica* by Diophantos (third c. AD); cf. Tannery (ed.) (1895), 125–255. An arithmetical treatise by Planudes was edited by Allard (1981).

proverbs,⁵⁷ rhetoric,⁵⁸ grammar,⁵⁹ sermons,⁶⁰ biography,⁶¹ and historiography.⁶² He also knew Latin and translated into Greek Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*, Macrobius' commentary on it, Boethius' *De consolatione philosophiae* and Ovid's *Heroides* and *Metamorphoses*.⁶³ Maximus Planudes died in Constantinople around 1305. The *Συναγωγή* was composed at the end of the thirteenth century.

There is a number of manuscripts identified as copies from Planudes' *scriptorium* copied under his supervision. Diller regards the first part of L (containing the *Συναγωγή*) as written in the *scriptorium* of Maximus Planudes too.⁶⁴ Other manuscripts attributed to Planudes' *scriptorium* are: *Laurentianus Plut.* 32,16 (a codex written in several hands, one of which is Planudes')⁶⁵ and *Laurentianus Plut.* 59, 1. The latter contains works by Plato and it is written in two hands. Bianconi sees Maximus Planudes as one of the two scribes of the codex.⁶⁶

In addition to the aforementioned codices, there are six surviving codices written in Planudes' own hand: 1) *Marcianus* 481, dated to 1301. The codex contains the *Anthologia Planudea* (Ἀνθολογία διαφόρων ἐπιγραμμάτων) by Maximus Planudes and the *Paraphrasis sancti evangelii Joannei* (Μεταβολή τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην ἁγίου εὐαγγελίου) by Nonnus of Panopolis.⁶⁷ 2) *Ambrosianus* 157, dated to 1292/1293.⁶⁸ 3) *Ambrosianus* C 126, dated in 1294/1295. The codex was partially written by Maximus Planudes, whereas part of the codex was copied by

57 Ff. 142v–146r in *Laurentianus Plut.* 59.30 transmit a collection of proverbs compiled by Planudes himself.

58 Planudes compiled a rhetorical collection, comprising passages from Hermogenes and Athonius; cf. Fryde (1996), 360. See also the discussion on Planudes' grammatical notes, which are preserved in *Laurentianus* 55.7, in Fryde (2000), 216–217 and 246–248.

59 Planudes' interest in linguistics is reflected in his two treatises on this subject, the *Dialogus de grammatica* and the *Dialogus de verborum constructione*, respectively. The *Dialogus de grammatica* is partly edited in Robins (1993), 203–209. The *Parisinus gr.* 2667 transmits a lexicon attributed to Planudes; cf. Fryde (1996), 384.

60 *Laurentianus* 56.22, dated after the death of Planudes, bears a sermon *On the burial of Our Lord, Jesus Christ*, two homilies on saints Peter and Paul and another one of saint Diomedes, patron of his home town, Nicomedia; cf. Fryde (2000), 263.

61 Planudes edited Plutarch's *Vitae Parallelae* as well as a miscellany of Plutarch's philosophical and rhetorical writings, known as *Moralia*. On the *Moralia*, see Irigoin and Flacelière (1987) and Garzya, Giangrande, and Manfredini (1988).

62 See Section 5.3.

63 On the Latin works translated by Planudes into Greek, see Fryde (2000), 257–261.

64 Diller (1937), 297–301.

65 Turyn (1972), 31–39. On the codex, see also Kugeas (1909), 106–108. The codex contains a considerable number of Greek verse texts (Hesiod, Apopponios of Rhodes, Theokritos, Moschos of Syracuse, Nikander, Oppian of Cilicia, Oppian of Apamea, Gregory of Nazianzus), excerpts from the so-called *Theosophia*, a collection of oracles compiled by the Neoplatonist Porphyry, and a small number of epigrams. The *Dionysiaca* by Nonnos of Panopolis, covering a large part of the codex (ff. 9r–173r) were copied by a student of Planudes and revised by Planudes himself; cf. Fryde (2000), 235.

66 Bianconi (2005), 397–398.

67 Turyn (1972), 90–96.

68 Turyn (1972), 78–81.

John Zarides, one of the most prominent students of Planudes.⁶⁹ 4) *Vaticanus Reginenses* gr. 132 and 133, both dated to the early fourteenth century.⁷⁰ And 5) *Vaticanus* gr. 1340, which contains Aristotle's *Rhetorica* (Ρητορική). The codex was executed by Planudes himself in collaboration with John Zarides.⁷¹

5.2 Content and structure of the *Συναγωγή*

The *Συναγωγή* by Maximus Planudes, as it has been handed down to us in the extant manuscripts, begins with excerpts from two classical geographers, namely, Strabo's *Geographica* (Γεωγραφικά) and Pausanias' *Graeciae descriptio* (Ελλάδος περιήγησις). Specifically, ff. 1r–19v in L transmit 344 excerpts from Strabo.⁷² The excerpts are not introduced by any heading and each excerpt begins with the word *ὅτι*. Diller was the first to note that Planudes made use of *Parisinus* gr. 1393, a codex containing the *Geographica* in its entirety.⁷³

Strabo is followed by 154 excerpts from Pausanias. The arrangement of the Pausanias excerpts in L begins abruptly without any title on f. 19v and runs up to f. 30r. Planudes extracted passages from the entire work by Pausanias. In the margins of L the headings of the books of the *Graeciae descriptio* are in the same hand as the text body: *κορινθιακά* (21v), *λακωνικά* (22r), *μεσσηνικά* (22r), *ήλιακά* (23r), *άχαικά* (26v), *άρκαδικά* (27r), *βοιωτικά* (28v), *λοκρικά* (29r). Except for a few slight differences, the headings are congruent with those transmitted in the best manuscripts of Pausanias' *Graeciae descriptio*, all dated, however, after L (*Marcianus* gr. 413, *Laurentianus* 56.11 and *Parisinus* gr. 1410).⁷⁴ Interestingly, the title of Book 1 of the *Graeciae descriptio* is missing in both, that is, in Planudes' *Συναγωγή* and the best codices of Pausanias.⁷⁵ It seems very likely that the three aforementioned codices of Pausanias derive from the codex that Planudes used for his *Συναγωγή*.⁷⁶

Ff. 30r–32r in L transmit forty-four excerpts on the Roman Republic from Romulus to Lucullus. In L they were inserted without any heading. Except for the first five excerpts, they are assigned to John of Antioch.⁷⁷

Ff. 32r–47v in L contain 291 passages on Roman imperial history taken from the *Epitome* of Cassius Dio by John Xiphilinus (269 excerpts), from Paeanius'

69 Turyn (1972), 81–87.

70 *Vaticanus Reginenses* gr. 132 is in Planudes' hand; cf. Wilson (1978), 390. The codex *Vaticanus Reginenses* gr. 133 is written in the same hand; Ferroni (2011), 332.

71 Pérez Martin (1997), 76. On the codex, see also Pérez Martin (1996).

72 S. L. Radt used the Planudean excerpts from Strabo in his edition of the *Geographica*; Radt (2002).

73 Diller (1937), 297–298. On the *Parisinus* gr. 1393, see Sbordone (1963), XXVII–XXVIII.

74 The three codices transmitting Pausanias' work contain *ήλιακῶν α', β', άχαικῶν* and *φοικικά λοκρῶν ὀζολῶν*; Diller (1956), 90–91. On the manuscripts of Pausanias' *Graeciae descriptio*, see Diller (1957), 169–188.

75 Only the codex *Matrit.* 4564 (fifteenth c.), ff. 13r–38v, which contains only a small part of the *Graeciae descriptio*, transmits *άπτικά* as heading for Book 1; Diller (1956), 90.

76 Diller (1937), 298–299; Diller (1956), 90–91; Ferroni (2011), 329.

77 See Table 5.2 and Table 5.3. On these excerpts, see Section 5.3.1.

historical work (eighteen excerpts), and from an unidentified chronicle now lost (four excerpts).⁷⁸ Chronologically, the excerpts run from Lucullus to Gratian. The excerpts come immediately after the forty-four excerpts on the Roman Republic and f. 32r does not bear a sign that the compiler changes his source at this point. On the upper margin on f. 35r in L a heading occurs. The marginal reads as follows: *Ἰωάννης ὁ Ξιφιλῖνος ὁ ἀδελφόςπαις Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ξιφιλίνου καὶ Πατριάρχου τὴν ἐπιτομὴν τοῦ Δίωνος πολλῶν ἐποιήσατο βιβλίων ἐπὶ Μιχαὴλ αὐτοκράτορος τοῦ Δούκα*.⁷⁹ The same heading is also found in *Parisinus gr.* 1409.⁸⁰ The sentence was extracted from Xiphilinus' *Epitome*.⁸¹

What follows is a brief extract from the *De mundo* (Περὶ Κόσμου), the author of which remains unknown.⁸² The *De mundo* has been, falsely, transmitted under the name of Aristotle. This is the reason why the author of the work is usually referred to as Ps.-Aristotle. The text takes up ff. 47v–48r in L and is followed by a brief passage from Plato.⁸³ This passage takes up f. 48r in L. On the left margin of f. 48r, next to the excerpt, the heading *πλάτωνος* occurs.

Ff. 48r–50v in L transmit a series of anonymous philosophical excerpts, etymologies, and riddles.⁸⁴ The excerpts exhibit textual similarities with passages in the *De natura animalium* (Περὶ ζώων ιδιότητος) by Aelian,⁸⁵ in Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae* (Δειπνοσοφισταί),⁸⁶ in Aristotle's *Historia animalium* (Τῶν περὶ τὰ ζῷα ἱστοριῶν),⁸⁷ and in Dio Chrysostom's *Oration* 64.⁸⁸ Some of the excerpts show similarities with the *Aristarchus et Callithea* (κατὰ Ἀρίστανδρον καὶ Καλλιθέαν ἐννέα λόγοι)⁸⁹ and the *Breviarium Chronicum* (Χρονικὴ Σύνοψις) by Constantine Manasses.⁹⁰

78 See Table 5.4.

79 John Xiphilinus, the nephew of John Xiphilinus the Patriarch, compiled an epitome out of the many books of Dio, during the reign of Michael Doukas.

80 The marginal was omitted in N, Pal and V; cf. Diller (1937), 299.

81 ἀλλ' ὡς Ἰωάννης ὁ Ξιφιλῖνος, ἀδελφόςπαις ὦν Ἰωάννου τοῦ πατριάρχου, ἐπὶ δὲ Μιχαὴλ αὐτοκράτορος τοῦ Δούκα τὴν ἐπιτομὴν ταύτην τῶν πολλῶν βιβλίων τοῦ Δίωνος συνταττόμενος; Xiphil. (ed. Dindorf, vol. V, 87).

82 The dating of the *De mundo* is disputed. It must have been written between the second half of the first century AD and the first half of the second century AD; Forster (1914).

83 *Leges*, II, 661 D. 1–5, and 661 A 7–661 C 5.

84 These excerpts were published by E. Piccolomini; cf. Piccolomini (1874), 150–160. E. Piccolomini divided the excerpts (sixty-nine in total in L) into four thematic categories: philosophy, paradoxigraphy, etymology, and enigmas; Piccolomini (1874), 149.

85 Excerpts 2, 31, 32, 35, 37 in Piccolomini (1874) correspond to Aelian, *De natura animalium*, 6.1, 4.22, 4.23, 4.21, 7.5, respectively.

86 Excerpts 19, 20, 21, 27, 28, 29, 30 in Piccolomini (1874) correspond to Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, 10.9, 10.13, 7.102, 9.58, 10.73, 10.75, 10.84, respectively.

87 Excerpt 26 in Piccolomini (1874) corresponds to Aristotle, *Historia animalium*, 9.40 (624b).

88 Excerpt 41 in Piccolomini (1874).

89 Excerpts 2–38 in Piccolomini (1874) were attributed to the *Aristarchus et Callithea* by Mazal (1967), 34–61. See also Jeffreys (2012), 273–337.

90 Excerpts 57, 58, 59 in Piccolomini (1874) derive from the *Breviarium Chronicum*; cf. Lampsides (1984), 1–2.

Ff. 50v–52v in L contain twenty-seven excerpts from various texts attributed to Synesius (ca 370–413 AD), a Neoplatonist who became bishop of Ptolemais in Pentapolis some years before he died.⁹¹ In particular, the excerpts were extracted from *Epistulae 1* and *131*⁹² as well as from the works *Dio, sive de suo ipsius instituto* (Δίων, ἡ περὶ τῆς καθ' ἑαυτὸν διαγωγῆς)⁹³ *Encomium calvitii* (Φαλάκρας ἐγκώμιον),⁹⁴ *De Providentia* (Περὶ προνοίας)⁹⁵ and *De insomniis* (Περὶ ἐνυπνίων).⁹⁶ The text in L is not accompanied by any title written in the body text. On the left margin on f. 50v, next to the first passage from Synesius, the word *συνεσίου* is written.

Ff. 52v–59r in L transmit passages from the *De Mensibus* by John Lydus. The text is not preceded by a heading. On the left margin on f. 52v, next to the first passage from John Lydus, the heading *Ἰω(άννου) Λυδοῦ* occurs. The *De Mensibus* survived only in fragments. The excerpts preserved in the *Συναγωγή* by Planudes are unique.⁹⁷

The excerpts from John Lydus are followed by a concatenation of anonymous excerpts (ff. 59r–74v in L) taken from various unidentified Christian writings. The beginning of the first excerpt reads as follows: *Τριήμερος γέγονε ἡ τοῦ κυρίου ἀνάστασις*.⁹⁸ A number of notes are written in the margins: f. 59v: *ἀπὸ κανόνων*, f. 60r: *ὁ διάβολος*, f. 60v: *ἄσμα ἁσμάτων*, f. 71r: *βασιλείου*, f. 71v: *χρυσοστόμου*. A number of the excerpts have been safely assigned by L. Ferroni to Hermas' *Pastor* (Ποιμὴν τοῦ Ἑρμῆ), a literary work dating back to the second century.⁹⁹

The anonymous excerpts are followed by passages taken from Plato. In L, the Plato-section is marked by an initial in red ink projecting into the left margin on f. 74v. In particular ff. 74v–94v transmit passages from Plato's tetralogies I to VII, supplemented with excerpts from the spurious Platonic dialogues.¹⁰⁰ According to E. Piccolomini and A. Diller, Maximus Planudes made use of a single codex containing Platos' dialogues, namely, the thirteenth-century codex *Parisinus gr.* 1808.¹⁰¹ L. Ferroni, by contrast, showed that the *Parisinus gr.* 1808 was not the

91 On Synesius' life, education, and career see Bregman (1982); Hagl (1997). On Synesius' affiliations to Neoplatonism, see Dimitrov (2008), 149–170.

92 *PG* 66, col. 1321–1323 and *PG* 66, col. 1515–1517.

93 *PG* 66, col. 1111–1163.

94 *PG* 66, 1167–1206.

95 *PG* 66, 1210–1281.

96 *PG* 66, 1281–1320.

97 Wünsch (1898), L–LIX.

98 *The resurrection of the Lord took place after three days.*

99 Ferroni (2003), 99–109. For an edition of the *Pastor*, see Körtner and Leutzsch (1998), 105–497. On the date and structure of the *Pastor*, see Carlini (1983), 95–112; Verheyden (2007), 63–71.

100 The following texts, though transmitted under the name of Plato, are most likely not Plato's: *Alcibiades ii*, *Alcibiades i*, *Hipparchus*, *Meno*, *Amatores*, *Theages*, *Clitophon*, *Demodocus*, *Sisyphus*, *Eryxias*, *Axiochus*. Some of the spurious Platonic dialogues have been included in the *Platonis Opera* in the *Oxford Classical Texts* collection; cf. Duke (1995–1999).

101 Piccolomini (1874), 162–163; Diller (1983), 255.

only manuscript on which Planudes drew for his section on Plato. Some readings in L point to other Platonic apographa.¹⁰²

The last part of the *Συναγωγή* is made up of a second concatenation of excerpts taken from Christian authors (ff. 95r–103v). This series of excerpts in L (and in N) is not introduced by any title. The first passage comes immediately after the last excerpt from Plato without any indication of a change of source. Pal and Par, instead, transmit the title *περὶ τῶν ἁζύμων*,¹⁰³ written in red ink. In V the heading *βλασφημίαι κατὰ λατίνων* was added by a later hand. The first excerpt of the series reads as follows: *ὅτι τὰ ἁζύμα θύοντες πρῶτα μὲν ἰουδαϊκῶς καὶ νομικῶς ἐορτάζουσιν*.

It should be noted that a) in N the second series of passages from Christian authors is followed by passages taken from George Cedrenus. The excerpts from George Cedrenus (ff. 83v–85r) are not transmitted in L as part of the *Συναγωγή* by Maximus Planudes, and b) ff. 85r–85v in N (see Table 5.1) transmit passages on a number of oracles found also in *Laurentianus Plut.* 32, 16, f. 379, as part of an anthology of epigrams.¹⁰⁴ The text is also contained in Pal. Since N and Pal are possibly copies from a common exemplar (see Section 5.1.2) different from the one that L comes from, it seems more likely that the *Συναγωγή* ended with the series of passages from Christian authors and that at some point it was expanded with the two aforementioned sets of passages attested in N and Pal.

5.3 The excerpts on Roman history in the *Συναγωγή* by Maximus Planudes

In what follows, the focus lies on the passages on Roman history included in the *Συναγωγή* by Maximus Planudes. In particular, I shall consider a) the original derivation of the selected passages, b) the source text which the *Συναγωγή* drew from, c) the working method applied by Maximus Planudes, and d) the political function served by the sequence of excerpts in Planudes' *Συναγωγή*.

5.3.1 The origins of the passages on Roman history

Ff. 30r–32r in L transmit forty-four excerpts on the Roman Republic, inserted without any heading to precede them. Chronologically, they run from Romulus to Lucullus. Initially, A. Mai erroneously attributed them to Cassius Dio.¹⁰⁵ But C.

102 Ferroni (2006), 275–302.

103 The text, which remains unedited, comprises a significant number of extracts from writings by Eustratius, bishop of Nicaea at the beginning of the twelfth century, as well as from sermons by John Chrysostom and John of Damascus.

104 The passages belong to the so-called *Theosophia Tubingensis*. The text is an epitome, dated between the eighth and the thirteenth centuries, of books 8–11 of the work *Περὶ τῆς ὀρθῆς πίστεως* compiled probably in Alexandria at the end of the fifth century. The passages were edited in Wolf (1856), 231–240, 173–186. On the oracles preserved in N and V, see Gallavoti (1987), 3–16. On the *Theosophia Tubingensis*, see Erbse (1995). On *Laurentianus Plut.* 32, 16, see Bandini (1961), 141–146; Turyn (1972), 32–39.

105 Mai published the series of excerpts on Roman history as it is contained in Pal and V; cf. Mai (1827), 527–555.

Table 5.1 Content and structure of the *Συναγωγή*

Laur. pl. 59, 30	Neap. gr. 165	Paris. gr. 1409	
1r–19v	5r–18v	1r–26v	Strabo, <i>Geographica</i>
19v–30r	18v–27r	26v–44r	Pausanias, <i>Graeciae descriptio</i>
30r–32r	27v–33r		Manasses, <i>Breviarium Chronicum</i> ; Paeanius, <i>Breviarium ab urbe condita</i> ; John of Antioch, <i>Historia chronica</i>
32r–47v	33r–42r	44r–70r	Xiphilinus' <i>Epitome</i> ; Constantine Manasses, <i>Breviarium Chronicum</i> ; Paeanius, <i>Breviarium ab urbe condita</i> ;
47v–48r	42r–42v	70r–70v	Ps.-Aristotle, <i>De mundo</i>
48r	42v		Plato, <i>Leges</i>
48r–50v	42v–44v		Aelian, <i>De natura animalium</i> ; Athenaeus, <i>Deipnosophistae</i> ; Aristotle, <i>Historia animalium</i> Dio Chrysostom, <i>Oration</i> 64; Manasses, <i>Aristarchus et Callithea</i> ; Manasses, <i>Breviarium Chronicum</i>
50v–52v	44v–46r	74v–77r	Synesius, <i>Epistle</i> 1 and 131; Dio, <i>sive de suo ipsius instituto</i> ; <i>Encomium calvitii</i> ; <i>De Providentia</i> ; <i>De insomniis</i>
52v–59r	46r–51r	77r–99v	John Lydus, <i>De Mensibus</i>
59r–74v	51r–63r	99v–103v	Anonymous excerpts from Christian authors
74v–94v	63r–78v	70v–74v, 103v–130r	Plato, <i>Euthyphro</i> ; <i>Apologia Socratis</i> ; <i>Crito</i> ; <i>Phaedo</i> ; <i>Cratylus</i> ; <i>Theaetetus</i> ; <i>Sophista</i> ; <i>Politicus</i> ; <i>Parmenides</i> ; <i>Philebus</i> ; <i>Symposium</i> ; <i>Phaedrus</i> ; <i>Alcibiades i</i> ; <i>Alcibiades ii</i> ; <i>Hipparchus</i> ; <i>Theages</i> ; <i>Charmides</i> ; <i>Laches</i> ; <i>Lysis</i> ; <i>Euthydemus</i> ; <i>Protagoras</i> ; <i>Gorgias</i> ; <i>Meno</i> ; <i>Hippias maior</i> ; <i>Hippias minor</i> ; <i>Ion</i> ; <i>Menexenus</i> ; <i>De iusto</i> ; <i>De virtute</i> ; <i>Demodochus</i> ; <i>Sisyphus</i> ; <i>Eryxia</i> ; <i>Axiochus</i>
95r–103v	78v–83v 83v–85r 85r–85v	130r–134v	Anonymous excerpts from Christian authors Excerpts from George Cedrenus (<i>PG</i> 121, col. 440 B 5–452 C 14) <i>Theosophia</i> (16 <i>Oracula</i>)

Mommsen noted in 1872, that this was mistaken. C. Mommsen conjectured that John of Antioch was the original author of the excerpts in the *Συναγωγή*.¹⁰⁶ Indeed, H. Haupt's research on this part of the *Συναγωγή* corroborated C. Mommsen's view. H. Haupt concluded that a) Excerpts 5–44 come from John of Antioch, b) Excerpts 1–2 derive from the chronicle by Constantine Manasses, and c) Excerpts 3–4 derive from Paeanius' translation of Eutropius' *Breviarium*.¹⁰⁷ A few years later, the discovery of the codex *Athonensis Ivron* 812 by Sp. Lambros

¹⁰⁶ Mommsen (1872), 82–91.

¹⁰⁷ Haupt (1879).

corroborated that all the forty-four excerpts come from the chronicle by John of Antioch, except for the first four excerpts.¹⁰⁸ Excerpt 5, as S. Kugeas showed, is a passage compiled by Planudes himself by merging a passage from John Lydus' *De magistratibus* with a notice from John of Antioch's *Historia chronica*.¹⁰⁹ In fact, Planudes intervenes twice in the *De magistratibus*: a) he simplifies the *ὅτι κῆνσον μὲν τὴν ἀπογραφὴν τῶν ἀρχαίων*¹¹⁰ by changing the phrase into *κῆνσος γὰρ ἡ τοῦ πλήθους ἀπαρίθμησης*,¹¹¹ and b) he contaminates the Lydian text with the phrase *ὁ δὲ δικτάτωρ εἰσηγητής*, which derives from John of Antioch.¹¹²

The series of excerpts on Roman history was first published by U. P. Boissevain, who attributed Excerpts 6–44 to John of Antioch.¹¹³ S. Mariev, in his edition of John of Antioch's chronicle, considered the series of excerpts on the Roman Republic as deriving from John, except for the first four excerpts.¹¹⁴ S. Mariev considered also Excerpt 5 as a passage of the *Historia chronica*. Roberto, in his own edition of John of Antioch, included Excerpt 2, as well.¹¹⁵ In fact, Excerpts 1 and 2 show resemblances with the *Breviarium Chronicum* by Constantine Manasses (ca. 1130–ca. 1187): cf. Table 5.2.

That the excerpts do not come directly from Manasses was proved by G. Sotiriadis.¹¹⁶ S. Kugeas reaffirmed G. Sotiriadis' assertion and argued further that Planudes and Manasses made use of a common source; a chronicle written in prose. Manasses not only used the chronicle but also versified it.¹¹⁷ Accordingly, S. Kugeas sees those two passages as parts of a chronicle, traces of which can be found in Manasses, in Cedrenus, in the anonymous compiler of the *Exc.Salm.II* and in other Byzantine chronicles.¹¹⁸ De Boor was the first to postulate the existence of such a chronicle, now lost, used by the entire *Exc.Salm.II*.¹¹⁹

108 Kugeas (1909), 126–146. On *Athonensis Iviron* 812 and Kugeas' inspection of it, see Section 5.3.2.1.

109 Kugeas (1909), 134.

110 *That the registration of capital is called census*; cf. Bandy (ed.) (1983), 128.

111 *The enumeration of the population is called census*.

112 Fr. 32, 15 Mariev; fr. 80.1, 7–8 Roberto. The text in the *De Magistratibus* reads as follows: *τὸν καλούμενον δικτάτωρα, ἀντὶ τοῦ μεσοβασίλεα*; cf. Bandy (ed.) (1983), 54; *τούτων καὶ μόνων τῶν δικτατόρων, ἡ τοι μεσοβασιλέων*; cf. Bandy (ed.) (1983), 6. In Roberto's view, such a contamination on the part of Planudes, indicates the importance of John of Antioch as a historian of the Roman Republic; Roberto (ed.) (2005b), CVI.

113 It should be noticed that U. P. Boissevain published the excerpts transmitted in Pal and V; Boissevain (1884); Boissevain (1895), CXI–CXIV and CXIV–CXXIII.

114 Mariev (ed.) (2008).

115 Roberto attributes Excerpt 2 to John of Antioch, on the grounds of the fact that the excerpt shows similarities with Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who was one of John of Antioch's main sources; Roberto (ed.) (2005b), CXI.

116 G. Sotiriadis' argument runs counter to that of H. Haupt (1879), 291–297; cf. Sotiriadis (1888), 51–52.

117 Kugeas (1909), 135.

118 Kugeas (1909), 136.

119 See Chapter 3.

Table 5.2 The EPL and Manasses' chronicle

EPL 1 (Laurentianus Plut. 59, 30, 30r)	Manasses, <i>Breviarium Chronicum</i> 1620–1631
Ὅτι Ῥωμύλος ἐπὶ τοῦ Παλλαντίου τὸ τῆς μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι Ῥώμης σχῆμα διαγράφων ταῦρον δαμάλει συνέζευξε, τὸν μὲν ταῦρον ἔζω πρὸς τὸ πεδῖον νεύοντα τὴν δὲ δαμάλιν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, συμβολικῶς διὰ τούτων εὐχόμενος τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας φοβεροὺς εἶναι τοῖς ἔζω, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας γονίμους καὶ πιστὰς οἰκουροὺς. εἴτα βῶλον λαβὼν ἔξωθεν ἔσω ρίπτει τῆς πόλεως, εὐχόμενος ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλλοτριῶν τὰ ταύτης αὔξειν.	ὁ γοῦν Ῥωμύλος παρελθὼν ἐπὶ τινὰ πολίχνην, ἀπὸ τοῦ κτίστου Πάλλαντος Παλάτιον κληθεῖσαν, <u>τὸ σχῆμα τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐκεῖσε διαγράφει</u>, ἄρρενα ταῦρον καρτερόν καὶ <u>δάμαλιν συζεύξας</u>, ὃν ὁ μὲν ταῦρος ἐνευεν <u>ἔζω πρὸς τὸ πεδῖον</u>, ἡ τοῦτ' συζυγοῦσα δὲ <u>δάμαλις πρὸς τὴν πόλιν</u>. <u>συμβολικῶς δ' ἐπηύχετο</u> Ῥωμύλος διὰ τούτων τοὺς ἄνδρας <u>μὲν τοῖς ἔξωθεν γίνεσθαι φρικαλέους</u>, τὰς δὲ <u>γυναῖκας ἔσωθεν γονίμους χρηματίζειν</u>, <u>πιστὰς μενούσας</u>, οἰκουροὺς καὶ <u>φύλακας τῶν ἔνδον</u>. <u>ἔπειτα βῶλον τῇ χειρὶ λαβὼν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξω ἔνδον ρίπτει</u> τῆς πόλεως, εὐχόμενος <u>ἐπαύξειν τὰ πράγματα τῆς πόλεως ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλλοτριῶν</u>.
EPL 2 (Laurentianus Plut. 59, 30, 30r)¹²⁰	Manasses, <i>Breviarium Chronicum</i> 1671–1681
Ὅτι ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ θεμελίων ὀρυσσομένων ναοῦ κεφαλὴ νεοσφαγοῦς ἀνθρώπου εὐρέθη λευθρωμένη· πρὸς ὅπερ Τυρρηγνὸς μάντις ἔφη τὴν πόλιν κεφαλὴν πολλῶν ἔθνων ἔσεσθαι, πλὴν δι' αἵματος καὶ σφαγῶν. κἀντεῦθεν ὁ Ταρπήιος λόφος μετωνομάσθη Καπιτωλῖνος.	τούτου ναὸν οἰκοδομεῖν ἐν Ῥώμῃ βουλευθέντος βόθρευμα μὲν <u>ὠρύσσετο θεμέλων ὑπογαίων</u>, τῆς δ' ὀρυγῆς ἐπὶ πολὺ τὸ βάθος προϊούσης <u>εὐρέθη κάτω κεφαλὴ νεοσφαγοῦς ἀνθρώπου</u>, αἷμα θερμὸν καὶ νεαρὸν χεόμενον δεικνύσα καὶ πρόσωπον παρεμφερές ἔχουσα τοῖς ἐμπνόοις· <u>ὅπερ μαθὼν ἐν Τυρρηνοῖς δόκιμος τερασκόπος ἔφη τὴν πόλιν κεφαλὴν πολλῶν ἔθνων γενέσθαι</u>, πλὴν διὰ <u>ξίφους καὶ σφαγῶν καὶ λιμνασμῶν αἱμάτων</u>. ἐντεῦθεν ὁ Ταρπήιος <u>μετωνομάσθη λόφος ἐκ τῆς φανείσης κεφαλῆς Καπιτωλῖνος λόφος</u>.

Excerpts 3 and 4 are safely attributed to Paeanius' translation of the *Breviarium Historiae Romanae* by Eutropius (see Table 5.3).

Excerpt 45 marks a change in the primary source used by Planudes, namely John of Antioch. More specifically, ff. 35r–47v in L contain 291 passages on Roman imperial history taken from: a) the *Epitome* of Cassius Dio by John Xiphilinus (269 excerpts), b) Paeanius (eighteen excerpts), and c) the now lost chronicle also used by Manasses (four excerpts).

Excerpts 264–267, which derive from Paeanius, are only transmitted in L and Pal and were published by U. P. Boissevain.¹²¹ One excerpt, which is labelled Excerpt 83 in Mai's edition, is not transmitted in L.¹²² The excerpt is on the life of

120 The *Suda* transmits a text very close to the EPL 2; cf. *Suda* K 341 Καπιτώλιον.

121 Boissevain (1884), 15.

122 The passage is transmitted in Pal.

Table 5.3 The EPL and Paeanius

EPL 3 (Laurentianus Plut. 59, 30, 30r) Paeanius, <i>Breviarium ab urbe condita</i> 1.4	
Ὅτι σημείον τὸ μίλιον λέγεται· χιλίοις βήμασι συμμετρούμενοι· μιλία καὶ τὰ χίλια.	μίλια καλοῦσιν αὐτὰ Ῥωμαῖοι· τὰ χίλια γὰρ βήματα οὕτως ὀνομάζουσι, τοσοῦτοις βήμασι συμμετρούμενοι τὸ σημείον.
EPL 4 (Laurentianus Plut. 59, 30, 30r) Paeanius, <i>Breviarium ab urbe condita</i> 1.9	
Ὅτι δύο κατὰ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους προεχαρίζοντο ὕπατοι. ὥς ἂν συμβαίῃ τὸν ἕτερον φαῦλον εἶναι, καταφεύγειν ἐπὶ τὸν ἕτερον.	Δύο δὲ ἦσαν οὗτοι καὶ ἐτήσιοι, ὥστε, κἂν ἕτερον * φαῦλον εἶναι, καταφεύγειν ἐπὶ τὸν ἕτερον.

Caligula and derives from Flavius Josephus' *Antiquitates Judaicae*.¹²³ Possibly, the excerpt is a later addition and should not be counted amongst the excerpts on Roman history in the *Συναγωγή*.

To sum up, Maximus Planudes, for the section on Roman history, drew primarily from John of Antioch and Xiphilinus. Planudes enriched the sequence of excerpts on Roman history with excerpts from Paeanius and a lost chronicle, traces of which can be encountered in Manasses and other Byzantine texts from the middle Byzantine period. Table 5.4 shows that the inclusion of the augmented passages possibly served to fill historical gaps in the primary arrangement of excerpts

Table 5.4 Excerpts 45–328 in *Laurentianus Plut. 59, 30*

<i>Excerpt</i>	<i>Period</i>	<i>Source</i>
Excerpts 45–119	Last year of the Roman Republic to the first years of the Principate	Xiphilinus
Excerpt 120	Augustus	Lost chronicle
Excerpts 121–125	From Augustus to Tiberius	Xiphilinus
Excerpt 126	On Tiberius	Lost chronicle
Excerpts 127–128	On Tiberius	Xiphilinus
Excerpt 129	On Tiberius	Lost chronicle
Excerpts 130–250	On Tiberius up to Titus	Xiphilinus
Excerpts 251–255	On Titus	Paeanius
Excerpts 256–263	On Titus	Xiphilinus
Excerpts 264–267	On Traian	Paeanius
Excerpts 268–273	On Traian and Hadrian	Xiphilinus
Excerpt 274	On Hadrian	Paeanius
Excerpts 275–325	From Hadrian to Sardanapal	Xiphilinus
Excerpt 326	Maximian	Paeanius
Excerpt 327	Constantine Chlorus	Paeanius
Excerpt 328	Gratian	Lost chronicle

123 *Antiquitates Judaicae* 19, 204; cf. Kugeas (1909), 137.

5.3.2 The source of the *Συναγωγή*: an earlier corpus on Roman history?

The significance of the codex *Athonensis Ivron* 812 in identifying the excerpts transmitted in the *Συναγωγή* has already been mentioned. The discovery of the codex by Sp. Lambros corroborated that excerpts in the *Συναγωγή* must be attributed to John of Antioch. In addition to this, the content of *Athonensis Ivron* 812 led Sp. Lambros to support that excerpts on Roman history in the *Συναγωγή* must have been drawn from an earlier corpus on Roman history compiled by Planudes himself. In what follows, I will present the codex *Athonensis Ivron* 812 and provide a brief overview of earlier surveys of the relationship between the excerpts transmitted in the *Συναγωγή* and *Athonensis Ivron* 812.

5.3.2.1 The codex *Athonensis Ivron* 812

Chartac., ff. 301, 253 × 165 mm (210 × 120 mm), 32–35 (excerpts from Paeanius); 255 × 170 mm (196 × 120 mm), 30 (excerpts from John of Antioch); 225 × 175 mm (208 × 120), 24–28 (excerpts from Xiphilinus), saec. XIV.¹²⁴

<i>Folios</i>	<i>Author</i>	<i>Work</i>
1r–2v, 7r–10v, 15r–92r	Paeanius	Translation of the <i>Breviarium</i> by Eutropius
3r–6v, 11r–14v	John of Antioch	excerpts from <i>Historia chronica</i>
92r–98v	Anonymous	Excerpts from a work, which Lambros named <i>Περὶ τοῦ Καισαρείου γένους</i> ¹²⁵
ff. 99r–301v	Xiphilinus	Epitome of Cassius Dio's <i>Historiae Romanae</i>

Many of the folia in *Athonensis Ivron* 812 are severely damaged to the extent that the text is barely legible. Due to this fact, the observations and remarks made by Sp. Lambros and S. Kugeas on the codex are indispensable for our research. *Athonensis Ivron* 812 is written in four different hands. According to P. Sotiroudis, the oldest hand is the one that copied the excerpts from Paeanius and the acephalous text titled *Περὶ τοῦ Καισαρείου γένους* by Lambros. The excerpts from John of Antioch, from Xiphilinus as well as ff. 208 and 215 were all copied in different hands.¹²⁶

5.3.2.2 The *Συναγωγή* and the codex *Athonensis Ivron* 812

The section on Roman history in the *Συναγωγή* by Planudes consists of excerpts from 1) Paeanius, 2) John of Antioch, 3) Xiphilinus, and 4) an unknown chronicle.

124 On *Athonensis Ivron* 812, see Lambros (1900), 228; Sotiroudis (1989), 159–164; Roberto (ed.) (2005b), CXII–CXV; Mariev (ed.) (2008), 20–21.

125 The text is concerned with the genealogies of Roman emperors from Gaius Octavius to Nero. The author of the text remains anonymous. Sp. Lambros dated the text to the beginning of the second century AD; 278Lambros (1904), 139. 271Kugeas (1909), 138. Kugeas (1909, 138, n. 6) supported that these excerpts come from the section *Περὶ Καισάρων* of the *EC*.

126 Sotiroudis (1989), 162.

Athonensis Iviron 812 consists of excerpts from the same texts, except for the unknown chronicle. The so-called *Περὶ τοῦ Καισαρείου γένους* was mistakenly inserted between the excerpts from Paeanius and Xiphilinus by one of the copyists of *Athonensis Iviron* 812.¹²⁷ It is impossible to know whether *Athonensis Iviron* 812 also contained parts of the same lost chronicle used by Planudes because the Athonite codex is mutilated both at the beginning and at the end. The congruence in content between the codex *Athonensis Iviron* 812 and the series of excerpts on Roman history in the *Συναγωγή* is striking, though. S. Kugeas found that excerpts in the *Συναγωγή* exhibit significant textual similarities with excerpts in *Athonensis Iviron* 812.¹²⁸ Moreover, passages from *Athonensis Iviron* 812 correspond literally with the *EV* 17 and *EV* 18 from John of Antioch.¹²⁹ Depending on this evidence, S. Kugeas showed that a) the *Συναγωγή* definitely transmits passages from John of Antioch and b) all the excerpts on ff. 3r–6v and ff. 11r–14v in *Athonensis Iviron* 812 belong to John of Antioch too.

After scholars have come to the conclusion that the excerpts in the *Συναγωγή* could safely be attributed to John of Antioch, the next question that remained open was whether Planudes made direct use of John of Antioch's chronicle or not. To U. P. Boissevain and G. Sotiriadis it seemed likely that Planudes drew from a *sylloge* of excerpts taken from John of Antioch.¹³⁰ In G. Sotiriadis' view, the *Συναγωγή* and *Athonensis Iviron* 812 drew on a different tradition.¹³¹ This view was contradicted by S. Kugeas' textual comparison between the *Συναγωγή* and *Athonensis Iviron* 812. S. Kugeas found that excerpts in L on both the Roman Republic (excerpts from John of Antioch) and the Roman imperial period (excerpts from Xiphilinus and Paeanius), bear significant textual similarities with excerpts in *Athonensis Iviron* 812.¹³² Despite the textual similarities, S. Kugeas was not convinced that *Athonensis Iviron* 812 was a direct copy from the *Συναγωγή*. Indeed, there are textual variations between *Athonensis Iviron* 812 and the *Συναγωγή*, which do not support an immediate dependence of *Athonensis Iviron* 812 on the *Συναγωγή*.¹³³ The textual congruences indicate that the common excerpts between

127 Kugeas (1909), 138–139.

128 In particular, seven excerpts (37–43) correspond to passages in *Athonensis Iviron* 812: *EPL* 37 = 17, 10 Lamb.; *EPL* 38 = 20, 5 Lamb.; *EPL* 39 = 21, 16 Lamb.; *EPL* 40 = 25, 24 Lamb.; *EPL* 41 = 26, 24 Lamb.; *EPL* 42 = 28, 9 Lamb.; *EPL* 43 = 30, 3 Lamb.; cf. Kugeas (1909), 128–132.

129 See Appendix I: Text V.

130 Sotiriadis (1888), 51; Boissevain, *Cas.Dio.* v.I, praef. CXII.

131 Sotiriadis (1888), 51.

132 It is certain that *Athonensis Iviron* 812 is dated shortly after Planudes' death. The excerpts from John of Antioch preserved in *Athonensis Iviron* 812 were first published by Sp. Lambros; cf. Lambros (1904), 13–31. Emendations and additions to the text were published by Sp. Lambros in Lambros (1904), 244, 495–498; Lambros (1905), 240–241, 503–506; Lambros (1906), 124–126; see also Mariev fr. 98 and Roberto fr. 145.1–3. On the excerpts from John of Antioch, see also Walton (1965), 236–251.

133 Kugeas (1909), 141. Diller argued in favour of a direct relationship between the two manuscripts, as well. According to him, *Athonensis Iviron* 812 is a copy from a Planudean manuscript, though; cf. Diller (1937), 299.

the *Συναγωγή* and *Athonensis Iviron* 812 derive from a manuscript which was either the archetype of *Athonensis Iviron* 812 or a codex stemming from the same archetype as *Athonensis Iviron* 812.¹³⁴

Furthermore, S. Kugeas attempted to reconstruct the manuscript now lost which served as source for the *Συναγωγή* and from which *Athonensis Iviron* 812 possibly is an exact copy. He conjectured that the lost manuscript must have contained texts on Roman history only, written by Paeanius, John of Antioch, Xiphilinus, and perhaps an unknown chronicle used by Manasses and other Byzantine authors.¹³⁵ Such a collection could only have been made after the eleventh century.¹³⁶ S. Kugeas conjectured Maximus Planudes himself as the compiler of this collection and he argued that the excerpts on Roman history in Planudes' *Συναγωγή* must be passages extracted and re-edited from the manuscript of the aforementioned collection.¹³⁷ The assiduous research carried out by P. Sotiroudis on the subject confirmed S. Kugeas' assertion on the Planudean authorship of the manuscript used as source for the *Συναγωγή*.¹³⁸

Finally, S. Kugeas ascribed the presence of Excerpts 1–5 at the beginning of the series (excerpts that are not from John of Antioch) to the fact that the manuscript used by Planudes was mutilated.¹³⁹ That is why Planudes attempted to fill the gap in John of Antioch's deficient manuscript in his possession by drawing on a) an unknown chronicle (Excerpts 1–2), b) Paeanius (Excerpts 3–4), and c) John Lydus (Excerpt 5).

5.3.3 Excerpting John of Antioch and Xiphilinus

The establishment of the textual relationship between the *Συναγωγή* and *Athonensis Iviron* 812 enables us to study and comprehend the excerpting method applied by Planudes in the section on Roman history of the *Συναγωγή*.

a) John of Antioch

As already mentioned, the first part on Roman history in the *Συναγωγή* is mainly made up of passages taken from John of Antioch. A large number of excerpts in the *Συναγωγή* are unique and thus essential for the reconstruction of the chronicle by John of Antioch as transmitted through the *EC*, the *Suda*, the *Exc.Salm.I*, and *Athonensis Iviron* 812. The passages in the *Suda* derive from the *EC*, whereas as shown above (Section 5.3.2), the *Συναγωγή* derives from John of Antioch as survived in the *Athonensis Iviron* 812 tradition; most likely from the archetype of *Athonensis Iviron* 812. The textual comparison of the two passages common

134 Kugeas (1909), 142.

135 The mutilated *Athonensis Iviron* 812 is not helpful on that.

136 The *Epitome* of Dio by Xiphilinus was prepared by order of Michael VII Doukas (1071–1078).

137 Kugeas (1909), 144–146.

138 Sotiroudis (1989), 163–164.

139 Kugeas (1909), 136.

to the *EC* and *Athonensis Iviron* 812 (see Appendix I: Text V) demonstrates a) that the author of the archetype of *Athonensis Iviron* 812 had direct access to the chronicle by John of Antioch and b) *Athonensis Iviron* 812 contains a text impressively close to the *EC*, which, in turn, makes it seem likely that *Athonensis Iviron* 812 is probably an exact copy of its archetype.

Given these facts, in studying the excerpting method of Planudes, it would be safer to rely on a comparison between the *Συναγωγή* with both, *Athonensis Iviron* 812, as well as the *EC* tradition of John of Antioch. In particular: a) sixteen excerpts from John of Antioch in the *Συναγωγή* are also found in the *Suda*, which reflects the *EC* tradition,¹⁴⁰ and b) seven Planudean excerpts from John are also transmitted in *Athonensis Iviron* 812,¹⁴¹ c) three of the latter excerpts are also included in the *Suda*, and d) three Planudean excerpts from John of Antioch are preserved in the *EC*.

Upon closer examination of the common passages in the aforementioned works, we come to the following particular conclusions about Planudes' excerpting method: Planudes' intervention in the original text is restricted to a) textual additions, b) to the replacing of words with others that explain the text better, and c) to textual omissions. Planudes resorted to the aforementioned strategies to solve the problem of inadequate contextualisation resulting from taking a passage out of its original textual context. Let us see how the strategies play out in passages excerpted from John of Antioch.

To begin with, the beginnings of *John of Antioch* excerpts in the *Συναγωγή* deviate in vocabulary and syntax from the texts transmitted both in the *Suda* and in *Athonensis Iviron* 812.¹⁴² In fact, the opening of each excerpt always sums up the context of the respective passage in the *Suda* and *Athonensis Iviron* 812. The rest of the Planudean excerpts, correspond in general but not without exceptions to the text as preserved either in the *Suda* or the *Athonensis Iviron* 812. To give but a number of examples, the *EPL* 35 is an excerpt included in both the *EC* and the *Suda*.¹⁴³ The opening sentence of the *EPL* 35 (Ὅτι Σκηπίωνος μαχομένου τοῖς Ἰβηρσιν)¹⁴⁴ serves to introduce us to the historical context of the passage, presented in detail at the beginning of the excerpt in the *EC* (*EI* 22). What follows in the *EPL* 35 is textually very close to the text in both the *EI* 22 and the *Suda* B 396. *EPL* 39 represents a similar case. The Ὅτι Ρωμαῖοι κατὰ τὴν πρὸς τὴν Μιθριδάτου στρατιὰν μάχην εἰς φυγὴν ἐτράπησαν¹⁴⁵ gives a summary of what precedes in the text of *Athonensis Iviron* 812. The rest of the *EPL* 39 is copied verbatim from the original John of Antioch. The closing sentence in the *EPL* 39 (καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐκράτησαν)¹⁴⁶ epitomises the last part of the text in the *Athonensis Iviron* 812.

140 See Mariev (ed.) (2008), esp. 8*–13*.

141 See n. 128.

142 All passages are published in Appendix I: Text VI.

143 See Appendix I: Text VI.

144 That when Scipio fought against the Iberians.

145 That the Romans, in the face of Mithridates' army, fled during the battle.

146 And they prevailed over their enemies.

The same strategy is detected in passages from the *Συναγωγή* preserved in the *Suda* only (see Table 5.5). To cite but some instances, the first sentence in *EPL* 11 sums up the context of the first half of the *Suda* T 791. The rest of the *EPL* 11 coincides verbally with the entry in the *Suda*. The introductory statement *Ὅτι Βαλλερίου μέλλοντος ἡγεμόνι τῶν Κελτῶν μοναμαχεῖν*¹⁴⁷ in *EPL* 13 summarises the first half of the *Suda* K 1307. *EPL* 22 is identical with the *Suda* Φ 5 but for the first two lines, which are abbreviated in the *Συναγωγή*. *EPL* 25 transmits a text that is contained in the *Suda* P 126. The beginning and the ending of the *EPL* 25 are summaries of the equivalent parts in the *Suda*, but the rest is preserved.

Notwithstanding this clear pattern, the case of *EPL* 12 should be indicative of the caution with which to examine the relationship between the *Συναγωγή* and the *Suda*. The whole passage in the *Συναγωγή* is a shortened version of the *Suda* Λ

Table 5.5 The *EPL* in the *Athonensis Iviron* 812, the *Suda*, and the *EC*

<i>EPL</i> ¹⁴⁸	<i>Athonensis Iviron</i> 812	<i>Suda</i>	<i>EC</i>
5 (fr. 32 M)		Δ 1112, Δικτάτωρ	
6 (fr. 21 M)		B 451, Βουολοῦσκοι	
10 (fr. 41 M)		Φ 184, Φεβρουάριος	
12 (fr. 22 M)		Λ 491, Λίβερνος	
11 (fr. 45 M)		T 791, Τορκουάτος	
13 (fr. 47 M)		K 2070, Κορβίνος = K 1307, Κελτοί = A 1685, Ἀμύσσειν	
15 (fr. 46 M)		M 105, Μάλλιος	
16 (fr. 50 M)		A 3375, Ἀπολαβόντες + Z 191, Ζυγῶ	
22 (fr. 60 M)		Φ 5, Φαβρίκιος = A 3566, Ἀποστρυφόντες	
25 (fr. 64 M)		P 126, Πήγουλος	
27 (fr. 73 M)		A 2452, Ἀννίβας ὁ Καρχηδόνιος οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο	
33 (fr. 83 M)		Π 1371, Περσεὺς Μακεδών	
35 (fr. 91 M)		B 396 Βορίανθος = E 2241, Ἐπίβολος	<i>EI</i> 22
37 (fr. 98.7 M)	p. 118.3–120.6 M	Σ 1337, Σύλλας	
38 (fr. 98.11 M)	p. 126.1–11 M	Γ 212, Γεφυρίζων	
39 (fr. 98.12 M)	p. 128.6–11 M		
40 (fr. 98.19 M)	p. 136.9–16 M	Σ 1337, Σύλλας	
41 (fr. 98.21 M)	p. 140.2–142.6 M		<i>EV</i> 18 (p. 172, 3–173,9)
42 (fr. 98.21 M)	p. 144.1–7 M		<i>EV</i> 18 (p. 172, 3–173,9)
43 (fr. 98.23 M)	p. 146.15–17 M		

147 That Valerius who is about to fight in single combat against the Gallic leader.

148 The numeration of the excerpts in the parenthesis is the one given by Mariev (ed.) (2008) in his edition of John of Antioch.

491, even if the structure was not changed. There is a difference in vocabulary, though: the *συνιόντος* and the *καρποῦται* are words not present in the *Suda*, pointing either to a different tradition or additions on the part of Planudes himself. The same holds true for *EPL* 10. *EPL* 10 summarises the text in the *Suda* Φ 184, with the exception of the last sentence, which is literally transmitted in the *Suda*, as well: *καὶ τὸν ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ μῆνα παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκολόβωσεν*.¹⁴⁹ As can be seen in Appendix I: Text VI, *EPL* 37, *EPL* 38, and *EPL* 40 transmit passages from John of Antioch, preserved in both *Athonensis Iviron* 812 and the *Suda*.¹⁵⁰ It is noteworthy that the beginning of *EPL* 38 (*Ὅτι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὰ Μηθριδάτου φρονήσαντας Σύλλας πολιορκία παραστησάμενος*)¹⁵¹ epitomises the first half of the respective passage in *Athonensis Iviron* 812. *EPL* 40 presents a shortened version of the text in *Athonensis Iviron* 812 and the *Suda* Σ 1337 by omitting a significant part of the original text.

The vocabulary that Planudes uses when summarising the original text, is not always transmitted in the entries of the *Suda*, but it is difficult to assign such additions to Planudes himself. Table 5.5 shows that we are in the fortunate position of having three excerpts from John of Antioch that were transmitted in the *Συναγωγή*, the codex *Athonensis Iviron* 812 and the *Suda*, two excerpts preserved in the *Συναγωγή*, the codex *Athonensis Iviron* 812 and the *EC*, and one excerpt found in the *Συναγωγή*, the *Suda* and the *EC*, respectively. As shown in Appendix I, Text VI, each deviation between the *Συναγωγή* and the *EC* tradition (including the *Suda*) comes through the *Athonensis Iviron* 812 tradition. I cite two examples: a. in *EPL* 38 the word *πανωλεθρία* in the phrase *πᾶσαν ἐδέησε μικροῦ πανωλεθρία διαφθεῖραι τὴν πόλιν*¹⁵² is likewise transmitted in the *Athonensis Iviron* 812, but it is absent in the respective passage in the *Suda*: *ἐδέησε μικροῦ διαφθεῖραι τὴν πόλιν*, and b. the case of the *EPL* 40 = *Athonensis Iviron* 812 (fr. 98.19 M) = *Suda* Σ 1337 is revealing. The text in Planudes is obviously derived from the Iviron tradition as the occurrences of the *σπᾶσαι* and *τὴν* indicate.¹⁵³

Finally, there are excerpts in the *Συναγωγή* preserving a text better than the one surviving in the *EC* tradition of John of Antioch. *EPL* 16 transmits a text longer than the one recorded in the *Suda*. In fact, the beginning of the Planudean passage helped the last two editors of John of Antioch to restore the text of two entries in the *Suda*, namely, the *Suda* A 3375, 21–23 and the Z 191 Ζυγῶ. The ending of the *EPL* 16 is only recorded in the *Συναγωγή*. Similarly, *EPL* 27 and *EPL* 33 appear to enrich passages from John of Antioch transmitted in the *Suda* in terms of content.

149 The month named after him was also shortened in comparison with other months; cf. Mariev (ed.) (2008), 55.

150 I would like to note that the text in *Athonensis Iviron* 812 is strikingly close to the one in the *Suda*. Once again this indicates that the archetype of *Athonensis Iviron* 812 contained the original by John of Antioch in its entirety and that *Athonensis Iviron* 812 must be an exact copy of its archetype.

151 That after the Athenians sided with Methridates, Sulla was prompted to besiege (the city).

152 Almost destroying the city completely; cf. Mariev (ed.) (2008), 127.

153 Appendix I: Text VI.

The phrases *τοῖς οἴκοι* and *κατὰ τὸν πάτριον νόμον περικειμένοις* in the *EPL* 27 are absent in the *Suda* A 2452.¹⁵⁴ The same holds true for the sentence *καὶ πέρα τοῦ συνήθους* recorded only in the *EPL* 33.

b) Xiphilinus

The second section on Roman history comprises passages from the *Epitome* of Cassius Dio by John Xiphilinus, excerpted by employing a method similar to the one applied to the chronicle by John of Antioch. The compiler keeps to the narrative sequence within each passage. The content and structure of the passages survive unaltered. The text was copied, in the main verbatim, from the original. Changes on the part of Planudes consist in omissions and simplifications.

Table 5.6 provides us with the text of two excerpts from Xiphilinus. In *EPL* 45 the sentence *Ὅτι Λουκούλλον τὰ Τυγρανόκερτα πολιορκοῦντα*¹⁵⁵ makes up a short introduction, composed by Planudes himself, who combined a few words from the original text. The beginning of the text is altered in *EPL* 47 in the same way: the *Ὅτι Καῖσαρ μὲν τὸν δῆμον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐθεράπευε* is compiled by Planudes on the basis of words taken from the original text.

Table 5.6 Xiphilinus' *Epitome* in the *EPL*

EPL 45	Xiphilinus, <i>Epitome</i> p. 1–2 ed. Dindorf
<u>Ὅτι Λουκούλλον τὰ</u> <u>Τυγρανόκερτα</u> <u>πολιορκοῦντα</u> , Τιγράνης τοσαύτη χερὶ κατ' αὐτοῦ ἦλθεν, ὥστε καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ Ῥωμαίων καταγελάσαι καὶ εἰπεῖν ὡς εἰ μὲν πολεμήσοντες ἦκοιεν, ὀλίγοι, εἰ δὲ πρεσβεύοντες, πολλοὶ παρεῖεν.	Λούκουλλος δὲ Λούκιος κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς τούτους τοὺς τῆς Ἀσίας δυνάστας Μιθριδάτην τε καὶ Τιγράνην τὸν Ἀρμένιον πολέμῳ νικήσας καὶ φυγομαχεῖν ἀναγκάσας <u>τὰ Τυγρανόκερτα ἐπολιόρκει</u> . καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ βάρβαροι τῇ τε τοξείᾳ καὶ τῇ νάφθᾳ κατὰ τῶν μηχανῶν χρομένη δεινῶς ἐκάκωσαν. ἀσφαλτῶδες δὲ τὸ φάρμακον τοῦτο, καὶ διάπυρον οὕτως ὥσθ' ὅσοις ἂν προσμίξῃ, πάντως αὐτὰ κατακαίειν, οὐδ' ἀποσβέννυται ὑπ' οὐθενὸς ὕγρου ῥαδίως. ἐκ τούτου δὲ ὁ <u>Τιγράνης</u> ἀναθαρρήσας <u>τοσαύτη χερὶ</u> στρατοῦ ἦλθεν ὥστε καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων <u>τῶν ἐκεῖσε παρόντων καταγελάσαι</u> . Λέγεται δ' οὖν εἰπεῖν <ὡς> εἰ μὲν πολεμήσοντες ἦκοιεν, ὀλίγοι, εἰ δὲ πρεσβεύοντες, πολλοὶ παρεῖεν.
EPL 47 <u>Ὅτι Καῖσαρ μὲν τὸν δῆμον</u> <u>ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐθεράπευε</u> , Κικέρων δὲ ἐπιμφοτέρηζε τὰ πολλὰ καὶ ποτὲ μὲν τῷ δήμῳ, ποτὲ δὲ τῇ γερουσίᾳ προσετίθετο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτόμολος ὀνομάζετο.	Xiphilinus, <i>Epitome</i> p. 5 ed. Dindorf καὶ Καῖσαρος αὐτῷ καὶ Κικέρωνος συναραμένων, καὶ συνειπόντων τοῦ μὲν ὅτι τὸν ὄχλον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑφείρπε καὶ ἐθεράπευε, τοῦ δ' ὅτι ἐπιμφοτέρηζε τὰ πολλὰ, καὶ ποτὲ μὲν τῷ δήμῳ, ποτὲ δὲ τῇ γερουσίᾳ προσετίθετο· τὴν τε γὰρ πολιτείαν ἄγειν ἡξίου καὶ ἐνεδείκνυτο καὶ τῷ πλήθει καὶ τοῖς δυνατοῖς ὅτι ὀποτέροις ἂν σφον πρόσθῃται, πάντως αὐτοὺς ἐπανήξει· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ αὐτόμολος ὀνομάζετο.

154 See Roberto (ed.) (2005b), CXI.

155 *When Lucullus besieged the city of Tigranocerta.*

To sum up, the process of redacting the *Συναγωγή* was based on compositional principles seen in earlier collections of historical excerpts. Planudes retained the language and style of the original text, respected the original sequence of excerpts, and aimed at brevity and accuracy. The analysis of single excerpts on Roman history in L showed that Planudes was familiar with the issue of flawed contextualisation caused by the excerpting method. It became manifest that in re-editing selected passages from John of Antioch and Xiphilinus, Planudes resorted to the same strategies as earlier compilers of excerpt collections: a) addition of an introductory sentence into the excerpts – the insertion was made up of material from the original text, b) omissions, and c) substitution of words.

5.3.4 Thematisation¹⁵⁶ of history in the Excerpta Planudea

This section considers the literary and political function served by the sequence of excerpts on Roman history in Planudes' *Συναγωγή*. In particular, in what follows it shall be shown that Planudes made a conscious extraction of thematically connected historical passages on Roman history. His material selection hints at his aim a) to supply people with moral examples concerning behavioural patterns and b) to shape cultural and political thinking. These two objectives of Planudes will be discussed in the following by focusing on excerpts 1–44, that is, the passages on the Roman Republic.

5.3.4.1 Andronicus II

Before presenting my views of the function of the passages on Roman history in the *Συναγωγή*, a few preliminary considerations are needed. Andronicus II (1282–1328) succeeded his father Michael VIII (1259–1282) to the throne in 1282. He was much more educated than his father but proved to be less competent in military and political affairs. His reign signified what came to be called in histories of Byzantium the beginnings of the decline of the Empire.¹⁵⁷ Militarily, the Empire lost control over most of the cities in Asia Minor.¹⁵⁸ In fact, the situation in Anatolia begun to deteriorate largely during the reign of his father.¹⁵⁹ Michael VIII's political agenda had been dominated by his desire to unify the Eastern and Western Churches. As a result, Michael VIII busied, primarily, himself with the diplomatic negotiations with the West and neglected, to a catastrophic extent, the defences in Asia Minor. Only shortly before his death, he seemed to realise

156 The term is borrowed from Signes Codoñer (2016), 250. J. Signes Codoñer uses the term to identify historical texts in which the material was ordered according to themes. J. Signes Codoñer seems, however, to share A. Németh's assertion that such texts were only produced during Constantine Porphyrogenitus' reign.

157 See esp. Laiou (1972).

158 After 1304, the Turks controlled virtually all of Asia Minor; cf. Laiou (1972), 290; Fryde (2000), 93.

159 In 1255 the Mongols invaded eastern and central Anatolia and caused many Turkic people to gradually spread across western Anatolia; Gregory (2005), 303.

the necessity of paying more attention to Anatolia. His son, Andronicus II, being aware of the plight of the Byzantine lands in the east, passed three years (1290–1293) in Asia Minor striving to strengthen the defences there. He also attempted to face the situation by appointing members of the imperial family as provincial governors, that is, sort of semi-independent rulers of parts of the Empire. His policies, partly influenced by Western concepts of political power, gave a lot of power to provincial aristocrats who in turn used their strength to avoid paying taxes.¹⁶⁰ The difficult economic situation led Andronicus to a series of economic measures: a) he imposed a new tax, the so-called *sitokrithon* which was a tax on land paid in kind, b) he eliminated tax exemptions and, c) he reduced the army and the navy. Such retrenchment affected the military capacity of the Empire and made any territorial recovery in the Balkans and in Asia Minor impossible. By the beginning of the fourteenth century, Asia Minor had been divided into many Turkic emirates.¹⁶¹

On the other hand, Andronicus II was much interested in culture and education. Pachymeres and Gregoras' histories call attention to Andronicus II's intellectual interests (theological, philosophical, and scientific).¹⁶² It is not a coincidence that his circle involved highly educated men, such as Nikephoros Chumnos and Theodore Metochites.¹⁶³ Scholars active in the Paleologan period were fond of recovering and restoring ancient Greek texts.¹⁶⁴ Andronicus II was a generous patron of scholars in Constantinople as well as in other cities. John Pediasimos, Thomas Magistros, and Demetrios Triklinios, for instance, are three prime examples of Paleologan scholars who lived and worked in Thessaloniki.¹⁶⁵ There is some evidence that, from the end of the thirteenth century, more people – not necessarily members of aristocratic families – could have access to higher education. If this was the case, the audience for ancient Greek literature would have been broader in the Paleologan period. It is notable, that during Andronicus II's reign, a considerable number of ancient poetic and prose texts were edited and commented.¹⁶⁶ Most of the texts were intended to

160 Gregory (2005), 299.

161 On the matter, see Vryonis (1971).

162 Laiou (1972), 8.

163 Chumnos was a chief minister of Andronikos II for eleven years (1294–1305). He composed significant treatises on philosophy and cosmology. Metochites succeeded Chumnos as chief minister (1305–1328). He wrote on philosophy and astronomy as well as a collection of poems. Metochites was also a patron of the arts. He commissioned the restoration and decoration of the church attached to the monastery of Chora. On Chumnos, see Verpeaux (1959); Chrestou (2002); Amato and Ramelli (2006), 1–40. On Metochites' life and writings, see Fryde (2000), 322–337; Bazzani (2006), 32–52; Polemis (2017). On the personal relationship of the two Byzantine scholars, see Ševčenko (1962).

164 On the editorial activities of scholars of the Paleologan period, see Wilson (1996), 241–264; Ševčenko (1984), 144–171. Fryde (2000), 144–164 provides us with bibliography on Byzantine editions of ancient Greek literature.

165 On the scholarly writings and teaching activities of Triklinios and Magistros in Thessaloniki, see Nicol (1986), 121–131; Fryde (2000), 213–224, 268–290; 297–301; Niels (2011).

166 An overview of the editions of classical literary works by prominent figures of the Paleologan period (Triklinios, Thomas Magistros, Moschopoulos) is provided by Fryde (2000); Niels (2011). On Pediasimos, see Constantinides (1982), 116–122. On Triklinios' editions of the three Athenian dramatists

be used in schooling, since most of the scholars of the Paleologan period were also teachers at schools in Constantinople and in Thessaloniki.¹⁶⁷

5.3.4.2 Planudes' advice literature

Maximus Planudes was amongst those highly educated men favoured by Andronicus II.¹⁶⁸ It is worth mentioning, that the emperor entrusted Planudes with two important diplomatic missions, the first to Cilician Armenia in 1295, and the second to Venice in 1297.¹⁶⁹ In the year 1294, Michael IX, the son of Andronicus II, was crowned co-emperor.¹⁷⁰ The emperor invited Planudes to deliver a panegyric celebrating the coronation. Planudes wrote and delivered his *Basilikos* (Βασιλικὸς λόγος), a political panegyric advocating the rebuilding of the Byzantine military fleet and an aggressive military policy against Byzantium's enemies. In the *Basilikos*, praise of the new co-emperor is combined with criticism of Andronicus II's military achievements.¹⁷¹ The text appears a) to provide the new co-emperor with advice on imperial external policy and b) to disapprove of Andronicus' decision to dismantle the Byzantine fleet in 1285.¹⁷²

Composers of panegyrics aimed at self-promoting as well as at advertising their standpoints in terms of politics. As D. Angelov showed, rhetoricians of the last decades of the fourteenth century were not hesitant to deal with imperial foreign and military policy. Orators were willing to use their speeches in order to voice views on imperial policy.¹⁷³ Their interest in conveying political messages

(Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides), of Aristophanes' comedies, and of poems by Hesiod, Pindar, and Theocritus, see Wilson (1996), 249–256; Fryde (2000), 268–290. On Thomas Magistros' lexicon of Attic words, see Ritschl (ed), 1832; Wilson (1996), 247–248. A recension of a number of Pindar's poems is attributed to him by Triklinios; cf. Irigoien (1952), 181. On Thomas' commentaries on the three ancient Greek tragedians, see Schartau (1973); Kopff (1976); Fryde (2000), 299–301.

167 During the reign of Michael VIII (1258–1282), George Akropolites, Gregory of Cyprus, and George Pachymeres were active as teachers in Constantinople. George Akropolites was in charge of a school of higher education. Gregory of Cyprus presided over a school at the monastery of Akataleptos in Constantinople from 1274 until 1283; cf. Constantinides (1982), 32–34, 59, 64; Fryde (2000), 87–88. Under the reign of Andronicus II, Maximus Planudes, Manuel Holobolos, and Manuel Moschopoulos taught at schools attached to imperial monasteries in Constantinople. John Pediasimos, Demetrios Triklinios, and Thomas Magistros are three Byzantine scholars who lived and taught in Thessaloniki; Constantinides (1982), 54, 68–71, 116–122; Fryde (2000), 297–301.

168 Planudes rediscovered a manuscript containing the *Geographia* of Ptolemy (second c. AD), a fact that was much appreciated by Andronicus II. Planudes prepared and donated the emperor a luxurious copy of the text (*Vaticanus Urbinate* 82); Fryde (2000), 92.

169 Planudes did not, finally, take part in the mission to Armenia in 1295; cf. Treu (ed.) (1890), 159. See also in Laiou (1972). On the mission to Venice, see Pachymeres, III.ix.21, 269–271.

170 Laiou (1972), 50.

171 The text was edited by Westerink (1966), 98–103; (1967), 54–67; (1968), 34–50. Modern scholars classify the text as a *political panegyric*; Angelov (2003), 55–63. The genre of *political panegyric* is discussed by Planudes in his commentary on the Hermogenian corpus; Angelov (2006), 168.

172 Angelov (2003), 55–63; Angelov (2006), esp. 172–178.

173 Angelov (2006), esp. 169–178.

to their emperors and audiences should be viewed against the military and political circumstances of the period. Indeed, parts of their speeches often address the weakness of the Empire to protect its lands in the Balkans and in Asia Minor, and to get rid of the Latins in Constantinople.¹⁷⁴ Planudes, as his *Basilikos* reveals, was not an exception to this tendency.¹⁷⁵ Yet, the political agenda attested in his political panegyric is also detected in the *Συναγωγή*. The *Συναγωγή* as a whole, no doubt, was meant to advance Planudes' literary interests. The structure and content of the *Συναγωγή* suggest that it consists of passages selected for teaching.¹⁷⁶ Yet, the selective use of passages on Roman history indicates that their source (the collection of historical excerpts which the Roman section in the *Συναγωγή* and *Athonensis Iviron* 812 come from)¹⁷⁷ targeted a broader readership. For instance, among the target audience of Planudes must also have been literate men fleeing Anatolia to Constantinople at the end of the thirteenth century.¹⁷⁸ Beside an edifying moral purpose, the section on Roman history bears a veiled criticism on Andronicus II's external policies. The hypothesis that Planudes could also aim to convey a political message to the emperor himself cannot be excluded. The case of the *Basilikos* shows that criticism was also a form of counselling the emperor.

The genre of political panegyric was definitely a direct way of giving advice in the context of an encomium.¹⁷⁹ A panegyric enabled orators to mix praise and counsel. Planudes' admiration of the abilities of Michael IX, in the *Basilikos*, reveals Planudes' hope that the new emperor would be more eager to fight the Turks in Anatolia.¹⁸⁰ And a little further on in the same text, Planudes counsels the emperor to have no confidence in the words of his enemies; the emperor, instead, must prefer warfare to diplomacy in dealing with them.¹⁸¹ Planudes voiced similar views on imperial policy in his selection of passages on Roman history. Elements of counsel and political opinion, seen in the *Basilikos*, were introduced by Planudes in his collection of historical excerpts. Specifically, as shall be shown in the next section, in order to promote his own political agenda and convert the readers to his point of view, Planudes employed rhetorical strategies he borrowed from the genre of political panegyric, namely praise and irony.¹⁸² Both rhetorical

174 See for instance the speeches by Planudes, Metochites, and Chumnos discussed by Angelov (2006), 161–180.

175 Planudes was well acquainted with rhetoric as well as the political use of panegyrics; Angelov (2006), 177.

176 See Kugeas (1909), 134; Fryde (2000); Ferroni (2011), 342.

177 On Planudes' authorship of the collection, see Section 5.3.2.

178 Vryonis (1971), esp. 249–255. Browning mentions that some of them, such as George Karbones, became notable scholars and teachers in Constantinople; cf. Browning (1989), 230–231.

179 Angelov (2003), 58.

180 Angelov (2006), 176.

181 *Basilikos*, 44.1226–1230.

182 Orators of the Paleologan period resorted heavily to such rhetorical devices. It is noteworthy that Planudes discusses the literary form of the *political panegyric* in his *scholia* on Hermogenes; Angelov (2006), 173–174.

devices enabled Planudes to criticise imperial policy and promote his own political views.

5.3.4.3 *The arrangement of excerpts on Roman history*

This section argues that the selection of passages on Roman history in the *Συναγωγή* aimed a) to set out the standard arsenal of Roman virtues and b) to convey messages to the emperor and his entourage about imperial foreign policy. As it shall be shown, the *Συναγωγή* abounds with edifying examples taken from the Republic history. The presentation of the actions of emperors in a period during which a war is taking place is an element that Planudes borrowed from panegyrics.¹⁸³ By stressing imperial wartime virtues, Planudes offered a veiled criticism of the current emperor. The excerpted passages point out the traditional warrior skills of the Romans and highlight the fact that the Romans had always been a warlike people and enjoyed great victories over their enemies. The focus lies in the military successes of Roman emperors and in the glorious past of the city of Rome. For the Byzantines considered the Romans as their honoured ancestors, and Constantinople as the new Rome. It is not a coincidence that in the *Basilikos*, Planudes stresses the fact that the emperor should regard himself a descendant of the Romans.¹⁸⁴ What follows in the *Basilikos* is a laudation of the Romans' warrior abilities and their victories at war.¹⁸⁵ Planudes concluded that the Romans have always been disposed towards military actions.¹⁸⁶ The passages in the *Συναγωγή* make clear that Romans' superiority over their enemies at war was due to traditional Roman virtues, such as military excellence, strict discipline, and patriotism. Like in the case of the *Basilikos*, the praise of the Romans in the *Συναγωγή* is meant to urge immediate military action on the part of Andronicus II.

a) Praise

To begin with, a considerable number of excerpts are concerned with the virtue of military excellence. The passages praise the edifying conduct of individual Roman emperors or generals. Specifically, *EPL* 6 transmits that Marcius, a brave young Roman soldier, desired only *στεφάνῳ καὶ ἵπῳ πολεμιστηρίῳ*¹⁸⁷ as a reward for his deeds. According to *EPL* 10, Camillus was falsely accused of plotting usurpation by a Gallic consul called Februius. After the truth was revealed, Februius was exiled from the city and *καὶ τὸν ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ μῆνα παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκολόβωσεν*,¹⁸⁸ so that future generations will always remember

183 On this aspect of panegyrics, see Angelov (2006), 168.

184 *Basilikos*, 61.475–478.

185 *Basilikos*, 62.529–532.

186 *Basilikos*, 61.472–475. The Romans were not primarily traders like the Phoenicians and not farmers like the Egyptians; *Basilikos*, 62.259–538.

187 *A garland for valour and a warhorse*; cf. Mariev (ed.) (2008), 33.

188 *The month named also after him was shortened in comparison with other months*; cf. Mariev (ed.) (2008), 55.

Februarius' punishment. *EPL* 11 and 12 accentuate the ancient Roman virtue of heroic self-sacrifice. In *EPL* 11, Manlius' bravery on battlefield is rewarded as follows: καὶ τὴν ἐπικλήσιν ταύτην τοῖς ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ κατέλιπε μνημεῖον τῆς ἀριστείας.¹⁸⁹ *EPL* 12 records that Curtius chooses to sacrifice himself and thus saves the city. For his brave death, he was offered annual heroic rites. A similar case is contained in *EPL* 14: a diviner foretold that if a Roman consul 'consecrated himself to the chthonic deities',¹⁹⁰ the Romans would defeat the Latins; Decius, the consul, decided to be the one sacrificing himself, granting the Romans with the victory. *EPL* 15 foregrounds the Roman virtue of strict discipline. The passage records that Manlius ὥς μὲν ἀριστεὰ ἐστεφάνωσεν his son after the latter defeated a Latin adversary. Shortly afterwards, however, Manlius beheaded his son for disobeying his orders. The episode was meant to show that all the Romans should equally be obedient to their rulers. It should be pointed out that the theme of obedience to the laws of the state reappears in two Platonic dialogues, namely, the *Crito* and the *Phaedo*, copied on Planudes' commission in the Viennese codex *Phil. gr.* 21.¹⁹¹ The dialogues are copied by Planudes' collaborators, except for a number of excerpts from the end of both dialogues; these excerpts, dealing with Socrates' decision to obey the law of the state (and thus to die), were copied by Planudes himself. The very last fact is indicative of the importance Planudes assigned to the value of law. Indeed, he was very interested in the subject of the ruler who devotes his entire life to the service of the state and of his citizens. It is not a coincidence that the *Συναγωγή* includes the *Leges*¹⁹² and that Planudes opted to translate into Greek Cicero's *Dream of Scipio*, a dialogue that was meant to underscore the Roman virtues of justice, bravery, and devotion to the service of the state.¹⁹³ The selection of passages conveying edifying messages complies with Planudes' literary interests in general. It should be noted that, when copying poems by Gregory of Nazianzus in *Laurentianus Plut.* 32, 16, Planudes made a selection of only those verses bearing a moral message.¹⁹⁴ Moreover, Planudes' willingness to furnish the reader with behavioural paradigms becomes evident in his choice to edit the *Lives of the Illustrious Greeks and Romans* of Plutarch.¹⁹⁵

A second group of excerpts aimed to emphasise the glorious past of the Roman Republic. Eleven excerpts (*EPL* 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 13, 36, 37, 40, and 43) deal with oracles and divine signs relating to the foundation of Rome as well as the glorious future that the city was about to enjoy. The passages underline a)

189 And he bequeathed this name to his descendants as a memento of his bravery; cf. Mariev (ed.) (2008), 57.

190 Mariev (ed.) (2008), 59–61.

191 On *Vindobonensis Phil. gr.* 21, see Hunger (1961), 151–152; Turyn (1972), 214; Menchelli (2014), 193–204.

192 The text is copied on f. 48r in L and on f. 42v in N; see Section 5.2.

193 On Cicero's text, see Büchner (1976).

194 Fryde (2000), 234.

195 On Plutarch, see Flacelière (1993).

the distinguished role Rome was destined to play in world history and b) confirm that such miracles could only take place in Rome.¹⁹⁶ Three further excerpts (*EPL* 4, 5, and 26) deal with Roman institutions. In ten out of forty-four excerpts, the centre of gravity is military successes of the Roman past. In *EPL* 16, Rome repudiated a shameful agreement made by a number of captive Roman consuls. *EPL* 17 narrates the superiority of the Romans over the Etruscans. *EPL* 19 highlights the military capacity of the Roman army. *EPL* 20 and 21 convey a laudation on the bravery of the Romans on the battlefield, as well. In *EPL* 20, Pyrrhus admires τὸ φοβερόν τοῦ εἶδους of the dead soldiers' ἔτι διασωζόμενον¹⁹⁷ and the fact that ἐναντία πάντες ἔφερον τραύματα.¹⁹⁸ Pyrrhus wishes that he had had such soldiers as allies. In *EPL* 21, Cineas, a rhetor and envoy, reports to Pyrrhus that 'all the Romans were just as virtuous as the Greeks believed him (Pyrrhus) to be'.¹⁹⁹ *EPL* 30, 31, and 35 depict the magnitude of the Roman state under Scipio. In *EPL* 30, Scipio managed to bring 'the whole of Iberia under his control by an upright policy towards its inhabitants'.²⁰⁰ In *EPL* 31, Scipio refused to take hostages from the defeated Iberians, because τὸ γὰρ τοι πιστὸν ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις ἔχειν ὄπλοις.²⁰¹ In *EPL* 35, Scipio refused to reward the Iberian consuls who murdered Virianthus, an Iberian enemy of the Romans: Roman customs do not dictate 'praise for plots against generals committed by their subordinates'.²⁰² *EPL* 32 and 38 refer to military successes of the Romans: their victory over Perseus, the last king of the Macedonians (*EPL* 32), and the conquest of the city of Athens by Sulla (*EPL* 38).

b) Irony

The second rhetorical device by which Planudes voiced his opinion about important political matters was *irony*.²⁰³ There is sufficient evidence that orators of the Paleologan period, often, opted to commend a virtue, which an emperor lacked. The rhetorical device of irony was familiar to the courtly audience of the time.²⁰⁴ Planudes inserts into his *Συναγωγή* excerpts dealing with Romans'

196 This is in line with the thought taken up by the Byzantines concerning the exceptional character of Constantinople, that is, the New Rome. Constantinople became the city where the plan of God was always represented through miracles and omens. This scheme had been inherited from the Roman Empire, whose Byzantium was the continuation. On the subject, see Odorico (2011b), 33–47.

197 *The fierce expression still preserved on their faces*; cf. Mariev (ed.) (2008), 69.

198 *That they all bore frontal wounds*; cf. Mariev (ed.) (2008), 69.

199 Mariev (ed.) (2008), 69.

200 Mariev (ed.) (2008), 92.

201 *He held his own military force to be sufficient guarantee*; cf. Mariev (ed.) (2008), 93.

202 Mariev (ed.) (2008), 99.

203 On *irony*, see Kennedy (1983); Magdalino (1993); Angelov (2003), 70–71.

204 Angelov (2003), 70–71.

adversaries. In three cases (*EPL* 23, 24, and 27) the focus of the excerpt lies on the military successes on the part of the Carthaginians. In *EPL* 23, Xanthus the Spartan helps the Carthaginians to destroy the Roman army. In *EPL* 27, the Carthaginian general Hannibal, wanting to show his countrymen the extent of his victory over the Romans, ‘sent to Libya three Attic medimni full of golden rings, which he had stripped as spoils from men of equestrian and senatorial rank’.²⁰⁵ In *EPL* 24, Planudes excerpts a passage on the construction of triremes by the Carthaginians and on how the Carthaginians are getting prepared for war: the entire city joins the preparation. The authorities melt down statues and ‘take the wood-work of private and public buildings’²⁰⁶ in order to construct the triremes; women cut and offer their hair, which is reused in constructing war machines. Given the praise of the Romans throughout this section, such a favourable depiction of a *barbarian* people in the aforementioned passages is striking.

To my mind, the praise of both, the Romans and the barbarians, serves the same function, namely, that of criticising Planudes’ contemporary imperial policies under the reign of Andronicus II. The passages must be read against the current historical circumstances: the destruction of the military fleet by Andronicus II²⁰⁷ and the unsuccessful negotiations on the marriage of the future emperor Michael IX to the daughter of the titular emperor of Constantinople Philip I of Courtenay, Catherine of Courtenay.²⁰⁸ The marriage was meant to ensure that the Latins would not seek to reconquer Constantinople in the future. *EPL* 24 depicts the significance the Carthaginians assigned to the construction of a fleet: *τοὺς μὲν ἀνδριάντας πρὸς τὴν τοῦ χαλκοῦ χρῆσιν συγχωνεύσαντες, καὶ τὴν ζύλωσιν τῶν τε ἰδίων καὶ δημοσίων ἔργων πρὸς τὰς τριήρεις καὶ τὰς μηχανὰς μετενεγκάμενοι, ἔς τε τὰ σχοινία ταῖς τῶν γυναικῶν κόμαις ἀποκειραμέναις χρησάμενοι*.²⁰⁹ Andronicus II’s military policy is quite a contrast to the Carthaginians’ zeal for making triremes in the shortest time. Indeed, the political context of the end of the fourteenth century sheds light on the advisory function of the text. The failure of a marriage alliance with the West necessitated the construction of a new Byzantine fleet. The fact that Asia Minor was constantly under the Turkish threat required a more offensive military policy towards them. The last general to strive to rid the Turks from Asia

205 Mariev (ed.) (2008), 81.

206 Mariev (ed.) (2008), 73.

207 Andronicus II decided to dismantle the Byzantine military fleet after the death of Charles of Anjou, the King of Sicily, in 1285; Ahrweiler (1966), 374–378. On Charles of Anjou’s hostile foreign policy against Byzantium, see Dunbabin (1998).

208 The negotiations for the marriage took place after the coronation of Michael IX as co-emperor in 1294; Pachymeres, II.iii, 269–272. Finally, in 1301 Catherine of Courtenay married Charles of Valois, brother of the King of France Philip IV; see Laiou (1972), esp. 48–56.

209 *By melting down statues to gain the bronze, by reusing the wood-work of private and public buildings for the triremes and war engines and by using clippings of women’s hair for the ropes*; cf. Mariev (ed.) (2008), 73.

Minor was Alexios Philanthropenos in 1294.²¹⁰ Byzantium's defences in the Balkans and the Epiros were collapsed and the lands were under constant raids, as well. In 1292, Michael Tarchaneiotes Glabas, a general under Andronicus II, launched a campaign in Epiros. The expedition was initially successful. The Byzantine army reached Ioannina, but failed to siege the city.²¹¹ The selective use of passages transmitted in the *Συναγωγή* reflects the severe problems the Empire was dealing with at the end of the fourteenth century. In my opinion, Planudes appears to offer counsel to the emperor in the form of criticism. Interestingly, it was during the 1290s – the period when the *Συναγωγή* was composed – that rhetoricians extensively employed their speeches as a form of counselling the emperor. There are speeches transmitted from that period, which appeal not to the emperor, but to his advisers or to the people in attendance.²¹²

To conclude, passages on Roman history included in the *Συναγωγή* transmit historical paradigms which a) stress the superiority of the Romans over their opponents and b) criticise the contemporary social and political situation. In this section, I argued that Planudes' selection of excerpts on the Roman Republic (see Table 5.7) was meant to urge military action on the part of the emperor. Planudes, as a master in rhetoric, resorted to the political usage of court oratory. The sequence of excerpts in the *Συναγωγή* fulfils the same political function and objective as his *Basilikos*, a political panegyric addressed to Andronicus II and his son. The highlight of traditional imperial virtues, through his selection of texts in the *Συναγωγή*, was intended to be prescriptive. The hortatory and didactic elements in his collection of excerpts aimed to present military offensive action as a general imperial policy. These elements do not serve the spirit of self-promotion. This is a function only served by such elements in the speeches court.²¹³ Planudes reads history in the light of contemporary concerns. The section on Roman history does not just accumulate historical knowledge of a particular subject matter. The concatenation of excerpts by Planudes serves a) to supply the reader with moral examples and b) to shape cultural and political thought. From this perspective, the section on Roman Republic in the *Συναγωγή* represents another way of writing history.

210 Alexios Philanthropenos revolted against the emperor in 1296. The rebellion was unsuccessful and Alexios was blinded. Though Planudes was a close friend of his, he did not fall into disfavour; Laiou (1978), 89–99.

211 Laiou 1972 (40); Nicol (1984), 37–42.

212 See for instance the speech by Nikephorus Chumnos in Laourdas (1955), 290–327. See also the two speeches composed by Demetrios Kydones, *PG* 154, col. 961–1008, 1009–1039; cf. Angelov (2006), 166.

213 Angelov, 2006, 168.

Table 5.7 The selection of excerpts on the Roman Republic by Maximus Planudes

<i>EPL 1</i>	On the Palatine, the place where Romulus decided to found Rome.
<i>EPL 2</i>	On an omen predicted that Rome would become the capital of many nations. The city legend starts with the recovery of a human skull when foundation trenches were being dug for the Temple of Jupiter at Tarquin's order. The word for head in Latin is <i>caput</i> and the place was given the name Capitoline.
<i>EPL 3</i>	On the Capitoline Hill.
<i>EPL 4</i>	On the number of consuls that the Romans used to elect.
<i>EPL 5</i> (fr.32M)	On the offices of <i>δικτάτωρ</i> , <i>εἰσηγητής</i> , <i>πραιτωρ</i> , <i>κήνσορ</i> .
<i>EPL 6</i> (fr.21M)	On Marcius' generosity.
<i>EPL 7</i> (fr.34M)	On a Roman custom: one of the Vestal Virgins was buried alive.
<i>EPL 8</i> (fr.40M)	Romans who had found refuge in the Capitol got saved by a miracle.
<i>EPL 9</i> (fr.42M)	On the Sibyl's oracle about the great future of the Capitol.
<i>EPL 10</i> (fr.41M)	The punishment of Februius for lying that Camillus was aiming at usurpation.
<i>EPL 11</i> (fr.45M)	On Manlius' bravery on battlefield.
<i>EPL 12</i> (fr.22M)	On a Sibylline oracle and Curtius' death. He was offered heroic rites annually.
<i>EPL 13</i> (fr.47M)	On a divine sign and how Corvinus took up his name.
<i>EPL 14</i> (fr.48M)	On Decius' bravery and philopatria.
<i>EPL 15</i> (fr.46M)	Manlius beheaded his own son for disobeying him.
<i>EPL 16</i> (fr.47M)	On Roman policies.
<i>EPL 17</i> (fr.54M)	On the superiority of the Romans over the Etruscans.
<i>EPL 18</i> (fr.55M)	A geographical reference to the Tiber.
<i>EPL 19</i> (fr.57M)	On Roman strategies.
<i>EPL 20</i> (fr.58M)	On the bravery of the Romans at war.
<i>EPL 21</i> (fr.59M)	On the bravery of the Romans at war.
<i>EPL 22</i> (fr.60M)	The Roman Fabricius refuses to defeat Pyrrhus by deceit.
<i>EPL 23</i> (fr.62M)	On strategic manoeuvres at war.
<i>EPL 24</i> (fr.63M)	Carthaginians are preparing for war.
<i>EPL 25</i> (fr.64M)	Regulus, a Roman general, denied saving his life.
<i>EPL 26</i> (fr.66M)	On a Roman law decreed by Marcus Claudius and Titus Sempronius.
<i>EPL 27</i> (fr.73M)	On a custom of the Carthaginians.
<i>EPL 28</i> (fr.79M)	The cruel king of Egypt, Ptolemy, received a divine punishment for his cruelty.
<i>EPL 29</i> (fr.80M)	A reference to Jesus son of Sirach.
<i>EPL 30</i> (fr.86M)	On Scipio's external policies.
<i>EPL 31</i> (fr.87M)	On Scipio's decision not to accept the hostages from the defeated Iberians.
<i>EPL 32</i> (fr.81M)	On a Roman win over Perseus.
<i>EPL 33</i> (fr.83M)	A mythological reference to the ship of Perseus.
<i>EPL 34</i> (fr.88M)	A reference to Scipio the younger. He became general at the age of 24.
<i>EPL 35</i> (fr.91M)	Scipio refuses to reward the Iberian consuls who murdered Virianthus, an Iberian enemy of the Romans.
<i>EPL 36</i> (fr.89M)	A reference to the foundation of Rome.
<i>EPL 37</i> (fr.98.7M)	A portend reported by Livy and Diodorus.

(Continued)

Table 5.7 (Continued)

EPL 38 fr.98.11M)	On the conquest and plundering of the city of Athens by Sulla.
EPL 39 (fr.98.12M)	Sulla shouts at his soldiers that an honourable death is worth more than an ignominious life.
EPL 40 (fr.98.19M)	On Sulla's marriage to Valeria.
EPL 41 (fr.98.21M)	Sulla is getting revenge on his adversaries.
EPL 42 (98.21M)	On Lepidus's election as a consul in preference to Catulus.
EPL 43 (98.23M)	The Sibylline oracles were destroyed when a lightning bolt struck the Capitol.
EPL 44 (99M)	On Lucullus' morality.

5.4 Conclusions

After studying the manuscript tradition of the entire *Excerpta Planudea* and presenting their content and structure, I focused on the sequence of excerpts on Roman history. As regards their origin, they are excerpts from John of Antioch, Paeanius, Xiphilinus, and a now lost chronicle also used by Manasses. I have further argued that the passages on Roman history are drawn from an earlier collection of historical passages, which had probably been compiled by Maximus Planudes himself. It probably comprised a larger number of excerpts taken from the same authors as the ones preserved in the *Excerpta Planudea*. Regarding his working method when excerpting passages from John of Antioch and Xiphilinus, Planudes used a series of strategies already detected in earlier *sylogae* of excerpts, namely the *Epitome*, the *Excerpta Anonymi*, the *Excerpta Salmasiana*, and the *EC*. Finally, regarding the literary and political function of the excerpts, Planudes made a conscious selection of thematically connected historical passages on Roman history, centred on the Roman military excellence and the glorious past of the Roman Republic. Its political aim was to recommend to the emperor a militaristic policy towards the enemies of the Empire.

6 Collections of historical excerpts as a specific locus for (re)writing history

This chapter argues that the four excerpt collections should be understood as historiography and studied next to chronicles and histories as part of Byzantine historiography. In fact, excerpt collections have very rarely, so far, been seen as autonomous pieces of literature. Their importance as works in their own right has been obfuscated by their anonymity and the underestimation of their originality. As a result, scholars usually study them as tools to transmit historical material but not as histories in their own right. This is illustrated by the fact that no history of historiography includes them as autonomous pieces of historical writing, next to histories and chronicles.

This, inevitably, raises the issue of how modern scholarship has thought about Byzantine genres of historiography. In fact, over the last two decades, the generic theory imposed by K. Krumbacher, H. G. Beck, and H. Hunger has been modified and enriched by contemporary Byzantinists.¹ According to H. G. Beck, classicising histories a) cover a limited period of time, b) use a continuous narrative of thematically connected events, and c) are written in classical Greek.² Chronicles, by contrast, a) cover the history of the world (from creation to the time of the chronicler), b) are structured chronologically, and c) are written in colloquial language. Though, recently, scholars have started to view fixed generic boundaries as posing constraints on our understanding of how and why Byzantines wrote history,³ the traditional division of Byzantine historical writing into histories and chronicles has never been seriously challenged. P. Magdalino in his contribution to the *Oxford History of Historical Writing*, admits the necessity of generic categories. The examples he gives illustrate the freedom with which late antique and Byzantine historians handled traditional historical genres, though.⁴

1 K. Krumbacher was the first to distinguish between histories and chronicles. His theory of the monk's chronicle was proved to be wrong, though. See especially Beck (1965), 196–197. H. G. Beck's view was repeated by H. Hunger (1978), 252–254. K. Krumbacher's views of historical writing were recently discussed by P. A. Agapitos (2015), 1–52.

2 Beck (1965), 196–197.

3 Magdalino (2012), 218–237; Signes Codoñer (2016), 227–256.

4 Magdalino (2012).

As a consequence, current discussions of genre are often inconclusive.⁵ J. Signes Codoñer, for instance, suggested that the rigid classification of historical texts based on their language, content, and structure could be hazardous if not ill-fated.⁶ More significantly, he noted that compilations of thematically connected passages should also be seen as a third way of structuring historical narrative.⁷

In what follows, I shall first present the classification of Byzantine historical writing as suggested by J. Signes Codoñer. Then, I shall show how the generic criteria suggested by him play out in collections of historical excerpts. I shall argue, in particular, that collections of historical excerpts merit being seen as a distinct type of text for the following reasons. First, they show linguistic and stylistic uniformity. Historical collections avoid using classicising language and tend to turn their source text into a simpler Greek. Second, collections of historical excerpts share compositional methodologies⁸ and textual borrowings amongst historical collections link them as a distinct genre. This indicates the awareness of their compilers that they belonged to a common tradition of historical writing. Third, collections of historical excerpts represent a distinct approach to the past. Their compilers represented history according to themes. The isolation of thematically connected passages, the rewriting of them and their rearrangement in a new receptacle altered significantly the meaning the passages had conveyed in their original textual environment.

6.1 J. Signes Codoñer's classification of Byzantine historical writing

In this section, I shall briefly set out the criteria proposed by J. Signes Codoñer for analysing and classifying Byzantine historiography. His criteria are based on the list of characteristics of types of historical writings for the period of 900 AD–1400 AD made by P. Magdalino.⁹ By collating P. Magdalino's and J. Signes Codoñer's propositions, the criteria to classify historical writings could be summed up in the following: 1) the linguistic and stylistic register of the text and the intended readership, 2) the period of time that the text covers and consequently the kind of sources the author was based on and, 3) the narrative structure. Those writing history in late antiquity and the Byzantine period were very flexible in merging the above criteria, a fact that poses obstacles in forming rigid categories of historical writing.

5 Ljubarski (1998), Kazhdan (2006), Scott (2009), Magdalino (2012), Markopoulos (2015), Signes Codoñer (2016), Macrides (2016).

6 Signes Codoñer (2016), 251.

7 Signes Codoñer (2016), 250 and 253.

8 As discussed in Chapter 1 it is only after the fourth century that the copying-pasting technique takes on significance as cultural expression. This is what P. Odorico attempted to define with the concept of *culture of sylloge*. See also in Van Nuffelen (2015), 15.

9 Magdalino (2012), 218–237.

J. Signes Codoñer divides historical texts into three main categories: instrumental, derivative, and original works. He labels instrumental works those texts intended for a later use by chroniclers in compiling their works. Such texts were lists of rulers, catalogues of patriarchs, and chronological tables. The category includes the *Chronicon paschale* and Nicephorus' *Chronographia brevis*.¹⁰ J. Signes Codoñer calls derivative those works that were summaries of earlier texts. The category contains Nicephorus' *Breviarium historicum*, Psellos' *Chronographia*, Symeon Logothete's *Chronicon* (version B), Ps.-Symeon' *Chronographia*, John Scylitzes' *Synopsis historiarum*, and John Zonaras' *Epitome historiarum*. The category seems to have been formed on the basis of the working method applied to these texts rather than the way the material is arranged.¹¹ Yet, the rewriting process (in the form of summary or interpolation of the source text), which, according to J. Signes Codoñer, is the main characteristic of this category, is definitely involved in the last category too, namely original works. The category original works contains texts dealing with contemporary history (written in classical Greek and relying on autopsy) as well as works concerned with history of the past (written either in learned Greek or in simpler Greek and based on written sources). The category includes Syncellus' *Ecloga chronographica*, Theophanes' *Chronographia*, and George the Monk's *Chronicon*, who structured their works chronologically, along with the *EC*, the *DT*, the *DAI*, and the *DC*, whose material is obviously arranged thematically. One could also say that the *DT*, *DAI*, and *DC* are not histories by genre. They can only be seen as secondary historical sources for regions and people surrounding Constantinople or for internal affairs in the capital, just like hagiography can be employed as a marginal or alternative source of information for important individual figures or foreign lands.¹² Besides, it is only the *EC* that consist of earlier historical texts.

It becomes evident that J. Signes Codoñer's classification of the texts into the three aforementioned categories does not always correspond to the three criteria for classifying Byzantine historiography. This problem led J. Signes Codoñer to foreground criterion 3 (the narrative structure).¹³ J. Signes Codoñer attributes three types of literary structures in middle Byzantine period-historical writing: chronological, narrative, and thematic structure. In fact, J. Signes Codoñer's classification of Byzantine historical writing corroborates the changing nature

10 On the *Chronicon paschale* see Treadgold (2007), 340–349; Burgess and Kulikowski (2013), 224–227. On the *Chronographia Brevis* see de Boor (ed.) (1880); Mango (1990), 2–4.

11 See Section 1.2.2.

12 It has been in recent years that studies suggest the necessity in viewing texts that are not considered historiographical in the strict sense of the term as historical approaches to events or individual figures. Rhetorical writings, lives of patriarchs, and historical biographies (*Vita Basilii*, *Alexias*) are, occasionally, either referred to as historical witnesses or classified as histories. On the *Vita Basilii*, see n. 314 in Chapter 2. On the *Alexias*, see Reinsch and Kambylis (edd.) (2001).

13 R. Macrides considered the chronological span covered as the most consistent difference; Macrides (2016), 258–259.

of Byzantine literature.¹⁴ In addition, texts themselves and manuscripts were not stable entities but subject to modifications.¹⁵ Contemporary demands as well as personal and social goals played a marked role in authorial choices in terms of content and structure.¹⁶ Indeed, individual choice, politics, and social conditions are likely to have led writers to the merging of traditional methods of writing history or to the inclusion of alien features into historiography.¹⁷ This is now seen in positive terms. Concepts such as *originality*, *innovation*, and *change* have been increasingly substituted with *classical tradition* and *imitation* in scholarship over the last decade.¹⁸ Yet, such originality is *hidden creatively behind the mask of tradition*.¹⁹ It turns out that criteria in terms of style, language, and structure can help us understand Byzantine historical writing insofar as we do not too rigidly adhere to them, for Byzantine writers did not do this either. From this perspective, I find J. Signes Codoñer's attempt to classify historical texts by their literary structures to be going in the right direction. One could say that there are even cases in which the structure within the same historical work changed. This is the case, for instance, with book 18 of Malalas' *Ἐκλογὴ τῶν χρονικῶν*²⁰ or Symeon Logothete's

14 Modern scholarship agrees on that. See P. Magdalino (2010), Markopoulos (2015), Van Nuffelen (2015), Signes Codoñer (2016), Macrides (2016).

15 Van Nuffelen (2012), 11–20.

16 Byzantine historians were eager to import changes into the literary tradition because they addressed a medieval audience, which differed significantly from the audience of antiquity; cf. Magdalino (2012). See also Neville (2016), 265–276; Signes Codoñer (2016), 234 and 252–253. Burgess and Kulikowski, by contrast, appear strictly adherent to the idea that a text should perfectly fit within a specific tradition of historical writing in order to be labeled as such. In Burgess and Kulikowski's view, Eusebius' chronicle is the unique representative of the genre in the Greek language. After Eusebius, chronicles appeared only in Latin, on the basis of which Burgess and Kulikowski define the genre in late antiquity. They finally argue that after Eusebius, it was only the anonymous author of the *Chronicon paschale* and Theophanes who wrote a proper chronicle. The rest are either *universal breviaria* (Malalas, George the Monk, Nicephorus, Symeon the Logothete, Ps-Symeon, Cedrenus, Glycas, Zonaras, Manasses) or *compact epitomes* (Nicephorus' *Χρονογραφικὸν σύντομον*, *Σύνοψις Χρονική*, *Χρονικὸν ἐπίτομον*). Things, instead, become less complicated when they come to treat what in modern histories of Byzantine literature is referred to as histories. In line with them, Burgess and Kulikowski find that Zosimus, Procopius, Agathias, Menander, and Theophylact wrote classicizing narrative histories; Burgess and Kulikowski (2016), 93–117. See also the forthcoming R. Scott's paper in the proceedings of the conference *Chronicles as Literature at the Crossroad of Past and Present* which was held in Munich in 2016. R. Scott defends the use of the term *chronicle* for a group of writings produced after Malalas.

17 The influence of rhetoric should be mentioned here. Those writing history had passed through rhetorical schools and got training to write not only history. Some of them had evidently written texts of different genres (e.g., Procopius and Agathias). On the matter, see especially Markopoulos (2003), 185–186; Holmes (2003), 187–199; Mullett (2010), 227–238; Kaldellis (2014), 115–130. As J. Signes Codoñer notices, a number of recent publications are disposed to put aside any categorization of historical writings and focus, instead, on the reliability or unreliability of the events they narrate. Truthfulness came, thus, to set a distinctive line between attempts to transmit historical facts and attempts to distort them; Kaldellis (2016), 293–306; cf. Signes Codoñer (2016), 250.

18 Ljubarski (1998), 5.

19 Papaioannou (2013), 20.

20 This is the title transmitted in the manuscript tradition of Malalas' text. Nevertheless, his work is

Chronicon, which adopts a different narrative structure when it comes to deal with contemporary events.²¹ Provided that texts should be viewed and assessed as a whole, I see J. Signes Codoñer's prioritisation of the *structure*-criterion over the language and the use of sources as being particularly essential.

In what follows, I put forward how the criteria of J. Signes Codoñer can be observed in historical collections of excerpts too. We shall see that they exhibit a series of common characteristics, which identify them as a distinct body of literature, and which highlights their proximity to works traditionally ranked as historiographical. The body of texts, which I shall discuss, consists of the *syllogae* studied in the previous chapters (the so-called *Epitome of the Seventh Century*, the *Excerpta Constantiniana*, the *Excerpta Anonymi*, the *Excerpta Salmasiana*, and the *Excerpta Planudea*) as well as a number of manuscripts transmitting selections of excerpts taken from late antique historians, namely Polybius, Diodorus of Sicily, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

6.2 Literary features in Byzantine collections of historical excerpts

6.2.1 Language, style, function

A significant number of historical texts in late antiquity and the Byzantine period were written in classical Greek. Byzantinists label them as classicising histories. The authors of these texts preferred the use of long periods and complex syntax as well as direct speech and rhetorical devices. Such histories usually dealt with recent past and contemporary events and their authors relied on autopsy or oral witnesses. Things are not so consistent, though. There are historical texts written in classical Greek, which deal with the past and, therefore, resort extensively to earlier written sources. These texts cannot be called universal chronicles; they are not concerned with the distant past (e.g., from creation or Adam) and the events are not presented chronologically.²² In turn, texts usually labelled as universal chronicles by Byzantinists were written in a simpler Greek. Their authors preferred short periods and simpler syntax. These historical texts, running from the creation down to the time of the author, made an extensive use of written sources and aimed at being as concise as possible. A number of them was formed on the basis of passages excerpted from earlier chronicles. The excerpted passages were often re-edited and rewritten before their inclusion into the new text. The material

labelled as *Χρονογραφία* in modern editions and bibliography. This happens, probably, because that is what it is called by John of Damascus in the eighth century; cf. Burgess and Kulikowski (2016), 94.

²¹ Magdalino (2012), 225.

²² This is the case with Genesisius' *Regum Libri Quattuor* and *Theophanes Continuatus*. The compositional features of the latter were treated by J. Signes Codoñer, who classifies it as 'history of the (recent) past'; Signes Codoñer (2016).

was organised and arranged in chronological order; the approach to chronology can vary from chronicle to chronicle, though.²³

Let us have a look at our group of texts. Collections of historical excerpts consist of a series of passages culled from earlier historical texts. The study of their structure and methodological principles in the previous chapters revealed that 1) the excerpted passages underwent changes in vocabulary and syntax – the excerptors, at times, felt the necessity to substitute words that were out of use with others that would make the passage more intelligible and palatable to the reader, 2) the excerptors respected the sequence of passages in the original text, and 3) they were aware of the lack in context when a passage was extracted from a whole unit. Consequently, they applied a number of strategies to tackle this problem: a) additions or omissions of text, b) rearrangement of words, and c) repetition of words or phrases. In Chapter 2, we saw that the compiler of the *Excerpta Anonymi* often broke the intended alphabetical order of excerpts in order to make their content clearer. He occasionally inserted brief statements justifying his choices as to the selection of excerpts. This strategy is detected in other collections of excerpts too. When excerpting Eusebius, the compiler of the *Epitome* adds statements of his own, which clarify the content and explain the text better. To give but one example, an insertion by the compiler in E 33 reads as follows: ἀναφέρει δὲ ὁ Ἡγήσιππος καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν καὶ φησιν ὅτι ὁ μὲν ἐκαλεῖτο Ζωκὴρ, ὁ δὲ Ἰάκωβος (...) ἱστορεῖ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἀναγκαῖα.²⁴ In addition to this, compilers of historical collections quite frequently composed phrases by combining a few words of the original text: such phrases served the role of a brief introduction for a series of excerpts and provided the reader with the historical context. Chapter 5 showed that Maximus Planudes has been particularly prone to this strategy. Yet, compilers' aim at maintaining the narrative sequence and at accuracy aligns with statements that occurred in the *prooemium* of the *EC*. As noted, compilers of excerpt collections tended to *correct* the excerpted text when the meaning was not clear. We have seen in Chapter 2 that when excerpting the *Parastaseis*, the compiler of the *Excerpta Anonymi* often needed to alter words in the source text by others that clarified the content better. The same strategy was detected in the three *syllogae* of excerpts constituting the *Excerpta Salmasiana* (see Section 3.5), in the *Epitome* when excerpting Eusebius' *HE* (see Section 4.4.3), and in the *Excerpta Planudea* when excerpting John of Antioch and Xiphilinus (see Section 5.3.3).

Occasional stylistic simplifications and corrections may imply that collections of historical excerpts addressed a wide audience. We see that historical excerpt collections share similarities with Byzantine universal chronicles in terms of language and use of sources. Chronicles were meant for a wider public too,²⁵ and

23 Ljubarski (1998), 11–12.

24 *Hegesippus records their names too. And he says that one was called Zoker and the other Jacob (...) He narrates other things that are trustworthy too.*

25 On the target audience of historians, see Croke (2010); Markopoulos (2015), 53–74. The issue of literacy in Byzantium has been explored in Cavallo and Odorico (2006); Cavallo (2006), 97–109; Markopoulos (2014), 3–15.

Chapter 1 of this book made clear that a chronicle could be an aggregation of different excerpts. The method used, for instance by George the Monk, is identical to the one used by the compiler of the *EC* or the *Excerpta Anonymi* (see Section 1.2.2). What set the last two apart from Georges' *Chronicon* is the distinct structure through which the excerpts are presented in an excerpt collection (see Section 6.2.3) and the different function.

Collections of excerpts exhibit a multiplicity of functions. The possibility that they could serve didactical purposes and were used in schooling can by no means be excluded. As shown in Chapter 1, the word *διδασκαλία* occurs in a comment by the compiler of the *Excerpta Anonymi* when excerpting John Lydus' *De Ostentis*:²⁶ Ὡς ἂν δὲ μὴ ἀτελής ἦ ἡ περὶ κεραυνῶν διδασκαλία, δεῖ καὶ περὶ καιρῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τόπων διαλαβεῖν.²⁷ The phrase identifies compiler's practical as well as didactical purposes. As discussed in detail in Chapter 1, similar requirements are highlighted in the *prooemium* of the *EC*. As noted, the rest of the historical collections are not preceded by any *prooemium*. Their practical aims are traced in their selection of material, though. The collection on Roman history by Planudes has been transmitted as part of his *Excerpta Planudea*, a *sylloge* of passages on a variety of themes. The content and structure of the entire *Excerpta Planudea* indicates that they were intended to be used for teaching at schools as well.²⁸

The thematic homogeneity that characterises the collection of historical passages by Planoudes, the *Excerpta Salamasiana*, the *Excerpta Anonymi*, and the *Epitome* indicate that such collections could just teach readers moral lessons through a series of historical paradigms, or as they definitely accumulate historical knowledge they would help the reader search for a subject matter he was particularly interested in. Such intention is also explicitly stated in the *prooemium* of the *EC*. This is certainly not a role that chronicles were destined for, as chronicles recorded a series of thematically unrelated events presented in a strict chronological order. Yet, the accumulation and transmission of the memory of the past is definitely a role served by historical writing in general.

Collections of excerpts could, finally, function as an intermediate stage in the process of compiling a chronicle based on citation. These collections were depositories of material intended for the private use of the compiler.²⁹ Theophanes in the preface to his *Chronographia* refers to a *sylloge* of passages used by Syncellus in compiling his *Ecloga chronographica*.³⁰ It is now accepted that the *Theophanes*

26 *Excerpta Anonymi*, 47, 25–26.

27 So that the elucidation of thunderbolts will not be incomplete, the seasons and the places (concerning thunderbolts) need to be treated.

28 See Kugeas (1909), 134; Fryde (2000); Ferroni (2011), 342.

29 There should be collections where the material to be exploited later, was first gathered. That is what is meant by the word *συλλέξαντες* used by Cedrenus in the *prooemium* of his work; cf. Odorico (2014a), 382.

30 τὴν τε βίβλον ἣν συνέταξε καταέλοιπε καὶ ἀφορμὰς παρέσχε τὰ ἐλλείποντα ἀναπληρῶσαι; cf. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 4.1–2.

Continuatus and *Genesius* drew on a *preparatory dossier of sources* now lost.³¹ Another such collection representing an intermediate stage to a final work is the codex *Parisinus gr.* 1336, which dates to the eleventh century and is the exact copy of a codex created in the tenth century now lost.³² The codex *Baroccianus gr.* 142 can be considered as a further example of such collections. As noted in Chapter 4, marginal notes in the codex are likely to indicate that Nicephorus Callistus has edited parts of the *Epitome* in order to use them later on in compiling his own chronicle.³³

6.2.2 *Period covered and use of sources*

Regarding the period of time covered, all texts in our group dealt with the distant past and relied on earlier written sources. Besides, Chapter 1 which examined how an excerpt collection was redacted identified common steps and procedures in the process of redacting a *sylloge* of historical excerpts. The redaction of a collection of historical excerpts involved the following procedures: reading and selection, editing, and composition.

The so-called *Epitome of the Seventh Century* is a *sylloge* of excerpts extracted from different historical writings, notwithstanding the title assigned to it by modern scholarship (see Chapter 4).³⁴ In particular, the *Epitome* comprises excerpts from Eusebius of Caesarea, Gelasius of Caesarea, and Theodorus Anagnosta, as well as excerpts from John Diacrinomenus and Philip of Side, and a series of anonymous fragments. The study of the Eusebian excerpts of the *Epitome* (see Section 4.4) revealed that its compiler augmented the passages taken from Eusebius' *HE* with a) passages extracted from other writings by Eusebius, b) material taken from a variety of ecclesiastical writers of the third and fourth centuries AD (Papias, Hegesippus, Pierius, and c) phrases compiled by the compiler himself.

The major enterprise of the tenth century, the *EC*, are made up of collections consisting almost entirely of excerpts from ancient and Byzantine historians, compiled under the auspices of the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus. In particular, the *EC* transmit excerpts from twenty-six historiographers from the fifth century BC to the ninth century AD. The excerpts have been singled out and grouped thematically under fifty-three subject-categories. As noted, the *prooemium* preceding each of the Constantinian collections as well as the content of the surviving collections reveal the method used, that is, the process of excerpting as well as the extent of intervention in the selected pieces on the part of the excerptors (see Chapter 1).

31 Featherstone and Signes Codoñer (2015), 12. See also Markopoulos (2009), 137–150; Magdalino (2013c), 200–206.

32 On the codex, see Odorico (2014a), 382–384.

33 See esp. Section 4.1.5.

34 See esp. Sections 4.2 and 4.4.

It is now accepted that the practice of selecting, copying, synthesising, and presenting material was widespread during the tenth century, when the *Excerpta Anonymi* were compiled. The *Excerpta Anonymi* are dated to the second half of the tenth century. The *Excerpta Anonymi* excerpted a considerable number of historical works as well as earlier collections of late antique historiography.³⁵ Thematically, the excerpted passages in the *Excerpta Anonymi* deal with prophecies and oracular powers hidden in statues and dreams as well as with geography and ethnography. The compiler of the collection remains anonymous and the work is not accompanied by any preface. As mentioned, the compiler of the *Excerpta Anonymi* enriched the concatenation of excerpts with his own comments, which contain information regarding his working method (see Section 2.3).

The *Excerpta Salmasiana*, in the form they have been handed down to us, represent a compilation of three distinct collections of excerpts: the *Exc.Salm.I* and *II* plus the Agathias collection make up a *sylloge* of excerpts like those compiled in Byzantium (see Chapter 3). The *Exc.Salm.I* consist of excerpts taken from John of Antioch's *Historia chronica*. It is difficult to say with certainty whether the compiler made use of a complete text or an earlier collection of excerpts from John of Antioch. The *Exc.Salm.I* are a unique source for John of Antioch's text. It seems unlikely, however, that John of Antioch drew directly on Julius Africanus.³⁶ The passages run the period from the *Exodus* to the fifth century BC. The *Exc.Salm.II* consist of passages from Malalas, Cassius Dio, and an anonymous late antique source on the events of the third and fourth centuries. The *Agathias* excerpts were exclusively extracted from Agathias' *Historiae*, which was concerned with events that took place during the reign of Justinian. The exact date of the *Excerpta Salmasiana* is difficult to establish. Scholarship appears to agree to a dating between the ninth and the eleventh centuries.

Finally, the *Συναγωγή* by Maximus Planudes comprises excerpts from classical geographers and philosophers, historians of late antiquity and the middle Byzantine period, as well as Christian writings. As shown in Chapter 5, the passages on Roman history come from an earlier collection of excerpts compiled probably by Planudes himself. The hypothesis is based on the existence of an Athonite codex which also transmits this part of the *Excerpta Planudea*. These passages are taken from Paeanius (late fourth century), John of Antioch (first part of the seventh century), Xiphilinus (second half of the eleventh century), and an unidentified chronicle now lost which also served as source for Manasses' chronicle. The passages run from the foundation of Rome to the reign of Gratian (Roman emperor from 367 to 383).

It becomes evident that there is coherence to the use of sources in collections of historical excerpts. Their compilers never relied on autopsy, which is an essential feature of classicising histories. From this point of view, excerpt collections show, once again, affinity with Byzantine universal chronicles, which were dependent on

35 On the date and the content of the collection, see Section 2.1.

36 Mariev (ed.) (2008), 41* and Wallraff (ed.) (2006).

written sources too. It is worth mentioning that collections of historical excerpts quite often drew on earlier excerpt collections. The *Excerpta Anonymi* probably made use of material gathered in the first place by the compilers of the *EC*: the *Excerpta Anonymi* possibly drew on Constantinian collections on geography and on political prophesy.³⁷ As shown in Chapter 2, it cannot be excluded that the author of the *Excerpta Anonymi* may have had direct contacts with the excerptors of Constantine VII or was part of the intellectual circle around the emperor. In the same chapter (see Section 2.4.4) I showed that the *Excerpta Anonymi* relied also on a collection of excerpts by Cassius Dio and Peter the Patrician. It is highly likely that the same collection on Roman history was used by the *Exc.Salm.II* (see Excerpts 44–65), which exhibit similarities with the *Excerpta Salmasiana* to the mid-tenth century.³⁸ Chapter 3 also showed that a collection of excerpts from Malalas' *Chronographia* stands behind the initial part of the *Exc.Salm.II* (see Excerpts 1–43).³⁹ Chapter 4 showed that the codex *Baroccianus gr. 142* transmits parts of the so-called *Epitome* as edited by Nicephorus Callistus in the thirteenth century.⁴⁰ Chapter 5 confirmed S. Kugeas' assertion that the section on Roman history in the *Excerpta Planudea* is made up of passages (Paeianus, John of Antioch, Xiphilinus, and a now lost chronicle) taken from an earlier collection on Roman history that was possibly compiled by Planudes himself. I also showed that the codex *Athonensis Ivron 812* transmits a *sylloge* of historical passages which were copied from the same source as the section on Roman history in the *Excerpta Planudea*. Finally, excerpts from John of Antioch preserved in *Athonensis Ivron 812* are identical to passages preserved in the *EC*.⁴¹

It may be said that the aforementioned intertextual borrowing link collections of historical excerpts as a distinct and recognisable genre. And it is worth noting that R. Scott refers to intertextual borrowing among chroniclers as a proof for the continuation of chronicle-writing in Byzantium.⁴² Indeed, chronicles drew quite often on earlier chronicles only, which indicates that their authors were aware of the fact they were composing their works within the chronicle tradition.

Each excerpt in *Parisinus suppl. gr 607a*, the unique manuscript preserving the *Excerpta Anonymi*, in *Auctarium E.4.18* transmitting part of the *Epitome*, in *Laurentianus Plut. 59, 30*, the best manuscript of Planudes' *Συναγωγή*, and in the extant manuscripts of the *EC* is identified with the conjunction *ὅτι* placed at the beginning of each text. The use of *ὅτι* to indicate the beginning of a new passage

37 Sections 2.4.2–2.4.3.

38 The *Excerpta Anonymi* and the *Excerpta Salmasiana* share passages on political prophesy by Cassius Dio and Peter the Patrician; see Sections 2.4.4 and 3.3.2.4.

39 See Sections 3.3.2.1–3.3.2.2.

40 See Section 4.1.5.

41 See Section 5.3.2.2.

42 See the forthcoming paper by R. Scott in the proceedings of the conference *Chronicles as Literature at the Crossroad of Past and Present* held in Munich in 2016.

can be seen as a further indication that the texts belong to the same tradition, that of collections of excerpts, and that they employed traditional methods.

6.2.3 *Structure*

Let us consider the last criterion: the selected narrative framework within which the material is placed. On the basis of the historical texts preserved, J. Signes Codoñer was able to distinguish the following narrative structures: 1) a continuous narrative of thematically connected events: the narrative is thematically developed rather than chronologically; 2) a chronological structure: the narrative is formed by unrelated events put together in chronological order and the final text is a sequence of micro-narratives arranged chronologically; and 3) a thematic structure: this is what J. Signes Codoñer called *thematisation* of history.⁴³ The historical material is arranged according to subject matter.

Our group contains texts all constructed according to number 3. The contents of the collections examined in this book indicate that their compilers made a heedful selection of thematically connected passages. The selection criteria were shaped by a combination of causes: cultural and literary trends, contemporary circumstances, ideological restrictions, and individual interests. The selection and arrangement of material play a crucial role here, for the originality of works composed by processes of compilation is to be approached through their structure. What makes the receptacle of selected texts an independent piece of literature is the new concatenation of excerpts in it. The *EC*, the *Excerpta Anonymi*, the *Excerpta Salmasiana*, the *Epitome*, and the section on Roman history in the *Excerpta Planudea* were compiled on the basis of selected passages synthesised by their compilers into a new sequence. Chronology does not play any particular role in the selection of passages. The fact that the compilers of excerpt collections respect the sequence of passages in the original texts, at times, creates the impression of a chronological order.

In the case of the *Excerpta Anonymi*, thematic arrangement and alphabetical order were combined. Yet, in Chapter 2, I presented cases in which the compiler of the *Excerpta Anonymi* breaks the alphabetical order in favour of the thematic grouping. The compiler of the *Excerpta Anonymi* at times inserted brief statements outlining his aim at maintaining thematic coherence and narrative sequence. The passages he extracted from the *Parastaseis*, Herodotus, Appian, Cassius Dio, Procopius, and John Lydus concerned ethnography as well as omens and political prophesy. The group of passages corresponding to letter *B*, in particular, begins with excerpts from Procopius' *De Bellis* and Cassius Dio's *Historiae Romanae* on Brittia and on peoples inhabiting the island. Unlike in Procopius and in Cassius Dio, the description of peoples and places in the *Excerpta Anonymi* does not aim to supplement descriptions of fights. The *Excerpta Anonymi* are not concerned with the sequence of events recorded in Procopius and Cassius Dio, either. In the

43 Signes Codoñer (2016), 250.

Excerpta Anonymi, the excerpts are parts of a sequence of passages on the subject matter of barbarian peoples surrounding Byzantium and on the otherness of non-Byzantines. As discussed in Chapter 2 (see Section 2.5.3), the excerpts assumed a new meaning in the *Excerpta Anonymi*. In the new receptacle, the passages bear witness to a period in which the transformative power and civilising influence of the Byzantine Empire had been restricted. The new circumstances are reflected in the selection of excerpts as well as omissions and distortions of passages on the part of the compiler of the *Excerpta Anonymi*. The same section (letter *B*) in the *Excerpta Anonymi* contains a series of Cassius Dio excerpts on Roman emperors. The passages deal with the decision by certain Roman emperors to ignore dreams that envisage their death. The *Excerpta Anonymi* intentionally omitted any further information on the reign of emperors transmitted in the original text. The *Excerpta Anonymi* were aimed at the accumulation of passages dealing with these particular themes, namely ethnography and omen.

The *Excerpta Salmasiana*, as mentioned already, comprise three *sylogae* of excerpts. Each of them was constructed on the basis of a series of excerpts connected thematically. The content and arrangement of the excerpts reveal a principle of selection rather than a copying at random and it can, therefore, be inferred that the excerpts were put together with the intention of structuring a narrative. The *Exc.Salm.I* (excerpts from John of Antioch) exhibit an interest in Greek and Egyptian mythological accounts. The *Exc.Salm.II* (excerpts from Malalas, Cassius Dio, *Leoquelle*) deal with signs and oracles as well as Euhemeristic interpretation of the Greek and Egyptian mythology. The final part of the *Excerpta Salmasiana* is made up of excerpts on ethnography and geography taken from Agathias' *Historiae*. Agathias' historical work aimed to narrate the Frankish invasion of Italy in the 560's, the Lazic war in the Caucasus, and Belisarius' last campaigns. Nothing of the aforementioned themes appear in the *Excerpta Salamasiana*, though. When excerpting Agathias, the compiler of the *Agathias* part constantly leaves out the historical framework. The passages in the *Excerpta Salmasiana* were extracted from Agathias' digressions on the Franks and on the Sassanians, respectively. Chapter 3 (see Sections 3.4.1–3.4.2) showed how the selective use of excerpts and the new sequence of them in the *Excerpta Salmasiana* changed their meaning. In the new receptacle, excerpts on ethnography sketch out the traditional cultural distinctiveness between Romans and barbarians in order to reinforce the geographical and political frontiers already in place. In this way, the *Excerpta Salmasiana* represented Agathias' history in a different light.

The so-called *Epitome* is made up of a sequence of passages dealing with heresies and martyrs. The *Epitome* was compiled in a period in which authoritative religious texts (such as the Scriptures, Church Fathers' writings, Acts of Councils) were used extensively in a variety of works composed by processes of compilation: *florilegia*, *quaestiones et responsiones*, *catenae*, saints' lives, and homilies.⁴⁴ These texts were products of the polemical literature of the age: they engaged

44 See Section 1.2.1.

in dogmatical disputes between religious groups in Constantinople, in particular between the Imperial Christian Church and supporters of Monothelism.⁴⁵ Yet the *Epitome* consists of a series of collections of excerpts extracted from a number of ecclesiastical texts. Ecclesiastical history as a specific subgenre of historical writing narrated the development of the early Christian Church as well as reflected on prominent bishops, heretical figures, theologians, and martyrs.⁴⁶ Ecclesiastical history stopped being written in Greek after the sixth century.⁴⁷ Yet the history of early Christianity and the establishment of the Church never stopped to interest Byzantine writers.⁴⁸ The *EH* by Eusebius, for instance, continue to be used, adapted, and copied by chroniclers throughout the Byzantine millennium. The aim of ecclesiastical historiography was to engage in dogmatical disputes, to celebrate Christianity, as well as establish local or religious groups too.⁴⁹ Chronicles that drew on ecclesiastical historiography appeared to have served similar goals. Theophanes and George the Monk, for instance, both celebrated the triumph of Orthodoxy by writing a chronicle. From this point of view, chronicles can be construed as vehicles of imperial ideology. The inclusion of excerpts from ecclesiastical histories in the seventh-century *Epitome* does serve similar goals. What separates the *Epitome* from chronicles is the different time spans they cover and the structure through which the selected passages were presented.

The *Excerpta Planudea* preserve two series of excerpts on Roman Republic and Roman imperial history, respectively. Both series go back to an earlier collection of excerpts by Planudes. The excerpted passages deal with Roman virtues on the battlefield by recording exceptional deeds on the part of Roman emperors and officials. The passages highlight the glorious Roman past and supply contemporary readers with moral examples. Chapter 5 (see Section 5.3.4) showed that Planudes made a selective use of passages on Roman history in order to propagate political opinions: he recommends a militaristic imperial policy towards the enemies of the Empire.

6.3 Other collections of historical excerpts

There is a number of *syllogae* which comprise passages extracted from a single historical work. The tenth-century codex *Vaticanus Urb. gr. 102* transmits a series of excerpts from Polybius' *Historiae*,⁵⁰ two fifteenth-century manuscripts,

45 Cameron (1996a).

46 On the development of ecclesiastical history in late antiquity, see De Vore (2015); Van Nuffelen (2018).

47 The reasons for the breakdown of ecclesiastical historiography have long been a subject of analysis. The traditional view is that the genre had nothing to serve in a Christianised Empire; Van Nuffelen (2018).

48 Ecclesiastical histories 'were considered an authoritative account' of the period of early Christianity; cf. Van Nuffelen (2018).

49 Van Nuffelen (2018).

50 On *Vaticanus Urb. gr. 102*, see Moore (1965), 19–20.

Ambrosianus A 80 sup. and *Ambrosianus* G 13, transmit a collection of excerpts taken from an *epitome* of Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *Antiquitates Romanae* made in the ninth or the tenth centuries,⁵¹ and the so-called *Excerpta Hoescheliana* is made up from passages extracted from Diodorus of Sicily.⁵² It is unfortunate that we know nothing about the origin of the *Excerpta Hoescheliana*. The collection was published by D. Hoeschel; it was appended to his publication of the *EL* in 1603.⁵³ It is difficult to say how much of the original excerpt collection on Diodorus of Sicily was copied in the *Excerpta Hoescheliana*, though. Moore rejects Krumbacher's suggestion that the collection of Polybian excerpts was made during the preparation of the *EC*.⁵⁴

Yet the existence of such collections verifies that, similarly to the case of John of Antioch or John Malalas, other late antique historians did circulate in Byzantine excerpt collections.⁵⁵ Polybius' *Historiae* comprised 40 books covering the period from 220 to 168 bc. The work recounts the rise of Rome as the dominant power in the Mediterranean. Books 1–5 survive complete. Books 6–40 have come down to us in collections of excerpts, namely the so-called *Excerpta Antiqua* and the *EC. Bibliotheca historica*, by Diodorus of Sicily, comprised 40 books, of which only books 1–5 and 11–20 survive complete. The rest is transmitted in collections of excerpts such as the *EC* and the so-called *Excerpta Hoescheliana*, as well as in Photius' *Bibliotheca*.⁵⁶ *Antiquitates Romanae*, by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, originally comprised 20 books retelling the history of Rome from the mythical times to 264 bc. Books 1–9 survive in their entirety; books 10–11 have been transmitted nearly complete; and books 12–20 have come down to us in fragments in the *EC* and in the epitome excerpts of which are preserved in the two *Ambrosiani* codices.

Although these collections appear to lack any strong thematic coherence which characterises *syllogae* consisting of passages from a variety of authors, the selection of passages was contingent on the interests on the part of the compilers. Moore has noticed that *Vaticanus Urb. gr.* 102 transmits a selection of passages from Polybius different from that in the extant copies of the *EC*.⁵⁷ There is no sufficient evidence to establish whether the aforementioned *syllogae* were intended to function as sources for chronicles; this hypothesis is not substantiated by the surviving historical texts compiled after the tenth century. All that can be said is that collections made up from excerpts taken from a single author applied methodologies similar to these seen in *syllogae* consisting of excerpts thematically selected from a variety of historians. The examination, for instance, of the two

51 On the two *Ambrosiani* codices, see Sautel (2000), 73–76.

52 Bertrac (1993), CXXXVII–CXXXVIII.

53 Hoeschel (1603).

54 Moore (1965), 55.

55 On the manuscript transmission of Polybius' text, see Moore (1965).

56 *Bibliotheca*, cod. 244.

57 Moore (1965), 55.

Ambrosiani by Sautel has corroborated that excerpts taken from Dionysius of Halicarnassus underwent textual changes before their inclusion in them.⁵⁸

6.4 Conclusion

In the past scholars have long deemed works that consist of selections of excerpts to lack originality or seen the cut and paste technique employed in these works as a sign of intellectual decline.⁵⁹ It is this view that the present book attempted to revise by considering *sylogae* of historical excerpts in their individuality and within the particular context they appeared. The present study built on scholarship of the last decade that begun to view collections of excerpts as a particular way of ordering, organising, and disseminating knowledge in Byzantium. Since P. Odorico has described the Byzantine society as ‘*a culture of sylloge*’, scholars tended mostly to deal with collections of patristic citations or chronicles made up of selections of passages taken from earlier texts. In addition to the fact that citations from authoritative sources enhanced the validity of arguments, such collections of excerpts offered a unified and cogent vision of the present on the basis of extant pieces of representations of the past. Notwithstanding modern scholarship has been disposed towards examining manuscripts in their own right, rather than as mere sources for the ancient texts they preserve, receptacles of passages taken from histories have always been neglected. With the exception of the *EC*, no other such *sylogae* of historical passages had ever been viewed as a systematic effort to reorganise knowledge in Byzantium. The present book has shown that the method, execution, and use of the *EC* was similar to those detected in a number of other *sylogae* of historical excerpts. By assigning an innovative character to the *EC*, some modern scholars tended to limit their function to the facilitation of the reader’s consultation of the various topics included in the *EC*. The examination of the *EC* in light of other *sylogae* of historical excerpts showed that the selection of passages in the various collections of the *EC* was dependent on contemporary ideology as well as cultural tendencies.

It should be noted that a distinction must be made between those texts consisting of extracted passages and works that simply made use of one or more sources. The texts discussed in this book are composed on the basis of citations and in all of them a new narrative was formed on the basis of excerpts. Yet the rewriting of the text was involved in *sylogae* through which gatherings of selected historical passages were given. As we have seen, the different degrees of adaptation of selected excerpts varied among *sylogae* even of the same sort of texts. The entire assemblage was, however, formulated according to the compositional pattern which is perceptible in earlier *catenae*, *gnomologies*, or collections of theological questions-and-answers: a series of selections taken from their original context and assembled in a single container, according to a particular ordering principle. The

⁵⁸ Sautel (2000), esp. 76–88.

⁵⁹ Dusil, Swedler, and Schwitter (2017).

composition of *syllogae* of historical excerpts was shaped by similar methods as well as the same desire to collect thematically connected material and to represent it according to a new order. Throughout the text in the *Excerpta Anonymi*, the *prooemium* to the *EC*, and in the headings of the so-called *Epitome*, the *Exc. Salm.*, and the *Συναγωγή* by Maximus Planudes the terminology used is the same as the terminology that occurred in other texts defined as *syllogae* as well. The terminology points to the late antique and medieval practice of excerpting and to a common textual approach to older texts: the *culture of sylloge*.

In the previous pages, I have also considered how the classification criteria proposed by J. Signes Codoñer and P. Magdalino play out in collections of historical excerpts. The conclusion to be drawn is that collections of historical excerpts represent a specific group within historiography. In fact, the works examined in this book share methodological and structural principles, which make them a distinct body of texts. In our group of texts, the material was thematically extracted from a variety of earlier historical works. The extent to which compilers re-edited the selected passages differs among the four texts. The compilation process in historical excerpt collections was determined by similar principles and methods, though: a) accuracy, b) brevity, c) retaining the sequence of the original narrative. The examination of single excerpts from each of the collections revealed identical strategies by the compilers in dealing with the lack of context that was because of the copying-pasting technique: a) deletions and insertions, and b) substitutions of words for others that explained the text better. I have also shown that the selection of material in collections of historical excerpts was shaped by contemporary ideology as well as personal interests and intentions. We saw that omissions and alterations in the course of the redaction of the *Excerpta Anonymi* point to political attitudes and the perception of the world current in the period they were compiled. Their compiler appears to serve the dominant imperial policy of the time. Passages on ethnography in the *Agathias* part of the *Excerpta Salmasiana* mirror similar preoccupations and politics. In the thirteenth century, the collection of passages on Roman history by Planudes was meant to counsel the emperor Andronicus II.

From this perspective, the collections of historical excerpts presented and examined in this book not only contain history, as scholars usually tend to think, but they are histories themselves. For collections of historical excerpts served the role of history, as manifested in traditional historical genres, that is, in classicising histories and universal chronicles: a) to preserve the memory of the past, b) to supply people with examples concerning behavioural patterns, and c) to shape cultural and political thinking. From this point of view, collections of historical texts merit being considered as *cultural forms in their own right* and part of Byzantine historiography.



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Appendix I: Texts

I. The six Procopian excerpts on ethnography in the *Excerpta Anonymi*

Excerpt 1

Procopius, De bellis 8.20.4–9

*Excerpt 1 = Excerpta Anonymi
23.12–23.26*

(4.) Βριττία νήσος ἐπὶ τούτου μὲν Ὠκεανοῦ κεῖται, τῆς ἡϊόνος οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων διακοσίων καταντικρὺ τῶν τοῦ Ῥήνου ἐκβολῶν μάλιστα. Βρεττανίας δὲ (5.) καὶ Θούλης μεταξύ ἐστίν, ἐπεὶ Βρεττανία μὲν πρὸς δύοντά που κεῖται ἥλιον κατὰ τῆς Ἰσπανῶν τὰ ἔσχατα χώρας, ἀμφὶ σταδίους οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ ἐς τετρακισχίλιους τῆς ἡπείρου διέχουσα, Βριττία δὲ ἐς τῆς Γαλλίας τὰ ὀπισθεν, ἃ δὴ πρὸς ὠκεανὸν τετραμμένα, Ἰσπανίας δηλονότι καὶ (6.) Βρεττανίας πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον. Θούλη δέ, ὅσα γε ἀνθρώπους εἰδέναι, ἐς Ὠκεανοῦ τοῦ πρὸς τῇ ἄρκτῳ τὰ ἔσχατα κεῖται. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἀμφὶ Βρεττανία καὶ Θούλη ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν μοι λόγοις ἐρρήθη. Βριττίαν δὲ τὴν νῆσον ἔθνη τρία πολυανθρωπότατα ἔχουσι, βασιλεὺς τε εἷς αὐτῶν (7.) ἐκάστω ἐφέστηκε. καὶ ὀνόματα κεῖται τοῖς ἔθνεσι τούτοις Ἀγγίλοι τε καὶ Φρίσσονες καὶ οἱ (8.) τῇ νήσῳ ὁμώνυμοι Βρίττωνες. τοσαύτη δὲ ἡ τῶνδε τῶν ἐθνῶν πολυανθρωπία φαίνεται οὕσα, ὥστε ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος κατὰ πολλοὺς ἐνθὲνδε μετανιστάμενοι ξὺν γυναίξιν καὶ παισὶν ἐς Φράγγους (9.) χωροῦσιν. οἱ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐνοικίζουσιν ἐς γῆς τῆς σφετέρας τὴν ἐρημωτέραν δοκοῦσαν εἶναι, καὶ ἅτ' (10.) αὐτοὺς τὴν νῆσον προσποιεῖσθαι φασιν. ὥστε ἀμέλει οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον ὁ Φράγγων βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ πρεσβείᾳ τῶν οἱ ἐπιτηδείων τινὰς παρὰ βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν ἐς Βυζάντιον στείλας ἀνδρας αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν Ἀγγίλων ξυνέπεμψε, φιλοτιμούμενος ὥς καὶ ἡ νῆσος ἦδε πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἄρχεται. τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν Βριττίαν καλουμένην νῆσον τοιαῦτα ἐστί.

Βριττία νήσος ἐπὶ τούτου μὲν τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ κεῖται, τῆς ἡϊόνος οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν ἀλλ' ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων διακοσίων κατὰ τῆς ἡπείρου ἐκβολῶν μάλιστα. Βρεττανίας δὲ καὶ Θούλης μεταξύ ἐστίν. Βρεττανία γὰρ πρὸς τὴν δύσιν κεῖται, Θούλη δὲ πρὸς ἀνατολὴν καὶ βορέαν, Βριττία δὲ μέσον. εἰς τὰ ὀπισθεν γὰρ τῆς Γαλλίας ἐστίν ἡ Βριττία, ἅεισι^a πρὸς τὸν ὠκεανὸν τετραμμένα, Ἰσπανίας δηλονότι^b καὶ Βρεττανίας πρὸς βορρᾶν^c ἄνεμον. Θούλη δὲ εἰς τὰ ἀρκτώα μέρη τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ κεῖται. Βριττίαν τοίνυν τὴν νῆσον ἔθνη τρία πολυάνθρωπα ἔχουσιν, ἐκάστω δὲ βασιλεὺς ὑφέστηκεν. ὀνομάζονται δὲ τὰ ἔθνη Ἀγγίλοι, Φρίσσωνες καὶ Βρίττωνες. τοσοῦτοι^d δὲ εἰσιν ὥστε κατὰ χρόνον σὺν γυναίξιν καὶ παισὶ πρὸς τοὺς Φράγγους πολλοὺς ἀπέρχεσθαι ἀποικίας χάριν.

^a ἅεισι: ἃ δὴ Treu.

^b δηλονότι: δηλονότι Treu.

^c βορρᾶν: βορρᾶν corr. Treu.

^d τοσοῦτοι: τοσοῦτον Treu.

Excerpt 2

*Procopius, De bellis 8.20.2–4 and 18**Excerpt 2 = Excerpta
Anonymi 23.26–23.29*

(2.) Οὐαρνοὶ μὲν ὑπὲρ Ἰστρον ποταμὸν ἴδρυνται, διήκουσι δὲ ἄχρι ἐς Ὠκεανὸν τὸν ἀρκτῶον καὶ ποταμὸν Ῥήνον, ὅσπερ αὐτοὺς τε διορίζει καὶ Φράγγους (3.) καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἔθνη, ἃ ταύτῃ ἴδρυνται. οὗτοι ἅπαντες, ὅσοι τὸ παλαιὸν ἀμφὶ Ῥήνον ἐκατέρωθεν ποταμὸν ὤκνητο, ἰδίου μὲν τινος ὀνόματος ἕκαστοι μετελάχχανον, ἐπὶ κοινῆς δὲ Γερμανοὶ (4.) ἐκαλοῦντο ἅπαντες. (18.) Οὐαρνοὶ δὲ καὶ Φράγγοι τοῦτι μόνον τοῦ Ῥήνου τὸ ὕδωρ μεταξὺ ἔχουσιν, ὥστε αὐτοὺς ἐν γειτόνων μὲν ὡς πλησιαίτατα ὄντας ὕμιν.

πλησιώτεροι δὲ εἰσι τοῖς Φράγγοις Οὐαρνοὶ ἤπερ Βρίττιοι, ὅτι οἱ μὲν Βρίττιοι οἰκοῦσι νήσον τὴν Ἰουβερνίαν, Οὐαρνοὶ δὲ τῷ Ῥήνῳ μόνῳ διορίζονται τῶν Φράγγων, οὓς οἱ ἀρχαῖοι Γερμανοὺς ὀνομάζουσι.

Excerpt 3

*Procopius, De bellis 8.20.23–24**Excerpt 3 = Excerpta
Anonymi 23.30–23.32*

(23.) τίμιον γὰρ οὕτω τοῖς ἐκεῖνι βαρβάροις σωφροσύνη νομίζεται εἶναι, ὥστε διὰ μόνου παρ' αὐτοῖς ζυντετυχηκότος ὀνόματος γάμου, μὴ ἐπιγενομένου τοῦ ἔργου, (24.) δοκεῖ πεπορνεῦσθαι γυνή. τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα πέμψασα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πρεσβείᾳ τῶν οἱ ἐπιτηδεῖων τινὰς ἀνεπυνθάνετο ὅτου διὰ ὑβρίσειεν ἐς αὐτὴν ἕνεκα, οὕτε πεπορνευμένην οὕτε τι ἄλλο εἰργασμένην εἰς (25.) αὐτὸν ἄχαρι.

τοσοῦτον δὲ μέλλει αὐτοῖς τῆς σωφροσύνης ὥστε εἰ καὶ μόνον τις μνηστευσάμενος γυναῖκα ἐάσει αὐτὴν ἀντὶ πορνείας λογιζόμενην τὴν μνηστείαν οὐ παύσεται, ἕως αὐτὸν τιμωρήσεται.

Excerpt 4

*Procopius, De bellis 8.20.29–31**Excerpt 4 = Excerpta
Anonymi 24.1–24.2*

(29.) ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἵππον ὃ τι ποτὲ ἐστὶν ἐπίστασθαι σφίσι ξυμβαίνει, ἐπεὶ ἵππον ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ νήσῳ οὐδὲ ὅσα κατ' εἰκόνα θεῶνται. οὐ γὰρ ποτε τὸ ζῶον τοῦτο ἐν γε (30.) Βριττία γεγονὸς φαίνεται, εἰ δὲ ποτε αὐτῶν τισιν ἐπὶ πρεσβείᾳ ἢ ἄλλου τοῦ ἕνεκα Ῥωμαίοις ἢ Φράγγοις ἢ ἄλλῳ τῷ ἵππους ἔχοντι ἐπιχωριάσασθαι ξυμβαίη, ἐνταῦθά τε ἵπποις ὀχεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς ἐπάναγκες εἴη, ἀναθρώσκειν μὲν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οὐδεμιᾷ μηχανῇ ἔχουσιν, ἕτεροι δὲ αὐτοὺς μετεωρίζοντες ἄνθρωποι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀναβιβάζουσιν, ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι τε βουλομένους ἐνθένδε αὐθις (31.) αἶρνοντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κατατίθενται. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Οὐαρνοὶ ἱππῶται εἰσίν, ἀλλὰ πεζοὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἅπαντες. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν οἱ βάρβαροι τοιοῦδε εἰσὶ.

Βρίττιοι τοίνυν ἵππον οὐδὲ ἔχουσιν οὐδὲ γνωρίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ πεζοὶ μάχονται, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Οὐαρνοὶ.

(42.) Ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ Βριττίᾳ νήσῳ τείχος ἐδείμαντο μακρὸν οἱ πάλοι ἄνθρωποι, δίχα τέμνον αὐτῆς πολλὴν τινα μοῖραν· τοῦ δὲ τείχους ὃ τε ἀήρ καὶ ἡ γῆ καὶ (43.) τὰ ἄλλα πάντα οὐχ ὁμοίως ἐφ' ἐκάτερά ἐστι. τὰ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ τείχους πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον εὐεξία τε ἄερων ἐστὶ συμμεταβαλλομένη ταῖς ὥραις, θέρους μὲν μετρίως (44.) ἀλεινὴ, ψυχρινὴ δὲ χειμῶνος· καὶ ἄνθρωποι μὲν πολλοὶ ὤκηται κατὰ ταῦτα βιοτεύοντες τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις, τὰ τε δένδρα καρποῖς ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ γινομένοις ὥραίοις ἀνθεῖ, τὰ τε λήϊα τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν (45.) καταδεέστερον τέθλην· ἄλλα καὶ ὕδασιν ἢ χώρα ἐναβρυνομένη διαρκῶς φαίνεται. πρὸς δύοντα δὲ πᾶν τούναντίον, ὥστε ἀμέλει ἀνθρώπων μὲν οὐδὲ ἡμιώριον δυνατόν ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα βῶναι, ἔχισ δὲ καὶ ὄφεις ἀναρίθμοι καὶ ἄλλων θηρίων παντοδαπὰ γένη διακεκλήρωται τὸν χώρον ἐκεῖνον. (46.) καὶ, τὸ δὴ παραλογώτατον, οἱ ἐπιχώριοι λέγουσιν ὥς, εἴ τις ἄνθρωπος τὸ τεῖχος ἀμείψας ἐπὶ θάτερα ἴοι, εὐθυωρὸν θήσκει, τὸ λοιμῶδες τὸν ἐκεῖνι ἄερων ὥς ἥκιστα φέρων, τοῖς τε θηρίοις ἐνθάδε ἰοῦσιν ὁ θάνατος εὐθὺς ὑπαντιάζων (47.) ἐκδέχεται. ἐνταῦθα δὲ μοι γενομένῳ τῆς ἱστορίας ἐπάναγκές ἐστι λόγου μυθολογία ἐμπερεστάτου ἐπιμνησθῆναι, ὃς δὴ μοι οὐτε πιστὸς τὸ παράπαν ἔδοξεν εἶναι, καίπερ αἰεὶ πρὸς ἀνδρῶν ἐκφερόμενος ἀναρίθμων, οἳ δὴ τῶν μὲν πρᾶσσομένων αὐτουργοί, τῶν δὲ λόγων αὐτήκοοι ἰσχυρίζοντο γεγονέναι, οὐτε παρτεῖος παντάπασιν, ὥς μὴ τὰ γε ἅμφί Βριττίᾳ τῇ νήσῳ ἀναγραφόμενος ἀγνοίας τινὸς τῶν τῆδε ζυμβαίνοντων διηγεκὼς ἀπενέγκωμαι δόξαν. (48.) Λέγουσιν οὖν τὰς τῶν ἀποβιούντων ἀνθρώπων ψυχὰς ἐς τοῦτο αἰεὶ διακομίζεσθαι τὸ χωρίον· ὄντινα δὲ τρόπον, αὐτίκα δηλώσω, σπουδαιότατα μὲν ἀπαγγελλόντων ἀκηκοὼς πολλάκις τῶν τῆδε ἀνθρώπων, ἐς ὀνείρων δὲ τινα δύναμιν ἀποκεκρίσθαι νευομικῶς τὰ (49.) θρυλούμενα. παρὰ τὴν ἀκτὴν τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Βριττίαν Ὠκεανοῦ νῆσον κόμας παμπληθεῖς ζυμβαίνει εἶναι. οἰκοῦσι δὲ αὐτὰς ἄνθρωποι σαγηνευόντες τε καὶ γῆν γεωργοῦντες καὶ ἐπ' ἐμπορίαν ναυτιλλόμενοι ἐς τήνδε τὴν νῆσον, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα Φράγγων κατήκοοι ὄντες, φόρου μέντοι ἀπαγωγὴν οὐπόποτε παρασχόμενοι, ὑφειμένους αὐτοῖς ἐκ παλαιοῦ τοῦδε τοῦ ἄχθους, ὑπουργίας τινός, ὥς φασιν, ἔνεκα, ἥ μοι ἐν τῷ παρόντι (50.) λελέξεται. λέγουσιν οἱ ταύτῃ ἄνθρωποι ἐκ

ἐν τῇ Βριττίᾳ τοῖνον οἱ παλαιοὶ ἄνθρωποι ἐδείμαντο τείχος, δίχα τέμνον αὐτῆς πολλὴν μοῖραν. τούτου τοῦ τείχους ὁ ἀήρ καὶ ἡ γῆ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα οὐχ ὁμοίως ἐφ' ἐκάτερά ἐστιν. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἀνατολὴν εὐεξία τε ἄερων ἐστὶ συμμεταβαλλομένη ταῖς ὥραις, καὶ ἄνθρωποι πολλοὶ οἰκοῦσι κατὰ ταύτην βιοτεύοντες ἴσα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις καὶ τὰ δένδρα καρποῖς ὥραίοις βρίθονται καὶ τὰ λήϊα. πρὸς τὴν δύσιν δὲ τὸ ἐναντίον, ὥστε οὐδὲ ἡμιώριον ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκεῖσε βῶναι. ἔχεις δὲ καὶ ὄφεις καὶ ἄλλων θηρίων παντοδαπὰ γένη ὑπάρχουσιν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄνθρωπος, εἰ ἀμείψει τὸ τεῖχος ὑπερβάς, εὐθυωρὸν ἀποθνήσκει, τὸ λοιμῶδες | τοῦ ἀέρος μὴ φέρων. καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλου μέρους, λέγω δὴ τοῦ δυτικοῦ, εἰ θηρίον πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον χώρον ἀπέλθοι εἰς τὸν εὐκρατον, παρ' αὐτὰ ἀποθνήσκει. ἐνταῦθα δὲ μοι γενομένῳ τῆς ἱστορίας ἐπάναγκές ἐστι λόγου τινὸς μυθολογία ἐμπερεστάτου ἐπιμνησθῆναι, ὃς δὴ μοι οὐτε πιστὸς τὸ παράπαν ἔδοξεν εἶναι, καίπερ αἰεὶ πρὸς ἀνδρῶν ἐκφερόμενος ἀναρίθμων, οἳ δὴ τῶν μὲν πρᾶσσομένων αὐτουργοί, τῶν δὲ λόγων αὐτήκοοι ἰσχυρίζονται γεγονέναι, οὐτε παρτεῖος παντάπασιν, ὥς μὴ τὰ γε ἅμφί Βριττίᾳ τῇ νήσῳ ἀναγραφόμενος ἀγνοίας τινὸς τῶν τῆδε συμβαινόντων διηγεκὼς ἀπενέγκωμαι δόξαν. λέγουσιν οὖν τὰς τῶν ἀποβιούντων ἀνθρώπων ψυχὰς ἐς τοῦτο αἰεὶ διακομίζεσθαι τὸ χωρίον· ὄντινα δὲ τρόπον, αὐτίκα δηλώσω, σπουδαιότατα μὲν ἀπαγγελλόντων ἀκηκοὼς πολλάκις τῶν τῆδε ἀνθρώπων, ἐς ὀνείρων δὲ τινα δύναμιν ἀποκεκρίσθαι νευομικῶς τὰ θρυλούμενα. παρὰ τὴν ἀκτὴν τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Βριττίαν Ὠκεανοῦ νῆσον κόμας παμπληθεῖς συμβαίνει εἶναι. οἰκοῦσι δὲ αὐτὰς ἄνθρωποι ἰχθυοθηρῶν καὶ γεωργοὶ καὶ ἔμποροι, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα Φράγγων κατήκοοι, φόρον δὲ μὴ τελούντες

(Continued)

περιτροπῆς ἐπικεῖσθαι τὰς τῶν ψυχῶν παραπομπὰς σφίσιν. ὅσοις οὖν τῇ ἐπιγενησομένῃ νυκτὶ ἐς τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα τοῦτο οὖν τῇ ἐπιγενησομένῃ νυκτὶ ἐς τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα τοῦτο τῇ τῆς ὑπουργίας διαδοχῇ ἰτέον ἐστίν, οὗτοι δὲ ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα ξυσκοτάξῃ, ἐς τὰς οἰκίας τὰς αὐτῶν ἀναχωροῦντες καθεύδουσι, προσδεχόμενοι τὸν συναγωγέα (51.) τοῦ πράγματος. ἄωρι δὲ τῶν νυκτῶν τῶν μὲν θυρῶν σφίσιν ἀρασσομένων αἰσθάνονται, φωνῆς δὲ τινος ἀφανοῦς ἐπαῖουσιν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦς ξυγκαλούσης. (52.) αὐτοὶ τε ὀκνήσει οὐδεμιᾶ ἐκ τῶν στρωμάτων ἐξανιστάμενοι ἐπὶ τὴν ἡϊόνα βαδίζουσιν, οὐ ξυνιέντες μὲν ὅποια ποτὲ ἀνάγκη αὐτοὺς ἐς τοῦτο ἐνάγει, ἀλλ' ὅμως (53.) ἀναγκαζόμενοι. ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀκάτους παρεσκευασμένας ὀρῶσιν ἐρήμους τὸ παράπαν ἀνθρώπων, οὐ τὰς σφετέρως μέντοι, ἀλλ' ἐτέρας τινάς, ἐς αἷς δὲ ἐσβάντες (54.) τῶν κοπῶν ἄπτονται. καὶ τῶν βάρων αἰσθάνονται ἀχθομένων μὲν ἐπιβατῶν πλήθει, ἄχρι δὲ ἐς σανίδας τε ἄκρας καὶ τῶν κοπῶν τὴν χώραν τῷ ῥοθίῳ βεβαπτισμένων, ἀποδουσῶν τε τοῦ ὕδατος ὅσον οὐδὲ δάκτυλον ἓνα, αὐτοὶ μέντοι οὐδένα θεῶνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ μίαν ἐρέσσοντες ὥραν ἐς τὴν Βριτίαν καταίρουσι. (55.) καίτοι ταῖς ἀκάτοις ἡνίκα ταῖς αὐτῶν ἰδίαις ναυτῖλλονται, οὐχ ἰστίοις χρώμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐρέσσοντες, ἐς νύκτα τε καὶ ἡμέραν μολὶς ἐνταῦθα διαπορθμεύονται· ἐς τὴν νῆσον δὲ καταπλεύσαντες ἀποφορτίζονται ἀπαλλάσσονται αὐτίκα δὲ μάλα, τῶν βάρων σφίσι κούφων γινομένων ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου κακ τοῦ ῥοθίου ἐπαυρομένων ἔν τε τῷ ὕδατι καταδυομένων οὐδέν τι ἄλλο, (56.) πλην γε ὅσα ἐς τὴν τρόπιν αὐτῇ. καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα ὀρῶσιν οὔτε ξυμπλέοντα οὔτε ἀπαλλασσόμενον τῆς νηὸς, φωνῆς δὲ ἀκούειν τινὸς ἐνθένδε φασὶ τοῖς ὑποδεχομένοις ἀπαγγέλλειν δοκούσης πρὸς ὄνομα τῶν συμπεπλευκότων αὐτοῖς ἕκαστον, τὰ τε ἀξιώματα ἐπιλεγούσης οἷς πρόην ἐχρῶντο καὶ πατρόθεν (57.) αὐτοὺς ἀνακαλούσης. ἦν δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες ξυνδιαπορθμευσάμεναι αὐτοῖς τύχῳσι, τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀποστοματίζουσι τὰ ὀνόματα οἷσπερ ξυνικοῦσαι ἐβίων. (58.) ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οἱ τῆδε ἄνθρωποι ξυμβαίνειν φασίν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον ἐπάνειμι.

διὰ τινὰ ὑπουργίαν,^b ὥς λέγουσιν ἔστι δὲ αὕτη. λέγουσιν ἐκ περιτροπῆς ἐπικεῖσθαι τὰς τῶν ψυχῶν παραπομπὰς αὐτοῖς. ὅσοις οὖν τῇ ἐπιγενησομένῃ νυκτὶ ἐς τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα τοῦτο τῇ τῆς ὑπουργίας διαδοχῇ ἰτέον^d ἐστίν, οὗτοι ἐπειδὴν^e συσκοτάξῃ, εἰς τὰς οἰκίας αὐτῶν ἀναχωροῦντες καθεύδουσι, προσδεχόμενοι τὸν συναγωγέα τοῦ πράγματος, τῇ νυκτὶ δὲ τῶν θυρῶν αὐτῶν ἀρασσομένων αἰσθάνονται, φωνῆς δὲ τινος ἀκούουσιν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοὺς συγκαλούσης. αὐτοὶ δὲ τῶν στρωμάτων αὐτῶν ἀνιστάμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν βαδίζουσιν. οὐκ εἰδότες ποία ἀνάγκη αὐτοὺς ἐς τοῦτο ἐνάγει, ὅμως ἀναγκαζόμενοι. ἐνταῦθα ἀκάτους παρεσκευασμένας ὀρῶσι κενὰς ἀνθρώπων, οὐ τὰς ἰδίας, ἀλλ' ἐτέρας τινάς, ἐν αἷς εἰσελθόντες τῶν κοπῶν ἄπτονται, καὶ αἰσθάνονται τῶν πλοίων βαρυνομένων ἐκ πληθους ἐπιβατῶν, μέχρι δὲ τῶν ἄκρων τῶν σανίδων βεβαπτισμένα βλέπουσι τὰ πλοῖα, ἀποδουσῶν^f τοῦ ὕδατος ὅσον δάκτυλον ἓνα, οὐδένα δὲ ὀρῶσιν· μίαν δὲ ὥραν ἐρέσσοντες εἰς τὴν Βριτίαν καταίρουσι. καίτοι ἡνίκα ταῖς ἰδίαις ἀκάτοις πλέουσιν, οὐχ ἰστίοις χρώμενοι, ἀλλὰ ταῖς κόπαις εἰς νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν μολὶς διαπορθμεύονται. καταπλεύσαντες δὲ τῇ νήσῳ ἀποφορτίζονται^g ἀπαλλάσσονται, ἐν τῷ ὕδατι καταδυομένου, | οὐδενὸς ἄλλου, πλην τῆς τρόπιδος. καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν οὐδένα ἀνθρώπων ὀρῶσιν οὔτε συμπλέοντα, οὔτε τῆς νηὸς ἀπαλλασσόμενον, φωνῆς δὲ ἀκούουσι τοῖς ὑποδεχομένοις ἀπαγγέλλουσαν πρὸς ὄνομα συμπεπλευκότων αὐτοῖς ἕκαστον, τὰ τε ἀξιώματα ἐπιλεγούσης οἷς πρόην ἐχρῶντο καὶ πατρόθεν αὐτοὺς ἀνακαλούσης, ἦν δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες συμπελεύσασαι, τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀποστοματίζουσι τὰ ὀνόματα οἷς συνεβίωσαν.

^a Βριτανία: Βριττία Treu.^b ὑπουργίαν: ὑπουργίαν Treu.^c ἐπὶ γενησομένη: ἐπιγενησομένη Treu.^d ἰστέον: ἰτέον Treu.^e ἐπειδ' ἂν: ἐπειδὴν Treu.^f ἀπὸ δὲ οὐσῶν: ἀποδουσῶν Treu.^g ἀπὸ φορτίζονται: ἀποφορτίζονται Treu.

Excerpt 6

Procopius, De bellis 8.20.11–21

Excerpt 6 = Excerpta
Anonymi 25.25–26.4

(11.) Τῶν δὲ Οὐάρνων ἀνὴρ τις οὐ πολλῶ πρότερον, Ἑρμεγίσκλος ὄνομα, ἦρχεν. ὥσπερ τὴν βασιλείαν κρατύνασθαι διὰ σπουδῆς ἔχων, τὴν Θευδιβέρτου ἀδελφὴν τοῦ Φράγγων ἄρχοντος γυναῖκα γαμετὴν ἐποιήσατο. (12.) τετελευτήκει γὰρ αὐτῷ ἑναγχοῦς ἢ πρότερον ξυνοικοῦσα γυνή, παιδὸς ἐνὸς γενομένη μήτηρ, ὃν καὶ ἀπέλιπε τῷ πατρὶ Ῥάδιγιν ὄνομα, ᾧ δὴ ὁ πατὴρ παρθένου κόρης, γένους Βριττίας, ἐμνήστευσε γάμον, ἥσπερ ἀδελφὸς βασιλεὺς ἦν τότε Ἀγγίλων τοῦ ἔθνους, χρήματα μεγάλα τῷ τῆς μνηστείας αὐτῇ δεδουκῶς λόγῳ. (13.) οὗτος ἀνὴρ ξὺν Οὐάρνων τοῖς λογιμωτάτοις ἐν χωρίῳ τῷ ἱππευόμενος ὄρνιν τινὰ ἐπὶ δένδρου τε καθήμενον (14.) εἶδε καὶ πολλὰ κρώζοντα. εἶτε δὲ τοῦ ὄρνιθος τῆς φωνῆς ξυνεῖς εἶτε ἄλλο μὲν τι ἐξεπιστάμενος, ξυνεῖναι δὲ τοῦ ὄρνιθος μαντευόμενον τερατευόμενος, τοῖς παροῦσιν εὐθὺς ἔφασκεν ὥς τεθνήσκειται τεσσαράκοντα (15.) ἡμέραις ὕστερον, τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτῷ τὴν τοῦ ὄρνιθος δηλοῦν πρόρρησιν. “Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν προορώμενος” ἔφη “ὅπως δὴ ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα ξὺν τῇ ἀπραγμοσύνῃ βιώσεσθε, τοῖς τε Φράγγοις ἐς κῆδος συνῆλθον, γυναῖκα ἐνθὲνδε τὴν ἐμοὶ ξυνοικοῦσαν ἐπαγαγόμενος, καὶ τῷ παιδί τῷ ‘μῶ περιβέβλημαι τὴν Βριττίαν μνηστὴν. (16.) ἄλλα νῦν, ἐπεὶ ἐγὼ μὲν τεθνήξεσθαι ὑποτοπάζω αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα, εἰμὶ δὲ ἅπαις ἄρσενός τε καὶ θήλεος γόνου, ὅσα γε τὰ γυναικὸς τῆσδε, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὁ παῖς ἀνυμέναιός τε καὶ ἀνυμφος ἔτι νῦν ἐστί, φέρε ὑμῖν ἐπικοινωνοῦμαι τὴν ἐμὴν διάνοιαν, καὶ εἰ τι ὑμῖν οὐκ ἀσύμφορον δόξειεν εἶναι, ὑμεῖς δὲ αὐτήν, ἐπειδὴν ἀφίκομαι τάχιστα ἐς τὸ μέτρον τοῦ βίου, (17.) τύχη ἀγαθὴ κατακυροῦντες διαπεραίνετε. οἶμαι τοίνυν Οὐάρνοις ξυνοίσειν τὴν κηδεῖαν ἐς Φράγγους (18.) μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς τοὺς νησιώτας ποιεῖσθαι. Βρίττιοι μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ ὅσον ἐπιμύγνυσθαι ὑμῖν οἰοί τέ εἰσιν, ὅτι μὴ ὀψέ τε καὶ μόλις. Οὐάρνοι δὲ καὶ Φράγγοι τοῦτι μόνον τοῦ Ῥήνου τὸ ὕδωρ μεταξὺ ἔχουσιν, ὥστε αὐτοὺς ἐν γειτόνων μὲν ὡς πλησιατάτα ὄντας ὑμῖν, ἐς δυνάμειος δὲ κεχωρηκότας μέγα τι χρῆμα, ἐν προεῖρῳ ἔχειν εὖ ποιεῖν τε ὑμᾶς καὶ λυμαίνεσθαι, ἥνικα (19.) ἂν αὐτοῖς βουλομένοις εἴη. λυμανοῦνται δὲ πάντως, ἢν μὴ τὸ κῆδος αὐτοῖς ἐμπόδιον ἔσται. βαρεῖα γὰρ φύσει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις υπερβάλλουσα αὐτοὺς τῶν πλησιοχώρων δύναμις γίνεται καὶ πρὸς ἀδικίαν ἐτοιμοτάτη, ἐπεὶ γείτονι δυνατῷ ῥάδιον ἐπὶ τοὺς πέλας (20.) οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντας ἐκπορίζεσθαι πολέμου αἰτίας. ὅτε τοίνυν ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει, παρείσθω μὲν ὑμῖν τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦδε νησιώτης μνηστὴ χρήματα πάντα, ὅσα παρ’ ἡμῶν κεκομισμένη τούτου δι’ ἔνεκα ἔτυχε, τῆς ὕβρεως ἀπενεγκαμένη μισθόν, ἢ νόμος ἀνθρώπων ὁ κοινὸς βούλεται. Ῥάδιγίς δὲ ὁ παῖς ξυνοικιζέσθω τῇ μητρὶ αὐτὸ τοῦ λοιπὸν τῇ αὐτοῦ, καθάπερ ὁ πάτριος ἡμῖν ἐφίησι νόμος. (21.) Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἰπὼν τὴν τεσσαρακοστὴ ἀπὸ τῆς προρρήσεως ἡμέρα νοσήσας τὴν πεπρωμένην ἀνέπλησεν. ὁ δὲ τοῦ Ἑρμεγίσκλου υἱός, Οὐάρνων τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβὼν, γνώμῃ τῶν ἐν βαρβάροις τοῖσδε λογίμων ἀνδρῶν ἐπιτελὴ ἐποίησε τὴν τοῦ τετελευτηκότος βουλὴν καὶ τὸν γάμον αὐτίκα τῇ μνηστῇ ἀπειλὸν τῇ μητρὶ ξυνοικίζεται.

Μνηστήσομαι δὲ καὶ περὶ οἰωνοσκοπίας. Οὐάρνοι ἔθνος εἰσὶ Βρεττανικόν, καὶ ἦν | ἐν αὐτοῖς βασιλεὺς Ἑρμεγίσκλος ἔχων υἱὸν ὀνόματι Ῥάδιγιν. τελευτησάσης οὖν τῆς γυναικὸς τοῦ Ἑρμεγίσκλου, ἐμνηστεύσατο τὴν ἀδελφὴν Θευδιβέρτου βασιλεῦς τῶν Φράγγων. οὗτος οὖν ὁ Ἑρμεγίσκλος συνιπεῦον^a τοῖς ἐλλογμωτάτοις τῶν Οὐάρνων ὄρνιν τινὰ καθήμενον ἐπὶ δένδρου εἶδε^b καὶ πολλὰ κρώζοντα. εἶπεν οὖν εὐθὺς τοῖς συμπαροῦσιν, ὥς μετὰ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας τεθνήσκειται. καὶ παρηγγύησεν αὐτῷ τὴν αὐτοῦ μητρὶν^c ποιήσασθαι μνηστὴν τοῦ Θευδιβέρτου τὴν ἀδελφὴν, χαίρειν ἑάσας τὴν αὐτῷ ἐγγεγνημένην μνηστὴν ἐκ τῶν Βριττίων ὑπάρχουσαν. καὶ | κατὰ τὸ μάντευμα τῇ τεσσαρακοστῇ τετελευτήκει ἡμέρα.

^a οὖν ἱππεύων· συνιπεῦων Treu.^b εἶδεν· εἶδε Treu.^c μητρὶν· μητρὶαν Treu.

II. The *Agathias* excerpts transmitted in the *Excerpta Salmasiana*

The numbers in bold throughout the text body indicate the beginning of a new excerpt. The edition of the text is accompanied by an *apparatus fontium* and an *apparatus criticus*. The *apparatus fontium* gives the passages in Agathias' *Historiae* to which each excerpt in the *Exc.Salm.* corresponds. The sigla given at the beginning of the *apparatus criticus* indicate the manuscripts transmitting the excerpts. The text is a compilation of excerpts from a single historical text. Given the particular nature of a collection of excerpts, the present edition intends to give the text as evidenced and transmitted in the extant manuscripts of the *Exc.Salm.* rather than to present a *corrected* version of the text. In passages where the manuscript transmission is divergent, the examination of the textual context of the *Agathias* excerpts and the study of the original source used by the *Exc.Salm.* have been helpful in deciding which reading is more likely to be original. Detection of possible deletions, additions, interpolations, and syntactical and grammatical corruptions of the text is performed. The restoration of the punctuation is a difficulty that editors of Byzantine texts always face. Studies on the correct use of punctuation in critical editions of ancient Greek and Byzantine texts by D. J. Murphy (1995), and J. Noret (1995, 1998) help us understand how modern editors deal with such editorial problems. On editing the excerpts, I rely on the traditional editorial method proposed in the handbooks on textual criticism and editorial techniques by Maas (1958) and West (1973). The *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (TLG), a special research project of the University of California, Irvine, which has collected and digitised most literary texts written in Greek from Homer to 1453 AD, is consulted when necessary. The excerpts are accompanied by a commentary. The commentary serves to explain internal inconsistencies of the *Agathias*-part and contains informative references to figures, places, and events central to the selection of excerpts.

Tabula Notarum in Apparatu Critico Adhibitarum

Codices

V	<i>Vaticanus</i> gr. 96 (s. XII med.)
Pal	<i>Vaticanus Pal.</i> 93 (s. XII med.)

Editores et emendatores

M	C. Müller
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Cetera

[...]	litterae deperditae
◇	litterae additae
{ }	litterae deletae
corr.	correxit
del.	delevit
mg.	margen
om.	omittit, omittunt
suppl.	supplevit
v.l	varia lectio

- 1 **1.** <Οἱ> νῦν λεγόμενοι Φράγγοι Γερμανοὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐκαλοῦντο. δηλον
δέ· ἀμφὶ Ῥήνον γὰρ ποταμὸν οἰκοῦσι καὶ τὴν ταύτῃ ἡπειρον, ἔχουσι δὲ καὶ
Γαλλίων τὰ πλείστα. **2.** οἱ Αἰλαμνοὶ ξύγκλυδές εἰσιν ἄνθρωποι καὶ μιγάδες, καὶ
τοῦτο δύνανται αὐτοῖς ἢ ἐπωνυμία. **3.** Ἀλίγερνός τις Γότθος
5 ἡγεμὼν τοσοῦτον ἦν ἄριστος ἐπὶ τοξικῇ ὥστε εἰ ἐπαφῆκε βέλος, κἂν εἰς λίθον
τινὰ ἐνέπεσεν ἢ εἰς ἑτερόν τι ἀτέραμνον, διερρήγνυτο ἅπαν τῇ βίᾳ τῆς ρύμης.
Παλλάδιον γοῦν Ῥωμαῖον στρατηγὸν βαλὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους διαμπαῖς τὸν
ἄνδρα διεπερόνησεν αὐτῷ θώρακι καὶ ἀσπίδι. **4.** ὁπόσον τῆς ὕλης ταχυδαές
10 ἦτοι κλεισίν. **6.** ὅτι αἱ Ἄλπεις τὸ ὄρος ἐν μέσῳ Τουσκίας τῆς χώρας καὶ
Αἰμιλίας ἀνέχει. **7.** ὧδέ πως ἄρα αὐτῷ ἐξ οὐρίας ἅπαντα ἔθει. **8.** σῶοι
καὶ ἀδήλητοι. **9.** ὁπόσον τοῦ δήμου φίλερι καὶ παλίμβολον. **10.** τύρσεις οἱ πύργοι
καὶ προμαχώνες. **11.** οἱ Φράγγοι οὔποτε ἂν ἐκόντες <εἶναι> ἐν θέρει
15 διαμαχέσαιντο, πολέμιον γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὸ πνίγος, σφριγῶσι δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ κρύους
ἀεὶ. ἔχουσι γὰρ πρὸς τοῦτο οἰκείως τῇ δυσχείμερον πατρίδα κεκτῆσθαι. **12.**
ἵππου ἐπιβάς εὐηνιωτάτου καὶ ἀγερώχου καὶ οἴου οὐκ ἄτακτα ἐξάλλεσθαι καὶ
σκιρτᾶν, ἀλλὰ τάς τε ἐπελάσεις καὶ ἀναστροφὰς τῇ πείρᾳ πεπαιδευμένου. **13.**
Ναρσῆς ὁ στρατηγὸς μέλλων ἤδη συμβαλεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις Φράγγοις, ἐπεὶ
20 Ἑρουλὸς τις τῶν ἐπισήμων ἡγγέλη αὐτῷ ἀπεκτονῶς τὸν αὐτοῦ οἰκέτην
ἐπέσχε καὶ τὸ τοῦ φόνου μῦσος ἀποσκευασάμενος διὰ τοῦ τὸν Ἑρουλον |
ἐκείνον ἀνταποκτείνειν συνέμιξε καὶ κατὰ κράτος τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐτροπώσατο.
14. οἱ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ σεισμοῦ ἀναθυμιάσεις τινὰς εἶναι λέγοντες ξηρὰς τε καὶ
λιγνυώδεις, ὑπὸ τὰ γλαφυρὰ τῆς γῆς εἰργομένας καὶ τῇ μὴ διαπνεῖσθαι ῥαδίως
25 σφοδρότερον περιδινουμένας, <ἄς> τὸ ἐπιπροσθοῦν ἅπαν σαλεύειν, ἕως τῇ
βιαίᾳ φορᾷ τῆς στεγνότητος ἐνδιδούσης εἰς τοῦμφανές ἀναχθεῖεν. οἱ δὲ οὖν
τὰ τοιαῦτα φυσιολογοῦντες τὴν Αἰγυπτίων φασὶ χώραν οὔποτε σειεσθαι
πεφοκέναι, ὥς δι᾽ ἡθαμαλίῃν τε ἀτεχνῶς καὶ ὑπτιάν καὶ ἥκιστα σιραγγώδη
ἐντεῦθεν τε οὐκ ἐμφορουμένην, εἰ δέ γε καὶ ὑποδέξαίτο, ἀλλ' αὐτομάτως ὑπὸ
30 χανυότητος θαμὰ ἐξατμιζομένην. **15.** οἱ νῦν λεγόμενοι Λαῖοι Κόλχοι τὸ
παλαιὸν ὠνομάζοντο, εἰσὶ δὲ Αἰγυπτίων ἄποικοι. Σεσώστριος βασιλέως
Αἰγύπτου πᾶσαν κατεστρεψαμένου τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ ἀπόμοιραν ἐνταῦθα τοῦ
ὀμίλου καταλιπόντος. **16.** τὸ φρούριον τὰ *Ολλάρια* κατὰ Λατίνων διάλεκτον
χυτροπώλια ἐρμηνεύεται.

Codd. VPal 1.1 νῦν – 3 πλείστα: *Historiae* 1.2.1 **2.3** ὅτι – 4 ἐπωνυμία: *Historiae* 1.6.3 **3.4** Ἀλίγερνός – 8 ἀσπίδι: *Historiae* 1.9.3–4 **4.8** ὁπόσον – 9 αὖον: *Historiae* 1.10.6 **5.9** ὑφίζανε – 10 κλεισίν: *Historiae* 1.10.7 **6.10** ὅτι – 11 ἐνέχει: *Historiae* 1.11.3 **7.11** ὧδέ – 11 ἔθει: *Historiae* 1.11.6 **8.11** σῶοι – 12 ἀδήλητοι: *Historiae* 1.13.4 **9.12** ὁπόσον – 12 παλίμβολον: *Historiae* 1.13.8 **10.12** τύρσεις – 13 προμαχώνες: *Historiae* 1.18.4 **11.13** οἱ Φράγγοι – 15 κεκτῆσθαι: *Historiae* 1.19.2 **12.16** ἵππου – 17 πεπαιδευμένου: *Historiae* 1.21.5 **13.18** Ναρσῆς – 21 ἐτροπώσατο: *Historiae* 1.7.2–4 **14.22** οἱ τὴν – 29 ἐξατμιζομένην: *Historiae* 1.15.9 **15.28** οἱ νῦν – 32 καταλιπόντος: *Historiae* 1.18.4–5 **16.32** τὸ φρούριον – 33 ἐρμηνεύεται: *Historiae* 1.20.5

1 οἱ suppl. **6** διερρήγνυτο: διερρύνυτο Pal **13** εἶναι suppl. *Historiae* 2.19.2 nusus **23** λιγνυώδεις: καὶ add. Pal **24** ἄς suppl.

- 1 17. ὅτι Πέρσαι οὐ νόμιμον θάπτειν τοὺς νεκρούς, ἀλλὰ ἔρημα καὶ ἀκάλυπτα τὰ
σώματα καταλείπουσι βορὰν κυσί τε καὶ πετεινοῖς καὶ ἐφ' ὃν μὲν ἂν ταχέως
καταπαίεν καὶ καταφάγοιεν, τοῦτον ὅσιον ἄνδρα ἡγοῦνται· ἐφ' ὃν δὲ μή,
5 τοῦτον ἄνοσιον καὶ ἀποκλαίονται αὐτὸν ὡς τελεώτατα τεθνηκότα. τοὺς δὲ
ἀσήμους τοῦ στρατοῦ νοσήσαντας καταλείπουσιν ἄρτον καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ
βακτηρίαν συμπαράθεμένοι καὶ μέχρι μὲν δύναται τις τῶν ῥιφέντων
ἐσθίειν τῇ βακτηρίᾳ τὰ ὄρνεα ἀποσοβεῖ· εἰ δὲ ἡ νόσος νικῇ, τότε δὴ αὐτὸν
διασπαράττουσιν οἱ ὄρνεις καὶ κύνες ἔτι ἡμιθνήτα, | ὃς δ' ἂν ἀναβίῃ καὶ
ἐπανεέλθῃ πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον ἔθνος, βέβηλος δοκεῖ καὶ ἀποτρέπονται αὐτὸν
10 πάντες καὶ οὐ πρότερόν οἱ ἐφεῖται τῶν ξυνήθων μεταλαχεῖν διαιτημάτων, πρὶν
ἂν ὑπὸ τῶν μάγων ἀποκαθαρθεῖ τὸ μίasma δῆθεν τοῦ ἐλπισθέντος θανάτου
καὶ οἷον ἀνταπολάβῃ τὸ αὐτὸς ἀναβῖναι. 18. Σεμίραμις ἡ Ἀσσυρία ἡ πάνυ εἰς
τοῦτο ἀκрасίας ἤχθη, ὡς Νινύα τῷ παιδί θελήσῃ συμφορῇ καὶ ἤδη πειρᾶν
τὸν νεανίαν, τὸν δὲ λέγεται ἀπνήνασθαι καὶ χαλεπήναι καὶ τελευτῶντα τ'
15 ἐπειδὴ αὐτὴν ἐώρα σφαδάζουσιν, ἀποκτεῖναι τε τὴν μητέρα καὶ τόδε τὸ ἄγος
ἀντ' ἐκείνου ἀλλάξασθαι. 19. Παρυσάτιδος τῆς μητρὸς Ἀρταξέρξου τοῦ
Δαρείου παραπλήσια τῇ Σεμύραμιδι παθούσης καὶ συγγενέσθαι τῷ υἱῷ ἱεμένης,
ἀπέκτεινε μὲν αὐτὴν ἥκιστα ὁ υἱός· ἐξέκλινε δὲ ὁμοῦ καὶ ξὺν ὀργῇ ἀπεσεῖσατο,
ὡς οὐχ ὅσιον ὃν οὐδὲ πάτριον, οἱ δὲ νῦν Πέρσαι ταῖς μητράσι μίγνυνται. 20.
20 ἄγρια καὶ ἐρημονόμα. 21. ὅτι δύο θεοὺς ἡγοῦνται Πέρσαι· ἀγαθὸν καὶ κακόν,
καὶ τὸν μὲν ἀγαθὸν Ὀρμισδάτην καλοῦσι· τὸν δὲ κακὸν Ἀριμάνην. 22.
Πάβεκος τις ἀνὴρ Πέρσης ἄσημος μὲν ἄλλως καὶ σκυτοτόμος ἀστρολόγος δ'
οὖν τῇ Ἀρταξάρου τοῦ βασιλέως μητρὶ ξυνώκει. Σάσανος δὲ τις καὶ αὐτὸς
Πέρσης διερχόμενος διὰ τῆς Καδουσαίων, ἐπεξενώθη Παβέκῳ. ὁ δὲ γνοὺς διὰ
25 τῶν ἀστρῶν τὴν τοῦ Σασάνου γονὴν ἐπὶ μέγα δόξης ἀρθῆναι μέλλειν
συγκατέκλινεν αὐτῷ τὴν οἰκεῖαν γυναῖκα καὶ ἐγένετο Ἀρταξάρης, ὃς ἐπεὶ
τὴν βασιλείαν κατέσχεν, ἤριζον ἀναφανδὸν Πάβεκος καὶ Σάσανος, τίνος ἂν
λέγοιτο παῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς. μόλις δὲ | ξυνέβησαν ὥστε υἱὸν μὲν αὐτὸν Παβέκου
καλεῖσθαι ἐκ σπέρματος δὲ Σασάνου <τεχθέντα>. 23. ἐλέγετο περὶ Χοσρόου
30 ὡς ὅλον καταπίει τὸν Σταγειρίτην ἥπερ τὸν Ὀλλόρου ὁ Παιανιεύς, 24.
ἄνθρωπος βώμας καὶ ἐμπληκτος.

Codd. VPal 17.1 ὅτι – 12 ἀναβῖναι: *Historiae* 2.22, 6–23, 7 18.12 Σεμίραμις
– 16 ἀλλάξασθαι: *Historiae* 2.24.2–3 19.16 Παρυσάτιδος – 19 μίγνυνται:
Historiae 2.24.4–5 20.20 ἄγρια – 20 ἐρημονόμα: *Historiae* 2.24.10 21.20
ὅτι – 21 Ἀριμάνην: *Historiae* 2.24.9 22.22 Πάβεκος – 29 τεχθέντα: *Historiae*
2.27.1–5 23.29 ἐλέγετο – 30 Παιανιεύς: *Historiae* 2.28.2 24.31 ἄνθρωπος – 31
ἐμπληκτος: *Historiae* 2.30.2

8 ὄρνεις codd.: ὄρνεις corr. 18 ἀπεσεῖσατο: καὶ add. Pal 29 τεχθέντα suppl. 31
βώμας codd.: βώμας corr. *Historiae* 2.30.2 nisis

- 1 25. ὑποστρέφοντες ἀπὸ Χοσρόου οἱ μεγάλοι φιλόσοφοι, Δαμάσκιος ὁ Σύρος, Σιμπλικίος ὁ Κίλιξ, Εὐλάλιος τε ὁ Φρυξ καὶ Πρισκιανὸς ὁ Λυδὸς Ἑρμείας τε καὶ Διογένης οἱ ἐκ Φοινίκης καὶ Ἰσίδωρος ὁ Γαζαῖος, Σιμπλικίος καὶ Διογένης καὶ Ἰσίδωρος καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ εὗρον ἄθραπτον σῶμα Πέρσου καὶ κατελεήσαντες
5 ἔθασαν. ἀφυνωσάντων δὲ πάντων ἔδοξεν ὁ εἷς τούτων ὄραν ἄνδρα φιλοσοφία οἰκεῖον ἔχοντα σχῆμα καὶ λέγοντα αὐτῷ· «μὴ θάπτε τὸν ἄθραπτον, ἕα κυσὶ κύρμα γενέσθαι, γῇ πάντων μήτηρ μητροφθόρον οὐ δέχεται ἄνδρα». ἀφυνπισθέντες δὲ καὶ περιερχόμενοι τὸν τόπον ἐκείνον εἶδον τὸ τοῦ Πέρσου σῶμα πάλιν γυμνὸν ὑπερθε κείμενον, ἐκπλαγέντες δὲ ὁμολόγουν ὅτι οἱ Πέρσαι
10 ποινὴν ἔχουσι τῆς μητροφθορίας τὸ ἄταφοι μένειν καὶ ὑπὸ κυνῶν διασπαράττεσθαι. 26. πῶς ἐν πύθῳ τὴν κεραμεῖαν φιλεργεῖν, εἴρηται δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτοὺς ἐφιεμένων. 27. Ὀνόγουρις πόλις πλησίον Λαζικῆς, εἴρηται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Οὐννους Ὀνογούρους λεγόμενους στρατεῦσαι ἐκεῖ καὶ νικηθῆναι· νῦν δὲ ναὸς τοῦ ἁγίου Στεφάνου καλεῖται. 28. τίς ὑμῶν ἀποδέξειτο διαπορούντων καὶ
15 σκοπούμενων; 29. τὸ μηχανήμα ὁ σπαλίον πλέγμα ἐστὶν ἐκ λύγων ἐς ὀροφῆς τύπον στεγανόν τε τῇ πυκνώσει καὶ ἀμφηρεφὲς τῷ ἐκατέρωθεν τὰ πλευρὰ ἐς τὰ κάτω παρατετάσθαι καὶ περιβάλλειν τὸ ὑπερχόμενον, δέρρεις δὲ ὑπερθεν καὶ διφθέρας ἐπιβάλλοντες πάντοθεν περικαλύπτουσι τὸ μηχανήμα τοῦ μᾶλλον ἔρμα εἶναι καὶ ἀποκρούειν | τὰ βέλη, ἄνδρες δὲ ἔνδον ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ
20 ὑποκρυπτόμενοι αἵρουσί τε αὐτὸ ἀφανῶς καὶ ἢ βούλονται διακομίζουσιν. ἐπειδὴν δὲ πύργῳ τυχὸν προσεγεχθείη, τότε δὴ νέρθεν ἐκείνοι τὴν προσκειμένην γῆν ἀνορύττοντες καὶ τὸν χοῦν ἀνιμάμενοι ἀπογυμνοῦσι τὰ θεμέλια καὶ εἴτα μοχλοῖς τε καὶ σφύραις ἐνδελεχέστατα πλήττοντες κατασειοῦσι τὴν οἰκοδομίαν. 30. ὃ τε τῶν ἵππων χρεμετισμὸς καὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων
25 ὁ πάταγος καὶ τῶν θωράκων αἱ συντρίψεις παμμυγῇ τινα καὶ ἄγριον ἀνέπλεκον ἤχον. 31. <οἱ Πέρσαι> ἀπεχώρουν καὶ ἐς ὑπαγωγὴν ἐκινουῦντο 32. οἱ ἵπποι ἐξεκύλιον τοὺς ἐλατήρας. 33. καπνὸν ἐς ὕψος ἀνέρποντα καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὸ τοῦ ἀέρος ἀνελιττόμενον. 34. στρατιῶται κοῦφοι καὶ εὐσταλεῖς κατὰ τοὺς Ἰσαύρους
30 ἥρέμα ξυστέλλοντες καὶ ταμειούμενοι.

Codd. VPal 25.1 ὑποστρέφοντες – 11 διασπαράττεσθαι: *Historiae* 2.31.6–8. 26.11 πῶς – 12 ἐφιεμένων: *Historiae* 3.1.5 27.12 Ὀνόγουρις – 14 καλεῖται: *Historiae* 3.5.6–7 28.14 τίς – 15 σκοπούμενων: *Historiae* 3.10.8 29.15 τὸ – 24 οἰκοδομίαν: *Historiae* 3.5.9–11 30.24 ὃ τε – 26 ἤχον: *Historiae* 3.25.7 31.26 οἱ Πέρσαι – 26 ἐκινουῦντο: *Historiae* 3.26.1 32.26 οἱ – 27 ἐλατήρας: *Historiae* 3.27.4 33.27 καπνὸν – 28 ἀνελιττόμενον: *Historiae* 3.28.1 34.28 στρατιῶται – 29 Ἰσαύρους: *Historiae* 4.16.2 35.29 εἰστήκεσαν – 30 ταμειούμενοι: *Historiae* 4.18.5

1–3 Δαμάσκιος...Γαζαῖος Pal: V^{ms} 3 Μαζαῖος codd: Γαζαῖος corr. *Historiae* 2.30.3 nisus 11 τῶν: τῶν add. codd: del. 16 ἀμφηρεφὲς V: ἀμφιρεφὲς Pal 26 οἱ Πέρσαι suppl. *Historiae* 3.26.1 nisus

- 1 **36.** ὁ μιαρὸς ἐκεῖνος μεταβολεύς τε καὶ παλιγκάπηλος Ἰωάννης δὲ ἦν εἷς τῶν
 ὑπὸ Ἰουστίνον τὸν στρατηγὸν τεταγμένων, ὃς αἰτήσας αὐτὸν ὀλίγον χρυσίον
 ὑπέσχετο τοὺς τε ἐπομένους τῷ στρατηγῷ τρέφειν καὶ ἀποδοῦναι πάλιν καὶ τὸ
 5 χρυσίον ἐκεῖνο. περιῶν οὖν ἀνὰ τὰς κώμας ἐνθα βοῶν οὐδὲ ὄνομα ἠκούετο, ὁ
 δὲ τούτων χάριν ὠνήσεως ἔλεγεν ἀφικέσθαι ἐνέκει τότε ἀπαιτῶν, καὶ χρυσίον
 προτεινόμενος ἔστ' ἂν οἱ δέιλαιο ἐκεῖνοι συναγαγόντες χρυσίον, μόλις αὐτὸν
 ἐπειθον λαβόντα τοῦτο ἀπαλλαγῆναι ἔπειτα οὕτω περιερχόμενος ἐνθα κάμηλοι
 οὐκ ἦσαν, τούτων ἕνεκα ἤκειν ἔφασκε καὶ οὕτως ἡργυρολόγει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ
 10 ἀπὸ τῶν ἀδικημάτων κατήσθιεν, ἦδετο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Ἰουστίνος ἀπριάτην
 εὖω|χοῦμενος. **37.** Σαβώρης ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς πολεμήσαντά οἱ τὸν Ῥωμαίων
 βασιλέα Βαλλεριανὸν ζωγρία ἐλὼν ἀπέδειρεν ἀπ' αὐχένος ἄχρη ποδῶν. **38.** εἴτα
 μηδενὸς αὐτῷ προσισταμένου κατέδραμε πᾶσαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐπικράτειαν
 15 μέχρι Καππαδοκῶν καὶ τοσούτους φόνους εἰργάσατο, ὥς καὶ τὰ σπαραγγώδη
 καὶ κοῖλα χωρία τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι φραγμῶν τοῖς σώμασιν ἀναπληρωθῆναι τῶν
 πεπτωκότων ἀνθρώπων καὶ πρὸς ἰσότητά ἐλθεῖν τῶν λόφων τὰ διεστώτα καὶ
 ἐξανέχοντα καὶ οὕτω καθιπεύειν ἐν αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ διαβαίνειν
 ὥσπερ ἐφ' ὁμαλοῦ τὰς ἀκρωρείας. **39.** οἱ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεῖς ἡνίκα ἔθρους
 20 μεγάλου κρατήσουσι, τοὺς μὲν ἡγεμόνας αὐτῶν οἰκτρότατα καταλύουσιν, οἱ
 δὲ τοῖς σφετέροις παισὶ τὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡγεμονίαν ἀπονέμουσι μνήμης ἕκατι καὶ
 τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ τροπαίῳ μεγαλαυχίας. ἐπεὶ οὖν Οὐαραράνης τις Περσῶν βασιλεὺς
 τὸ τῶν Σεγεστανῶν ἔθνος κατεδουλώσατο, τὸν ἑαυτοῦ υἱὸν Σεγανασᾶν
 ὠνόμασε· δύναται δὲ τοῦτο τῇ Ἑλλήνων φωνῇ Σεγεστανῶν βασιλεὺς. **40.**
 Σαβὼρ ὁ Πέρσων βασιλεὺς πρὶν τεχθῆναι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τῆς μητρὸς γαστρὶ
 25 ἀνηγορεύθη βασιλεὺς. χηρευούσης γὰρ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τοῦ γένους καλοῦντος
 τὸν Σαβὼρ, οἱ δυνατότατοι κύουσιν ἵππον τοῖς μάγοις προενεγκόντες ἄθλα
 προυτίθεσαν, εἰ ἐπαληθεύσειαν τί καὶ πότε τέξεται ἡ ἵππος, μαντευσαμένων δὲ
 ἐπεὶ γέγονεν ὡς τοῖς μάγοις ἐλέχθη, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τικτομένῳ μαντεύσασθαι
 30 τούτους ἐκέλευον. εἰπόντων δὲ ὅτι ἄρρεν τεχθήσεται, πιστεύσαντες τῇ γαστρὶ
 τῆς αὐτοῦ μητρὸς τὴν κίδαριν περιθέντες ἀνείπον βασιλέα τὸ ἔμβρυον, καὶ
 διεβίω ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ὁ Σαβὼρ ὁ ἔτη. | **41.** Ζήνων ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς ὁ Ἰσαυρος
 ἀπελαθεὶς τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ Βασιλίσκου πάλιν ἐπανεσώσατο τὴν ἀρχήν, ἐν αὐτῷ
 δὲ τῷ καιρῷ καὶ Καβάδης ὁ Περόζου καθειρχθεὶς ἐν τῷ τῆς λήθης φρουρίῳ
 35 παρὰ Πέρσαις ὡς τὴν μίξιν τῶν γυναικῶν κοινὴν εἶναι νομοθετῶν, διαλαθὼν
 ἔφυγεν εἰς τὸν τῶν Ἐφθαλιτῶν Οὐννων βασιλέα καὶ λαβὼν τὴν αὐτοῦ
 θυγατέρα γυναῖκα καὶ στρατὸν πάλιν ἐπελάβετο τῆς ἀρχῆς, κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ
 Νέπως ὁ τῆς Ἑσπέρας βασιλεὺς ἀπηλάθη τῆς βασιλείας, ἀλλ' οὕτως οὐκέτι
 ταύτην ἐπανεσώσατο.

Codd. VPal **36.1** ὁ μιαρὸς – 10 εὖωχοῦμενος: *Historiae* 4.21.6–7; 4.22.1–6 **37.10**
 Σαβώρης – 11 ποδῶν: *Historiae* 4.23.7 **38.11** εἴτα – 17 ἀκρωρείας: *Historiae*
 4.24.3 **39.17** οἱ – 22 βασιλεὺς: *Historiae* 4.24.7–8 **40.23** Σαβὼρ – 30 ὁ ἔτη:
Historiae 4.25.2–5 **41.30** Ζήνων – 37 ἐπανεσώσατο: *Historiae* 4.27.6–7; 4.28.1;
 4.28.3; 4.28.4; 4.29.2–3

1 εἷς V: om. Pal **5** ὠνήσεως V: ὠνήσεως Pal **10** τὸν V: τῶν Pal **11** ἀπέδειρεν V:
 ἐπέδειρεν Pal **11–13** εἴτα...καί!: om. Pal **14** φραγγῶν: v.l.^{ms}.

- 1 42. αἱ ὀροφαὶ διειστήκεσαν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἀρνησάμεναι τὴν συνέχειαν καὶ
διαχανοῦσαι. 43. βαρὺ τι ἀσθμήνας καὶ ὑποκάρδιον. 44. Ἀνθεμίῳ τῷ
μηχανικῷ πατρὶς ἦν αἱ Τράλλεις ἢ πόλις, ἀδελφὸς <τούτου> Μητροδόωρος
5 γραμματικὸς ἄριστος <γένετο>, Ὀλύμπιος ἕτερος ἀδελφὸς ἄκρος ἐπὶ νόμων
μαθήσει Διόσκορος τε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἄμφω ἱατρικῆς δαημονεστάτω. 45.
οὗτος ὁ Ἀνθέμιος ἐγγὺς κατ' οἶκον Ζήνωνος τινὸς νομιάς, ὃς Ζήνων
καταβλάπτων αὐτὸν ἐπάνω τῆς ὀροφῆς τοῦ οἴκου Ἀνθεμίου πάτον ἐποίησε.
βουλόμενος δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀνθέμιος ἀντιλυπεῖν τοιάδε ποιεῖ· λέβητας μεγάλους
ὑδατος ἐμπλήσας διακριδὸν ἐστήσε πολλοῦ τοῦ δωματίου, αὐλοῦς δὲ ἐν
10 αὐτοῖς σκυτίνους ἐξωθεν περιβαλὼν, κάτω μὲν εὐρυνομένους ὥς ἅπασαν τὴν
στεφάνην περιβεβύσθαι, ἐξῆς δὲ καθάπερ σάλπιγγα ὑποστελλομένους
ἐνέπηξε ταῖς δοκοῖς τὰ ἀπολήγοντα καὶ ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἐνεπερόνησεν, ὥς καὶ
τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀπειλημμένον ἀέρα ἀφετὴν μὲν ἔχειν τὴν ἄνω φορὰν διὰ τῆς
κενότητος ἀνιόντα καὶ γυμνῇ προσψαύειν τῇ ὀροφῇ κατὰ τὸ παρεῖκον, καὶ τῇ
15 βύρσῃ περιεχόμενον, ἥκιστα δὲ ἐς τὰ ἐκτὸς διαρρεῖν καὶ ὑπεκφέρεισθαι. ταῦτ'
οὖν ἐν τῷ ἀφανεῖ | καταστησάμενος πῦρ ἐνήκε σφοδρὸν ὑπὸ τοὺς τῶν
λεβήτων πυθμένας καὶ φλόγα ἐξῆψε μεγάλην· αὐτὴ καὶ τοῦ ὑδατος
διαθερομένου καὶ ἀνακαχλάζοντος ἀτμός ἐπῆρτο πολὺς καὶ ἀνερριπίζετο
παχύς τε καὶ πεπυκνωμένος· οὐκ ἔχων δὲ ὅπῃ διαχυθεῖν, ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐλοῦς
20 ἀνείρπε καὶ τῇ στενότητι πιεζόμενος ἀνεφέρετο βιαιότερον, ὥς τῇ στέγῃ
προσπαίων ἐνδελεχέστατα ἐδόνησεν ἅπασαν καὶ διέσεισεν, ὅσον
ὑποτρέμειν ἡρέμα καὶ διατετριγένοι τὰ ξύλα. ὁ δὲ Ζήνων εἰς τὸ παλάτιον
ἀπελθὼν ἡρώτα τοὺς ἐκεῖ εἰ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἡσθάνθησαν τοῦ σεισμοῦ, οἱ δὲ
«εὐφῆμει ἄνθρωπε» ἔλεγον καὶ «ἄπαγε» καὶ «μήποτε γένοιτο», 46. οὐ μόνον
25 δὲ τοῦτο ἀλλὰ καὶ κατήστραψε καὶ κατεβρόντησε τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ζήνωνος τὸ
δωμάτιον. δίσκον γάρ τινα ἐσόπτρου δίκην ἐσκευασμένον καὶ ἡρέμα
ὑποκοιλαινόμενον ταῖς τοῦ ἡλίου ἀντρείδων αὐγαῖς ἐνεπίμπλα τῆς αἴγλης·
καὶ εἶτα μετὰ γων ἐφ' ἕτερα πολλὴν ἀθρόον αὐτοῦ κατηκόντιζε λαμπηδόνα,
ὥς ἀπάντων ἐφ' οὓς ἂν φέροιτο ἀμβλύνεσθαι τὰς ὄψεις καὶ σκαρδαμύττειν·
30 συντρίψεις δὲ τινὰς καὶ ἀντιτυπίας σωμάτων βαρυηχοτάτων ἐπινοῶν κτύπους
ἀπετέλει σφοδροὺς καὶ βροντώδεις, ὥς ἐκείνον μάλιστα γοῦν διαγνόντα ὀπόθεν
ἕκαστα γίνεται προκαλινδεῖσθαι τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ κατηγορεῖν Ἀνθεμίου ὥς
ἀδίκου, ὥστε ἀμέλει καὶ χάριέν τι ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἀνεφθέγγετο, ὥς οὐχ οἷόν τε
αὐτῷ μόνῳ τε καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ ὄντι κατὰ ταῦτόν ἅμα πρὸς τε Δία τὸν
35 ἀστεροπητὴν καὶ ἐρίγδουπον καὶ πρὸς γε Ποσειδῶνα τὸν ἐννοσίγαιον
διαμάχεσθαι. 47. ὕστερον δὲ καὶ τοῦ δώματος αὐτῷ παντελῶς ἐξέστη ὁ
Ζήνων.

Codd. VPal 42.1 αἱ – 2 διαχανοῦσαι: *Historiae* 5.3.9 43.2 βαρὺ τι – 2 ὑποκάρδιον:
Historiae 5.3.11 44.2 Ἀνθεμίῳ – 5 δαημονεστάτω: *Historiae* 5.6.3–5 45.6
οὗτος – 24 γένοιτο: *Historiae* 5.6.7–7.5 46.24 οὐ – 36 διαμάχεσθαι: *Historiae*
5.8.3–5 47.36 ὕστερον – 37 Ζήνων: *Historiae* 5.15.5

3 τούτου suppl. 4 γέγονε suppl. 5 Διόσκορος V: Διόσκουρος Pal 16 ἐνήκε V:
ἐνήκεν Pal | τῶν V: om. Pal 23 ἡσθάνθησαν V: ἡσθάνοντο Pal 35 ἐννοσίγαιον
codd: ἐννοσίγαιον corr.

- 1 **48.** οὗτος ὁ Ἀνθέμιος ἦν ὁ καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν μεγάλην ἐκκλησίαν
οἰκοδομημάτων ἕκαστα μηχανησάμενος καὶ δημιουργήσας. **49.** ὑπὸ σεισμοῦ
ἀποβεληκός τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ Σοφίας τὸ τῆς ὁροφῆς μεσαίτατον,
5 Ἰσίδωρος ὁ νέος καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ μηχανικοὶ τὸ πρότερον ἐν ἑαυτοῖς
ἀναθεωρήσαντες σχῆμα, τὴν μὲν ἐφάν τε καὶ ἐσπερίαν ἀνῆδα οὕτω κατὰ χώραν
μένειν ἀφῆκαν, τῆς δὲ ἀρκτώας καὶ νοτίας τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ κυρτώματος οἰκοδομίαν
πρὸς τὰ ἔνδον παραινέοντες καὶ εὐρυτέραν ἡρέμα ποιησάμενοι, ὥς μᾶλλον
ἀρμοδιώτατα ταῖς ἄλλαις ξυννευκέναι καὶ ὁμολογεῖν τὴν ἰσόπλευρον
ἀρμονίαν, περιστεῖλαι ταύτῃ δεδύνηται τὴν τοῦ κενώματος ἀμετρίαν καὶ
10 ὑποκλέψαι βραχὺ τι τῆς ἐκτάσεως μέρος, ὅποσον ἐτερόμηκες ἀπετελεῖτο
σχῆμα, οὕτω τε ἐπ’ αὐτῶν ἤδρασαν πάλιν τὸν ἐν μέσῳ ὑπερανέχοντα εἴτε
κύκλον εἴτε ἡμισφαίριον βούλοιτό τις καλεῖν καὶ γέγονεν εἰκότως ἐντεῦθεν
ἰθύτερος μὲν καὶ εὐεπίστροφος καὶ πανταχόθεν τῇ γραμμῇ ἐξισάζων,
στενότερος δὲ καὶ ὀξυτενὴς καὶ οἷος οὐχ οὕτω λίαν ἐκπλήττειν τοὺς θεωμένους
15 ὥς πάλοι, πολλὰ δὲ ὁμῶς πλέον ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ βεβηκέναι. **50.** ἐπὶ Ἰουστινιανοῦ
τοῦ βασιλέως σὺν Οὐννοῖς ἑπτακισχιλίοις διαβάς τὸν Ἰστρον Ζαβεργὰν ἐγγὺς
τῆς βασιλίδος ἔφθασε λειπιδῶν τὰ μεταξὺ, ἅτε μὴ στρατιάς που φρουρούσης,
ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων {εἰς} ἐξακοσίας καὶ τεσσαράκοντα πέντε
χιλιάδας μαχίμων ἀνδρῶν ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐκορυφοῦτο στρατός, Ἰουστινιανὸς
20 δὲ μόλις εἰς ἑκατὸν καὶ πενήκοντα περιέστησεν, ὥστε μηδὲ δύνασθαι ἐξαρκεῖν
ἐν τῇ Λαζική καὶ Ἀρμενίᾳ καὶ Λιβύῃ καὶ Γότθοις καὶ Ἰσπανίᾳ. λογισάμενος
γὰρ τὴν δαπάνην τῶν τοσούτων χιλιάδων δεῖν ἔκρινε μᾶλλον δι’ ὀλίγων δώρων
συμβάλλειν ἀλλήλοις τοὺς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἄρχοντας, ἵνα αὐτοὺς μὲν μήτε τοσαῦτα
δαπανᾷ εἰς τὸν στρατὸν μήτ’ ὀχλῆται πέμπων κατ’ αὐτῶν, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἀλλήλοις
25 αἵτιοι φθορᾶς γίνοντο, ὃ δῆτα τέως ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκείθεν τοῦ Ἰστροῦ Οὐννοῖς
ἐποίησεν. ἔγραψε γὰρ πρὸς ἕνα τῶν ἀρχόντων, ὅτι «τῷ κρεῖττονι ὑμῶν
ἐπέμομφα δῶρα· καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν σὲ οἰόμενος εἶναι τὸν κρεῖττονα διὰ σὲ τοῦτο
ἔγραψα, ἕτερος δὲ τις ἀφείλετο ταῦτα βία λέγων ἐκεῖνος εἶναι κρεῖττον.
σπούδασον οὖν δεῖξαι ὅτι σὺ πάντων ὑπερέχεις, καὶ λάβε τὰ ἀφαιρεθέντα
30 τιμωρησάμενος αὐτὸν κατὰ λόγον, εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῦτο ποιήσης, εὐδην ὅτι ἐκεῖνος
ἔστιν ὁ μείζων, καὶ πάντως καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐκεῖνον προσκεισόμεθα, καὶ σὺ στερηθήσῃ
τοσούτων». ταῦτα μαθὼν ὁ Οὐννος ἐκρότησε πόλεμον κατὰ τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν.
καὶ οὕτως ἐπὶ πολὺ μαχόμενα ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη ὑπ’ ἀλλήλων ἀπόλιντο.

Codd. VPal **48.1** οὗτος – 2 δημιουργήσας: *Historiae* 5.9.2 **49.2** ὑπὸ – 15
βεβηκέναι: *Historiae* 5.9.3–5 **50.15** ἐπὶ – 33 ἀπόλιντο: *Historiae* 5.11.6;
5.13.4; 5.13.7–8; 5.24.2–7; 5.25.3–5

5 καὶ: τὴν add. Pal **8** συννευκέναι codd: ξυννευκέναι corr. *Historiae* 5.9.3
nisus **18** εἰς del. M **21** τε codd: τῇ corr. | Ἰσπανία codd: Ἰταλία M **22** γὰρ codd:
Ἰουστινιανὸς M **23** αὐτὸς μὲν codd: τοὺς μὲν M **25** αἵτιοι codd: αἰτία M |
γίνοντο V: γίνονται Pal **28** ἀφείλητο codd: ἀφείλετο corr. **29** δεῖξαι codd: del.
Müller **30** ἐκεῖνος codd: del. M **31** καὶ² codd: del. M

III. Commentary on the Agathias excerpts

1. <Οἱ> νῦν λεγόμενοι Φράγγοι, Γερμανοὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐκαλοῦντο: the identification is drawn from Procopius (*De bellis* 5.11.29). Theophact Simocatta's account runs counter to Procopius and Agathias' identification: Φράγγοι

δὲ ἄρα οὗτοι τῇ νεωτέρᾳ γλώττῃ κατονομάζονται (Theophylact Simocatta, *Historiae* 6.3, 6). Agathias gives no hint about the sources he drew on for his ethnographic digression on the Franks; cf. Cameron (1970), 39. In Cameron's view, Agathias must have made no use of any written source on the Franks. The use of oral sources seems more likely. His informant may have been a member of Narses' staff; Cameron (1970), 40. There is also the possibility that Agathias drew his information on the Frankish affairs from the embassy of King Sigibert to Constantinople in 571; cf. Cameron (1968), 133–134.

2. Ἀλαμανοὶ: the passage in the *Exc.Salm.* is extracted from Agathias' ethnographical digression on the Alamanni (*Historiae* 1.6.3–1.7.7). This fragment displays the compiler's interest in etymology. According to Agathias, the Alamanni follow the Franks in matters of government and differ from them only in religion; the Alamanni are pagans (*Historiae* 1.7.1). Agathias, however, believes that frequent contact with the Franks would help them abandon paganism (*Historiae* 1.7.2). Av. Cameron sees the excursus on the Alamanni as deliberately inserted by Agathias in order to explain the unsuccessful invasion of the Frankish-Alamanni into Italy in 554. They failed because the Alamanni were sinful in contrast to the virtuous Byzantines; cf. Cameron (1970), 54. Agathias mentions the source of the short passage on the etymology of the Alamanni, namely Asinius Quadratus. The reference, however, was not included in the *Agathias*-part. On the Alamanni in general, see Drinkwater (2007).
3. ξόγκλυδές εἰσιν ἄνθρωποι καὶ μιγάδες: unlike Agathias, the compiler of the *Exc.Salm.* had no interest in a comparison between the Franks and the Alamanni in terms of their way of life. Thus, he differs from Agathias's positive treatment of the Franks. Accordingly, the compiler of the *Exc.Salm.* only extracts a notice on the origin of the name of the Alamanni by emphasising the fact that the Alamanni were a dark-skinned people. It should be noticed that Procopius (*De bellis* 4.6.5–14) correlated their darker skin with negative moral characteristics and when he portrays the Ephthalitai favourably he puts emphasis on their white skin and on the fact that they were not as ugly as the other Huns (*De bellis* 1.3.2–7). The conclusion to be drawn is that the compiler of the *Exc.Salm.* reinforces the traditional distinction between Romans and barbarians.
4. Ἀλίγερνός τις Γότθος: a Gothic military figure, brother of Teias (*Historiae* 1.8.6), the last king of the Goths (552–553). Procopius (*De bellis* 8.34.19) records, mistakenly, that Aligern was the brother of the Gothic King Totila (541–552). Agathias appears to be well informed on Aligern as he also knows his father's name, namely Fritigern (*Historiae* pref. 31 and 1.20.1). During the siege of Cumae by the Byzantines, Aligern killed Palladius, a Roman official highly respected by Narses (*Historiae* 1.9.2–4). Aligern finally ceded Cumae to Narses in early 554 (*Historiae* 1.20.3).
5. Παλλάδιον: Palladius was a high-ranking official (καὶ ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις ταξίρχοις ἐπέλει; cf. *Historiae* 1.9.4) highly esteemed by Narses (*Historiae* 1.9.3). It is notable that Narses' name is omitted in the *Exc.Salm.*

6. ὁπόσον τῆς ὕλης ταχυδαῆς καὶ αὖον: Excerpts 4 and 5 are taken from Agathias' account of the siege of Cumae. Both passages present Narses' plan of besieging the fortress. Narses' name has not been transmitted in the *Exc. Salm.* Throughout the *Historiae*, Agathias uses two terms for forests, namely ὕλη and νόπη.
7. ὑφίζανεν τὸ τεῖχος: Cumae was one of the two most strongly fortified towns described by Agathias (the other one was the fortress of the Misimians, called *Siderun* for this reason (*Historiae* 4.16.4). The wall of Cumae had been built on top of a hill surrounded by towers and castellations (πύργοι, ἐπάλξεις, μεταπύργια, προμαχεῶνες; cf. *Historiae* 1.8.3, 1.9.2, 1.10.3).
8. μοχλοῖς καὶ βαλανάγραις: a parallel in Georgius Pachymeres (*Συγγραφικαὶ ἱστορίαι, libri vii de Andronico Palaeologo, 77*): αὐτοῖς μοχλοῖς καὶ βαλανάγραις ἐξετίνασσον.
9. Τουσκίας τῆς χώρας: Tuscany was under the rule of the Goths when Narses arrived in Italy (*Historiae* 1.1.6).
10. Αἰμιλίας: at the time of Narses' campaign in Italy, Emilia was in the possession of the Goths (*Historiae* 1.15.7). Agathias names, erroneously, the Alps as the natural border between the neighbouring regions of Emilia and Tuscany (*Historiae* 1.11.3): the two regions were separated by the Apennine mountains; to the north the River Po formed Emilia's border with the district of Venice (*Historiae* 1.11.3, 2.3.2).
11. ὧδέ πως ἄρα αὐτῷ ἐξ οὐρίας ἅπαντα ἔθει: the phrase is originally a comment by Agathias upon Narses' success in restoring order in Southern Italy. The passage has been included in the *Agathias*-part without the name of the Byzantine general. On various occasions of battles or sieges, Narses resorted to special strategical tricks. Beside the one used in the course of the siege of Cumae (*Historiae* 1.10.1–9), Narses made use of a Hunic stratagem in a fight against the Franks (*Historiae* 1.22.1–5). On the effectiveness and efficacy of the Byzantine generals, see Ringrose (2003).
12. σῶσι καὶ ἀδήλητοι: Excerpts 8 and 9 are extracted from Agathias' account of the ruse used by Narses to capture Lucca. Nevertheless, Narses' name is not inserted in the *Agathias*-part.
13. τύρσεις οἱ πύργοι καὶ προμαχεῶνες: Excerpt 10 is a passage from Agathias' account of the siege of Lucca by Narses (*Historiae* 2.18).
14. Φράγγοι οὐποτε ἂν ἐκόντες <εἶναι> ἐν θέρει διαμαχέσαιντο, πολέμιον γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὸ πνίγος, σφριγῶσι δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ κρύους αἰεί: the passage makes a brief ethnographical description of the Franks. They cannot bear the heat and they prefer to fight in the winter as they are well adapted to cold conditions. It should be noticed that Procopius, in his account of the Moors (*De bellis* 4.6.5–14), draws an analogy between being primitive and having the ability to endure difficult conditions.
15. ἵππου ἐπιβὰς εὐηνιωτάτου καὶ ἀγερώχου: the passage is originally a description of Narses' horse, which was obedient, well trained, and experienced in fights (*Historiae* 1.21.5). Narses is not referred to in the excerpted passage.

16. οἱ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ σεισμοῦ ἀναθυμιάσεις τινὰς εἶναι λέγοντες ξηράς τε καὶ λιγνυώδεις: Agathias' account on the earthquake of 551 (*Historiae* 2.15–17) and of 557 (*Historiae* 5.3–9). For the complex moral strategy of Agathias' earthquake accounts, see Kaldellis (1999). Agathias' account of the earthquake of 551 was used as a model by Attaliates in his account of the earthquake of 1063; cf. Attaliates, *Historia*, 90.
17. Κόλχοι τὸ παλαιὸν ὀνομάζοντο: the passage complies with the compiler's interest in the origins of peoples. In fact, the excerpt represents the view that the Colchians descended from the Egyptians. Agathias (*Historiae* 2.18.5) claims that this account is found in Diodorus of Sicily (Diodorus of Sicily, *Bibliotheca historica* 1.55.4–5) and in many other ancient writers. Herodotus (*Historiae* 2,104) records a similar story and Agathias probably had him in mind. A little further on, Agathias appears to keep himself aloof from the issue of the Colchians' origins: οἱ δὲ οὖν εἶτε Λαῖοι εἶτε Κόλχοι (*Historiae* 2.18.4–6). On the Colchians, see Braund (1994).
18. τὰ Ὀλλάρια κατὰ Λατίνων διάλεκτον χυτροπόλια ἐρμηνεύεται: the plain called Chytropolis was located seven stades distant from the fortress of Telephis (*Historiae* 2.20.5). Telephis was a *φρούριον καρτερόν τε καὶ ἐχυρώτατον* (*Historiae* 2.19.2), in which the Byzantine general Martin was stationed with his army. The plain was given the name Chytropolis due to the pottery market there. The plain was initially called *Ollaria* from the Latin word *olla*, which in Greek gives Chytropolis. On the fortifications in the reign of Justinian, see Foss and Winfield (1986), 7–13.
19. ἔρημα καὶ ἀκάλυπτα τὰ σώματα καταλείπουσι: Excerpts 17–22 in the *Agathias*-part derive from the first of the two aforementioned Agathias' excursuses on Persia. In particular, Excerpt 17 deals with illegal Persian burial customs, a practice which is also mentioned by Herodotus (*Historiae* 1.140), Plutarch (*Artaxerxes* 18), and Procopius (*De bellis* 1.12.4, 2.24.2). On the custom in general, see Russell (1982), 561–563.
20. τοῦ στρατοῦ νοσήσαντας: such customs appear to lie behind Onesicritus' tale, quoted by Strabo (*Geographica* 11.11.3) according to which, in Bactria those suffering from old age or sickness were thrown alive to dogs kept for that purpose, which they called *undertakers*. The use of such a term accords well with Chrysippus' account, which was corroborated by the Chinese traveller Wei-jie, who wrote of Samarkand soon after 605 AD; cf. Boyce and Grenet (1991), 6–7, 190 n. 159.
21. Σεμίραμις ἢ Ἀσσυρία: Excerpts 18–19 refer to the habit of the Persians of committing incest. On Semiramis, see Nagel (1982). As Av. Cameron noted, the episode of Semiramis as well as that of Parysatis (Excerpt 18) originate in Ctesias (*FGrHist* 688, F 14 and F 16); cf. Cameron (1969–1970), 92–93.
22. συγγενέσθαι τῷ υἱῷ: on consanguineous marriage in Sassanian Iran and before, see Macuch (1991), 141–154; Herrenschmid (1994), 113–125.
23. ἄγρια καὶ ἐρμονόμα: the brief passage is extracted from Agathias' account of a Persian festival, in which noxious animals, regarded as belonging to Ahriman (see Excerpt 21), were killed. That this was considered a religious

- duty becomes manifest in the Zoroastrian religious literature; cf. Cameron (1969–1970), 98–99. Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride*, 46) refers to the ritual as well. On the attitude of Byzantines to the Manichaean views in late antiquity, see Cameron (2003), 481–482.
24. ὅτι δύο θεοὺς ἡγοῦνται Πέρσαι: Excerpt 21 makes a reference to Persian dualism. On Persian dualism, see Henning (1951); Bianchi (1978), 361–389; Boyce and Grenet (1991), 412, 423–424, 463–466.
 25. Ἀριμάνην: Ahriman or Angra or Anra Mainyu in the Avestan language; cf. Duchesne and Guillemin (1984), 670–673. For the Greeks it was the equivalent of Hades as the Greek grammarian Hesychius of Alexandria transmits *Ἀρειμάνης*: ὁ Αἰδης, παρὰ Πέρσαις (*Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, 7116 Ἀρειμάνης). Aristotle (fr. 6), Diogenes Laertius (*Vitae philosophorum* I.8), Damascius (*De principiis* I.323), Eudemus (fr. 150), and Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride*, 46) all record *Ἀρειμάνιος*. On Ahriman, see Duchesne and Guillemin (1953); Shaked (1967), 227–234; Boyce (1975), 243–246; Boyce (1982), s.v. Angra Mainyu.
 26. Ὅρμιζδάτην: Ohrmazd or Ahura Mazdā in Avestan was a supreme deity in Zoroastrianism; cf. Duchesne and Guillemin (1984), 670–673. The name occurs as *Ὠρομάσδης* in Arist.Fr.6; Eudemus, fr. 150; Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae philosophorum* I.8; Damascius, *De principiis* I.323. *Ὠρομάζης* occurs in Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 46. On Ohrmazd, see Duchesne and Guillemin (1953); Kuiper (1976), 25–42.
 27. The excerptor of the *Agathias*-part seems to have no interest in forming a chronological account of the Persian kingdoms, which appears to be the primary goal of the two excursuses on Persia in *Agathias*. Accordingly, the entire *Agathias*' subsection of the Persian kingdoms is absent in the *Agathias*-part. In fact, Excerpt 22 introduces us to the Sassanian dynasty by transmitting the birth story of the founder of the dynasty, Ardasher I. Instead of proceeding with the presentation of other members of the dynasty, the compiler keeps to the original narrative sequence and excerpts whatever is relevant to Persia. Accordingly, Excerpt 22 is ensued by a series of excerpts dealing with Persian customs and beliefs still alive during the reign of Chosroes. Ardasher's successor, Sharpur I, only appears in Excerpts 38 and 39. Furthermore, the compiler overlooks the six subsequent members of the Sassanian dynasty and inserts two passages dealing with Sharpur II (Excerpts 41, 42).
 28. Πάβεκός τις ἀνήρ Πέρσης ἄσημος (...) ἐπεξενώθη Παβέκῳ: Excerpt 22 contains an account of Ardashir's conception. Papak was the father of Ardasir, the founder of the Sassanian dynasty. The dynasty was named after Sassan, though. *Agathias*' version differs from that found in Islamic literature (e.g., Tabari, I, p. 813) in which Papak is the son of Sassan. *Agathias*' account is not based on the *Annals* but echoes a popular tradition; cf. Cameron (1969–1970), 109. On the various versions about Ardasir's parentage, see Frye (1988), 298–299.
 29. περὶ Χοσρόου: Excerpts 23–25 are derived from *Agathias*' section on Chosroes I in Book 2 (*Historiae* 2.28–32).

30. καταπίοι τὸν Σταγειρίτην: Chosroes was thought to have read Aristotle and Plato translated in Pahlavi. Chosroes is also described as a philosopher-king by John of Ephesus (*HE*, VI.20). It appears that it was widely believed among educated Romans that the Sassanian kings took great interest in Greek philosophy: Eunapius, for instance, presents Sharpur II as being attracted to philosophy (Eunapius, *Vitae sophistarum* 6.5.1–10). See also McDonough (2010), 55–66.
31. ὁ Παιανιεύς: the *Παιανιεύς* refers to the orator Demosthenes. According to Aeschines (*In Ctesiphontem*, 171), Demosthenes' father belonged to the deme of Paecania: *τούτω πατὴρ μὲν ἦν Δημοσθένης ὁ Παιανιεύς*.¹ Agathias repudiates that Chosroes was a well-educated and well-read king. Agathias' arguments are a) that it was impossible to translate the deep meanings of the Greek philosophical works into the barbaric language of the Persians and b) that Chosroes' barbarous upbringing would prevent him from understanding philosophy. On the different views of the value of philosophical translations between Theodoret and Agathias, see Ševčenko (1964), 228.
32. τὸν Ὀλλόρου: the son of Olorus, that is, the historian Thucydides; *Θουκυδίδην τὸν Ὀλλόρου* (Thucydides, *Historiae* 4.104.4). Thucydides' father belonged to the Athenian deme of Halimous but he also owned gold mines in Thrace.
33. βώμας καὶ ἔμπληκτος: this is how Uranius, a pseudo-philosopher who managed to gain Chosroes' trust, is referred to by Agathias. Uranius' name is not recorded in the *Agathias*-part along with the two aforementioned abusive epithets. Thus, both negative appellations appear to accompany Chosroes. The compiler is aligned with the typically Byzantine, scornful attitude towards the Sassanian emperor. Agathias' contemptuous view on Chosroes becomes manifest when dealing with his philosophical interests (*Historiae* 2.28.1–3). Procopius is similarly tendentious (*De bellis* 2.9.8–9, 2.11.26; *Anecdota* 18.26ff.).
34. Excerpt 25 is also recorded in the *Suda*, π 2251. The seven philosophers were forced to abandon Athens after the closure of the school by Justinian in 529 (Malalas, *Chronographia*, 451). They returned to Athens after 532; cf. Cameron Al. (2015), 223. Simplicius wrote many commentaries on several philosophers (see *PLRE* iiib, 1153). On Damascius, see Goulet (1994), 541–593. Priscianus is the author of an epitome of Theophrastus' *On Sense-Perception* and of a treatise containing answers to philosophical issues raised at the court of Chosroes during his exile in Persia. The latter survives only in a Latin translation. The attribution of a commentary on Aristotle's *On the Soul* to Priscianus rather than to Simplicius is disputed; see Hadot (2002), 159–199. Eulamius (*Εὐλάμιος*; cf. Agathias, *Historiae* 2.30.3) is transmitted as *Εὐλάλιος* in *Vaticanus gr.* 96 and *Vaticanus Pal.* 93 as well as in the *Suda* π 2251.
35. μὴ θάπτε τὸν ἄθαπτον, ἕα κυσὶ κύρμα γενέσθαι. γῇ πάντων μήτηρ μητροφθόρον οὐ δέχεται ἄνδρα: Excerpt 25 turns back to the Persian practice

1 His father was Demosthenes of Paecania.

- of not burying the dead. The two hexameters are found in *Anthologia Graeca* IX 498. They have, similarly, been included in the *ES*, p. 14 of the *EC*.
36. πῶς ἐν πίθῳ τὴν κεραμεῖαν φιλεργεῖν: Excerpt 26 makes up a comment on the military ambitions of the Persians. Agathias is using this figurative phrase to anticipate a certain degree of criticism on the part of his readers. The compiler of the *Agathias*-part has excerpted the passage from its original context and put it immediately after the passage on the Persians' burial customs, thus producing a passage with a different meaning: it is now the Persians who aspire to run before they can walk.
 37. Ὀνόγουρις: Ἀρχαίοπολις or Ὀνόγουρις: Excerpt 27 concerns the origins of the name of the fort of Onoguris. According to Agathias, Onoguris was a fort set up by the Persian general Mermeroes in the district of Archaeopolis and used as a hostile base against the Byzantines (*Historiae* 2.22.3 and 4.9.6). On the use of the ancient name Onoguris by Agathias, see Cameron Av. and Cameron Al. (1964), esp. 320.
 38. τίς ὑμῶν ἀποδέξοιτο: the brief phrase in the *Agathias*-part is an extract from the speech given by Aeetes, a Colchian, in the aftermath of the Byzantines' defeat at Onoguris; the battle is recounted by Agathias (*Historiae* 3.6.12–7.11). Before the battle, the king of the Lazi, called Gubazes, who had refused to offer military aid, was killed by two Byzantine generals (*Historiae* 3.4.5–6). After the Byzantine defeat, Aeetes delivered a speech to encourage the Colchians to defect to the Persians by reminding them of the unjust end of Gubazes. A. Kaldellis considers Aeetes and the entire episode fictitious and invented by Agathias himself; cf. Kaldellis (2003), 297–298.
 39. ὁ σπαλίων: Excerpt 29 is a detailed description of the *wicker roof*, a siege machine used by the Romans during the siege of the fort of Onoguris. The passage was copied verbatim in the *Suda* (Σ 901 Σπαλίωνος). The excerpt in the *Agathias*-part was extracted from Agathias' description of the preparation of the Byzantines to march against Onoguris (*Historiae* 3.5.9–11).
 40. καὶ ἄγριον ἀνέπλεκον ἦχον: Excerpts 30–33 deal with the siege of the town Phasis by the Persians and the way in which their fighting men fled precipitately. In particular, Excerpt 31 makes up a brief ethnographical description concerning the Persian cavalry's attitude during the siege of the town of Phasis.
 41. στρατιῶται κοῦφοι καὶ εὐσταλεῖς κατὰ τοὺς Ἰσαύρους: Excerpt 34 is a brief ethnographical description of the army of the Isaurians. In Byzantine literature, the Isaurians are represented as marauders who live by banditry. In the fourth century, John Chrysostom makes a reference to the Isaurian raiders (*epist.* Θ', *Epistulae ad Olympiadem*, *epist.* 1–17): ἀπαγγέλλονται ἀθρόον Ἰσαυροὶ πλῆθος ἄπειρον κατατρέχοντες τὴν Καισαρέων χώραν καὶ τινα κόμην μεγάλην ἐμπήσαντες καὶ τὰ ἔσχατα διαθέντες. Amm. Marcellinus (*Res Gestae* 27.9,6–7) also refers to them as raiders who devastate cities of Asia Minor. In the fifth century, Priscus (fr. 10, p. 242, Blockley) mentions that the Romans were also afraid of the Isaurians, whose banditry was reviving.

The same tendentious representation of the Isaurians is found in a passage, originally derived from Candidus, in John of Antioch (fr. 229 ed. Mariev = *EI* 90).²

42. εἰστήκεσαν ἄναυδοι καὶ ἀδόνητοι: the passage is an extract of the episode narrating the attempt of the Romans to take over the Misimian fortress of Siderun (*Historiae* 4.17.1–20.9). The passage points out the discipline and smartness of the Romans in the course of the siege.
43. Ἰωάννης δὲ ἦν εἷς τῶν ὑπὸ Ἰουσιτῖνον τὸν στρατηγὸν τεταγμένων: John the Lybian was one of the aides of Justin's, son of Germanicus. (*Historiae* 4.21.5).
44. Σαβώρης ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς: Excerpts 37–41 are extracted from Agathias' second excursus on Persia. It is primarily a representation of the Sassanian kings. The original section is a chronological account of the Sassanian dynasty from Ardasher I to Chosroes I as reported to Agathias by Sergius (*Historiae* 4.30.2–4). Agathias also includes material from Procopius, stories from his own reading (e.g., the accounts of Semiramis, Parysatis, and Smerdis), and his comments and deductions; cf. Cameron (1969–1970), 76.
45. Βαλεριανὸν ζωγρία ἐλὼν ἀπέδειρεν ἀπ' αὐχένος ἄχρι ποδῶν: Excerpts 37 and 38 reveal Sharpur I's cruelty. In particular, Excerpt 38 transmits that Valerian was flayed by Sharpur I. Agathias calls Sharpur I twice *wicked* (*Historiae* 4.23.7, 4.24.2) and once *bloodthirsty* (*Historiae* 4.23.7). The compiler of the *Agathias*-part confines himself to excerpt the flaying of Valerian (Excerpt 37) and the pillage of Cappadocia (Excerpt 38) without transmitting those designations for Sharpur I. Agathias appears to follow the tradition first found in Lactantius (*De mortibus persecutorum* 5.2), according to which Valerian was killed by being flayed alive; Eusebius (*Vita Constantini* IV.11 and *Constantini imperatoris oratio ad coetum sanctorum* 24.2) is aligned with the Christian version that have persecutors of Christians die fitting deaths. The same version is recorded by Orosius (VII.27). Peter the Patrician transmits the same kind of death for Valerian (*EL* 12, 393.10–394.17). In Peter's history, the centre of gravity is not, by contrast, in the anti-Christian acts of Valerian. Peter, instead, emphasises the abominable method of Valerian's death and the rising indignation against the Persians. From this point of view, Peter's account is closer to that of Agathias, in which Valerian's repugnant end serves to intensify the hostile depiction of Sharpur. Finally, Valerian is portrayed in fulsome terms in the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (*Script. Hist. Aug. Gallen. I, Valer.* 4–5).
46. τοσοῦτους φόνους εἰργάσατο: Excerpt 38 speaks of the violent and savage pillage of Cappadocia by Sharpur's army; see Excerpt 37. According to Av.

2 Candidus the Isaurian wrote a classicising history in Greek covering the period from 457 ad to 491 ad. His work survives in fragments only. His text was used by John of Antioch and the *Suda*. On Candidus, see Roberto (2000), 685–727; Brandt (2014), 161–170; Meier (2014), 171–194.

- Cameron, the passage does probably not derive from the *Annals*; cf. Cameron (1969–1970), 140.
47. Οὐαραράνης; this is Bahram III, son of Bahram II, who ruled for four months. On Bahram III, see Klíma (2012), 514–522.
 48. τὸν ἑαυτοῦ υἱὸν Σεγανσαὴν ὠνόμασε: Excerpt 39 refers to the Persian custom not to slaughter its people whenever a Persian king captured its territory: the Persian king deposed the defeated king and bestowed the title of the enslaved kingdom on his own son. On the custom, see Herzfeld (1924), 42ff; cf. Cameron (1969–1970), 143. Likewise, the son of Sharpur, Vahram IV, was given the title Kermanshah after Sharpur subdued a nation named Kerman (*Historiae* 4.26.2). Agathias compares the Persian custom to the Roman practice of some, by which a general assumed a name after the name of a nation he had subdued (*Historiae* 4.26.2).
 49. τὸ τῶν Σεγεστανῶν ἔθνος κατεδουλώσατο: the Sagestani were subdued by Bahram II. On the people of Sagestani, see Rawlinson (1873), 272–294.
 50. Σαβῶρ ὁ Πέρσων βασιλεὺς: Excerpt 40 deals with the fate of king Sharpur II: he had been designated king while his mother was still carrying him. The passage is read within the context of the *Exc. Salm. II* 75. The latter informs us that Narseh had three more sons by another wife. The first, called Adhirmarseh (Ἀδαρνάσης), became king after Narseh's death but he was soon deposed. The second son was blinded (by Sharpur II) and the third, called Ormisdas, was held in jail. Ormisdas managed to escape with the help of his mother. The same story is found in Zosimus (*Historia nova* 2.27.1–3) and Ammianus (*Res Gestae* XVI 10.16). Narseh's legitimize heir to the throne was, according to Agathias (*Historiae* 4.25.1), Hormizd II. There is nothing in Agathias as to whether Hormizd II had a son or not. According to Tabari, Hormizd did not have any son; cf. Cameron (1969–1970), 144. The Persian throne was inheritable by the kings' sons, in principle. But not without exception: Ardashir acceded to the throne after killing Artabanus (*Historiae* 2.26.2). Zamasp assumed the throne through conspiracy against Kavad but his accession was considered legal as he also was a son of Peroz (*Historiae* 4.28, 2).
 51. τοῖς μάγοις προενεγκόντες: Agathias had already emphasised how important the Magi were deemed in Persia in the sixth century (*Historiae* 2.26.5). On the prominent role of the Magi in Persia, see Neusner (1966), 169–178.
 52. Σαβῶρ: Excerpt 40 informs us that Sharpur II reigned for 70 years (from 309 to 379 ad). He was the longest reigning monarch of the Sassanian dynasty (224–651 AD).
 53. ἀπελαθεὶς τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ Βασιλίσκου: Excerpt 41 concerns Zeno's dethronement. The passage presents the congruences between Zeno's troubles and those of Persian kings: the deposition of Cavadh I, his escape from prison, his flight to the Ephthalitai, his return to Persia, and his ascension back to the throne. Julius Nepos had a similar fate as well. The first revolt against Zeno took place in 475/476 when Illus managed to dethrone the emperor. The second revolt against Zeno occurred in 484. On Julius Nepos, see *PLRE*

- II, 777–778; Kazhdan (1991), 1081. Malchus and Candidus treated his reign and deposition (*Bibliotheca*, cod. 78 and cod. 79).³
54. Καβάδης ὁ Περόζου: Kavadh I succeeded Valash, Peroz's brother, to the throne. On Cavadh I's reign, see Altheim and Stiehl (1953); Crone (1991), 21–42; Wiesehöfer (2009), 391–409. Peroz was the son of Yazdegerd II. Peroz succeeded his brother, Hormizd III. Agathias records Peroz's campaign against the Ephalites, during which Peroz died (*Historiae* 4.27.3–4). On Peroz, see Schippmann (2012), 631–632.
55. ἐν τῷ τῆς λήθης φρουρίῳ: Agathias' text is very close to that of Procopius (*De bellis* 1.5.7–9). The place is also mentioned in the Oriental sources; cf. Christensen (1936), 307.
56. καὶ λαβὼν τὴν αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα γυναῖκα: Procopius (*De bellis* 1.6.10) is the source of the passage in Agathias. On the reliance of Agathias on the *Khvadhaynamagh* tradition for the passage, see Cameron (1969–1970), 158.
57. τῶν Ἐφθαλιτῶν Οὐννων: Agathias records *Νεφθαλιται* (*Historiae* 4.27.4). The *Νεφθαλιται* is first found in Flavius Josephus (*Antiquitates Judaicae* 5, 86). The term was reproduced by Stephanus Byzantius,⁴ the *Strategicon*,⁵ and the *Suda* (v 277 Νεφθαλιται). The *lectio* Ἐφθαλιται occurs in Procopius (*De bellis* 1.3.1, 1.3.2, 1.4.3, 1.7.1). Photius, in his entry on the sixth-century historian Theophanes of Byzantium, used Ἐφθαλιται⁶ too (*Bibliotheca*, cod. 64). Similarly, the *EC*, when excerpting Menander, transmit Ἐφθαλιται (κατὰ πόλεις ἢ που ἄρα κατὰ κόμας ὥκουν οἱ Ἐφθαλιται).⁷ Symeon Metaphrastes' version of the *Martyrium sanctorum Christi martyrum et confessorum Guriae, Samonae et Abibi* refers to the Ἐφθαλιται as an exasperated and barbaric people (*PG* 116, col. 145). Procopius (*De bellis* 1.3.2–7) describes the Ephthalitai as a white-skinned people that are not so ugly as the other Huns. On the Ephthalitai, see Ghirshman, R. and Ghirshman, T. (1948), 115f.
58. Excerpt 42 is a brief notice taken from Agathias' description of the earthquake that struck Constantinople in 557 (*Historiae* 5.3.1–9). On the date of the earthquake, see Malalas, *Chronographia*, 488; Theop. AM 6050. According to Agathias, many amazing events occurred in the course of the night of the earthquake (*Historiae* 5.3.9).
59. Excerpt 43 is extracted from Agathias' account of Anatolius' death. Anatolius was the only member of the senate (he was a *curator domus divinae*) who lost his life during the earthquake of 557 (*Historiae* 5.3.10).

3 Malchus' historical work covered the period from 305 ad to 480 ad and it is preserved in fragments only. The *EC* and Photius' *Bibliotheca* appear to only know of a portion of his entire work covering the years 474–480; On Malchus, see Baldwin (1977), 91–107; Blockley (1983), 402–455.

4 Νεφθαλιται, ἔθνος κρατήσαν τῆς ἔω, ὡς Ἰώσηπος. καὶ θηλυκῶς Νεφθαλιτῆς; cf. *Ethnika*, 473.

5 τοῦτο τῷ τρόπῳ ἐχρήσαντο Νεφθαλιται κατὰ Περόζου βασιλέως Περσῶν; cf. *Strategicon*, 4.3.1.

6 Ἐφθαλάνου δὲ τοῦ Ἐφθαλιτῶν βασιλέως; cf. *Bibliotheca*, cod. 64.

7 *Excerpta de legationibus*, 452.

60. Ἀνθεμῖω τῷ μηχανικῷ: Excerpt 44 deals with Anthemius of Tralles, an engineer or architect by profession (Procopius, *De aedificiis* I 1.24, 1.50; Agathias, *Historiae* 5.6.3). He wrote a work entitled *Περὶ παραδόξων μηχανημάτων*.⁸ He was summoned to Constantinople (*Historiae* 5.6.6) and commissioned by Justinian I to design the Hagia Sophia, after the earlier church on the site had burned down in 532 during the Nika Revolt (Agathias, *Historiae* 5.9.2; Paul. Silentarius, 552–555). He was already dead when Constantinople was struck by the high magnitude earthquake of May 7, 558 (Agathias, *Historiae* 5.9.4). On Anthemius, see Huxley (1959).
61. ἀδελφὸς <τούτου> Μητρόδωρος (...) Ὀλύμπιος ἕτερος ἀδελφὸς (...) Διόσκορος τε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος: Anthemius' brothers were similarly outstanding in their fields: Metrodorus was an eminent *grammatikos*, who, together with his brother Anthemius, was summoned to Constantinople by Justinian; Olympius was a famous advocate (*Historiae* 5.6.5); Dioscorus and Alexander were prominent doctors. Dioscorus practised his profession in Tralles, where he died. Alexander, instead, relocated to Rome (*Historiae* 5.6.5). Alexander is the author of the *Therapeutica*, the *Περὶ ἐλμίνθων* and the *Περὶ ὀφθαλμῶν* (the works were edited by Theodor Puschmann, *Alexander von Tralleis*, I–II, Vienna, 1878–1879). Agathias' description of Anthemius' family exhibits affinities with Herodotus' account of Cleobis and Biton; cf. Cameron (1970), 61.
62. Τράλλεις ἡ πόλις: the native town of Anthemius. Agathias is likely to have passed Tralles on his way back from Alexandria; cf. Cameron (1970), 8.
63. Ζήνων: a Constantinopolitan rhetorician and advocate. He was closely acquainted with the emperor Justinian (*Historiae* 5.6.7).
64. λέβητας μεγάλους ὕδατος ἐμπλήσας διακριδὼν ἔστησε πολλαχοῦ τοῦ δωματίου (...) ὅσον ὑποτρέμειν ἡρέμα καὶ διατετριγένοι τὰ ξύλα: Excerpt 45 is an account of a mechanical trick that Anthemius played on Zeno, a Constantinopolitan rhetorician and his next-door neighbour. The account of Anthemius' steam machine is an allusion to the Aristotelian theory about the cause of earthquakes. According to Aristotle, the cause of earthquakes lies in exhalations trapped in cavities within the earth.⁹ Agathias resorts, similarly, to Aristotle's theory when dealing with the earthquake that hit Egypt (*Historiae* 2.15.9). Agathias is likely to have become familiar with Aristotle's theory through the works of John Philoponus; Cameron (1970), 113–114. On the impact of Aristotle's theories on Late Antiquity, see Lehmann (2013).
65. οὐ μόνον δὲ τοῦτο: Excerpt 46 records another trick played by Anthemius on Zeno.
66. Ἰσίδωρος ὁ νέος: Excerpt 49 accounts the reconstruction of the dome of the Hagia Sophia, which had collapsed during the earthquake of 558. Isidore of Miletus (Ἰσίδωρος ὁ Μιλήσιος; cf. Procopius, *De aedificiis* II 8.25) or Isidore the Younger (Ἰσίδωρος ὁ νέος; cf. *Historiae* 5.9.4) along with other architects replaced the destroyed dome. Isidore the Younger was the nephew

⁸ Huxley (ed.) (1959).

⁹ On Aristotle's explanation of earthquakes, see Aristotle, *Meteorologica* 2, 365a–366b.

of Isidore of Miletus. Isidore the Younger designed the new dome to replace the old one destroyed by the earthquake of 558. This second restoration of the church was completed in 532 (John Malalas, *Chronographia* 495; Theophanes, *Chronographia* 238, 18–19).

67. ἐπὶ Τουστινιανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως: Excerpt 50 is made up of a number of passages taken from the last part of Book 5 of Agathias' *Historiae*. A. Biedl suggested that the closing sentence of Excerpt 50 (ταῦτα μαθὼν ὁ Οὐννος ἐκρότησε πόλεμον κατὰ τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν, καὶ οὕτως ἐπὶ πολὺ μαχόμενα ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἀπόλοντο) is not originally derived from Agathias.¹⁰ His proposition has been refuted by Keydell (ed.) (1967), XVIII. In fact, the sentence is a shortened version of *Historiae* 5.25.5. Müller published the entire Excerpt 50 in his edition of John of Antioch's *Historia chronica*; cf. Müller (1851), 621–622.
68. Ζαβεργάν: Zabergan was the name of the ruler of the Cotrigur Huns. After Zabergan crossed the frozen river Istros with his soldiers, he started planning an attack against Constantinople (*Historiae* 5.11.6). His soldiers first plundered and ravaged fields as well as towns surrounding Constantinople (*Historiae* 5.12.4–6). The Cotrigurs put up as an excuse for the attack their hostility with the Utigurs, a rival Hunnic tribe: the leader of the Utigurs, Sandilch, was an ally of the Byzantines and the Utigurs were frequently receiving payments from the Byzantine emperor (*Historiae* 5.11.6). The Cotrigurs were finally defeated by the Byzantine army led by the general Belisarius (*Historiae* 5.19.2–20.2).

IV. The Eusebian excerpts transmitted in the *Epitome of the Seventh century*

The numbers in bold throughout the text body indicate the beginning of a new excerpt. The edition of the text is accompanied by an *apparatus fontium* and an *apparatus criticus*. The *apparatus fontium* gives the immediate passages upon which each excerpt in the *Epitome* is based. Further information on the principles of this *apparatus* is provided in Section 4.4.2. The sigla given at the beginning of the *apparatus criticus* indicate the manuscripts upon which the text is based. Editing a text consisting of excerpts taken from earlier sources poses a series of problems to the editor. The text is a collection of selections which in most cases must have retained the wording of the sources. We are in the unfortunate position, however, to ignore which versions of Eusebius' *HE* or other sources the compiler had at his disposal. We have seen that excerptors or compilers were prone to textual changes, especially textual omissions and additions. Yet when the surviving manuscripts of the *Epitome* transmit a mistake or an incongruous reading, we cannot be certain whether a) the reading was present in the source text, b) the original text was *corrupted* by the compiler, or c) such mistakes are scribal errors. Provided the particular structure of an excerpt collection, therefore, the present edition intends to give the text as evidenced and transmitted in the extant manuscripts of the *Epitome* rather than to present a *corrected* version of the text. In cases where the text differs

10 Biedl (1955), 56, n. 1.

from the source text, the present edition gives the readings as they occurred in the manuscript tradition of the *Epitome* and indicates in the *apparatus criticus* possibilities offered by modern scholarship. Proper names which are misspelled in the extant manuscripts are emended and information is provided in the *apparatus criticus*. Most of the orthographic variations are common spelling variants in later Greek, such as alternation between εἰ, ι, and η or between αἰ and ε. It should be said that variant spellings that occurred in the manuscripts are regularly emended in conformity with the readings found in the *Liddell-Scott-Jones (LSJ)* lexicon for classical Greek or *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae (TLG)*. For the modern reader's convenience, variant spellings are not indicated in the *apparatus criticus*. Detection of possible deletions, additions, interpolations, and syntactical and grammatical corruptions of the text is performed. On editing the excerpts, I rely on the traditional editorial method proposed in the handbooks on textual criticism and editorial techniques by Maas 1958 and West 1972. The *TLG* is consulted when necessary.

Tabula Notarum in Apparatu Critico Adhibitarum

Codices

- O *Auctorium* E.4.18 (s. X)
- P *Parisinus suppl. gr.* 1156 (s. X–XI med.)
- V *Athonensis Vatopedinus gr.* 286 (s. XIII)
- B *Baroccianus gr.* 142 (s. XIV)

Editores et emendatores

- B de Boor
- G De Groote
- N Nautin

Cetera

[...]	litterae deperditae
◇	litterae additae
{ }	litterae deletae
add.	addit, addidit
cod.	codex
codd.	codices
coni.	coniecit
corr.	correxuit
del.	delevit
ins.	inseruit
mg.	margen
om.	omittit, omittunt
suppl.	supplevit
v.l	varia lectio

- 1 **Συναγωγή ιστοριῶν διαφόρων ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ σάρκα γεννήσεως τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ ἐξῆς, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχουσα ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου λόγου τῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Ἱστορίας Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Παμφίλου.**
1. τῷ μβ' ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας Αὐγούστου Καίσαρος, λβ' ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας
- 5 Ἡρώδου, κη' ἔτει τῆς καταλύσεως Ἀντωνίου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας, εἰς ἣν ἡ Αἰγυπτίων κατέληξε δυναστεία, ἐτέχθη ἐν Βηθλεὲμ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ὁ Κύριος. ἐβαπτίσθη δὲ τῷ ιε' ἔτει Τιβερίου Καίσαρος. τῷ δὲ ιθ' τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐσταυρώθη καὶ ἀνέστη καὶ ἀνελήφθη. 2. Ἡρώδης δέ, ἐφ' οὗ ἐτέχθη ὁ Κύριος, κατὰ μὲν Ἰώσηπον Ἰδουμαίων πατὴρς ἦν υἱός, Ἀραβίσσης δὲ μητρός· κατὰ δὲ Ἀφρικανὸν τὸν ιστορικὸν
- 10 Ἀντίπατρος, ὁ Ἡρώδου πατήρ, Ἡρώδου δὲ ἄλλου Ἀσκαλωνίτου ιεροδοῦλου υἱὸς ἦν ὃς ἔσχεν υἱὸν Ἡρώδην, τοῦτον τὸν πρῶτον ἐξ ἀλλοφύλων Ἰουδαίων βασιλεύσαντα. 3. Πομπήϊος ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς πρῶτος Ῥωμαίων εἶλεν Ἱερουσόλυμα, καὶ τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον τὸν ἕως τότε ἀρχιερέα καὶ βασιλέα δέσμιον εἰς Ῥώμην ἅμα τέκνοις ἐπεμψεν, Ὑρκανὸν δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου
- 15 ἀρχιερέα καθίστησιν. οὗ ὑπὸ Πάρθων αἰχμαλώτου ληφθέντος, τέλος ἔλαβεν ἡ κατὰ νόμον ἱερατεία. καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου Ἡρώδης ἀλλόφυλος Ἰουδαίων βασιλεύειν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων προβάλλεται καὶ οὕτως Ἰουδαῖοι Ῥωμαίοις ὑπόφοροι γίνονται. 4. πρῶτος Ἡρώδης τὴν ἱερατικὴν στολὴν ὑπὸ σφραγίδα ἑαυτοῦ φυλάττεσθαι παρεσκεύασε καὶ οὐκέτι τοὺς ἐκ γένους ἱερατικοῦ ἱερᾶσθαι ἐπέτρεψεν, ἀλλὰ τισιν ἀσήμοις καὶ ἰδιώταις, ὅπερ λοιπὸν καὶ Ἀρχέλαος ὁ υἱὸς καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι πεπράχασιν ὕστερον, καὶ πληροῦται τὸ λόγιον Δανιὴλ τὸ ἐξολοθρευθήσεται λέγον χρίσμα παρὰ Ἰουδαίους 5. ἄριστα ὁ Ἀφρικανὸς δι' ἐπιστολῆς πρὸς Ἀριστείδην γέγραφεν περὶ τῆς δοκούσης διαφωνίας ἐν τῇ γενεολογίᾳ ἕνεκεν τῶν γενεῶν παρὰ τοῖς εὐαγγελισταῖς Ματθαίῳ τε καὶ Λουκᾷ. ἦν δὲ ὁ Ἀφρικανὸς ἀπὸ Ἑμμαοῦς τῆς κώμης
- 25 τῆς ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ, ἐν ᾗ οἱ περὶ Κλεόπαν ἐπορεύοντο, ἥτις ὕστερον δίκαια πόλεως λαβοῦσα κατὰ πρεσβείαν Ἀφρικανοῦ Νικόπολις μετωνομάσθη.

1.4 Τῷ – 8 ἀνελήφθη: HE 1, V.1–2, X.1 2.8 Ἡρώδης – 12 βασιλεύσαντα: HE 1, VI.1–2 3.12 Πομπήϊος – 17 γίνονται: HE 1, VI.6–7 4.18 πρῶτος – 22 Ἰουδαῖοις: HE 1, VI.10–11 5.22 ἄριστα – 24 Λουκᾷ: HE 1, VII.1 5.24 ἦν – 26 μετωνομάσθη: Luc. 24, 13; Chron. pasch. 499, 5–7; Georg. Sync. 439, 15–18.

Codd. OVBP Tit. 1–3 Συναγωγή...Παμφίλου BV: om. P: Σύνοψις τῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Ἱστορίας Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Παμφίλου O | 3 Παμφίλου: ἀπὸ φωνῆς Νικηφόρου Καλλίστου τοῦ Ξανθοπούλου add. B^{ms} 4 ante τῷ μβ': ὅτι add. O | μβ' OVP: μα' B 5 ἔτει OVP: om. B 7 ιθ' OVP: ιη' B | ἐσταυρώθη: καὶ ἐτάφη add. P 8–26 Ὅτι Ἡρώδης...μετωνομάσθη: om. P 8 ante Ἡρώδης ὅτι add. O | δέ VB: om. O 9 δὲ V: om. OB 11 Ἰουδαίων VB: om. O 12 βασιλεύσαντα OB: βασιλεύσαντος V | ante Πομπήϊος ὅτι add. O | Ῥωμαίων O: Ῥωμαῖος VB 13 καὶ τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον OV: om. B | Ἀριστόβουλον: add ὃς B | δέσμιον OB: om. V 14 τοῦ OV: om. B 18 ante πρῶτος ὅτι add. O | σφραγίδα B: σφραγίδας O: ὑποσφραγίσας V 19 τοὺς V: τοῖς OB | ἐπέτρεψεν B: ἐπέτρεπεν OV 20 τισιν ἀσήμοις καὶ ἰδιώταις OB: τοὺς ἀσήμους καὶ ἰδιώτας V | Ἀρχέλαος ὁ υἱὸς O: υἱὸς ὁ Ἀρχέλαος V: Ἀρχέλαος υἱὸς B 21 λέγον V: λέγων OB 22–26 ἄριστα...μετωνομάσθη: om. V 22 ante ἄριστα ὅτι add. O | γέγραφεν O: γεγράφηκε B 23 γενεῶν O: γενῶν O

- 1 6. τῷ ιβ' ἔτει τῆς ἡγεμονίας Τιβερίου Καίσαρος ὁ Πιλάτος ἐστάλη τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπιτροπεύειν πρὸ τριῶν ἐτῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ θείου τοῦ Χριστοῦ βαπτίσματος, καὶ δέκα ἔτη τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκράτησεν. ἐν οἷς ἐκ παρόδου κατατρέπει καλῶς ὁ Εὐσέβιος τῶν πλασασμένων τὰ ἐπὶ Πιλάτου δηθεν λεγόμενα τοῦ Κυρίου ὑπομνήματα ὡς ἐκ
- 5 προοιμίων ἐλεγχόμενα ψευδῇ περιέχουσι γὰρ ὡς τῇ τετάρτῃ ὑπατεία τοῦ Τιβερίου, ἣτις γέγονε τῷ ἐβδόμῳ ἔτει τῆς ἡγεμονίας αὐτοῦ, ἐσταυρώθη ὁ Κύριος, ἐν ᾧ ἔτει οὐπω ἦν ἀκμὴν ἐπιστάς τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις Πιλάτος, καθά φησι καὶ Ἰώσηπος. 7. ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ ὁ Κύριος ἐπετέλει τὰ θαύματα, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἕως τοῦ θείου σταυροῦ καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως. τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἐνιαύσιον παρὰ Ῥωμαίων
- 10 οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐνεχειρίζοντο, ἐν οἷς τῷ ιε' ἔτει τοῦ Τιβερίου Ἄννας ἱεράτευσε. τῷ δὲ ις' Ἰσμάηλος ὁ Φαβὶ καὶ τῷ ις' Ἐλεάζαρος ὁ τοῦ Ἄννα καὶ τῷ ιη' Σίμων ὁ τοῦ Καμίθου, καὶ τῷ ιθ' Ἰώσηπος ὁ καὶ Καϊάφας, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Ἰώσηπος, ὡς εἶναι δῆλον ὅτι λέγων Λουκᾶς τὸ ὅλον κήρυγμα γεγενέαι ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Ἄννα καὶ Καϊάφα, διὰ τῶν ἄκρων τὸ ὅλον ἐδήλωσεν τοῦ χρόνου διάστημα, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ ὁ Κύριος
- 15 ἐσταυρώθη. 8. ὁ τὸν βαπτιστὴν ἀνελὼν Ἡρώδης διὰ Ἡρωδιάδα τὴν γυναῖκα Φιλίππου υἱὸς ἦν Ἡρώδου τοῦ πρώτου, Ἀντίπας λεγόμενος· οὗτος δὲ ἐξωρίσθη εἰς Βιένναν τῆς Γαλλίας σὺν αὐτῇ τῇ Ἡρωδιάδι. ἄλλος δὲ παρὰ τούτους ἐστὶν Ἡρώδης ὃν καὶ Ἀγρίππαν καλεῖ Ἰώσηπος, υἱὸς Ἀριστοβοῦλου τοῦ ἐκ Μαριάμμης υἱοῦ Ἡρώδου τοῦ πρώτου, ὁ ἐν ταῖς *Πράξεσιν* ἀνελὼν τὸν Ἰάκωβον, ὃς καὶ
- 20 σκωληκόβρωτος γενόμενος ἐξέψυξεν. τούτου δὲ ἦν υἱὸς ὁ Ἀγρίππας ὁ ἐπὶ Φίητου σὺν τῇ ἀδελφῇ Βερενίκῃ Παῦλον τὸν ἅγιον ἀπόστολον κρίνας εἰς Καισάρειαν. καὶ τούτων αἱ ἀποδείξεις πρόδηλοι παρὰ τῷ Ἰωσήφῳ καὶ τῶν ἀπόστολων ταῖς *Πράξεσιν*. 9. Κλήμης ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν *Υποτυπώσεων* ἱστορεῖ ἄλλον εἶναι Κηφᾶν οὐ ὁ Παῦλος ἀντέστη εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν, ὁμώνυμον τῷ κορυφαίῳ Πέτρῳ τῷ ἁγίῳ
- 25 ἀποστόλῳ, εἶναι δὲ αὐτὸν ἕνα τῶν οὐ μαθητῶν τοῦ Κυρίου. τὰ διὰ Θαδδαίου πρὸς Ἀβγαρον τὸν τοπάρχην ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ τὰς ἐκ τοῦ Ἀβγάρου πρὸς τὸν Κύριον ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ λόγῳ φέρονται.

Ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου βιβλίου.

10. Πιλάτου γράψαντος Τιβερίῳ τὰς τε παραδοξοποιίας τοῦ Κυρίου τὴν τε ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν, καταπλάγεις ὁ Τιβέριος τῇ συγκλήτῳ ὡς περὶ Θεοῦ τὰ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἀνέθετο, τῆς δὲ μὴ συγκαταθεμένης τῷ ὡς περὶ Θεοῦ δόγματι, θάνατον ἠπειλήσεν ὁ Τιβέριος τοῖς κατὰ Χριστιανῶν λέγουσι τὴν πρᾶττον. ταῦτα ἐκ τῶν Τερτυλλιανοῦ τοῦ Ῥωμαίου εἰληφέναι φησὶ ὁ Εὐσέβιος.

6.1 τῷ – 7 Ἰώσηπος: HE 1, IX.2–4 7.7 ἐν – 15 ἐσταυρώθη: HE 1, X.1–7 8.15 ὁ – 20 Ἀγρίππας: HE 1, XI.1–4 8.20 ὁ ἐπὶ – 23 Πράξεις: Act. 25, 13–14; Act. 26, 1–2 9.23 Κλήμης – 27 φέρονται: HE 1, XII.2–3 10.29 Πιλάτου – 33 Εὐσέβιος: HE 2, II.1–4, II.6

Codd. OVBP 1 ante τῷ ὅτι add. O | ιβ' B : δωδεκάτῳ OV: δὲ δεκάτῳ P | ἔτει OVP: ἔτος B 2 τῆς ἀρχῆς OBP: om. V | Χριστοῦ P: Κυρίου OB: om. V 3–7 ἐν οἷς... Ἰώσηπος: om. P 4 τοῦ OB: om. V 5 ψευδῇ VB: ψευδῶν O | ψευδῇ: ψευδῇ τὰ λεγόμενα τοῦ Κυρίου ὑπομνήματα add. O^{ms} | τετάρτῃ VB: δ' O | ὑπατεία V: ὑπατία OB 6 ἐβδόμῳ O: ζ' VB 7 Ἱεροσολύμοις: ὁ add. O | καὶ: ὁ add. B | ante ἐν ὅτι add. O 8 χρόνῳ OBP: om. V | Κύριος OBP: Χριστὸς V | ἐπετέλει OVP: ἐτέλει B 9–15 τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην...ἐσταυρώθη: om. V 10 ιε' BP: πέντε καὶ δεκάτῳ O 11 Ἀσμαήλος OB: Ἀσμαήλος P: Ἰσμάηλος corr. HE 1, X.4 12 ἱστορεῖ add. ὁ OB | εἶναι BP: ἔστι O 13–33 Λουκᾶς...Εὐσέβιος: om. O 15–33 ὁ τὸν... Εὐσέβιος: om. P 16 ἐξωρίσθη B: ἐξορίσθαι V 17 Γαλλίας V: Γαλλυαίας B 20 ἦν υἱὸς V: υἱὸς ἦν B 21 Βερενίκη B: Βερνίκη V | τὸν ἅγιον ἀπόστολον B: om. V | Καισάρειαν B: Καίσαραν V 22α B: om. V 24 οὗ B: ὡς V 24–25 Πέτρῳ τῷ ἁγίῳ ἀποστόλῳ B: om. V 25 μαθητῶν τοῦ κυρίου B: om. V | διὰ B: δὲ V 26 τὸν B: om. V | ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ τὰς ἐκ τοῦ Ἀβγάρου πρὸς τὸν κύριον B: om. V 30 τὰ V: om. B 31 τῷ V: αὐτῷ B

- 1 **11.** Φίλιππος ὁ τὸν Κανδάκην βαπτίσας τὸν Αἰθίοπα οὐκ ἦν ἀπόστολος, ἀλλ' εἰς τῶν ζ' διακόνων τῶν σὺν τῷ Στεφάνῳ τῷ πρωτομάρτυρι διακονεῖν τεταγμένων. Κανδάκην δέ φησι πρῶτον ἐξ ἐθνῶν βαπτισθῆναι. **12.** Φίλιππος “στόμα λαμπάδων”, Ἡρῳδιάς “ἀπατωμένη”, Ἡρῳδῆς “δερματίνη δόξα” κατὰ Πιέριον. Βαρνάβας καὶ
- 5 Σωσθένης καὶ Θαδδαῖος ὁ ὑπὸ Ἰούδα τοῦ καὶ Θωμᾶ τοῦ ἀποστόλου πεμφθεὶς πρὸς Ἀβγαρον, εἰς τῶν ο' μαθητῶν ἦν. **13.** μετὰ Τιβέριον κβ' ἔτη Ῥωμαίων βασιλεύσαντα Γάϊος ἐβασίλευσεν, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ Φίλων εἰς πρεσβείαν ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων ἐστάλη. Πιλάτος δέ, φησί, τοσαύταις περιπέτωκεν συμφοραῖς ὡς αὐτόχειρα
- 10 γενόμενον ἑαυτὸν ἀνελεῖν. ἱστοροῦσι δὲ τοῦτο οἱ τὰς Ὀλυμπιάδας παρ' Ἑλλήσι γράψαντες. **14.** σὺν Ἰάκωβῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ μὲν τοῦ Ἰωάννου, υἱῷ δὲ τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου, ἐμαρτύρησέ τις, ὁ εἰσαγαγὼν Ἰάκωβον παρὰ τῷ Ἡρώδῃ κολασθησόμενον. **15.** τὰ κατὰ τὸν Σίμωνα τὸν μάγον καὶ τὴν συνοῦσαν αὐτῷ ἀπὸ Τύρου πόρνην Ἑλένην ὀνόματι ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Ἀντωνίνων ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀπολογίας Ἰουστίνου. **16.** Πέτρου ἐν Ῥώμῃ γενομένου διὰ τὸν Σίμωνα, ἡκολούθει Μάρκος αὐτῷ, ὃς αἰτήθεις ὑπὸ τῶν
- 15 Ῥωμαίων τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν ἔγραψεν Εὐαγγέλιον, ὡς φησι Κλήμης ἐν ζ' τῶν Ὑποτυπώσεων καὶ Παπίας ὁ Ἱεραπόλεως. **17.** Φίλων ἐπὶ Γαῖου εἰς πρεσβείαν σταλείς, παρὰ Ἰουδαίους καὶ μέχρι Κλαυδίου διατρίψας, ἐν Ῥώμῃ εἰς ὀμίλιαν ἔλθειν τῷ κορυφαίῳ Πέτρῳ λέγεται. **18.** Φήστου τελευτήσαντος εἰς Ἱερουσόλυμα ἀναρχίας οὔσης, ἀνείλον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰάκωβον, ὡς φησιν
- 20 Ἠγήσιππος ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ Ὑπομνήματι αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἰώσηπος ἐν τῷ κ' τῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας καὶ Κλήμης ἐν ζ' τῶν Ὑποτυπώσεων. μετὰ δὲ Φήστον Ἀλβῖνος γέγονεν τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπίτροπος. **19.** πρῶτος μετὰ Μάρκον τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας παρουκίας ἐπίσκοπος Ἀννιανὸς ἐγένετο. **20.** Τερτυλλιανὸς ὁ Ῥωμαῖος ἱστορήσεν ὡς πρῶτος κατὰ Χριστιανῶν διωγμὸν ὁ Νέρων ἐποίησεν. **21.** Γάϊος ἐκκλησιαστικὸς
- 25 ἀνὴρ καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Κορίνθου ἐπίσκοπος Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιστείλας φασὶν ὅτι καθ' ἓνα καιρὸν ὁμοῦ Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος τῷ θεῷ τοῦ μαρτυρίου στεφάνῳ κατεκομίσθησαν ἐν Ῥώμῃ ὑπὸ τοῦ Νέρωνος.

11.1 Φίλιππος – 3 βαπτισθῆναι: Act. 8, 26–40; HE 2, I.10 **12.3** Φίλιππος – 4 Πιέριον: Pierius fr.2 B 1888 **12.4** Βαρνάβας – 6 ἦν: HE 1, XII.1–3 **13.6** μετὰ – 10 γράψαντες: HE 2, IV.1, V.4, VII.11 **14.10** σὺν – 11 κολασθησόμενον: HE 2, IX.1–3 **15.11** τὰ – 13 Ἰουστίνου: HE 2, XIII.1–4 **16.13** Πέτρου – 16 Ἱεραπόλεως: HE 2, XV.1–2 **17.16** Φίλων – 18 λέγεται: HE 2, V.4, XVII.2 **18.18** Φήστου – 22 ἐπίτροπος: HE 2, XXIII.1–2, 19–21 **19.22** πρῶτος – 23 ἐγένετο: HE 2, XXIV.1 **20.23** Τερτυλλιανὸς – 24 ἐποίησεν: HE 2, XXV.3–4 **21.24** Γάϊος – 27 Νέρωνος: HE 2, XXV.6–8

Codd. VB **1–8** Φίλιππος...ἐστάλη: om. V **6** εἰς conl. G: ἓνα B **7** βασιλεύσαντα conl. G: βασιλεύσαντος B (cf. § 57) **8** φησί V: om. B | περιπέτωκεν συμφοραῖς V: συμφοραῖς περιπέτωκεν B **10–11** σὺν...κολασθησόμενον: om. V **11–13** τὰ...Ἰουστίνου: om. B **14** τῶν V: om. B **15** φησι B: φασὶ V **18** κορυφαίῳ B: om. V **19** οἱ B: om. V **20** Ὑπομνήματι αὐτοῦ V: αὐτοῦ Ὑπομνήματι B **21** καὶ Κλήμης ἐν ζ' τῶν Ὑποτυπώσεων B: om. V **22–23** πρῶτος...ἐγένετο: om. B **23** Ἀννιανὸς V: Ἀννιανὸς corr. **24–25** Γάϊος...ῥτι: om. V **25–26** καθ' ἓνα καιρὸν ὁμοῦ Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος B: Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος καθ' ἓνα χρόνον V **26** θεῷ B: om. V **27** ἐν Ῥώμῃ ὑπὸ τοῦ Νέρωνος B: om. V

1 **Ἐκ τοῦ τρίτου λόγου.**

22. Θωμᾶς ὁ ἀπόστολος εἰς Πάρθους ἐδίδαξεν, Ἀνδρέας εἰς τὴν Σκυθίαν, Ἰωάννης εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, πρὸς οὓς καὶ διατρίψας ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐτελεύτησεν. Πέτρος δέ, ἐν Πόντῳ καὶ Γαλατίᾳ, ἐν Βιθυνίᾳ τε καὶ Καππαδοκίᾳ καὶ τῇ Ἀσίᾳ κηρύξας, ὕστερον ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ Νέρωνος κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἀνεσκολοπίσθη, οὕτως αὐτὸς ἀξίωσας. Παῦλος δέ, ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ κύκλῳ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ πληρώσας τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ἐν Ῥώμῃ σὺν τῷ Πέτρῳ τὸν μαρτυρικὸν ἀνεδύσατο στέφανον, καὶ Πέτρος μὲν ἐτάφη ἐν τῷ Βατικανῷ, Παῦλος δέ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ τῇ Ὀστείᾳ, ὡς γράφει Γάϊος, ἐκκλησιαστικὸς ἀνὴρ, οὗ καὶ ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ λόγῳ μνήμη γέγονεν τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ καὶ Ὁριγένης ἐν τρίτῳ τόμῳ τῶν εἰς τὴν Γένεσιν. 23. μετὰ τὴν Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου μαρτυρίαν, πρῶτος τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπος γέγονεν Λίνος, οὗ καὶ Παῦλος Τιμοθέῳ γράφων ἐμνημόνευσεν. 24. τὰς ἐπιστολάς ἃς γεγράφασιν οἱ ἀπόστολοι, ἀναμφιλέκτως οἱ παλαιοὶ ὡς γνησίας ἐδέξαντο· τὴν Πέτρου πρώτην, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν οὐχ' ὡς ἐνδιάθηκον μὲν, πληρὴν καὶ αὐτὴν ὡς χρησίμων παρεδέξαντο. τὸ δὲ τῶν Πράξεων Πέτρου καὶ τὸ ὀνομαζόμενον αὐτοῦ Εὐαγγέλιον τὸ τε Κήρυγμα καὶ τὴν λεγομένην αὐτοῦ Ἀποκάλυψιν οὐδὲ ὅλως προσεδέξαντο. τινὲς δὲ καὶ τὴν Παύλου πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἠθέτησαν, οἱ καὶ ὡς πλανηθέντες ἐλέγχονται. φασὶ δὲ τινες καὶ τῶν Ἰωάννου ἐπιστολῶν τὴν πρώτην μόνην γνησίαν εἶναι, καὶ τὴν Ἰακώβου δὲ καὶ Ἰούδα οὐκ ἀριθμοῦσιν ὡς γνησίας. 25. Λουκᾶς τὸ γένος Ἀντιοχεύς, τὴν δὲ ἐπιστήμην ἱατρῆς, τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν ἔγραψεν Εὐαγγέλιον, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰς Πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων. 26. Τιμόθεος πρῶτος τῆς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐκκλησίας τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἐκκληρώσατο, 27. Κρήτης δὲ Τίτος, Διονύσιος δὲ ὁ Ἀρεοπαγίτης πρῶτος Ἀθηνῶν κατέστη ἐπίσκοπος· τοῦτο δὲ λέγει Διονύσιος ὁ Κορίνθου. 28. ἥνίκα Τίτος Καῖσαρ ἐπορεύθη <εἰς> τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα, κατὰ θεῖαν ἀποκάλυψιν οἱ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις 25 χριστιανοὶ εἰς πόλιν τῆς Περαιᾶς καλουμένην Πέλλαν, προμετελθόντες τὰς τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῆς στάσεως διέφυγον συμφοράς. 29. Ἰώσηπος πρὸς τὴν Ἰουδαϊκὴν ἀρχαιολογίαν καὶ τοὺς περὶ ἀλώσεως καὶ τοὺς περὶ ἀρχαιότητος ἔγραψεν, πρὸς Ἀπίωνα γραμματικὸν ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτοκράτορος λόγους καὶ ἕτερα ἀξιόλογα, διαβάλλει <δὲ> Ἰουστον τὸν Τιβερίαν ὡς ψευδὸς συγγεγραφότα. 30 30. Συμεὼν ὁ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ δεύτερος μετὰ Ἰάκωβον τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπισκοπῆς προέστη. Κλεώπαν δὲ τὸν τούτου πατέρα ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Ἰωσήφ φησὶν ὁ Ἠγήσιππος. 31. Οὐεσπασιανὸς μετὰ τὴν ἄλωσην Ἱεροσολύμων τοὺς ἀπὸ γένους Δαυὶδ ἀναζητηθῆναι προσέταξεν, ὡς ἂν μηδεὶς περιλειφθεῖ παρ' Ἰουδαίους τῶν ἐκ γένους βασιλικοῦ. καὶ τοῦτο οἶμαι διὰ τὴν πρόρρησιν.

22.2 Θωμᾶς – 10 Γένεσιν: HE 3, I.1–3 23.10 μετὰ – 12 ἐμνημόνευσεν: HE 3, II.1

24.12 τὰς – 19 γνησίας: HE 3, III.1–5, XXV.2–3 25.19 Λουκᾶς – 21 ἀποστόλων:

HE 3, IV.6 26.21 Τιμόθεος – 22 ἐκκληρώσατο: HE 3, IV.5 27.22 Κρήτης – 23

Κορίνθου: HE 3, IV.10 28.23 ἥνίκα – 26 συμφοράς: HE 3, V.3 29.26 Ἰώσηπος –

29 συγγεγραφότα: HE 3, X.6–8 30.30 Συμεὼν – 31 Ἠγήσιππος: HE 3, XI.1 31.32

Οὐεσπασιανὸς – 34 πρόρρησιν: HE 3, XII.1

Codd. VB 1 τρίτου λόγου B: γ' βιβλίου V 2 Σκυθίαν B: Σκύθην V 4 Γαλατίᾳ B:

Γαλάταις V 5 ἐπὶ B: ὑπὸ V 6 κύκλῳ V: om. B 7 τὸν μαρτυρικὸν ἀνεδύσατο

στέφανον B: ἐτελειώθη V 12 τὰς ἐπιστολάς ἃς γεγράφασιν B: τῶν ἐπιστολῶν

ὧν γεγράφασιν V 14 ἐνδιάθηκον μὲν V: ἐνδιάθετον B | παρεδέξαντο V:

προσεδέξαντο B 18 μόνην B: om. V | εἶναι B: om. V | δὲ V: om. B 19 δὲ B:

om. V 23 τοῦτο δὲ λέγει Διονύσιος ὁ Κορίνθου B: om. V | Τίτος: ὁ add. V 24

εἰς inser. G 25 Περαιᾶς B: Περέας V | Πέλλαν V: Πέλλην B 26 συμφοράς

B: συμφορᾶς V 26–29 Ἰώσηπος... συγγεγραφότα: om. V 29 δὲ inser. G 30

ἐπισκοπῆς B: ἐπισκόποις V 32 Ἱεροσολύμων B: Ἱεροσολύμοις V 33 τῶν V:

τοῦ B

- 1 **32.** μετὰ Ἀννιανὸν ἐπίσκοπον Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐγένετο δεύτερος Ἀβίλιος. κατὰ δὲ τὴν
 Ῥώμην μετὰ Λίνον Ἀνέγκλητος γέγονεν δεύτερος καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Κλήμης, οὗ καὶ
 Παῦλος Φιλιππίσις γράφων μνήμην πεποιήται. οὐ καὶ ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τὴν
 ἐκκλησίαν Κορίνθου φέρεται ὡς ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας Ῥώμης πάνυ θαυμαστῇ φέρεται
 5 δὲ καὶ δευτέρα πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν Κορίνθου. **33.** Δομετιανὸς υἱὸς Οὐεσπεσιανοῦ
 πολλὰ κακὰ εἰς τοὺς ἐν τέλει Ῥωμαίους ἐνδειξάμενος, τὴν Νέρωνος νικῆσας
 ὁμότητα, δεύτερος κατὰ Χριστιανῶν διωγμὸν ἐποίησε. καθ' ὃν καὶ τὸν ἀπόστολον
 καὶ εὐαγγελιστὴν Ἰωάννην ἐν Πάτμῳ περιώρισεν. συντυχὼν δὲ Δομετιανὸς τοῖς
 10 ἡμῶν ἐπαύσατο διωγμοῦ. ἀναφέρει δὲ ὁ Ἡγήσιππος καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν καί
 φησιν ὅτι ὁ μὲν ἐκαλεῖτο Ζωκὴρ, ὁ δὲ Ἰάκωβος, ἱστορεῖ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἀναγκαῖα. **34.**
 Νερούα μετὰ Δομετιανὸν βασιλεύσαντος, κοινῶς δόγματι πάντες ἐκ τῶν ἐξορίων
 ἀνεκλήθησαν· μεθ' ὧν καὶ ὁ Θεολόγος Ἰωάννης ἐκ τῆς Πάτμου εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν
 ὑπέστρεψεν. **35.** πρῶτος δὲ τῆς ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἐκκλησίας τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἐκληρώσατο
 15 Εὐόδιος καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Ἰγνάτιος καὶ μετ' ἐκείνον Ἦρων. **36.** Τραϊανοῦ μετὰ
 Νερούαν βασιλεύσαντος, μέχρι τότε περιῆν ὁ Θεολόγος καὶ ἀπόστολος Ἰωάννης·
 τοῦτου δὲ μάρτυρες Εἰρηναῖος ὁ Λουγδούνου καὶ Κλήμης ὁ Στρωματεύς, μέμνηται
 δὲ καὶ τῆς ἱστορίας τῆς περὶ τοῦ ληστήρχου, ἧς λέγει Κλήμης ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῷ *Τὶς ὁ*
 20 *Σφωζόμενος πλούσιος*. **37.** τῶν τριῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν τὰ μετὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ δεσμοῦ τριῶν
 Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ κάθεῖρξιν γραψάντων ἐφ' ἑνα μόνον ἐνιαυτὸν τῷ Σωτῆρι
 πραχθέντα, Ἰωάννης ὁ Θεολόγος τὰ πρὸ τούτων ἔγραψεν. **38.** πλείστοι τῶν ἀρχαίων
 τὴν Ἰωάννου ἀποκάλυψιν οὐ προσίενται, ἐτέρου τινὸς Ἰωάννου ταύτην οἰόμενοι.
 τὸ δὲ καθ' Ἑβραίους Εὐαγγέλιον καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον Πέτρου καὶ Θωμᾶ καὶ Ματθία
 καὶ τὰς Πράξεις Ἰωάννου καὶ Ἀνδρέου τελείως ἀπέβαλλον, αἰρετικῶν ταῦτα
 25 συγγράμματα λέγοντες. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα εὐαγγέλια ψευδῆ· τὸ κατὰ Αἰγυπτίους, καὶ
 κατὰ τοὺς δώδεκα, καὶ κατὰ Βασιλείδην.

32.1 μετὰ – 5 Κορίνθου: HE 3, XIV.1, XV.1, XVI **33.5** Δομετιανὸς – 10 διωγμοῦ
 HE 3, XVII.1, XVIII.1, XX.1–5 **33.10** ἀναφέρει – 11 ἀναγκαῖα: Hegesippus
 fr.3 B 1888 **34.12** Νερούα – 14 ὑπέστρεψεν: HE 3, XX.8–9 **35.14** πρῶτος –
 15 Ἦρων: HE 3, XXII.1, XXXVII.15 **36.15** Τραϊανοῦ – 19 πλούσιος: HE 3,
 XXI.1, XXIII.2–4 **37.19** τῶν – 21 ἔγραψεν: HE 3, XXIV.8 **38.21** πλείστοι – 25
 λέγοντες: HE 3, XV.4–6 **38.25** εἰσὶ – 26 Βασιλείδην: fontem non inveni

Codd. VBP **1–5** μετὰ...Κορίνθου: om. V **7** δεύτερος VP: δεῦτερον B | ἐποίησε
 PV: ἐποίη B **7–8** ἀπόστολον καὶ εὐαγγελιστὴν BP: Θεολόγον V **9** τῶν ἀνδρῶν
 PV: τοῦ ἀνδρὸς B **10** ἡμῶν P: ἡμᾶς VB **11** ἱστορεῖ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἀναγκαῖα VB:
 om. P **12–21** Νερούα...ἔγραψεν: om. P **14** δὲ V: om. B **15** Εὐόδιος B: Εὐδοδος
 V | μετὰ τοῦτον V: μετ' ἐκείνον B **15–19** Τραϊανοῦ...πλούσιος: om. V **19** τὰ
 V: om. B **21** ἔγραψεν B: ἀνέγραψεν V **21–25** πλείστοι...λέγοντες: om. P **22**
 ἀποκάλυψιν V: ἐπιστολὴν B **23–24** καὶ Ματθία καὶ τὰς πράξεις Ἰωάννου καὶ
 Ἀνδρέου V: om. B **24** ἀπέβαλλον B: ἀπεβάλοντο V | αἰρετικῶν B: αἰρετικά V **25**
 κατὰ Αἰγυπτίους VP: κατ' Αἰγυπτίους B

- 1 **39.** τῶν Ἑβριωνάων ἡ αἵρεσις διχῶς διήρητο· οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον
τὸν Κύριον ἐξ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τῆς Θεοτόκου λέγειν ἐτόλμων, κατὰ προκοπὴν
δεδικαιωμένον, δεῖσθαι δὲ ἕκαστον ἄνθρωπον τῆς κατὰ νόμον πολιτείας ὡς μὴ ἂν
5 αὐτῷ κεκλημένοι ὀνόματι, ἐκ Παρθένου μὲν καὶ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος ὁμολογούν τὸν
Κύριον, οὐκ ἔτι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ Θεοῦ Λόγον ἐπίστευον· ἐχρῶντο δὲ μόνῃ καὶ οὗτοι
τῇ κατὰ τὸν νόμον λατρεία ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις. τὰς δὲ τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου
Παύλου ἐπιστολάς ἀπεβάλλοντο, ἀποστάτην αὐτὸν λέγειν τολμῶντες· ἐχρῶντο δὲ
10 μόνῳ τῷ καθ' Ἑβραίους Εὐαγγελίῳ. Ἑβριωναῖοι δὲ λέγονται διὰ τὸ εὐτελὲς τῶν
δογμάτων καὶ τὸ πτωχὸν τῆς νοήσεως· Ἑβριωναῖοι γὰρ οἱ πτωχοὶ Ἑβραῖστί
λέγονται. **40.** Κήρινθον τὸν αἵρεσιάρχην φησὶν ὁ Γάϊος πρῶτον εἰπεῖν ἐπίγειον
εἶναι τὴν Χριστοῦ βασιλείαν καὶ τὴν χιλιονταετηρίδα δογματίσαι. τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ περὶ
αὐτοῦ καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ Εἰρηναῖος ὁ Λουγδούνου· φασὶ δὲ
15 παραδοῦναι περὶ Κηρίνθου Πολύκαρπον ὅτι ἰδὼν αὐτὸν Ἰωάννης ἐν βαλανείῳ
λουόμενον, ἔφυγεν καὶ ἐξῆλθεν, κράζων μήποτε πῆσῃ τὸ λουτρόν, ὅντος ἔσω
Κηρίνθου. **41.** Νικόλαος ὁ εἷς τῶν ἑπτὰ διακόνων ἐκ τῆς κατὰ τὴν γυναῖκα
ζηλοτυπίας τῆς τῶν Νικολαϊτῶν προκατήρξατο πλάνης ὥς φησι ὁ Κλήμης ἐν τῷ ε'
τῶν Στρωματέων. **42.** Κλήμης ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ λόγῳ τῶν *Στρωματέων* πρὸς τοὺς
ἀθετοῦντας τὸν γάμον μαρόμενός φησι Πέτρον καὶ Παῦλον καὶ Φίλιππον γυναῖκας
20 ἐσχηκέναι· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐβδόμῳ Στρωματεῖ τὴν Πέτρου γυναῖκα καὶ μαρτυρίῳ
τελειωθῆναι λέγει. καὶ Πιέριος δὲ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ λόγῳ τῶν εἰς τὸ Πάσχα πολὺ
ἐνίσταται ὅτι Παῦλος εἶχε γυναῖκα καὶ αὐτὴν τῷ θεῷ διὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀνέθετο,
τῇ πρὸς αὐτὴν κοινωνία ἀποταξάμενος. **43.** Πολυκράτης ὁ Ἐφέσου ἐπίσκοπος
Βίκτωρι τῷ Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκόπῳ δι' ἐπιστολῆς γέγραφε περὶ τῆς κοιμήσεως
25 Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου καὶ Φιλίππου τοῦ ἐνὸς τῶν ἑβ' ἀποστόλων, ὃς καὶ
θυγατέρας ἔσχεν προφήτιδας. Λουκάς δὲ ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσιν ἕνα τῶν ἑπτὰ διακόνων
λέγει τὸν Φίλιππον, οὗ αἱ θυγατέρες προεφήτευσαν. **44.** μετὰ Νέρωνα καὶ
Δομετιανὸν δημοτικῆς κατὰ Χριστιανῶν γενομένης ἐπαναστάσεως, πλείστοι τῷ
τοῦ μαρτυρίου στεφάνῳ κατεκομίσθησαν, ἐν ᾧ καιρῷ καὶ Συμεὼν ὁ <τοῦ> Κλωπᾶ
30 ὁ γενόμενος μετὰ Ἰακώβον Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπίσκοπος, ρκ' γενόμενος ἐτῶν, μετὰ
πολλὰς βασάνους ἐσταυρώθη, καθὰ φησι ὁ Ἠγήσιππος {ιστορεῖ}.

39.1 τῶν – 11 λέγονται: HE 3, XVII.1–6 **40.11** Κήρινθον – 16 Κηρίνθου: HE 3, XVIII.1–2, XVIII.6 **41.16** Νικόλαος – 18 Στρωματέων: HE 3, XVIII.1–2 **42.18** Κλήμης – 21 λέγει: HE 3, XXX.1–2 **42.21** καὶ Πιέριος – 23 ἀποταξάμενος: Pierius fr.5 B 1888 **43.23** Πολυκράτης – 27 προεφήτευσαν: HE 3, XXXI.2–3, XXXI.5 **44.27** μετὰ – 31 Ἠγήσιππος: HE 3, XXXII.1–3

Codd. VBP **1–16** τῶν...Κηρίνθου: om. V **2** Κύριον P: om. B **3** δὲ δικαιομένον BP: δεδικοιωμένον conl. G | ἂν P: om. B **4** Χριστὸν P: Χριστιανῶν B **5** μὲν P: om. B **7** ἁγίου B: om. P **10** τὸ πτωχόν P: τῷ πτωχῷ B **12** χιλιονταετηρίδα B: χιλιονταετηρίδα P **13** Λουγδούνου B: Λουγδόπου P **16–31** Νικόλαος...ιστορεῖ: om. P **16–18** Νικόλαος...Στρωματέων!: om. B **18** Στρωματέων² V: Στρωμάτων B **19** Παῦλον καὶ B: om. V **20** Στρωματεῖ V: Στρώματι B **20** καὶ B: om. V **21** λέγει B: om. V **23** τῇ πρὸς αὐτὴν κοινωνία B: τῆς πρὸς αὐτὴν κοινωνίας V | ἐπίσκοπος: ὁ add. B **24** τῷ B: τῶν V | γέγραφε V: ἔγραφε B **27–31** μετὰ...ιστορεῖ: om. V **29** τοῦ suppl. HE 4, XXII.4 nlsus | Κλωπᾶ B: Κλωπᾶ corr. **31** ιστορεῖ del. G

- 1 **45.** Τραϊανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς προσετάξε τὸ τῶν Χριστιανῶν φύλον μὴ ἐκζητεῖσθαι μὲν, ἐμπεσὼν δὲ κολάζεσθαι, ὥς φησι Τερτυλλιανὸς ἐν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ τῇ κατ' αὐτόν. **46.** Ἰγνάτιος ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ Συρίας ἐν Ῥώμῃ δέσμιος ἀχθεῖς, θηρίοις ἐδόθη βορὰ καὶ οὕτω τὸν μαρτυρικὸν ἀγῶνα τετέλεκεν καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἐκοιμήθη. **47.** τὴν Παύλου πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιστολὴν πολλοὶ μὲν ὡς οὐκ οὕσαν Παύλου διέβαλλον, οἱ δέ, τῆς ἀληθείας ἀντιποιοῦμενοι, Παύλου ταύτην γνησίαν εἶναι πιστεύουσιν. φασὶ δὲ ταύτην Ἑβραϊστὶ γραφεῖσαν ἐρμηνευθῆναι, ὥς μὲν ἔδοξέ τισιν, ὑπὸ τοῦ Λουκᾶ, ὥς δὲ λέγουσιν ἄλλοι, ὑπὸ Κλήμεντος τοῦ Ῥώμης, οἵτινες καὶ μᾶλλον ὀφείλουσι πιστεῦεσθαι διὰ τὸ τοῦ χαρακτήρος τῶν λόγων τοῦ Κλήμεντος ὅμοιον. **48.** Παπίας Ἱεραπόλεως ἐπίσκοπος, ἀκουστής τοῦ Θεολόγου Ἰωάννου γενόμενος, Πολυκάρπου δὲ ἐταῖρος, πέντε λόγους Κυριακῶν λογίων ἔγραψεν· ἐν οἷς ἀπαριθμησιν ἀποστόλων ποιούμενος, μετὰ Πέτρον καὶ Ἰωάννην καὶ Φίλιππον καὶ Θωμᾶν καὶ Ματθαῖον εἰς μαθητὰς τοῦ Κυρίου ἀνέγραψεν Ἀριστίωνα καὶ Ἰωάννην ἕτερον, ὃν καὶ πρεσβύτερον ἐκάλεσεν, ὥς τινες οἶεσθαι ὅτι τοῦτο τοῦ Ἰωάννου εἰσὶν αἱ δύο ἐπιστολαί· αἱ μικραὶ καὶ καθολικαὶ αἱ ἐξ ὀνόματος Ἰωάννου φερόμεναι διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἀρχαίους τὴν πρώτην μόνην ἐγκρίνειν· τινὲς δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀποκάλυψιν τοῦτου πλανηθέντες ἐνόμισαν. καὶ Παπίας δὲ περὶ τὴν χιλιονταετηρίδα σφάλλεται, ἐξ οὗ καὶ ὁ Εἰρηναῖος. **49.** Παπίας ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ λόγῳ λέγει ὅτι Ἰωάννης ὁ Θεολόγος καὶ Ἰάκωβος ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνῆρέθησαν. **50.** Παπίας ὁ εἰρημένος ἱστορήσεν ὡς παραλαβὼν ἀπὸ τῶν θυγατέρων Φιλίππου, ὅτι Βαρσαβᾶς ὁ καὶ Ἰουδτος δοκιμαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπίστων ἰὼν ἐχίδνης πῖνόν, ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπαθὴς διεφυλάχθη. ἱστορεῖ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα θαύματα καὶ μάλιστα τὸ κατὰ τὴν μητέρα Μαναΐμου τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστᾶσαν <καὶ> περὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάντων, ὅτι ἕως Ἀδριανοῦ ἔζων.
- 25 **Ἐκ τοῦ τετάρτου βιβλίου.** **51.** ὁ δὲ Χρυσόστομος ἐν τῇ α' ὁμιλίᾳ τοῦ δευτέρου τμήματος τῆς α' πρὸς Κορινθίους ἐπιστολῆς λέγει ὅτι καὶ <οἱ> ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἀναστάντες ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ οἱ πρὸ αὐτῶν πάντες ἀπέθανον. **52.** Κοδράτος καὶ Ἀριστείδης ἀπολογίαν ὑπὲρ Χριστιανῶν ἕκαστος ἰδίᾳ πεποιήνται καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ Ἀδριανῷ
- 30 προσεκόμισαν. τοῦ δὲ Κοδράτου καὶ χρήσιν τίθησιν ὁ Εὐσέβιος ἐν ἡ φανερώς φησι ὅτι οἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάντες ἐπὶ χρόνον πλεῖστον τῷ βίῳ διέτριψαν, ὡς λέγει καὶ ἕως τῶν ἡμερῶν Κοδράτου φθάσαι.

45.1 Τραϊανὸς – 2 αὐτόν: HE 3, XXXIII.2 **46.3** Ἰγνάτιος – 4 ἐκοιμήθη: HE 3, XXXVI.2–3 **47.4** τὴν – 9 ὅμοιον: HE 3, XXXVIII.1–3 **48.9** Παπίας – 18 Εἰρηναῖος: HE 3, XXXIX.1–2, XXXIX.4; Papias fr.6 B 1888 **49.18** Παπίας – 19 ἀνῆρέθησαν: Papias fr.6 B 1888 **50.19** Παπίας – 24 ἔζων: Papias fr.6 B 1888 **51.26** ὁ δὲ – 28 ἀπέθανον: fontem non inveni **52.28** Κοδράτος – 32 φθάσαι: HE 4, III.1–3

Codd. VB **1** φύλον B: φύλον V **2–4** ὥς...ἐκοιμήθη: om. V **3** βορὰ con. G: βορρὰ B **8** λέγουσιν B: om. V | ἄλλοι V: ἔνιοι B | τοῦ B: om. V **8–9** οἵτινες...ὅμοιον: om. V **9** τῶν λόγων B^{ms} **12** καὶ² V: om. B **14** τοῦτου V: om. B **15** αἱ μικραὶ καὶ καθολικαὶ B: αἱ καθολικαὶ αἱ μικραὶ V **17–19** καὶ Παπίας...ἀνῆρέθησαν: om. V **17** χιλιονταετηρίδα B: χιλιονταετηρίδα corr. de Boor **22** διεφυλάχθη B: ἐφυλάχθη V | δὲ B: om. V **23** καὶ inser. N 1994 **23–24** περὶ...ἔζων: om. V **25** Ἐκ τοῦ τετάρτου βιβλίου: om. B, del. N 1994 **26–32** ὁ δὲ...φθάσαι: om. V **27** οἱ inser. B 1888

- 1 **53.** Σίμωνα τὸν μάγον Μένανδρος διεδέξατο, γόης τις ἀνὴρ καὶ ἀπατεών, τῷ γένει
 Σαμαρείτης, ὃς τοὺς πειθομένους αὐτῷ ἐπὶ γοητείαν προύτρπευεν, μὴ ἄλλως
 δύνασθαι λέγων σωθῆναι· ὑπίσχεϊτο δὲ τοὺς αὐτοῦ μαθητὰς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ βίῳ ζῆν
 δι' αἰῶνος, γράφουσι δὲ κατὰ τούτου Εἰρηναῖος καὶ Ἰουστίνος. **54.** Οὐαλεντίνος καὶ
 5 Κέρδων ἄμφω ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐγνωρίζοντο. Κέρδων δὲ γέγονε διδάσκαλος
 Μαρκίωνος τοῦ Ποντικοῦ, ὃν τὴν πλάνην διελέγχουσιν οἱ πλείστοι καὶ μάλιστα
 Εἰρηναῖος ἐν τῷ κατὰ τῶν αἵρέσεων. λέγουσι γὰρ τὸν ὑπὸ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν
 <κεκηρυγμένον> Θεὸν μὴ εἶναι Πατέρα τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὸν μὲν γὰρ
 γινώσκεισθαι, τὸν δὲ ἀγνῶτα εἶναι, καὶ τὸν μὲν ἀγαθόν, τὸν δὲ δίκαιον. οὗτοι δὲ καὶ
 10 νυμφῶνα κατασκευάζουσι καὶ πνευματικὸν τελοῦσι γάμον, μιμούμενοι, καθά φησιν,
 πλανώμενοι τὰς οὐρανίους δυνάμεις· βαπτίζουσι δὲ λέγοντες “εἰς τὸ ὄνομα
 ἀγνώστου πατρὸς τῶν ὄλων, εἰς ἀλήθειαν μητέρα πάντων, εἰς τὸν κατελθόντα εἰς
 τὸν υἱόν”. **55.** Μελίτων ἐπίσκοπος Σάρδεων ἀπολογίαν ὑπὲρ Χριστιανῶν πεποίητο
 πρὸς Σευήρον βασιλέα καὶ ἕτερα δὲ πλείστα γέγραφεν ἀξιόλογα σπουδάσματα, καὶ
 15 μάλιστα τὰ εἰς τὸ Πάσχα β', καὶ περὶ τῶν Προφητῶν καὶ Πολιτείας, καὶ περὶ
 Ἐκκλησίας, καὶ περὶ Κυριακῆς, καὶ φύσεως ἀνθρώπου, καὶ περὶ ψυχῆς, καὶ ἄλλα
 θαυμαστά ἃ ῥητῶς ὀνομάζει Εὐσέβιος. **56.** Πολύκαρπος ἐπίσκοπος Σμύρνης μέχρι
 τούτων τῶν χρόνων περιῆν, ὃς ἐπὶ Ἀνικίτου κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐγένετο διὰ τὸ περὶ τὸ
 Πάσχα ζήτημα, ὡς φησι Εἰρηναῖος ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ τῷ κατὰ τῶν αἵρέσεων. λέγει δὲ ὅτι
 20 εἰς ὅσιν ἐλθὼν ὁ Μαρκίων τοῦ Πολυκάρπου φησὶ πρὸς αὐτόν· “ἐπιγινώσκε ἡμᾶς, ὃ
 καλὲ Πολύκαρπε”, ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν· “ἐπιγινώσκω”, ἔφη, “ἐπιγινώσκω τὸν
 πρωτότοκον τοῦ Σατανᾶ”. **57.** μετὰ Πολύκαρπον τὸν θεῖον ἐν Σμύρνῃ μαρτυρήσαντα
 καὶ Μητροδωρὸς τις ἐμαρτύρησε, πρεσβύτερος τῆς κατὰ Μαρκίωνα τυγχάνων
 βδελυρᾶς αἵρέσεως, περὶ οὗ ζητεῖσθω· ἀριθμεῖται ἐν μάρτυσιν. **58.** Ἰουστίνος ὁ ἀπὸ
 25 φιλοσόφων πλείστα καὶ μνήμης ἄξια καταλέλειπεν σπουδάσματα, ὧν καὶ τὸν
 κατάλογον Εὐσέβιος ἐποίησατο· ἐξ ὧν καὶ χρήσιν παρέθετο ἦν Εἰρηναῖος ἐν τῷ
 τετάρτῳ Πρὸς τὰς αἵρέσεις παρήγαγε κατὰ τοῦ Μαρκίωνος ἔχουσας οὕτως· “καλῶς
 ὁ Ἰουστίνος ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Μαρκίωνος ἔφησεν ὅτι αὐτῷ τῷ Κυρίῳ οὐκ ἂν ἐπέισθην
 30 ἄλλον θεὸν καταγγέλλοντι παρὰ τὸν δημιουργόν·” τὴν Ἀποκάλυψιν Ἰωάννου τοῦ
 Θεολόγου ὡσαύτως γνησίαν οὖσαν ἐδέχετο. **59.** Θεόφιλος ὁ Ἀντιοχείας ἔκτος
 ἐπίσκοπος καὶ Πινυτὸς Κρήτης Κνωσοῦ Φίλιππος τε Γορτύνης καὶ Ἀπολινάριος
 Ἱεραπόλεως καὶ Μουσανὸς, καὶ Μόδεστος καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν Εἰρηναῖος ἀναγκαῖα
 καταλελοίπασιν συγγράμματα. Θεοφίλου δὲ τοῦ Ἀντιοχείας φέρεται τὰ Πρὸς
 35 Αὐτόλυκον καὶ Πρὸς τὴν αἵρεσιν Ἑρμογένους καὶ ἕτερα, καὶ τὴν Ἀποκάλυψιν δὲ ὡς
 Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἀποστόλου δέχεται.

53.1 Σίμωνα – 4 Ἰουστίνος: HE 4, VII.3–4, VIII.3 **54.4** Οὐαλεντίνος – 13 υἱόν: HE 4, X.1, XI.2, XI.5 **55.13** Μελίτων – 14 βασιλέα: HE 4, XIII.8 **55.14** καὶ ἕτερα – 17 Εὐσέβιος: HE 4, XXVI.1.2 **56.17** Πολύκαρπος – 22 Σατανᾶ: HE 4, XIV.1, XIV.7 **57.22** μετὰ – 24 μάρτυσιν: HE 4, XV.46 **58.24** Ἰουστίνος – 30 ἐδέχετο: HE 4, XVIII.1, XVIII.8–9 **59.30** Θεόφιλος – 35 δέχεται: EH 4, XX.1, XXI.1, XXIV.1

Codd. VBP **1–4** Σίμωνα... Ἰουστίνος: om. BP **4–13** Οὐαλεντίνος... τὸν υἱόν: om. V **5** Κέρδων B: Κέδρων P **6** οἱ P: om. B **7** τῶν B: τὸν P **8** κεκηρυγμένον suppl. G **11** τὰς P: πρὸς B | δὲ P: om. B **13** υἱόν B: Ἰησοῦν P **13–17** Μελίτων... Εὐσέβιος: om. BP **17–22** Πολύκαρπος... Σατανᾶ: om. PV **22–35** μετὰ... δέχεται: om. P **22** Πολύκαρπον τὸν θεῖον V: Πολυκάρπου τοῦ θεοῦ B | μαρτυρήσαντα con. G (cf. § 13) **23–24** τῆς κατὰ Μαρκίωνα τυγχάνων βδελυρᾶς αἵρέσεως V: ὧν τῆς βδελυρᾶς αἵρέσεως τῆς κατὰ Μαρκίωνα B **24–35** Ἰουστίνος... δέχεται: om. V

- 1 **60.** Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπιστολὴ καὶ ἄλλη πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, ἐν ᾗ φησιν ὅτι μαρτυρήσαντος
Πουπλίου τοῦ ἐπίσκοπου Ἀθηνῶν, Κοδρᾶτος τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν διαδέχεται, πρᾶος
ἀνὴρ, καὶ πολλοὺς ἐξ Ἑλλήνων Χριστιανούς ἐποίησεν. μέμνηται δὲ καὶ τοῦ
5 Ἀρεοπαγίτου Διονυσίου ὡς πρώτου τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐκκλησίας ἐπισκόπου
γενομένου· μέμνηται δὲ καὶ Παλμᾶ ἐπισκόπου Ἀμαστρίδος. **61.** Τατιανὸς Ἰουστίνου
μὲν μαθητῆς ἐγένετο τοῦ φιλοσόφου καὶ μάρτυρος, οὗ καὶ μέμνηται ὡς ὑπὸ
Κρίσκεντος ἐπιβουλευθέντος, ὕστερον δὲ πρωτοστάτης γέγονεν τῆς τῶν λεγομένων
Ἐγκρατιτῶν αἵρέσεως, τῶν ἐκείνης βλασφημιῶν εὐρετῆς γενόμενος. τούτου τὴν
10 πλάνην διεδέξατο Σευήρος, ἐξ οὗ Σευηριανοὶ οἱ τῆς τοιαύτης αἵρέσεως λέγονται.
τοῦ δὲ Τατιανοῦ φέρεται πρὸς Τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων Εὐαγγελιστῶν καὶ ἕτερα πλεῖστα
ἐπαινεῖται δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ Κατὰ Ἑλλήνων. **62.** Ἀπολιναρίου φέρονται σπουδάσματα,
καὶ μάλιστα πέντε Πρὸς Ἑλληνας καὶ Πρὸς Ἰουδαίους δύο, καὶ κατὰ Μοντανοῦ
τότε ἄρξαμένου ἐκτρέπεσθαι ἅμα ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ προφήτισιν.
15 **Ἐκ τοῦ πέμπτου βιβλίου.**
63. Φλωρίνος Ῥώμης πρεσβύτερος αἵρεσιάρχης ἐγένετο, καθ' οὗ γενναίως γέγραphen
Εἰρηναῖος, περὶ οὗ καὶ λέγει ὅτι “εἰ ἐξῆ Πολύκαρπος, εἶπεν ἂν περὶ σοῦ, ὦ Φλωρίνη,
‘ὦ καλὲ θεέ, εἰς οἴους με καιροὺς τετήρηκας, ἵνα τοιούτων ἀνέχωμαι””, συνῆν δὲ τῷ
Φλωρίνῳ καὶ ἄλλος αἵρετικός, Βλάστος ὀνόματι. **64.** Ἀλκιβιάδου τινὸς τῶν ἐν
20 Γαλλίᾳ μαρτύρων ἐγκρατευομένου πολὺ καὶ μηδέποτε μεταλαμβάνοντος πλὴν
ἄρτου καὶ ὕδατος, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ δεσμοτηρίῳ πειρωμένου ποιεῖν, ἀπεκαλύφθη
Ἀττάλῳ τῷ μάρτυρι ἐν τῷ δεσμοτηρίῳ, μετὰ τὸν ἐν τῷ ἀμφιθεάτρῳ πρῶτον αὐτοῦ
ἀγῶνα, κατεῖπεν τινὰς ὅτι οὐ καλῶς ποιεῖ Ἀλκιβιάδης μὴ χρώμενος τοῖς κτίσμασι
τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ἄλλοις τύπος σκανδάλου γενόμενος. ὦν ἀκούσας Ἀλκιβιάδης, πάντων
25 μεταλαμβάνων, ἠὲ χάριται τῷ Θεῷ. **65.** <Λόγος ἔχει> Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου βασιλέως
Ῥωμαίων πολεμοῦντος πρὸς Γερμανοὺς καὶ Σαρμάτας, δίγει τῆς στρατιᾶς
πιεζομένης καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κινδυνευούσης, τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς Μελιτηνῆς οὕτω
καλουμένους λεγεῶνας, Χριστιανούς ὄντας δι’ εὐχῆς ἐκτενοῦς πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν
γενομένης, τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους κεραυνῶ βαλεῖν, ὁμβρῷ δὲ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους
30 παραμυθῆσασθαι· ὅπερ, ὡς φησι Τερτυλλιανός, καταπλήξαν τὸν Μάρκον, γράψαι
τιμῆσαι Χριστιανούς παρεκάλεσεν, τὴν δὲ λεγεῶνα ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου κεραυνοβόλον
προσαγορεύσαι. **66.** Εἰρηναῖος ὁ Λουγδούνου πολλὰ καὶ θεῖα καταλέλοιπε
σπουδάσματα ὧν καὶ τὸν κατάλογον πλεῖστοι γινώσκουσι. φησὶ δὲ ὅτι μετὰ τὴν ἐκ
Βαβυλῶνος ἐπάνοδον Ἑσδρά τῷ γραμματεῖ ὁ Θεὸς δέδωκε χάριν ἄνωθεν· τὸν
35 νόμον καὶ τοὺς προφῆτας πάντας ὑπαγορεύσαι ἀπλανῶς, ὡς καὶ πρὸς τοῖς
αἰχμαλώτοις τυγχάνοντας.

60.1 Διονύσιος – 6 Ἀμαστρίδος: HE 4, XXIII.1–3, XXIII.6 **61.6** Τατιανὸς – 12
Ἑλλήνων: HE 4, XXIX.1–7 **62.12** Ἀπολιναρίου – 14 προφήτισιν: HE 4, XXVII.1
63.16 Φλωρίνος – 19 ὀνόματι: HE 5, XX.4, XX.7, XV.1 **64.19** Ἀλκιβιάδου – 25
θεῷ: HE 5, III.1–3 **65.25** Λόγος ἔχει – 32 προσαγορεύσαι: HE 5, V.1–2, V.4–6
66.32 Εἰρηναῖος – 36 τυγχάνοντας: HE 5, VIII.

Codd. BP **1–19** Διονύσιος...ὀνόματι: om. P **20** μηδέποτε μεταλαμβάνοντος P:
μεταλαμβάνοντος οὐδενὸς B **21** καὶ² P: om. B **21–22** ἀπεκαλύφθη Ἀττάλῳ τῷ
μάρτυρι ἐν τῷ δεσμοτηρίῳ: om. B **22** ἐν τῷ² B: om. P **23** κατεῖπεν τινὰς B:
om. P | Ἀλκιβιάδης B: Ἀλκιβιάδα P **24** γενόμενος P: γινόμενος B **25** Λόγος ἔχει
suppl. G **25–36** Μάρκου...τυγχάνοντας: om. P **26** στρατείας B: στρατιᾶς corr.
Eusebius' EH 5, V.1 nisis

- 1 67. Ῥόδων ὁ Ἀσιανὸς μαθητὴς μὲν ἐγγόνει Τατιανοῦ, ἔγραψε δὲ κατὰ Μαρκίωνα, ἐν οἷς φησιν ὅτι ναύτης ἦν ὁ Μαρκίων. γράφει δὲ καὶ κατὰ Ἀπελλοῦ ὡς τὸν νόμον καὶ τὰς προφητείας τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐξουθενούντος, πειθομένου δὲ γυναικὶ δαιμονώσῃ, ὀνόματι Φιλουμένη, καὶ τὰ ἐκείνης μυθάρια προφητείας ἡγουμένου καὶ
- 5 δύο ἀρχὰς κατὰ Ἐμπεδοκλέαν κηρύττειν σπουδάζοντος. γράφει δὲ καὶ κατὰ Συνέρωτος, τρεῖς ἀρχὰς εἰσηγουμένου. Ἀπολινάριος ὁ <ἐν> Ἱεραπόλει θεῖος κατὰ Μοντανοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐξ ἐκείνου λεγομένων ἐγγράφως ἡγωνίσαστο. φησὶ δὲ ὅτι καὶ Μοντανὸς αὐτὸς καὶ Θεόδοτος καὶ Μαξίμιλλα ἀπὸ πονηροῦ δαίμονος, ὡς αὐτὸς εἶπεν, βλαψίφρονος ἀνῆρέθησαν. μέμνηται δὲ Ἀπολινάριος καὶ Μιλτιάδου τινὸς
- 10 γράψαντος κατὰ Μοντανοῦ· φέρονται δὲ καὶ ἕτερα τοῦ Μιλτιάδου συγγράμματα λόγου ἄξια. ἔγραψε δὲ κατὰ Μοντανοῦ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου τις ἐκκλησιαστικὸς συγγραφεύς. 68. τῶν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ <ἐπισκόπων> τῇ ἰδ' ἀξιούντων ποιεῖν τὸ Πάσχα κατὰ παράδοσιν ἀρχαίαν, περὶ οὗ καὶ Πολυκράτης ὁ Ἐφέσου δι' ἐπιστολῆς γραφείσης πρὸς Βίκτωρα τὸν Ῥώμης ἐνίσταται ἐκ τῶν ἀποστόλων Ἰωάννου καὶ Φιλίππου τῶν
- 15 ἐν Ἀσίᾳ κοιμηθέντων τοῦτο παραλαβεῖν, δισχυρίζομενος Βίκτωρ ὁ Ῥώμης ἀκοινωνησίαν τοῖς <ἐπισκόποις> ἐν Ἀσίᾳ ἐπεμψεν. Εἰρηναῖος δὲ ὁ Λουγδούνου γράφει τῷ Βίκτωρι καταγινώσκων τῆς προπετείας καὶ οἰκονομεῖ τὸ πρᾶγμα θεῖως καίπερ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐν Γαλλίᾳ τὴν ἁγίαν μᾶλλον Κυριακὴν εορτάζειν παρεληφόντων. ἐν οἷς φησιν ὅτι τινὲς καὶ περὶ τὸ νηστεύειν διαφόρως παρέλαβον· οἱ μὲν γὰρ μίαν μόνην ἡμέραν ἐνήστευον, οἱ δὲ δύο, οἱ δὲ καὶ πλείονας, οἱ δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ὥρας μόνας ἡμερινὰς καὶ νυκτερινὰς ὥραν ἀντὶ ἡμέρας νηστεύοντες, καὶ πᾶσι συνεχωρήθη τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἔθεσι χρῆσασθαι. μνημονεύει δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ παρουσίας τοῦ Πολυκάρπου ἐπὶ Ἀνικητοῦ γεγεννημένης καὶ ὅπως παρεχώρησε τῆς τιμῆς καὶ τῆς εὐχαριστίας τῷ Πολυκάρπῳ Ἀνίκητος. 69. παλαιῶν
- 25 συγγραφέων πονήμασι πολλοῖς ἐντετυχηκέναι φησιν ὁ Εὐσέβιος, ὃν τὰ μὲν ὀνομαστί ἀπῆριθμῆσεν· τὰ δὲ ἀνωμύμως παρέδωκεν, ῥητῶς δὲ μνημονεύει ὅτι ἔγραψαν Ἡράκλειτος ἀρχαῖος τις εἰς τὸν ἀπόστολον, καὶ Μάξιμος εἰς τὸ ζήτημα τὸ πόθεν ἡ κακία καὶ ὅτι γενητὴ ἡ ὕλη, καὶ Κάνδιδος εἰς τὴν ἐξαήμερον καὶ Ἀτίων ὁμοίως καὶ Σέξτος περὶ ἀναστάσεως καὶ Αραβιανὸς ὡς αὐτως, λέγει δὲ ἀνειργάφοις ἐντυγχεῖν σπουδάμασι θείοις κατὰ Ἀρτέμωνος τοῦ ἀρχηγοῦ τῆς πλάνης Παύλου τοῦ Σαμοσατέως, καὶ ὅτι πάντες οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἐθεολόγουν τὸν Χριστὸν Θεὸν καὶ ἄνθρωπον κυρίως ὁμολογούντες, ὧν εἰς ἦν Ἰουστίνος καὶ Μιλτιάδης καὶ Τατιανὸς καὶ Κλήμης καὶ Μελίτων καὶ Εἰρηναῖος.

67.1 Ῥόδων – 4 ἡγουμένου: HE 5, XIII.1–4 67.4 καί² – 5 σπουδάζοντος: fontem non inveni 67.5 γράφει – 12 συγγραφεύς: HE 5, XVI.13, XVI.15, XVII.1, XVIII.1. 68.12 τῶν – 24 Ἀνίκητος: HE 5, XXIII.1, XXIII.3–4, XXIV.1–3, XXIV.12, XXIV.17 69.24 παλαιῶν – 33 Εἰρηναῖος HE 5, XXVII.1

Codd. OB 1–15 Ῥόδων...ἐν: om. O 6 ἐν suppl. 9 βλαψιφώρως B: βλαψίφρονος corr. Eusebius' HE 5, XVI.13 nisis 12 ἐπισκόπων suppl. HE 5, XXIV.1 nisis 16 ἐπισκόποις suppl. | Λουγδούνου B: Λουγδόπου O 19 παρεληφόντων O: προειληφόντων B | τὸ B: om. O 21 ὥραν O: ὥρας B 24–33 παλαιῶν...Εἰρηναῖος: om. B 24 ante παλαιῶν: ὅτι add. O 27 ἀρχιος O: ἀρχαῖος corr. | Μαξιμῖνος O: Μάξιμος corr. HE 5, XVII.1 28 Κάτειδος O: Κάνδιδος corr. HE 5, XVII.1 29 Σέξστος O: Σέξτος corr. HE 5, XVII.1 30 Ἀρτέμωνος: Ἀρτέμωνος O

- 1 **70.** Θεόδοτος ὁ σκυτεὺς πρῶτος ἀρχηγὸς τῆς πλάνης τῆς κατὰ Παῦλον καὶ
Νεστόριον <αἰρέσεως> γέγονεν, ὃν καὶ ἀπεκήρυξεν Βίκτωρ ὁ Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπος.
μετὰ οὖν Θεόδοτον ὁ Ἀρτέμιον καὶ μετ' ἐκείνον ὁ Σαμοσατεὺς καὶ οὕτω Νεστόριος
5 ψιλὸν εἰπεῖν ἄνθρωπον τὸν ἐνανθρώπησαντα Θεὸν λόγον ἐτόλμησαν. **71.** ἐπὶ
Ζεφυρίνου τοῦ μετὰ Βίκτωρα Νατάλιος τις ὁμολογητῆς, ἀναπεισθεὶς ὑπὸ
Ἀσκληπιοδότου καὶ ἐτέρου Θεοδότου τραπεζίτου, μαθητῶν τοῦ σκυτέως, ψιλὸν
ἄνθρωπον εἰπεῖν τὸν Κύριον ὑπὸ ἀγίων δυνάμεων πληγὰς ἐν νυκτὶ ἔλαβε φοβερὰς
καὶ πᾶσιν ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος ἐπιδείκνυν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, τῆς ἐκείνων πλάνης
διελέγχων τὴν ἄνοιαν.
- 10 **Ἐκ τοῦ ἔκτου βιβλίου.**
72. Σευήρος διωγμὸν κατὰ Χριστιανῶν ἐκίνησεν καὶ πολλοὶ τῷ τοῦ μαρτυρίου
κατεκοσμήθησαν στεφάνῳ, μάλιστα ἐν Αλεξανδρείᾳ, ἐν οἷς καὶ Λεωνίδης καὶ
Ποταμίαινα καὶ οἱ παρὰ τοῦ Ὁριγένους κατηχηθέντες. **73.** πάντῃν διεδέξατο
Κλήμης ὁ Στρωματεὺς, καὶ τοῦ Κλήμεντος φοιτητῆς Ὁριγένης ἐγένετο. τοὺς δέ γε
15 λόγους τοὺς *Στρωματεῖς* Κλήμης ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις Σευήρου τοῦ βασιλέως μετὰ
Κόμοδον ἔγραψεν. **74.** Ἰούδας τις συγγραφεὺς εἰς τὰς παρὰ τῷ Δανιὴλ ἑβδομάδας
ἔγραψεν, ὃς καὶ τὸν ἀντίχριστον πλησιάζειν τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς ἐκείνοις γέγραπεν.
75. Νάρκισσος καὶ Αλέξανδρος ἅμα τῆς ἐκκλησίας Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπίσκοποι
ἐ χρημάτιζον. Νάρκισσος δὲ ἦν ὃς ἐν τῷ Πάσχα, ἐλαίου μὴ ὄντος, τὴν λυχνοκαΐαν
20 τῆς ἐκκλησίας δι' ὕδατος σκευασθεῖσαν εὐξάμενος ἔλαιον ἐπετέλεσεν. κατὰ τοῦτου
διαβολῆς παρὰ τινων ψευδοκατηγόρων γενομένης, τρεῖς προσήχθησαν μάρτυρες
ὧν ὁ μὲν ἐκ πυρὸς κατακαυθῆναι, ὁ δὲ τὸ σῶμα πᾶν κατασαπῆναι, ὁ δὲ τρίτος τὰς
ὄψεις ἀποτυφλωθῆναι ἰσχυρῶς ἐξώμνυντο, εἰ τοῦ Ναρκίσσου καταψεύδοιντο.
αὐτὸς δέ, μηδὲν πρὸς τὰς διαβολὰς ἀντιπαταξάμενος, διαδράς εἰς ἔρημον ὤχητο.
25 οἱ δὲ καταμαρτυρήσαντες αὐτοῦ ποινὴν ἕκαστος τὴν ὀρισθεῖσαν καθ' ἑαυτῶν
ἀποδεδώκασι. τοῦ στερηθέντος τὰς ὄψεις πᾶσαν σκαιωρίαν δηλοποιήσαντος,
ἀφανοῦς δὲ γεγονότος τοῦ Ναρκίσσου, Δίος ἀντ' αὐτοῦ χειροτονεῖται. αὐτοῦ δ' οὖν
μετ' οὐ πολὺν τελευτήσαντος, Γερμανίων τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἀναδέχεται καὶ τοῦτον
30 πάλιν διαδέχεται Γόρδιος· ἐφ' οὗ πάλιν ὁ Νάρκισσος ἀναφανεὶς ἀναγκάζεται παρὰ
τῶν ἀδελφῶν τὴν προστασίαν ἀναδέξασθαι. παραιτούμενον δ' αὐτὸν καὶ γῆρας
βαθὺ προβαλλόμενον ἀποκάλυψις θεία προετρέψατο προσλαβέσθαι καὶ
Αλέξανδρον, ἐξ ἐτέρας παροικίας ὄντα, καὶ εὐχῆς χάριν τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα
καταλαβόντα καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἰθύνειν καὶ διακυβερεῖν.

70.1 Θεόδοτος – 4 ἐτόλμησαν: HE 5, XXVIII.6, XXVIII.1–2 **71.4** ἐπὶ – 9 ἄνοιαν:
HE 5, XXVIII.8–9, XXVIII.12 **72.11** Σευήρος – 13 κατηχηθέντες: HE 6, I.1 ,
V.1 **73.13** πάντῃν – 16 ἔγραψεν: HE 6, VI.1 **74.16** Ἰούδας – 17 γέγραπεν:
HE 6, VII.1 **75.18** Νάρκισσος – 27 Ναρκίσσου: HE 6, IX 3–7 **75.27** Δίος – 33
διακυβερεῖν: HE 6, X.1, XI.1.2

Codd. OVB **1–13** Θεόδοτος...κατηχηθέντες: om. V **1** ante Θεόδοτος: ὅτι add. O |
σκυτεὺς B: σκύθης O | τῆς πλάνης O: om. B **2** αἰρέσεως suppl. **4** λόγον: om. B
| ante ἐπὶ: ὅτι add. O **6** Ἀσκληπιοδότου O: Ἀσκληπιοδότου B **8** ἐπιδείκνυν B:
ἐπεδείκνυν O **10** ἔκτου B: ζ' O **11** ante Σευήρος: ὅτι add. O | διωγμὸν B: διωγμὸν O
13 Ποταμίαινα O: Ποταμία B: Ποταμίαινα corr. | ante πάντῃν: ὅτι add. O **14** γε OB:
om. V **15** Κλήμης O: ὁ Κλήμης V: om. B **16–17** Ἰούδας...γέγραπεν: om. B **16** ante
Ἰούδας: ὅτι add. O **17** ὃς O: ὡς V **18** ante Νάρκισσος: ὅτι add. O **18–19** ἐπίσκοποι
ἐχρημάτιζον B: ἐπίσκοπος ἐχρημάτισεν V: ἐπισκόποις χρηματίζων O **19** ὃς B: ὁ V: ὡς
O **20** σκευασθεῖσαν B: om. OV | ἔλαιον B: om. OV | ἐπετέλεσεν O: ἀπετέλεσεν B:
διετέλεσε V **20–33** κατὰ...διακυβερεῖν: om. OB **24** μὴ δὲν V: μὴδὲν corr.

- 1 76. Σαραπίων ὁ Ἀντιοχείας ἐπίσκοπος θαύματα καὶ διάφορα σπουδάσματα
καταλέλοιπεν, φέρεται δὲ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ρώσσῳ περὶ τοῦ κατὰ Πέτρον
εὐαγγέλιον, δι' ὃν τὴν περὶ τὸ αὐτοῦ βιβλίον πλάνην διορθώσατο. 77. Κλήμης οὗτος
5 ἔν τῳ πρώτῳ *Στρωματεῖ* Τατιανοῦ μνήμην ποιεῖται τοῦ κατ' Ἑλλήνων γράψαντος·
ἀλλὰ καὶ Κασσιανὸς τινὸς ἐξηγήσεως γράψαντος· καὶ τοῦ μὲν Τατιανοῦ μνημονεύει
καὶ ὁ Εὐσέβιος Κασσιανὸν δὲ οὐδαμῶς. 78. Κλήμεντι τῷ Ἀλεξανδρείας δοκεῖ ὅτι
Παύλου τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιστολὴν γνήσιαν οὖσαν αὐτοῦ, Λουκᾶς <δὲ>
Ἑβραϊστὶ γραφεῖσαν ἡρμήνευσεν· ἕτεροι δὲ Κλήμεντι τῷ Ῥωμαίῳ τὴν ἐρμηνείαν
10 προσάγουσι. 79. Σύμμαχος ὁ εἷς τῶν ἐρμηνευτῶν Ἑβριωνάιος ἦν τὴν αἵρεσιν· κατὰ
δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐγνωρίζετο καὶ διάφορα ἔγραψε σπουδάσματα, ἐν δὲ ὑπὲρ
Ἑβριωνάϊων κατὰ τοῦ κατὰ Ματθαῖον Εὐαγγελίου. ἅπαντα δὲ τὰ τοῦ Συμμάχου
ἔλαβεν Ὡριγένης παρὰ Ἰουλιανῆς τινος διαδόχου Συμμάχου. 80. Πορφύριος ἐν τῷ
τρίτῳ κατὰ Χριστιανῶν λόγῳ διαβάλλει Ὡριγένην ὡς Ἀμμωνίου τοῦ φιλοσόφου
μαθητὴν γενόμενον καὶ ὑπ' ἐκείνου μὲν τὰ Ἑλλήνων παιδευθέντα Χριστιανὸν
15 γενέσθαι ἐξ Ἑλλήνος, Ἀμμωνίον δὲ ἐπαινεῖ ὡς ἐκ Χριστιανισμοῦ εἰς Ἑλληνισμὸν
τρεπόμενον. ἀμφοτέρα δὲ ψεύδεται. 81. Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπίσκοπος
βιβλιοθήκην κατεσκεύασεν πολλῶν συναγωγῇ βιβλίων ποιησάμενος, ἐξ ἧς ὁ
Εὐσέβιος τῆς *Εκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας* τὰς ὕλας λαβεῖν οὐκ ἠρνήσατο· ἐν οἷς
ὀνομαστὶ τῶν Βηρύλλου τοῦ Βόστρων ἐπισκόπου σπουδασμάτων ἐμνήσθη, καὶ τῶν
20 Ἰππολύτου, καὶ Γαῖου τὰ κατὰ Ζεφυρίνον Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπον Πρὸς Πρόκλον κατὰ
Μοντανοῦ. 82. Μαμαΐα ἡ μήτηρ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων Χριστιανὴ
θεοσεβέστατα ἐτύχχανεν καὶ τὸν Ὡριγένην ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ διατρέψουσα μετεπέμψατο
καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀνήγαγε τοῦ διδασκῆναι χάριν τὸ κατὰ Χριστὸν μυστήριον. 83.
Ἰππόλυτος ἐπίσκοπος ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ χρόνῳ συνέταξε τὰ περὶ τοῦ Πάσχα· ἔγραψε δὲ
25 καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἑξαήμερον καὶ εἰς τὰ μετὰ τὴν Ἑξαήμερον καὶ πρὸς Μαρκίωνα καὶ
εἰς τὸ Ἄισμα καὶ Κατὰ πασῶν τῶν αἵρέσεων καὶ εἰς μέρος οὐκ ἱεζεκιήλ καὶ ἕτερα.
ποίας δὲ πόλεως ἦν ἐπίσκοπος οὐ λέγει Εὐσέβιος. {διαδεχόμενος ἦχθη πρὸς τὸν
οἶκον τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου}. 84. Διονύσιος ὁ ὕστερον γενόμενος Ἀλεξανδρείας
ἐπίσκοπος τῶν Ὡριγένους μαθητῶν ὑπῆρχεν, καὶ Θεόδωρος καὶ Γρηγόριος καὶ ὁ
30 τοῦτου ἀδελφὸς Ἀθηνόδορος καὶ Φηρμιλιανὸς ὁ γενόμενος πρῶτος Καισαρείας
<τῆς> Καπαδοκίας ἐπίσκοπος.

76.1 Σαραπίων – 3 διορθώσατο: HE 6, XII.1–2 77.3 Κλήμης – 6 οὐδαμῶς: HE 6, XIII.5–7
78.6 Κλήμεντι – 9 προσάγουσι: HE 6, XIV.2–3 79.9 Σύμμαχος – 12 Συμμάχου: HE
6, XVII.1 80.12 Πορφύριος – 16 ψεύδεται: HE 6, XIX.2–3, XIX.6–7, XIX.9 81.16
Ἀλέξανδρος – 21 Μοντανοῦ: HE 6, XX.1–2 82.21 Μαμαΐα – 23 μυστήριον: HE, 6
XXI.3–4 83.24 Ἰππόλυτος – 28 Ἀλεξάνδρου: HE 6, XXII.1 84.28 Διονύσιος – 31
ἐπίσκοπος: HE 6, XXVII.1

Codd. OVB P 1–9 Σαραπίων...προσάγουσι: om. B 1–16 Σαραπίων...ψεύδεται: om. P 1 ante
Σαραπίων: ὅτι add. O 3–6 Κλήμης...οὐδαμῶς: om. V 3 ante Κλήμης: ὅτι add. O 6 ante
Κλήμεντι: ὅτι add. O 7 δὲ suppl. HE 6, XIV.2 n. 8 ἡρμήνευσεν V: ἐρμήνευσεν O 9
προσάγουσι V: προσάγουσαν O | ante Σύμμαχος: ὅτι add. O 9–11 κατὰ...Εὐαγγελίου:
om. V 11 τοῦ V: om. OB 12 Ἰουλιανῆς OV: Ἰουλιανῶ B | διαδόχου OB: συνδιαδόχου V
| Συμμάχου VB: Ἀμμάρχου O | ante Πορφύριος: ὅτι add. O 12–16 Πορφύριος...ψεύδεται:
om. V 15 ἐπαινεῖ B: om. O 16 ante Ἀλέξανδρος: ὅτι add. O 17 συναγωγῇ βιβλίων OVP:
βιβλίων συναγωγῇ B 18 τὰς OVP: om. B 19 τοῦ OPB: τὸν V 20 Ἰπποκράτους VBP:
Ἰπποκράτους O: Ἰππολύτου corr. HE 6, XX.2 n. 8 | τὰ PV: τοῦ OB | Ζεφυρίνον OB:
Ζεφυρνον PV | ἐπίσκοπον OPV: ἐπισκόπου B 21–28 Μαμαΐα...Ἀλεξάνδρου: om. P 21 ante
Μαμαΐα: ὅτι add. O | Μαμαΐα ἡ OB: om. V 22 Ὡριγένην OB: Ὡριγένους V 23 ἀνήγαγε V:
ἀπήγαγε OB | 23 μυστήριον: ὅτι πρῶτος Χριστιανῶν βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος add. O^{ms} 24–28
Ἰππόλυτος...Ἀλεξάνδρου: om. V 24 ante Ἰππόλυτος: ὅτι add. O 27–28 διαδεχόμενος...
Ἀλεξάνδρου B del. 28–31 Διονύσιος...ἐπίσκοπος: om. B 28 ante Διονύσιος: ὅτι add. O
29–30 καὶ Γρηγόριος...Ἀθηνόδορος: om. V 31 τῆς suppl. | ἐπίσκοπος: [Δ]ιονύσιος ὁ Ἀ[λε]
ξανδρείας [ἐν] πολλοῖς λό[γ]οις τ[ὴν] θ[εο]κοσ[μ]ίαν ἐγκα[λ]ωπιῖται add. O^{ms}

- 1 **85.** Μαξιμῖνος ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Μαμαίας <διαδεξάμενος>, καὶ διακείμενος ἐχθίστως πρὸς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ, πολλοὺς Χριστιανοὺς ἔχοντα, διωγμὸν ἤγειρε κατὰ Χριστιανῶν. **86.** Ἀφρικανὸς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐγνωρίζετο, οὐ φέρεται διάφορα σπουδάσματα καὶ μάλιστα οἱ πέντε λόγοι οἱ χρονικοί, καὶ ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς
- 5 Ἀριστείδην Περί τῆς νομισθείσης διαφωνίας παρὰ τοῖς Εὐαγγελισταῖς ἐν τῇ γενεαλογίᾳ. **87.** Φίλιππος ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς Χριστιανὸς ὑπῆρχε διάπυρος ὃς καί, πεισθεὶς Φαβίῳ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ Ῥώμης, ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ ἔστι ἐν τῇ παννυχίδι τοῦ Πάσχα. **88.** κατὰ τὴν Ἀραβίαν αἵρεσις ἐφύη λέγουσα συμφθεῖρσθαι τὴν λογικὴν ψυχὴν τῷ σώματι καὶ πάλιν κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἀναστάσεως
- 10 ἀναβιώσκειν ἅμα τῷ σώματι. καὶ ἐτέρα δὲ αἵρεσις ἡ τῶν ἑλκεσαϊτῶν ἀνεφύη κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν χρόνον, ἥτις πρὸς ἄλλοις κακοῖς ἀδιάφορον τὸ ἀρνεῖσθαι ἐδίδασκεν. μὴ δὲ γὰρ εἶναι ἄξιον μομφῆς τὸ ἀρνεῖσθαι διὰ τοῦ στόματος, τὴν ὁμολογίαν ἔλεγεν· κατὰ ἀμφοτέρων δὲ Ὁριγένης ἠγώνισται. **89.** μετὰ Φίλιππον ἐβασίλευσεν Δέκιος, ὃς μισητῷ πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον τὸν κατὰ Χριστιανῶν διωγμὸν ἀνερρίπισεν, ἐφ' οὗ
- 15 πολλοὶ τῷ μαρτυρίῳ κατεκοσμήθησαν, ὧν ἦσαν Φαβίος ὁ Ῥώμης καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἱεροσολύμων. **90.** Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρείας πολυμερῶς ἐξηγήσατο περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Δεκίου συμβεβηκότων τοῖς μάρτυσιν. **91.** Ναυάτος πρεσβύτερος Ῥώμης γενόμενος, ἐξ ὑπερφανίας ἀρθεὶς, τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν προέστη ἀθέου δόγματος ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, ἀποκλείων, ὥς γε δὴ ᾤετο, τοῖς πταίοῦσι τὴν μετάνοιαν καὶ μὴ δεχόμενος τούτων.
- 20 Κορνήλιος δέ, ὁ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπος, γράφει κατὰ Ναυάτον Φαβίῳ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ Ἀντιοχείας· τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ Φαβίῳ καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπος γράφει κατὰ Ναυάτον, καὶ αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ Ναυάτῳ ἐπιστολὴν γέγραφεν καὶ ἐτέρας πλείστας ἐπιστολάς περὶ μετανοίας καὶ μαρτυρίου, ὧν καὶ τὸν κατάλογον παρέθετο Εὐσέβιος τὰ κατὰ Ναυάτον γράφων. λέγει δὲ Κορνήλιος ὅτι οὐδὲ ἐβαπτίσθη καθὼς ἔθος
- 25 Χριστιανοῖς, ἀλλὰ νοσῶν ὑπὸ δαίμονος, ἐν κλίνῃ κείμενος περιεχύθη ὕδωρ καὶ οὐδὲ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπέπραχεν τι ὧν πράττουσιν οἱ πιστοί, καὶ ὅτι ἐαυτῷ ἐπισκόπῳ χειροτονίαν ἐπέθηκε καὶ τοὺς ἐξ ἀπλότητος μεταλαμβάνοντας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τῶν θείων μυστηρίων ὁμνύειν ἠνάγκαζεν ὅτι οὐ κοινωνοῦσι Κορνηλίῳ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ Ῥώμης. **92.** Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρείας γράφει Φαβίῳ τῷ Ἀντιοχείας περὶ μετανοίας, ἐν οἷς
- 30 τὰ κατὰ Σαραπίονα τὸν ἐπιθύσαντα καὶ τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ καὶ πῶς τῶν μυστηρίων μετέλαβε, τὰ ἔσχατα πνέων, διηγῆσατο.

85.1 Μαξιμῖνος – 3 Χριστιανῶν: HE 6, XXVIII.1 **86.3** Ἀφρικανὸς – 6 γενεαλογία: HE 6, XXXI.1-3 **87.6** Φίλιππος – 8 Πάσχα: HE 6, XXXIV.1 **88.8** κατὰ – 13 ἠγώνισται: HE 6, XXXVII.1, XXXVIII.1 **89.13** μετὰ – 16 Ἱεροσολύμων: HE 6, XXXIX.1-2 **90.16** Διονύσιος – 17 μάρτυσιν: HE 6, XXXIX.2 **91.17** Ναυάτος – 28 Ῥώμης: HE 6, XLIII.1-4, XLIII.14-15, XLIV.1 **92.29** Διονύσιος – 31 διηγῆσατο: HE 6, XLIV.1-2

Codd. OVB **1-3** Μαξιμῖνος...Χριστιανῶν: om. V **1** ante Μαξιμῖνος: ὅτι add. O | Μαξιμῖνος B: Μαξιμιανὸς O | Μαμαίας O: Μαμαία B | διαδεξάμενος suppl. **3-6** Ἀφρικανὸς...γενεαλογία: om. B **3** ante Ἀφρικανὸς: ὅτι add. O | ἐγνωρίζετο O: ἐγνωρίζεται V **5** παρὰ O: om V **6-17** Φίλιππος...μάρτυσιν: om. V **6** ante Φίλιππος: ὅτι add. O **7** Φαβίῳ O: Φλαβίῳ B **8-13** κατὰ...ἠγώνισται: om. VB **8** ante κατὰ: ὅτι add. O **10** ἑλκεσετῶν O: ἑλκεσαϊτῶν corr. **13** ante μετὰ: ὅτι add. O **16-17** Διονύσιος...μάρτυσιν: om. VB **17** ante Ναυάτος: ὅτι add. O **18** ἀθέου B: om. OV **19** ἀποκλείων ὥς γε δὴ ᾤετο OV: ἐν τῷ ἀποκλείειν B | καὶ μὴ δεχόμενος τούτων V: om. OB **20** Κορνήλιος δέ, ὁ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπος, γράφει κατὰ Ναυάτον OB: τὰ κατὰ Ναυάτον γράφων Κορνήλιος ἐπίσκοπος Ῥώμης V **20-24** Φαβίῳ...γράφων OB: om. V **22** δὲ τῷ Ναυάτῳ O: om. B | γέγραφεν O: om. B **24** δὲ Κορνήλιος B: Κορνήλιος O: om. V | ὅτι VB: om. O **26** ἐπισκόπῳ V: ἐπισκόπου OB **27** ἐξ ἀπλότητος B: ἐξαπλότητος OV **29-31** Διονύσιος...διηγῆσατο OB: om. V **29** ante Διονύσιος: ὅτι add. O **30** ἐπιθύσαντα O: ἐπιδύσαντα B

1 Ἐκ τοῦ ἑβδόμου βιβλίου.

93. Δεκίου σφαγέντος σὺν τέκνοις, Γάλλος ἐβασίλευσεν. ἐν τούτοις δὲ Ὠριγένης, ξθ' γενόμενος ἐτῶν, ἐτελεύτησεν. 94. Κυπριανοῦ τοῦ μάρτυρος ἐπισκοποῦντος ἐν Ἀφρικῇ ζήτησιν γέγονεν, εἰ τοὺς ἐξ αἰρέσεως προσερχομένους δέον ἀναβαπτίζεσθαι· καὶ Κυπριανῷ μὲν ἐδόκει τοὺς ἐκ πάσης αἰρέσεως προσερχομένους ἀναβαπτίζειν· Στέφανος δέ, ὁ Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀλέξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπος τάναντία ἐσπουδάζον τῇ ἀρχαιοτάτῃ μᾶλλον στοιχεῖν ἐνιστάμενοι. 95. Σαβέλλιος ὁ Λίβυς ἐκ τῆς ἐν Λιβύῃ Πενταπόλεως τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ προέστη Ἰουδαϊκοῦ δόγματος, καθ' οὗ πολλοὶ μὲν καλῶς ἀντεδογματίσαν ἀλλὰ καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀλέξανδρείας καλῶς ἀντηγωνίσαστο. 96. Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀλέξανδρείας ἐν τρίτῳ τῷ περὶ τῶν βαπτισμάτων λέγει ὅτι πᾶσιν ἐντυγχάνων τοῖς λόγοις τῶν αἰρετικῶν, ὑπὸ τινος πρεσβύτου τοῦτο μὴ ποιεῖν συνεβουλεύθη καὶ ὅτι ὄραμα εἶδε θεόπομπον. δι' οὗ διαρρήδην ἤκουε: “πᾶσιν ἐντύγχανε Διονύσιε”. 97. ἐν τῷ κατὰ Οὐαλεριανὸν διωγμῷ ἐν Καισαρείᾳ τῆς Παλαιστίνης γυνὴ τις ἐμαρτύρησεν τῆς Μαρκίωνος οὔσα αἰρέσεως, καθὰ καὶ Μητροδόωρος σὺν Παλυκάρῳ τῷ μάρτυρι περὶ ὧν ζητήσῃ εἰ δεῖ τοῦτο λογιέσθαι μάρτυρας. ἐμαρτύρησεν δὲ ἐν Καισαρείᾳ Μαρῖνος τις τῶν ἐν ἀξιώμασι πιστὸς Θεοτέκνου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τῆς πόλεως τοῦτον παρασκευάσαντος. 98. ἡ αἰμμόρους γυνή, ἣν ὁ Κύριος ἐκ τῆς αἰμορροΐας ἰάσατο, στήλην ἐποίησεν εἰς τὸ τοῦ Κυρίου ἐκτύπωμα ἣν ἐν Παναϊάδι τῆς Φοινίκης, ἐξ ἧς καὶ ὠρμάτο, πρὸ τοῦ ἰδίου οἴκου ἀνέστησε. βοτάναι δὲ ἐκ τοῦ βωμοῦ ἐν ᾧ ἡ στήλη φυόμεναι προΐασι, καὶ πάσης νόσου ὑπάρχουσιν ἐπιτήδειοι. ἴστε δὲ ὅτι ἡ αὕτη εἶναι Παναϊὰς καὶ ἡ Φιλίππου Καισαρεία. ἣν τινα στήλην κατέβαλεν ὁ Παραβάτης. 99. Νέπως ἐπίσκοπος τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον πόλεως μιᾶς Ἰουδαϊκῶς ἀναγνοῦς τὰς γραφὰς τὰς ἐπαγγελίας τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ γῆς ἐδογματίσεν, καὶ χυλιὰς ἐτῶν τρυφῆς ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς γῆς προσδοκᾶν, καθ' οὗ Διονύσιος τὰ περὶ ἐπαγγελιῶν ἔγραψεν, ἐν οἷς κατὰ λέγει τῶν μὴ λεγόντων ἀγίου τινὸς εἶναι τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν, ἀλλὰ τολμώντων αὐτὴν λέγειν Κηρίνου εἰς ὄνομα αὐτὴν ἐπιγράψαντος Ἰωάννου διὰ τὸ ἀξιοπίστον. 100. ὁ μέντοι Διονύσιος ὡς ἀγίαν μὲν τὴν Ἀποκάλυψιν τιμᾷ καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ὑπερβαίνειν δύναμιν κατατίθεται· οὐ πάντῃ δὲ πειθεται αὐτὴν Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου, ἀλλ' ἑτέρου τινὸς οἵεται ὁμωνύμου εἶναι τῷ Θεολόγῳ. τὰς δὲ αἰτίας δι' ἃς οὐ πειθεται, αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς <Περὶ ἐπαγγελιῶν> κατὰ <τοῦ> Νέπως <ἀρχὴν> διέρχεται.

93.2 Δεκίου – 3 ἐτελεύτησεν: HE 7, I.1 94.3 Κυπριανῷ – 8 ἐνιστάμενοι: HE 7, II.1, III.1 95.8 Σαβέλλιος – 10 ἀντηγωνίσαστο: HE 7, VI.1 96.11 Διονύσιος – 14 Διονύσιε: HE 7, VII.1–3 97.14 ἐν τῷ – 18 παρασκευάσαντος: HE 7, XII.1, XV.1 98.18 ἡ– 22 ἐπιτήδειοι: HE 7, XVII.1, XVIII.1–2 98.23 ἣν – 23 Παραβάτης: Philost.7.3.22; HE 7, XVII.1; HE 7, XVIII.1–3 99.23 Νέπως – 28 ἀξιοπίστον: HE 7, XXIV.1–2 100.28 ὁ μέντοι – 32 διέρχεται: HE 7, XXV.1

Codd. OVBP 1–18 Ἐκ ... παρασκευάσαντος: om. P 1 Ἐκ τοῦ ἑβδόμου βιβλίου B: Ἐκ τοῦ ζ' βιβλίου O: om. VP 2 ante Δεκίου: ὅτι add. O | Γάλλος ἐβασίλευσεν OV: ἐβασίλευσεν Γάλλος B | δὲ B: om. V 3 ξθ' VB: ἐξήκοντα ἐννέα O 3–10 Κυπριανῷ... ἀντηγωνίσαστο: om. V 2 ante Κυπριανῷ: ὅτι add. O 4 αἰρέσεως B: αἰρέσεων O 6 ἀναβαπτίζειν: [τ]ῶν τοῦς [α]ἰρέσεως [ἀ]ναβαπτίζει(ν) add. O^{ms} 8 ante Σαβέλλιος: ὅτι add. O 9–10 καλῶς ἀντεδογματίσαν ἀλλὰ B: om. O 10 ἀντηγωνίσαστο B: ἡγωνίσαστο O 11–32 Διονύσιος... διέρχεται: om. B 11 ante Διονύσιος: ὅτι add. O | τῷ V: τῶν O 13 ἤκουε V: ἤκουσεν O 14–18 ἐν τῷ... παρασκευάσαντος O: om. VB 14 ante ἐν: ὅτι add. O | Οὐαλερίων: Οὐαλεριανὸν corr. 15 ἐμαρτύρησεν O: ἐμαρτύρησεν corr. 18 ante ἦ: ὅτι add. O 20 καὶ P: om. V 21 φυόμεναι P: φυομένη V: φυομένη O | προΐασι VP: προσΐασιν O | καὶ VP: om. O 22–23 ἴστε... Καισαρεία O: om. VP 23 ἣν... παραβάτης V: om. OP 23–28 Νέπως... ἀξιοπίστον: om. VP 23 ante Νέπως: ὅτι add. O 28–32 ὁ μέντοι... διέρχεται: om. V 28 ante ὁ: ὅτι add. O 31 ὁμωνύμου εἶναι P: εἶναι ὁμωνύμου O | δι' ἃς P: om. O 32 Περὶ ἐπαγγελιῶν suppl. HE 7, XXIV.3 nisis | τοῦ suppl. | ἀρχὴν suppl.

- 1 **101.** ὁ Διονύσιος ἐν τῶν <Περὶ> ἐπαγγελιῶν τοῦ μὲν κατὰ Ἰωάννου εὐαγγελίου
κατὰ τῶν καθολικῶν αὐτῶν τῆς φράσεως λέγει ἀκριβεστάτης, τῆς δὲ ἀποκαλύψεως,
ιδιωτισμὸν καὶ βαρβαρισμὸν καὶ σολοικισμὸν καταλέγει. **102.** Ὅτι Διονυσίου
ἐπισκοποῦντος τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν μετὰ Ξύστον ἐν Ῥώμῃ γέγονεν Διονύσιος, πρὸς
5 ὃν καὶ κατὰ Σαβελλίου ἔγραψεν περὶ ἐλέγχου καὶ ἀπολογίας λεγόμενα, καὶ τὰ πρὸς
Ἀμμωνα καὶ Τελεσφόρον καὶ Εὐφράνορα καὶ ἕτερα πλείστα περὶ διαφορῶν
συγγράματα· καὶ πρὸς τὸν Σαμοσατέα Παῦλον καὶ λόγον πρὸς τὸν ἐξ ἔθνων
κεκλημένον ναόν, ἐν οἷς καὶ τῇ θεοτόκῳ φωνῇ πλεονακίς ἐχρήσατο. **103.** Παῦλος
ὁ Σαμοσατεὺς μετὰ Δημητρίανδον κατέστη Ἀντιοχείας ἐπίσκοπος καὶ τὴν Θεοδότου
10 καὶ Ἀρτέμωνος ἐκράτουνεν αἵρεσιν. τῆς δὲ κατ' αὐτοῦ ἀθροισθείσης συνόδου
Μαλχίων ὁ σοφιστὴς καὶ πρεσβύτερος διήλεγξε τὴν τοῦ Σαμοσατέως ἀσέβειαν, καὶ
οὕτως ἡ καθάιρεσις αὐτοῦ γέγονε. οἱ μάλιστα δὲ τῆς συνόδου ταύτης ἐξάρχοντες·
Θεόδωρος καὶ Γρηγόριος ἦν ὁ θαυματουργὸς καὶ ὁ τούτου ἀδελφὸς Ἀθηνόδωρος
καὶ Φιρμιλιανὸς ὁ Καισαρείας Καππαδοκίας καὶ Ἑλενος ὁ Ταρσοῦ καὶ Νικομᾶς
15 Ἰκονίου καὶ Ἱεροσολύμων Ὑμέναιος καὶ τῆς ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ Καισαρείας Θεότεκνος
καὶ Μάξιμος Βόστρων καὶ Ανατόλιος ὁ Λαοδικεῖας, ἐπίσκοπος μέγας καὶ λόγιος,
οὗ καὶ οἱ κανόνες τοῦ Πάσχα εἰσίν. Διονύσιος δέ, ὁ Ἀλέξανδρείας, διὰ τὸ
υπέργηρος εἶναι παραγενέσθαι οὐκ ἴσχυεν· δι' ἐπιστολῆς δὲ αὐτοῦ κατέβαλε τὸν
πολέμιον. **104.** Μάνης ὁ κατάρτος ἐν τούτοις τοῖς χρόνοις ἤκμαζε Χριστὸν ἑαυτὸν
20 μορφαζόμενος καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον εἶναι ὑποκρινόμενος. διὸ καὶ δώδεκα μαθητὰς ὡς
ἂν ὁ Χριστὸς ἐπηγάτο καὶ ἐξ ἀπάσης αἵρέσεως εἰ τι κακὸν ἐρανισάμενος ἐκ τῆς
Περσίδος εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην εἰσέφρησεν· ἐξ οὗ τῶν Μανιχαίων ἡ βδελυρὰ ἐβλάστησεν
αἵρεσις. ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ μετὰ Διονύσιον Φίλιξ γέγονε τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπος. **105.**
Ανατόλιον ὁ Καισαρείας Θεότεκνος εἰς διάδοχον ἑαυτῷ ἔχειροτόνησεν. ἐν
25 Ἀντιοχείᾳ δὲ γνόμενος κατὰ τοῦ Σαμοσατέως ἄρτι Εὐσεβίου τελευτήσαντος οἱ
Λαοδικεῖς βεβαίως ἐκράτησαν. **106.** ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ τῆς Συρίας μετὰ Εὐσέβιον
γένονεν Ανατόλιος ἀνὴρ λόγιος, οὗ καὶ εἰς τὸ Πάσχα κανόνες φέρονται ἐξαίρετοι,
ἐξ ὧν καὶ χρήσει παρατίθεται ὁ Εὐσέβιος, ἐπαίνους δὲ λέγει περὶ Ανατολίου ὑπὲρ
ἄνθρωπον. **107.** ἐν Καισαρείᾳ τῆς Παλαιστίνης μετὰ Θεότεκνον γέγονεν Ἀγάπιος,
30 ἐφ' οὗ Πάμφιλος ὁ ἱερὸς πρεσβύτερος τὸν μαρτυρικὸν στέφανον ἀνεδήσατο.

101.1 ὁ – 3 καταλέγει HE 7, XXIV.1–2 **102.3** Ὅτι – 8 ἐχρήσατο HE 7, XVI.1, XVII.1 **103.8** Παῦλος – 19 πολέμιον: HE 7, XXVII.1–2, XXVIII.1, XXIX.2, XXXII.6, XXXII.13 **104.19** Μάνης – 23 ἐπίσκοπος: HE 7, XXX.23, XXXI.1–2 **105.24** Ανατόλιον – 26 ἐκράτησαν HE 7, XXXII.21 **106.26** ἐν – 29 ἄνθρωπον HE 7, XXXII.13 **107.29** ἐν – 30 ἀνεδήσατο HE 7, XXXII.24–25

Codd. OVBP 1–3 ὁ...καταλέγει: O^{ms} 1–8 ὁ...ἐχρήσατο: om. VB 1–16 ὁ...Βόστρων: om. P 1 ante ὁ: ὅτι add. O | Περὶ suppl. 6 Εὐφράνορα O: Εὐφράνορα corr. 7 Σαμοσατέα O: Σαμοσατέα corr. 8–16 Παῦλος...Βόστρων: om. P 8 ante Παῦλος: ὅτι add. O 11 διήλεγξε VB: διέλεγξεν O 12 δὲ V: om. B | ταύτης OB: αὐτῆς V 13 Θεόδωρος καὶ B: Θεόδωρος ὁ καὶ O: om. V | ἦν OB: om. V 14 Φιρμιλιανὸς OV: Φιρμιλιανὸς B | Καππαδοκίας OV: om. B 15 Ἱεροσολύμων Ὑμέναιος V: Ἱεροσολύμων Ὑμέναιος O: Ὑμέναιος Ἱεροσολύμων B 16 Λαοδικεῖας OBP: Λαοδικεῖας V 17 εἰσίν BP: εἰσὶ OV 17–30 Διονύσιος...ἀνεδήσατο: om. P 18 ὑπέργηρος B: ὑπέργηρος OV | κατέβαλε VB: ἐβάλλεν O 19 ante Μάνης: ὅτι add. O | ἤκμαζε V: ἤκμασε B: ἤκμασεν O 20 καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον ὑποκρινόμενος: om. V | εἶναι O: om. B 21 ὁ V: om. OB | τῆς V: om. OB 22 Ῥώμην B: Ῥωμαίων OV | βδελυρὰ OB: βδελυρία V 23 αἵρεσις B: om. OV | Διονύσιον OV: Διονυσίου B | Ῥώμης VB: Ῥωμαίων O 24–30 Ανατόλιον...ἀνεδήσατο: om. VBP 24 ante Ανατόλιον: ὅτι add. O 26 ante ἐν: ὅτι add. O 29 ante ἐν: ὅτι add. O

- 1 **108.** Πιέριος πρεσβύτερος Ἀλεξανδρείας κατὰ τοῦτον ἤκμαζε τὸν χρόνον, ἐν δὲ
 Πόντῳ Μελέτιος ἐπίσκοπος· ἄνδρες εἰς παιδείαν θαυμαστοί. ὁ δὲ Πιέριος ἐν τῷ
 5 πρώτῳ λόγῳ τῷ εἰς τὸ Πάσχα ἐνίσταται ὅτι Παῦλος ὁ ἀπόστολος γυναικα εἶχε καὶ
 ἀποταξάμενος. ἐνέτυχον δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐτέροις σπουδάσασσι πλείοσιν ἀναγκαίοις καὶ
 μάλιστα τὸ περὶ τῆς θεοτόκου καὶ εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ Ὡσηέ. Θεόδοτος δὲ τῆς
 ἀποφθεκκοσυνηγόρων Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ γράψας δι' ἐπὼν ἐν τρισκαίδεκάτῳ λόγῳ
 10 φησὶν ὅτι καὶ Πιέριος καὶ Ἰσίδωρος ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ἐμαρτύρησαν καὶ ναὸν ἔχουσιν
 ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ μέγιστον. ἐν δὲ τῷ λόγῳ τῷ εἰς τὸν βίον τοῦ ἁγίου Παμφίλου ὁ
 Εὐσέβιος θαυμαστά λέγων καὶ πολλὰ περὶ Πιερίου φησὶν ὅτι καὶ τὸν ἅγιον
 Πάμφιλον αὐτὸς ὁ Πιέριος πλείστα ὠφέλησεν ἐν τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ. **109.** Διονυσίου τοῦ
 Ἀλεξανδρείας τελευτήσαντος γέγονεν Μαξιμῖνος καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Θεωνάς καὶ μετὰ
 15 Θεονᾶν Πέτρος, ὃς τρισὶν ἔτεσιν ἐν εἰρήνῃ τῆς ἐκκλησίας προσέστη· ἐννέα δὲ ἐτη
 διωγμοῦ ὑπάρχοντος τῷ δωδεκάτῳ ἔτει τῆς ἑαυτοῦ προστασίας τὴν κεφαλὴν
 ἀποτέμενεται.

Ἐκ τοῦ ὀγδόου βιβλίου.

- 110.** Ἀνθιμος ὁ Νικομηδείας ἐπίσκοπος μαρτυρίᾳ τελειοῦται σὺν πολλῷ πλήθει
 Χριστιανῶν. ἐμπρησμοῦ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις γεγεννημένου, ὑπολαβὼν ὁ
 Διοκλητιανὸς Χριστιανούς τοῦτο πεπραχέναι, διὰ τὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατ' αὐτῶν
 20 διωγμὸν σωρηδὸν κατ' ἀγέλας τὰς Χριστιανῶν μυριάδας ἀνείλεν. **111.**
 Διοκλητιανὸς φρικωδέστατον κατὰ Χριστιανῶν ἡγεῖρε διωγμὸν καὶ πολλὰς
 μυριάδας Χριστιανῶν κατὰ πάντα τόπον ἀνείλεν· παντοίας κατὰ τῶν μαρτύρων
 ἐπινοήσας βασάνους ἐν οἷς καὶ μεθ' ὧν ἐμαρτύρησεν Ἀδακτος μάλιστα, ἐφ' οὗ
 25 γέγονε κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν τὸ τῆς γυναικὸς, τῆς βίῃ καὶ γένει καὶ κάλλει σώματος
 περιβοήτου, ἣτις σὺν δυσὶ θυγατράσι παρθένους κάλλει καὶ συνέσει διαβοήτοις,
 μετὰ πολλὰς φυγὰς συσχεθεῖσα, φόβῳ τοῦ μὴ διαφθαρῆναι αὐταῖς τὴν σωφροσύνην,
 ἑαυτὴν σὺν ταῖς θυγατράσιν ἔρριψε κατὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. περὶ ὧν ζητήτων, εἰ
 30 ἀριθμοῦνται εἰς μάρτυρας. **112.** Διοκλητιανὸς μετὰ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ἄπειρον τῶν ὑπὲρ
 Χριστοῦ κατὰ τόπον μαρτυρησάντων, φειδοὶ δὴθεν τῶν ὑπηκόων, θάτερον τῶν
 ὀφθαλμῶν ἐκάστου χριστιανοῦ προσέταξεν ἐξορῦντεσθαι καὶ τῶν σκελῶν τὸ ἐν
 κατεάγεσθαι.

108.1 Πιέριος – 2 θαυμαστοί: HE 7, XXXII.26 **108.2** ὁ δὲ – 3 ἐνίσταται: Pierius fr.7 B 1888 **108.3** ὅτι – 11 γραφῇ: Pierius fr.7 B 1888 **109.11** Διονυσίου – 15 ἀποτέμενεται: HE 7, XXXII.30–31 **110.17** Ἀνθιμος – 20 ἀνείλεν: HE 8, VI.6 **111.21** Διοκλητιανὸς – 28 μάρτυρας: HE 8, III.1. XI.2 XII.3, XII.5 **112.28** Διοκλητιανὸς – 31 κατεάγεσθαι: HE 8, VI.9, XII.10

Codd. OVB **1–15** Πιέριος...ἀποτέμενεται: om. PV **1** ante Πιέριος: ὅτι add. O | Ἀλεξανδρείας O: Ἀντιοχείας B **2** Μελέτιος B: Μελίτιος O **4** ταύτην O: αὐτὴν B **6** καὶ: τῷ add. B | Θεόδοτος O: Θεόδωρος B | τῆς O: τις B **7** ἀποφθεκκοσυνηγόρων O: συνηγορῶν B | Ἀλεξανδρείας O: ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ B | καὶ O: om. B **11–15** Διονυσίου...ἀποτέμενεται: om. B **11** ante Διονυσίου: ὅτι add. O **12** Θεωνάς: Θεωνᾶς corr. **16** Ἐκ τοῦ ὀγδόου βιβλίου B: Ἐκ τοῦ ἡ' βιβλίου O: om. PV **17** ante Ἀνθιμος: ὅτι add. O | Νικομηδείας OBP: Νικομήδου V | πλήθει OBP: πλήθῃ V **18** ἐμπρησμοῦ PV: ἐμπρησμοῦ OB | ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις γεγεννημένου OBP: γενομένου ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις V | ὁ OB: om. PV **19** κατ' αὐτῶν OPV: om. B **21** ante Διοκλητιανὸς: ὅτι add. O **23** ἐμαρτύρησεν OPV: ἐμαρτύρησαν B | μάλιστα: μαρτυρή[σα]ντος μαγίστρου add. O^{ms} **24** κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν OBP: εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν V **26** συσχεθεῖσα VPB: συσχεθεῖσας O **28** μάρτυρας BP: μαρτυρίας V: μα[...] O **28–31** Διοκλητιανὸς...κατεάγεσθαι: om. P **28** ante Διοκλητιανὸς: ὅτι add. O | τὸ' OV: om. B

- 1 **113.** Λουκιανὸς Ἀντιοχείας πρεσβύτερος ἐπὶ Διοκλητιανοῦ ἐν Νικομηδεῖα ἐμαρτύρησεν. ἀνὴρ λόγιος καὶ τῶν θεῶν γραφῶν ἐμπειρότατος. λέγει δὲ ἐν τοῖς *Χρονικοῖς κανόσιν* ὁ Εὐσέβιος ὅτι ἐν Ἐλενουπόλει τῆς Βιθυνίας κεῖται ὁ ἅγιος. **114.** Ἀσκληπιὸς τις ἐπίσκοπος τῆς κατὰ Μαρκίωνα πλάνης, ὃς σὺν Πέτρῳ τῷ θαυμαστῷ
5 ἐν Καισαρείᾳ τῆς Παλαιστίνης πυρὶ παρεδόθη διὰ Χριστόν. ὃν συναριθμητέον Μητροδώρῳ τῷ σὺν Πολυκάρπῳ καὶ τῇ μετὰ ταῦτα γυναικὶ καὶ ἀμφοτέροις Μαρκιωνισταῖς. **115.** Ἄρης, Πρόμος καὶ Ἡλίας, οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι μάρτυρες, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐν Ἀσκάλῳ ἐμαρτύρησαν. **116.** Μαξιμιανὸς Ἐρκούλιος σὺν Διοκλητιανῷ βασιλεὺς τὴν ἐκείνου καθ' ἡμῶν ὑπερέβαλλεν ὁμότητα ὅσα δὲ καὶ οἷα κατὰ τῶν
10 ἁγίων οἴκων καὶ τῶν θεῶν γραφῶν καὶ τῶν τοσούτων μαρτυρικῶν μυριάδων οἱ δύο εἰργάσαντο τύραννοι, ὁ τὴν νῦν δεκάβιβλον τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας ἐπερχόμενος ἴσεται.
Ἐκ τοῦ ἐννάτου βιβλίου.
117. Διοκλητιανὸς παράφρων ἐγένετο καὶ τὸ βασιλικὸν ἀξίωμα ἀποθέμενος ἰδιωτικὸν σχῆμα ἄκων ἀνέλαβεν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς ὁ Ἐρκούλιος, ὃς καὶ
15 ἀγγόνη τὸν βίον μετήλλαξε. Διοκλητιανὸς δὲ μακρᾷ νόσῳ μαραινόμενος ἐδαπανήθη. **118.** Κωνσταντίος ὁ Κωνσταντίνου πατὴρ εὐσεβὴς ἦν καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ὁμοίως ἐπαίδευσεν, καὶ τῷ καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπὶ Διοκλητιανοῦ διωγμῷ οὐδαμῶς ἐκοινώνησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ χριστιανίζειν ἀδεῶς καὶ ἀκολύτως ἐπέτρεπεν καὶ τὸν ἅπαντα βίον εὐδαίμονως ζήσας μακαρίως ἀπέθανεν. ἐπὶ παιδὶ Κωνσταντίνῳ,
20 ὃν καὶ Σεβαστὸν ζῶν ἀναδείξας, τῆς ἰδίας βασιλείας κληρονόμον ἀπέλυεν ζηλωτὴν αὐτὸν τῆς πατρικῆς ὑπάρχειν εὐσεβείας διδάξας. καὶ Λικίνιος δὲ τότε ψήφῳ τοῦ κοινοῦ βασιλεὺς ἀνεδείχθη. γαμβρὸς ἐπ' ἀδελφῇ Κωνσταντίᾳ τοῦνομα τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου γενόμενος, τῆς δὲ εὐσεβείας καὶ τῆς χρηστότητος αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ
25 πατρὸς ξένος καὶ ἔκφυλος. **119.** Μαξιμῖνος γαλλερ ὁ τύραννος φθόνῳ τῆς Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Λικινίου ἀναγορεύσεως Καῖσαρ τὸ πρότερον ὢν βασιλεὺς ἐαυτὸν ἀναδείκνυσι.

113. 1 Λουκιανὸς – 2 ἐμπειρότατος: HE 8, XIII.2, EH 9, VI.3 **113.2** λέγει – 3 ἅγιος: Eusebius' Chronikoi Canones **114.4** Ἀσκληπιός – 7 Μαρκιωνισταῖς: De martyribus Palaestinae (recension brevior), X.3, HE 4, XV.46 **115.7** Ἄρης – 8 ἐμαρτύρησαν De martyribus Palaestinae (recension brevior), X.1 **116.8** Μαξιμιανὸς – 12 ἴσεται: HE 8, XIII.1 **117.14** Διοκλητιανὸς – 15 ἀνέλαβεν: HE 8, XIII.11 **117.15** ὁμοίως – 17 ἐδαπανήθη: fontem non inveni **118.17** Κωνσταντίος – 25 ἔκφυλος: HE 8, XIII.12–15 **119.25** Μαξιμῖνος – 27 ἀναδείκνυσι: HE 8, XIII.15

Codd. OVBP **1–12** Λουκιανὸς...ἴσεται: om P **1–3** Λουκιανὸς...ἅγιος: om. B 1 ante Λουκιανὸς: ὅτι add. O **3** *κανόσιν*: ὁ add. V | κεῖτε V: κεῖται corr. 4 ante Ἀσκληπιός: ὅτι add. O | τις: ἐγένετο add. V | ὃς V: om. B | σὺν OV: om. B **6** τῇ μετὰ ταῦτα γυναικὶ OV: ταῖς γυναιξὶ B **7** ante Ἄρης: ὅτι add. O | Πρόμος: καὶ add. V | οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι μάρτυρες OB: om. V **8** ἐν Ἀσκάλῳ OB: om. V **8–12** Μαξιμιανὸς...ἴσεται: om. VB **8** Μαξιμῖνος O: Μαξιμιανὸς corr. | ante Μαξιμιανὸς: ὅτι add. O **13** Ἐκ τοῦ ἐννάτου βιβλίου B: Ἐκ τοῦ θ' βιβλίου O: om. PV **14** ante Διοκλητιανὸς: ὅτι add. O **15** Μαξιμιανὸς VBP: Μαξιμῖνος O | ὃς καὶ OB: om. PV **16** μαραινόμενος OBP: κατεχόμενος V **17** ante Κωνσταντίος: ὅτι add. O **18** τῷ VBP: τὸ O **19** ἀλλὰ OVP: om. B | αὐτοῦ OPV: αὐτὸν B **20–27** ἐπὶ...ἀναδείκνυσι: om. P **21** ζῶν ἀναδείξας O: ἀναδείξας B: ζῶν ἀνηγόρευσε V | ἀπέλυεν OB: ἀπολύων V **22** καὶ OV: om. B **23** γαμβρὸς OV: om. B | τοῦ OV: om. B **24** τε OV: om. B **25–27** Μαξιμῖνος...ἀναδείκνυσι: om. B **25** ante Μαξιμῖνος: ὅτι add. O

- 1 **120.** Μαξέντιος ὑποκριθεὶς τὴν περὶ ἡμᾶς εὐσέβειαν ὕστερον πάνδεινα εἰργάσατο·
μοιχείας γυναικῶν τῶν ἐν τέλει, φόνους καὶ ἀρπαγὰς καὶ τὰ τούτων χεῖρονα·
γοητειῶν δὲ καὶ μαντειῶν μηδὲν πράττων χωρὶς, καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν Ῥώμῃ Μαξέντιος.
5 Μαξιμῖνος δὲ ἐπ' ἀνατολῆς τὰ μείζονα τούτων εἰργάζετο κακὰ, δύο κακῶν ἀνατολὴν
καὶ δύσιν κρατούντων, δέκα δὲ ἔτη τὸν κατὰ Χριστιανῶν διωγμὸν ἀνερρίψαν.
121. Μαξιμῖνος ὁ Γαλέριος σηπεδόνι καὶ σκολήκων βορὰ τὸ σῶμα τρυχόμενος
προγράμμασι δημοσίοις τὸν κατὰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀνῆκε διωγμὸν. **122.** Γαλέριος
Μαξιμιανὸς ὁ τούτων καὶ καθ' ἡλικίαν κακίαν πρεσβύτερος ἔλκει πληγεῖς ἀνιάτῳ
σηπεδόνι αἰδοίου καὶ διαβρώσει πάλινωδιαν ἦσεν καὶ προθέμασιν ἐγγράφοις τὸν
10 κατὰ χριστιανῶν ἀνῆκεν διωγμὸν, καὶ ὁ ἐπ' ἀνατολῆς δὲ Μαξιμῖνος τὰ ὅμοια περὶ
ἡμῶν ὑποκριθεὶς ἐτύπωσεν· ὕστερον δὲ πάλιν πάνδεινα καθ' ἡμῶν εἰργάσατο
Θεοτέκνω τῷ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ γόητι καθ' ἡμῶν κινούντι πειθόμενος. **123.** Θεότεκνος
οὗτος ὁ γόης Ἀντιοχείας συνάρσει Μαξιμῖνον τὰ ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ δῆθεν παρὰ Πιλάτου
πραχθέντα πλασάμενος ὑπομνήματα πάσης βλασφημίας ἀνάπλα, κατὰ κόμην καὶ
15 πόλιν ἐστάλκε ταῦτα δημοσιεύεσθαι Μαξιμῖνου προστάξαντος καὶ τοῖς
γραμματοδιδασκάλοις ταῦτα τοὺς παῖδας ἐκδιδάσκειν κελεύσαντος ὥς ἂν
ἐκμαθάνοντες ταῦτα διαγελῶσιν οἱ δέιλαιοι τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς μυστήριον. **124.** Πέτρος ὁ
μάρτυς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπος καὶ Λουκιανὸς ὁ λόγιος πρεσβύτερος νῦν
ἐμαρτύρησαν. **125.** Μαξιμῖνου τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς ἐν στήλῃ καθ' ἡμῶν ἀναγράφαντος
20 ὥς Χριστιανῶν πάντων ἀναιρεθέντων, ὥς ᾤετο πάσης εὐθηνίας καὶ εὐκρασίας ἡ
Ῥωμαίων πολιτεία πλησθήσεται. λιμὸς καὶ λοιμὸς καὶ αὐχμὸς καὶ πᾶν ὅτι ἐστὶ κακὸν
εἰπεὶν τὸν ἀνθρώπου μετήλθε, ὧν καὶ ἡ ἀνάγνωσις φοβερά καὶ φρικώδης τοῖς
ἐντυγχάνουσιν. **126.** Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ εὐσεβὴς εἰς τὴν κατὰ τῶν τυράννων διανέστη
κατάλυσιν καὶ Μαξέντιος μὲν ἐν Ῥώμῃ κτίννυται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πολέμου κραταιοῦ
25 γενομένου, ὅτε καὶ τὸ τοῦ στρατοῦ σημεῖον εἰς συμμαχίαν Θεοῦ Κωνσταντῖνου
παρέσχετο. Μαξιμῖνος δὲ μετ' ὀλίγον ἐπ' ἀνατολὴν ὑπὸ Λικιννίου, οὐπω μανέντος,
ἠτήθη φεύγει. Κωνσταντῖνος δὲ εἰσελθὼν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ νόμους ὑπὲρ Χριστιανῶν
ἀνηγόρευσεν. Μαξιμῖνος δὲ χρονία νόσῳ δαπανηθεὶς ἐτελεύτησεν.

120.1 Μαξέντιος – 5 ἀνερρίψαν: HE 8, XIV.1–2, XIV.5, XIV.12–15, XIV.17–18, XVI.1 **121.6** Μαξιμῖνος – 7 διωγμὸν: HE 8, XVI.4–5 **122.7** Γαλέριος – 12 πειθόμενος: HE 8, XIV.7, XVII.2–3 **123.12** Θεότεκνος – 17 μυστήριον: HE 9, V.1 **124.17** Πέτρος – 19 ἐμαρτύρησαν: HE 9, VI.2–3. **125.19** Μαξιμῖνον – 23 ἐντυγχάνουσιν: HE 9, VII.2, VIII.1 **126.23** Κωνσταντῖνος – 28 ἐτελεύτησεν: HE 9, IX.1, IX.3, IX.12

Codd. OVBP 1–5 Μαξέντιος...ἀνερρίψαν: om. B 1 ante Μαξέντιος: ὅτι add. O | πάνδεινα OV: πάνδεινον P: πᾶν δεινὸν Cramer 1839 2 γυναικῶν V: γυναιξί P | φόνους VP: φθόρους O 3 δὲ P: τε OV | μηδὲν P: μὴ δὲν V | Μαξέντιος: καὶ add. O 5 διωγμὸν V: πόλεμον P 6–7 Μαξιμῖνος...διωγμὸν: om. P 6 ante Μαξιμῖνος: ὅτι add. O | Μαξιμῖνος OV: Μαξιμιανὸς B | βορὰ VB: φυρὰ O 7 τῶν V: om. OB 7–10 Γαλέριος...διωγμὸν O: om. VBP 7 ante Γαλέριος: ὅτι add. O 8 καθ' ἡλικίαν O: καθ' ἡλικίαν corr. 10–11 καὶ ὁ...εἰργάσατο OB: om. VP 12 Θεοτέκνω...πειθόμενος O: om. VBP 12–28 Θεότεκνος...ἐτελεύτησεν: om. P 12 ante Θεότεκνος: ὅτι add. O 13 οὗτος ὁ OB: om. V | Ἀντιοχείας V: om. OB | ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ δῆθεν παρὰ Πιλάτου B: ἐπὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δῆθεν παρὰ Πιλάτῳ OV: ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ δῆθεν παρὰ Πιλάτου corr. 14–15 κατὰ κόμην καὶ πόλιν V: κατὰ πόλιν καὶ κόμην OB 15 Μαξιμῖνον VB: Μαξιμιανὸν O 17 ἐκμαθάνοντες OV: ἐκμα[θ]οντες B | διαγελῶσιν OV: διαγελῶσιν B 17–19 Πέτρος...ἐμαρτύρησαν OV: om. BP 18 ἐπίσκοπος: om. V 19 ante Μαξιμῖνον: ὅτι add. O 20 εὐθηνίας OV: εὐθeneίας B | εὐκρασίας OB: εὐκαρπίας V 23 ante Κωνσταντῖνος: ὅτι add. O 24 καὶ OV: om. B 25 γενομένου OV: γεγεννημένου B 26 ἐπ' ἀνατολὴν V: ἐν ἀνατολῇ OB | Λικιννίου OV: Λικινίου B 28 ἀνηγόρευσεν V: ὑπηγόρευσεν OB | Μαξιμῖνος OV: Μαξιμιανὸς B | χρονία VB: χρονίῳ O

V. Passages in common between the *EV* and the *Codex Athonensis Iviron* 812¹¹

EV 17 (p. 171, 15–172, 2)

Ὅτι αἰτίαν τῇ πολιτικῇ κινήσει παρείχε Γάιος Μάριος, ἕκτον γεγονῶς ὑπατος. ἡ μὲν γὰρ βουλή τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου νεωτερισθέντων αἰσθημένη τὴν τε Ἀσίαν ἤδη καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα κατελιγφότος, Κορνήλιον Σύλλαν τὸν ὑπατον ἡγεμόνα τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου προεχειρίσατο. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὗτος κατὰ τὴν Καμπανίαν σὺν στρατιᾷ διέτριβεν, τὸν κινήθοντα τῶν συμμάχων πόλεμον καθιστάμενος, ἀναιρῶν δὲ ὅπερ ἦν τῆσδε τῆς ταραχῆς λείψανον, ὁ Μάριος ἐπιθυμήσας τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν στρατηλασίας καὶ προσλαβὼν Σουλπίκιον τὸν δήμαρχον, ἄνδρα μοχθηρὸν καὶ μετὰ πάσης τόλμης καὶ ὁμότητος τὴν Ῥώμην ταρασσόντα, βιάζεται πλήθει καὶ ὅλοις τὴν βουλὴν αὐτὸν ἀντιτάξαι τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ. καὶ τὸν Σύλλαν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου ἄροντα μικροῦ μὲν ἐδέησεν ἀνελεῖν· ἐπεὶ δὲ συγχωρεῖν αὐτὸς ἔφη τοῖς γινομένοις, παρήκεν ἀπαθῆ. καὶ ὃς ἀφικόμενος αὐθις πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα διεξελθὼν ἐπάγει τῇ πόλει συντεταγμένην τὴν στρατιάν καὶ κρατεῖ τῶν περὶ τὸν Μάριον ἀντιταξαμένων πρῶτός τε Ῥωμαίων σὺν ὅλοις ἐντὸς παρελθὼν τῆς πόλεως Σουλπίκιον μὲν τὸν δήμαρχον καταμνηνθέντα πρὸς τοῦ θεράποντος ἀποσφάττει, Μάριον δὲ φυγάδα τῆς πόλεως ***.

EV 18 (p. 172, 3–173, 9)

Ὅτι ληξάντων τῶν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων φόνοι καὶ προγραφαὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν οἰκῶν διεδέξαντο τὴν Ῥώμην, ἐς πᾶν ἐπεξιόντος τοῦ Σύλλου τοῖς ἀντιστασιώταις, ὡς τὴν Μαρίου τελευτὴν οὐκ ἀπαλλαγὴν, ἀλλὰ μεταβολὴν τυραννίδος νομισθῆναι Ῥωμαίοις. τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτα τοὺς ἐχθίστους οἱ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐκποδῶν

Athonensis Iviron 812 (fr. 98.8 M)

Αἰτίαν δὲ τῇ πολιτικῇ κινήσει παρείχε Γάιος Μάριος, ἕκτον γεγονῶς ὑπατος. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ βουλή τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου νεωτερισθέντων αἰσθημένη τὴν τε Ἀσίαν ἤδη καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα κατελιγφότος, Κορνήλιον Σύλλαν τὸν ὑπατον ἡγεμόνα τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου προεχειρίζετο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὗτος κατὰ τὴν Καμπανίαν σὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ διέτριβεν, ἔτι τε τὸν κινήθοντα μικρῷ πρόσθεν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, τῶν συμμάχων πόλεμον καθιστάμενος, ἀναιρῶν τε ὅπερ ἦν τῆσδε τῆς ταραχῆς λείψανον, ὁ Μάριος ἐπιθυμήσας τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν στρατηλασίας καὶ προσλαβὼν Σούλιον τὸν δήμαρχον, ἄνδρα μοχθηρὸν καὶ μετὰ πάσης τόλμης καὶ ὁμότητος τὴν Ῥώμην ταραττοντα, βιάζεται πλήθει καὶ ὅλοις τὴν βουλὴν αὐτὸν ἀντιτάξαι τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ. Καὶ τὸν Σύλλαν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου παρόντα μικροῦ μὲν, ἢ φησι Πλούταρχος, [ἐδέησεν] ἀνελεῖν· ἐπεὶ δὲ συγχωρεῖν αὐτὸς ἔφη τοῖς γινομένοις, παρήκεν ἀπαθῆ. Καὶ ὃς ἀφικόμενος αὐθις πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα διεξελθὼν ἐπάγει τῇ πόλει συντεταγμένην τὴν στρατιάν, καὶ κρατεῖ τῶν περὶ τὸν Μάριον ἀντιταξαμένων, πρῶτός τε Ῥωμαίων σὺν ὅλοις ἐντὸς παρελθὼν τῆς πόλεως, Σουλπίκιον μὲν τὸν δήμαρχον καταμνηνθέντα πρὸς τοῦ θεράποντος ἀποσφάττει, Μάριον δὲ φυγάδα τῆς πόλεως ἐλαύνει.

Athonensis Iviron 812 (fr. 98.21 M)

Ληξάντων δὲ ποτε τῶν εἰρημένων πολέμων ἐς πᾶν ἐπεξιόντος τοῦ Σύλλου τοῖς ἀντιστασιώταις, ὡς τὴν Μαρίου τελευτὴν οὐκ ἀπαλλαγὴν ἀλλὰ μεταβολὴν τυραννίδος, ἢ Πλούταρχος φησί, νομισθῆναι Ῥωμαίοις. Τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτα τοὺς ἐχθίστους οἱ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐκποδῶν ποιήσασθαι ἐγνωκώς, διὰ πάσης ὁμότητος ἐπεξήει τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην

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11 The edition of the excerpts is the one given by Mariev (ed.) (2008).

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ποιήσασθαι διεγνωκῶς διὰ πάσης ὁμότητος ἐπέξει τήν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν. τελευτῶν δὲ ἔστιν οὗς ἡ κτημάτων ἡ κτημάτων ἔνεκα ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φίλων διέφθειρεν. Λέγεται γοῦν Κόιντον ἄνδρα ἐπιφανή, ἐπεικὴ τε καὶ σόφρονα, οὐδετέρας μὲν γεγονότα στάσεως, ἀδοκῆτως δὲ ἐν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις θεασάμενον ἑαυτόν „οἶμοι τάλας“ εἰπεῖν „διώκει με τὸ ἐν Ἀλβανοῖς χωρίον“. καὶ ὀρθῶς γε Σαλούστιος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος συγγραφεὺς ἔφη καλοῖς αὐτὸν ἐγχειρήμασιν κάκιστον ἐπεννηοχέαι τὸ τέλος. εἰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν Μαρίου καταβαλὼν δυναστείαν ἀνδρὸς ἀρχῆθ' ἐν τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τὴν φύσιν παρέδωκε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τὴν πολιτείαν, θαυμαστὸς ἂν ἦν· νῦν δὲ μέτριος τὰ πρῶτα καὶ πολιτικὸς φανεῖς καὶ δόξαν δημωφελοῦς ἡγεμόνος παρασχὼν ἐπειδὴ τῶν ἐναντίων ἐκράτησεν, αὐτὸς ἀντ' ἐκείνων ἦν. καὶ τυραννίδα φάσκων ἐλαύνειν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐτέραν εἰσήγε χαλεπωτέραν. δικτάτορα μὲν γὰρ ἀνείπεν ἑαυτόν· ἐμπληκτα δὲ καὶ ἀπάνθρωπα ἐς τε τοὺς πολίτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπηκόους ἐπὶ πολὺ διεπράττετο, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ οὕτω γε τῇ τύχῃ κατεπίστευσε πρὸς ἅπασαν αὐτῷ μεταβολὴν δεξιῶς ἐπομένη, ὥστε πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνηρηκότα, καινότητα δὲ τοσαύτην εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν εἰσενεγκάμενον ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἀνυπεύθυνον ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον αὐθις τῶν ὑπατικῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν ἀποφῆναι κύριον, καίτοι Λεπίδου παρελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ὑπατείαν διὰ τὴν Πομπηίου περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα σπουδὴν προσδοκωμένου, ἀνδρὸς θρασυτάτου τε καὶ αὐτῷ μάλιστα πολεμίου· ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐν ιδιώτου τάξει καὶ ἰσηγορίᾳ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐντεῦθεν ἦν. ἀποδειχθέντος δὲ ὑπάτου Λεπίδου, χαίροντα τῷ γεγονότι τὸν Πομπήιον ἰδὼν „εὖγε“ ἔφη „τῆς σπουδῆς, ὦ νεανία, ὅτι καὶ Κατούλου πρότερον ἀνηγόρευσας

Ἰταλίαν. Τελευτῶν δὲ ἔστιν οὗς χρημάτων ἡ κτημάτων ἔνεκα ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φίλων [διέφθειρε]. Λέγεται γοῦν Κόιντον ἄνδρα ἐπιφανή, ἐπεικὴ τε καὶ σόφρονα, οὐδὲ ἐτέρας μὲν γεγονότα στάσεως, ἀδοκῆτως δὲ ἐν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις θεασάμενον ἑαυτόν, «Οἶμοι, τάλας, εἰπεῖν, διώκει με τὸ ἐν Ἀλβανοῖς χωρίον». Καὶ ὀρθῶς γε Σαλούστιος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος συγγραφεὺς ἔφη καλοῖς αὐτὸν ἐγχειρήμασι κάκιστον ἐπεννηοχέαι [τὸ] τέλος. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν Μαρίου καταβαλὼν δυναστείαν, ἀνδρὸς ἀρχῆθ' ἐν τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τὴν φύσιν, παρέδωκε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τὴν πολιτείαν, θαυμαστὸν ἂν ἦν. νῦν δὲ μέτριος τὰ πρῶτα καὶ πολιτικὸς φανεῖς καὶ δόξαν δημωφελοῦς ἡγεμόνος παρασχὼν, ἐπειδὴ τῶν ἐναντίων ἐκράτησεν, αὐτὸς ἀντ' ἐκείνων ἦν, καὶ τυραννίδα φάσκων ἐλαύνειν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἐτέραν εἰσήγε χαλεπωτέραν. Δικτάτορα μὲν [γὰρ ἂν] εἴπεν ἑαυτόν· ἐμπληκτα δὲ καὶ ἀπάνθρωπα ἐς τε τοὺς πολίτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπηκόους ἐπὶ πολὺ διεπράττετο· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ οὕτω γε τῇ τύχῃ κατεπίστευε πρὸς ἅπασαν αὐτοῦ μεταβολὴν δεξιῶς ἐπομένη, ὥστε πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνηρηκότα, καινότητα δὲ τοσαύτην εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν εἰσενεγκάμενον, ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἀνυπεύθυνον ἀρχὴν. καὶ τὸν δῆμον αὐθις τῶν ὑπατικῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν ἀποφῆναι κύριον, καίτοι Λεπίδου παρελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ὑπατείαν διὰ τὴν Πομπηίου περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα σπουδὴν προσδοκωμένου, ἀνδρὸς θρασυτάτου τε καὶ αὐτῷ μάλιστα πολεμίου· ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐν ιδιώτου τάξει καὶ ἰσηγορίᾳ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐντεῦθεν ἦν. Ἀποδειχθέντος δὲ ὑπάτου Λεπίδου, χαίροντα τῷ γεγονότι Πομπήιον ἰδὼν, «Εὖγε, ἔφη, τῆς σπουδῆς, ὦ νεανία, ὅτι [καί] Κατούλου πρότερον ἀνηγόρευσας Λεπίδον, τοῦ πάντων ἀρίστου τῶν πολιτῶν [τὸν ἐμπληκτότατον]· ὥρα μέντοι σοι σκοπεῖν ὅπως ἰσχυρὸν γεγονότα καταγωνίσῃ τὸν ἀντίπαλον». Τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ὁ Σύλλας ὥσπερ ἀπεθόπισε. Μετ' ὀλίγον γὰρ ἐξυβρίσας ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Λεπίδος, πολέμιος κατέστη τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πομπήιον.

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Λέπιδον, τοῦ πάντων ἀρίστου
τῶν πολιτῶν τὸν ἐμπληκτότατον·
ᾧρα μέντοι σοι σκοπεῖν, ἀρίστου
τῶν πολιτῶν τὸν ἐμπληκτότατον·
ᾧρα μέντοι σοι σκοπεῖν, ὅπως
ἰσχυρὸν γεγονότα καταγωνίσῃ τὸν
ἀντίπαλον.“ τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ὁ Σύλλας
ὥσπερ ἀπεθέσπισε. μετ’ ὀλίγον γὰρ
ἐξυβρίσας ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Λέπιδος
πολέμιος κατέστη τοῖς περὶ τὸν
Πομπήιον.

EV 18 (p. 173, 10–26)

Κινήσεώς τε αὐθις ἐμφυλίου γενομένης
Σύλλαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνυπεύθυνον ἀρχὴν
ἢ Ῥωμαίων βουλή προεβάλετο.
τῶν γὰρ ἱππέων ἅμα πάντων
συμφραξαμένων οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν ἦν
τοῖς ἐν τέλει. ὁ μὲν οὖν Σύλλας
ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρημένην ἔλθων ἀρχὴν
σύνθημα τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν
ἀνδράσι λαθὼν ἅπαντας τοὺς τῆς
Ῥώμης ἔδωκεν, ἐγχειρίδιά τε αὐτοὺς
ξίφη κομιζομένους εἰσελθεῖν εἰς
τὴν πόλιν προσέταξεν, ὅπηνίκα
τῆς Ῥέας ἡμέραν πανηγυρίζουσι
Ῥωμαῖοι, ὡς ἂν δι’ αὐτῶν τοῖς* τῆς
πόλεως ἱππεῦσι* διαχρήσῃται. ὁ μὲν
οὖν περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὄχλος ἐναντία
τοῖς στρατιώταις φρονῶν κατὰ τὴν
ὠρισμένην ἀπὴντησεν. ἀρξάμενός τε
τῆς ἐμφυλίου κινήσεως ἅμα τε καὶ
τὸν δῆμον προσλαβόμενος πολλοὺς
τῶν ἱππέων διέφθειρεν. τούτων δὲ
κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πραττομένων, ὁ
Σύλλας βουλευθεὶς τὸν ὄχλον τῆς
ἐμφυλίου ταραχῆς ἀποστήσαι,
διεσοφίσατο μηνύσεις τινὰς ἐκ τῶν
πανταχόθεν ὑπηκόων, βαρβάρων
ἐπιδρομὰς ἐπιφαινούσας. καὶ εὐθέως
ἀναλαβὼν ἅπαντα τὰ στρατεύματα
ἐπιστήσας τε αὐτοῖς στρατηγούς
τοῦ παντὸς πλήθους τὴν πόλιν
ἀπήλλαξεν.

Athonensis Iviron 812 (fr. 98.22 M)

Κινήσεώς τε αὐθις ἐμφυλίου γενομένης, Σύλλαν
ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνυπεύθυνον ἀρχὴν ἢ Ῥωμαίων
βουλή προεβάλετο· τῶν γὰρ ἱππέων ἅμα
πάντων συμφραξαμένων καὶ μᾶλλον ἄρχειν
ἢ περ ἄρχεσθαι βουλομένων, πολλάκις
τε σὺν τῇ συγκλήτῳ βουλῇ ἐς ἐναντίωσιν
ἐλθεῖν πειρωμένων, οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν ἦν τοῖς ἐν
τέλει. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Σύλλας ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρημένην
αὐθις διελθὼν ἀρχὴν, σύνθημα τοῖς κατὰ
τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀνδράσι, λαθὼν ἅπαντας τοὺς
τῆς Ῥώμης, ἔδωκεν, ἐγχειρίδιά τε αὐτοὺς
ξίφη κομιζομένους εἰσελθεῖν ἐς τὴν πόλιν
προσέταξεν, ὅπηνίκα τὴν Ῥέαν ἡμέραν
ὁ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος πανηγυρίζειν ἄρξεται·
αὕτη τε κατὰ τὴν πρώτην Ἰανουαρίου μηνὸς
εἴωθεν ἄγεσθαι· ὡς ἂν δι’ αὐτῶν τοὺς τῆς
πόλεως ἱππεῖς διαχρήσῃται. Ὁ μὲν οὖν περὶ
τὴν Ἰταλίαν δῆμος ἐναντία τοῖς στρατιώταις
φρονῶν κατὰ τὴν ὠρισμένην ὑπὴντησεν.
Ἀρξάμενός τε τῆς ἐμφυλίου κινήσεως, ἅμα
τε καὶ τὸ δῆμον προσλαβόμενος πολλοὺς τῶν
ἱππέων διέφθειρε. Τούτων δὲ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν
πραττομένων μηνύσεις ἐκ τῶν πανταχόθεν
ὑπηκόων εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀφίκοντο, βαρβάρων
τε ἐπιδρομὰς ἀποφαίνουσαι καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους
καὶ στρατηγούς Ῥωμαίων τὴν ταχίστην
καταλαβεῖν τὰς χώρας ὑπομνησκουσαι. Καὶ
ταῦτα μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Πλουτάρχου εἰρήκαμεν. Ὡς
δὲ φησι Διόδωρος, οὐδὲν τούτων ἀπηγγέλθη,
ἀλλ’ ὁ Σύλλας, βουλευθεὶς τὸν ὄχλον τῆς
ἐμφυλίου ταραχῆς ἀποστήσαι, ταῦτα
διεσοφίσατο. Καὶ εὐθέως ἀναλαβὼν ἅπαντα
τὰ στρατεύματα, ἐπιστήσας τε αὐτοῖς
στρατηγούς, τοῦ παντὸς πλήθους τὴν πόλιν
ἀπήλλαξε.

VI. John of Antioch in the *EPL*,^a *Athonensis Iviron* 812,^b the *EC*, and the *Suda*

EPL 35	Suda B 396	EI 22 p. 66,5-14
Ὅτι Σκηπίωνος μαχομένου τοῖς Ἰβηρσιν οἱ βάρβαροι τοῦτον δείσαντες ἀποκτείνουσι τὸν αὐτῶν βασιλέα Βορίανθον. ὧν ἀφικόμενοι τινες πρὸς Σκηπίωνα ἄθλα παρ' αὐτοῦ τῶν πεπραγμένων λαβεῖν ἤξιουν. ὁ δὲ ἀποκρίνεται μηδαμῶς εἶναι Ῥωμαίοις ἔννομον ἐν ἐπαίνῳ ποιεῖσθαι τὰς κατὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἐπιχειρουμένας ἐπιβουλὰς.	Βορίανθος: ὅτι βάρβαροί τινες κτείνουσι Βορίανθον τυραννήσαντα, ταύτῃ προσάγεσθαι τὸν τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸν ἡγούμενοι ἐς εὐνοίαν. καὶ διὴ ἀφικόμενοι τῶν τοῦ Βοριάνθου αὐθεντῶν τινες ἄθλα τῶν περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα πεπραγμένων ἤξιουν παρὰ Σκιπίωνος κομίζεσθαι. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἀποκρίνεται, μηδαμῶς εἶναι Ῥωμαίοις ἔννομον ἐν ἐπαίνῳ ποιεῖσθαι τὰς κατὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἐπιχειρουμένας ἐπιβουλὰς.	Ἵν μάλιστα πάντων ἔνεκα δείσαντες οἱ βάρβαροι κτείνουσιν τὸν Βορίανθον τέσσαρα καὶ δέκα Ῥωμαίοις ἔτη ἐναντία πολεμήσαντα, ταύτῃ προσάγεσθαι τὸν ἡγούμενον τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς στρατιᾶς ἐς εὐνοίαν αὐτῶν καὶ φειδῶ λογισάμενοι. καὶ διὴ ἀφικόμενοι τῶν αὐθεντῶν τοῦ Βοριάνθου τινὲς ἄθλα τῶν περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα πεπραγμένων ἤξιουν παρὰ τοῦ ὑπάτου κομίζεσθαι οἷς ὁ Σκιπίων ἀποκρίνεται, μηδαμῶς εἶναι Ῥωμαίοις ἔννομον ἐν ἐ[παί]νῳ ποιεῖσθαι τὰς κατὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἐπιχειρουμένας ἐπιβουλὰς.

Ὅτι μέλλοντος ἐν Ῥώμῃ τοῦ ἐμφυλίου
ἐγείρεσθαι πολέμου ἄλλα τε πολλὰ Λίβιος
καὶ Διόδωρος ιστόρησαν καὶ ἐξ ἀνεφέλου
τοῦ ἀέρος καὶ αἰθρίας πολλῆς ἦχον
ἀκουσθῆναι σάλπιγος ὅξυν ἀποτεινούσης
καὶ θρηνώδη φθόγγον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν
ἀκούσαντας ἅπαντας ἔκφρονας ὑπὸ τοῦ
δέους γενέσθαι, τοὺς δὲ Τυρρηνῶν μάντις
μεταβολὴν τοῦ γένους καὶ μετακόσμησιν
ἀποφίνασθαι σημαίνειν τὸ τέρας· εἶναι μὲν
γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ὀκτὼ γένη, διαφερόντων
τοῖς βίοις καὶ τοῖς ἡθεσιν ἀλλήλων·
ἐκάστω δὲ ἀφορίσθαι χρόνον ὑπὸ τοῦ
θεοῦ, συμπεριαινόμενον ἐνιαυτοῦ μεγάλου
περιόδῳ. τῆς δ' οὖν προτέρας περιόδου
τελευτώσης καὶ ἐτέρας ἀνισταμένης,
κινεῖσθαι τι σημεῖον ἐκ γῆς ἢ οὐρανοῦ
θαυμάσιον, ἧ δὴλον εὐθὺς τοῖς τὰ αὐτὰ
σοφοῖς γίνεσθαι ὅτι καὶ τρόποις ἄλλοις καὶ
βίοις ἄνθρωποι γρόμενοι χρόμενοι καὶ
θεοὶς ἦττον τῶν προτέρων μέλοντες.

Ἐντεῦθεν ὁ ἐμφύλιος ἀνεφάνη πόλεμος β
καὶ ξ καὶ χ [ἔτει, βραχὺ] μετὰ τὸν ἀν [...]
θ [...] καθ' ὃ ἡ π[ρὸς Μιθρι]δάτην ἡρξάτο
Ῥωμαῖοις ἀπ[έχθει]α. Ἐπισημῆναι δὲ τὴν τῶν
μελλόντων κακῶν φορὰν ἄ[λλα τε] πολλὰ
Λίβιος τε καὶ Διόδωρος ιστόρησαν καὶ ἐξ
ἀνεφέλου τοῦ ἀέρος καὶ αἰθρίας πολλῆς ἦχον
ἀκουσθῆναι σάλπιγος ὅξυν ἀποτεινούσης καὶ
θρηνώδη φθόγγον. Καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀκούσαντας
ἅπαντας ἔκφρονας ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους γενέσθαι,
τοὺς δὲ Τυρρηνῶν μάντις μεταβολὴν τοῦ
γένους καὶ μετακόσμησιν ἀποφίνασθαι
σημαίνειν τὸ τέρας. Εἶναι μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπων
ὀκτὼ γένη, διαφερόντων τοῖς βίοις καὶ τοῖς
ἡθεσιν ἀλλήλων· ἐκάστω δὲ ἀφορίσθαι χρόνον
ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, συμπεριαινόμενον ἐνιαυτοῦ
μεγάλου περιόδῳ. Τῆς δ' οὖν προτέρας
περιόδου τελευτώσης καὶ ἐτέρας ἐνισταμένης
κινεῖσθαι τι σημεῖον ἐκ γῆς ἢ οὐρανοῦ
θαυμάσιον, ᾧ δὴλον εὐθὺς τοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα
σοφοῖς γίνεσθαι ὅτι καὶ τρόποις ἄλλοις καὶ
βίοις ἄνθρωποι γρόμενοι γρόμενοι καὶ θεοὶς
ἦττον τῶν προτέρων μέλοντες.

Σύλλας, Σύλλου· ὄνομα κύριον. ὅτι ἐπὶ
Σύλλα τοῦ ὑπάτου ὁ ἐμφύλιος Ῥωμαίων
ἀνήφθη πόλεμος. ἐπισημῆναι δὲ τὴν τῶν
μελλόντων κακῶν φορὰν Λίβιος φησι
καὶ Διόδωρος. ἐξ ἀνεφέλου τοῦ ἀέρος
καὶ αἰθρίας πολλῆς ἦχον ἀκουσθῆναι
σάλπιγος, ὅξυν ἀποτεινούσης καὶ
θρηνώδη φθόγγον. καὶ τοὺς μὲν
ἀκούσαντας ἅπαντας ἔκφρονας ὑπὸ δέους
γενέσθαι· τοὺς δὲ Τυρρηνῶν μάντις
μεταβολὴν τοῦ γένους καὶ μετακόσμησιν
ἀποφίνασθαι σημαίνειν τὸ τέρας. εἶναι
μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ἡ' γένη, διαφέροντα
τοῖς βίοις καὶ τοῖς ἡθεσιν ἀλλήλων·
ἐκάστω δὲ ἀφορίσθαι χρόνον ὑπὸ τοῦ
θεοῦ, συμπεριαινόμενον ἐνιαυτοῦ μεγάλου
περιόδῳ. τῆς γοῦν προτέρας περιόδου
τελευτώσης καὶ ἐτέρας ἐνισταμένης,
κινεῖσθαι τι σημεῖον ἐκ γῆς ἢ οὐρανοῦ
θαυμάσιον, ὃ δὴλον εὐθὺς τοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα
σοφοῖς γίνεσθαι, ὅτι καὶ τρόποις ἄλλοις
καὶ βίοις ἄνθρωποι γρόμενοι γρόμενοι
καὶ θεοὶς ἦττον τῶν προτέρων μέλονται.
ταῦτα μὲν οὖν εἴτε οὕτως εἴτε ἄλλως πως
ἔχει, σκοπεῖν παρήμι.

(Continued)

EPL 38	Athonensis Iviron 812 (fr. 98.11 M)	Suda Γ 212
Ὅτι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὰ Μιθριδάτου φρονήσαντας Σύλλας πολιορκία παραστησάμενος <u>πᾶσαν ἐδέησε μικροῦ πανωλεθρία διαφθεῖραι τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὰς εἰς αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ τῆς πολιορκίας χρόνῳ γινομένης ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὕβρεις</u>, εἰ μὴ τινες Ἀθηναίων φυγάδες οἱ συστρατευόμενοι Ῥωμαίων ἔπεισαν αὐτὸν στήσαι τὸν φόνον. καὶ ὃς ἐγκώμιόν τι τῶν πάλοι Ἀθηναίων διεξελθὼν ἐκείνοις ἔφη χαρίζεσθαι πολλοῖς μὲν ὀλίγους, ζῶντας δὲ τεθνηκόσι.	Μικρῷ γε μὴν ὕστερον Σύλλας ἐπιπλεύσας τῇ Ἑλλάδι τὸν μὲν Ἀρχέλαον ἐν Πειραιεὶ κατακλείσας ἐπολιόρκει, πάσῃ μηχανῇ καὶ δαπάνῃ χρώμενος καὶ οὐκ ἀνῆκεν ἄχρις οὗ τὸν μὲν εἰς τὰς ναῦς καταφυγεῖν ἠνάγκασε, τὸν δὲ Πειραιᾶ <u>παρεστήσατο</u>. (...) Ἐλήφθησαν μὲν οὕτως αἱ Ἀθῆναι, Σύλλας δὲ πρὸς ἀρπαγὴν τε καὶ φόνον ἀφειδῇ τρέψας τὴν στρατιάν, <u>πᾶσαν ἐδέησε μικροῦ πανωλεθρία διαφθεῖραι τὴν πόλιν</u>, εἴτε ἄλλως ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας εἰς τοῦτο προαγόμενος, εἴτε <u>καὶ θυμῷ τὰ σκώμματα [φέρων]</u>, ἃ δὴ πολλὰ κατὰ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς Μετέλλης· ἀφίκτο γὰρ ἤδη αὐτὴ σὺν τοῖς παισὶ ὡς αὐτὸν ἐξελαθεῖσα τῆς Ῥώμης πρὸς τῶν περὶ τὸν Μάριον· ἐφυβρίζων καὶ κερτομῶν ὁ Ἀρίστων <u>[παρ' ὅλην ἀπέριπτε]</u> τὴν πολιορκίαν. Καὶ οὐδ' ἂν ὑπεξέδου τις Ἀθηναίων τὸ κακόν, εἰ μὴ τοῦτο μὲν <u>Μειδίας καὶ Καλλιφῶν οἱ φυγάδες Ἀθηναίων προσκυλινδούμενοι, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τῶν στρατευομένων οἱ Ῥωμαίων πολλοὶ δεόμενοι ἔπεισαν αὐτὸν στήσαι τὸν φόνον</u>. Καὶ ὃς ἐγκώμιόν τι τῶν πάλοι Ἀθηναίων διεξελθὼν ἐκείνους ἔφη χαρίζεσθαι πολλοῖς μὲν ὀλίγους, <δὲ> ζῶντας δὲ τεθνηκόσι.	Γεφυρίζων· χλευάζων, ἐξευτελίζων. Πολύβιος· ὁ δὲ Σύλλας πορθήσας τὰς Ἀθῆνας <u>ἐδέησε μικροῦ διαφθεῖραι τὴν πόλιν</u> θυμῷ διὰ τὰ σκώμματα, ἃ δὴ πολλὰ κατ' αὐτοῦ γεφυρίζων καὶ ἐπικερτομῶν ὁ Ἀρίστων παρ' ὅλην ἀπέριπτε τὴν πολιορκίαν.

Ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι κατὰ τὴν πρὸς τὴν Μιθριδάτου στρατιὰν μάχην εἰς φυγὴν ἐτράπησαν· ὁ δὲ Σύλλας ἀποβάς τοῦ ἵππου καὶ σημεῖον στρατιωτικὸν ἀρπάσας ὥθειτο διὰ τῶν φευγόντων εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους, βοῶν ὡς ἐγὼ μὲν ἄπειμι ζωῆς ἐπονειδίστου καὶ φυγῆς εὐκλεῆ θάνατον ἀνταλλαζάμενος, ὑμεῖς δέ, ὧ συστρατιῶται, ἦν ἔρηται τις ποῦ τὸν Σύλλαν ἀπολελοίπατε, φράζειν μεμνημένους ἐν Ὁρχομενῷ, τοῦ ῥηθέντος, ἀνέστρεψαν μετ' αἰδοῦς καὶ τῆς ἐς τὸν στρατηγὸν εὐλαβείας· καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐκράτησαν.

Ἐνέδοσαν μὲν γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ πρῶτα καὶ προτροπάδην ἐφευγον· ἐπεὶ δὲ Σύλλας ἀποβάς τοῦ ἵππου καὶ σημεῖον στρατιωτικὸν ἀρπάσας ὥθειτο διὰ τῶν φευγόντων εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους βοῶν, ὡς «ἐγὼ μὲν ἄπειμι ζωῆς ἐπονειδίστου καὶ φυγῆς εὐκλεῆ θάνατον ἀλλαζάμενος, ὑμεῖς δέ, ὧ συστρατιῶται, ἦν ἔρητοί τις ποῦ τὸν Σύλλαν ἀπολελοίπατε, φράζειν· μεμνημένους ἐν Ὁρχομενῷ», τοῦ δὲ ῥηθέντος, ἀνέστρεψαν μετὰ αἰδοῦς καὶ τῆς ἐς τὸν στρατηγὸν εὐλαβείας· ἐμβalόντες δὲ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐρρωμένους μυρίους μὲν ἐπὶ ,ε κατὰ τὴν πρώτην μάχην τοῦ τυράννου καταβάλλουσι.

Ὅτι Σύλλας ἑαυτὸν εὐτυχῇ προσαγορεύειν διεκελεύσατο· καὶ ποτὲ θέας οὔσης τὴν Ὀρτησίον φασὶ τοῦ ῥήτορος ἀδελφὴν Βαλλερίαν ἐξόπισθεν τοῦ Σύλλου πορευομένην ἐπιβαλεῖν τὴν χεῖρα καὶ κροκύδος τοῦ ἱματίου σπᾶσαι· τοῦ δὲ ἐπιστραφέντος, «οὐδὲν δεινόν», εἰπεῖν, «αὐτοκράτωρ ἀλλὰ βούλομαι κάγῳ μικρὸν εὐτυχίας μεταλαβεῖν». τὸν δ' ὑπερησθῆναί τε τῷ ῥηθέντι καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ἀγαγέσθαι **τὴν** γυναῖκα πρὸς γάμον, τῆς Μετέλλης ἥδη τεθνηκυίας.

ἐφ' οἷς δὴ καὶ εὐτυχῇ προσαγορεύειν ἑαυτὸν διεκελεύσατο, ὃ καὶ προοίμιον ἦν αὐτῷ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν Λούκιος Κορνήλιος Σύλλας Εὐτυχίης, χαίροντι ὑπερφυῶς τῷ προσήματι. Πλούταρχος δὲ φησι, θέας ποτὲ μονομάχων οὔσης καὶ τῶν τόπων οὐπὼ διακεκριμένων, ἀλλ' ἔτι τοῦ θεάτρου συμμιγοῦς ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναιξιν ὄντος, Βαλλερίαν γυναῖκα παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις οὐκ ἄφανη· Ὀρτησίον γάρ ἦν ἀδελφὴ τοῦ ῥήτορος· ἐξόπισθεν τοῦ Σύλλου πορευομένην ἐπιβαλεῖν τὴν χεῖρα καὶ κροκύδα τοῦ ἱματίου σπᾶσαι. Τοῦ δὲ ἐπιστραφέντος, «οὐδὲν δεινόν, εἰπεῖν, αὐτοκράτωρ ἀλλὰ βούλομαι κάγῳ μικρὸν εὐτυχίας μεταλαβεῖν». Τὸν δ' ὑπερησθῆναί τε τῷ ῥηθέντι καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ἀγαγέσθαι **τὴν** γυναῖκα πρὸς γάμον, τῆς Μετέλλης ἥδη τεθνηκυίας.

(...) ὅτι Σύλλας ὁ ὕπατος ἐπιλογισμὸν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πράξεων ποιήσας Εὐτυχῇ ἑαυτὸν ἐκάλει καὶ ἔγραφε. καὶ ποτε Λαβερία, Ῥωμαία γυνὴ οὐκ ἄφανής, ἐξόπισθεν τοῦ Σύλλου πορευομένη ἐπιβάλλει τὴν χεῖρα καὶ κροκύδα τοῦ ἱματίου σπᾶ, τοῦ δὲ ἐπιστραφέντος, οὐδὲν δεινόν, εἰπεῖν, αὐτοκράτωρ ἀλλὰ βούλομαι τῆς σῆς κάγῳ μικρὸν εὐτυχίας μεταλαβεῖν. τὸν δὲ ὑπερησθῆναί τε τῷ ῥηθέντι καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ἀγαγέσθαι **ταύτην** γυναῖκα, τῆς Μετέλλης ἥδη τεθνηκυίας.

Ὅτι Σύλλου καὶ Μαρίου στασιασάντων καὶ τυραννικώτερον τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπομένων μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Μαρίου τελευτὴν ἐς πᾶν ἐπεξῆει Σύλλας τοῖς ἀντιστασιώταις, ὥς τὴν Μαρίου τελευτὴν οὐκ ἀπαλλαγὴν, ἀλλὰ μεταβολὴν τυραννίδος νομισθῆναι· πάση γὰρ εἰς αὐτοὺς ὁμότητι χρώμενος τελευτῶν ἔστιν οὗς χρημάτων ἢ κτημάτων ἕνεκα ἐπ' ὠφελεία τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φίλων ἐτιμωρεῖτο. Λέγεται γοῦν Κόιντον ἄνδρα ἐπιφανῆ, ἐπιεικῆ τε καὶ σώφρονα, οὐδετέρως μὲν γεγονότα στάσεως, ἀδοκῆτως δὲ ἐν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις θεασάμενον ἑαυτόν, «Οἵμοι, τάλας, εἰπεῖν, διώκει με τὸ ἐν Ἀλβανοῖς χωρίον».

Ληξάντων δέ ποτε τῶν εἰρημένων πολέμων ἐς πᾶν ἐπεξιώντος τοῦ Σύλλου τοῖς ἀντιστασιώταις, ὥς τὴν Μαρίου τελευτὴν οὐκ ἀπαλλαγὴν ἀλλὰ μεταβολὴν τυραννίδος, ἢ Πλούταρχός φησι, νομισθῆναι Ῥωμαίοις. Τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτα τοὺς ἐχθίστους οἱ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐκποδῶν ποιήσασθαι ἐγνωκός, διὰ πάσης ὁμότητος ἐπεξῆει τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν. Τελευτῶν δὲ ἔστιν οὗς χρημάτων ἢ κτημάτων ἕνεκα ἐπ' ὠφελεία τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φίλων [διέφθιρε]. Λέγεται γοῦν Κόιντον ἄνδρα ἐπιφανῆ, ἐπιεικῆ τε καὶ σώφρονα, οὐδὲ ἑτέρως μὲν γεγονότα στάσεως, ἀδοκῆτως δὲ ἐν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις θεασάμενον ἑαυτόν. «Οἵμοι, τάλας, εἰπεῖν, διώκει με τὸ ἐν Ἀλβανοῖς χωρίον».

Ὅτι ληξάντων τῶν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων φόνοι καὶ προγραφαὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν οἰκῶν διεδέξαντο τὴν Ῥώμην, ἐς πᾶν ἐπεξιώντος τοῦ Σύλλου τοῖς ἀντιστασιώταις, ὥς τὴν Μαρίου τελευτὴν οὐκ ἀπαλλαγὴν, ἀλλὰ μεταβολὴν τυραννίδος νομισθῆναι Ῥωμαίοις. τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτα τοὺς ἐχθίστους οἱ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐκποδῶν ποιήσασθαι διεγνωκός διὰ πάσης ὁμότητος ἐπεξῆει τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν. τελευτῶν δὲ ἔστιν οὗς ἢ χρημάτων ἢ κτημάτων ἕνεκα ἐπ' ὠφελεία τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φίλων διέφθιρεν. Λέγεται γοῦν Κόιντον ἄνδρα ἐπιφανῆ, ἐπιεικῆ τε καὶ σώφρονα, οὐδετέρως μὲν γεγονότα στάσεως, ἀδοκῆτως δὲ ἐν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις θεασάμενον ἑαυτόν, «οἵμοι τάλας» εἰπεῖν «διώκει με τὸ ἐν Ἀλβανοῖς χωρίον».

EPL 42	Athonensis Iviron 812 (<i>fr.</i> 98.21 M)	EV 18
Ὅτι ἀποδειχθέντος ὑπάτου τοῦ Λεπίδου, χαίροντα Σύλλας τῷ γεγονότι Πομπήιον ἰδὼν, «Εὖγε, ἔφη, τῆς σπουδῆς, ὦ νεανία, ὅτι Κατούλου πρότερον ἀνηγόρευσας Λέπιδον, τοῦ πάντων ἀρίστου πολιτῶν· ὥρα μέντοι σοι σκοπεῖν ὅπως ἰσχυρὸν γεγονότα καταγωνίσῃ τὸν ἀντίπαλον». τοῦτο μὲν ὁ Σύλλας ὥσπερ ἀπεθέσπισε· μετ' ὀλίγον γὰρ ἐξυβρίσας εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Λέπιδος, πολέμιος κατέστη τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πομπήιον.	Ἀποδειχθέντος δὲ ὑπάτου Λεπίδου, χαίροντα τῷ γεγονότι Πομπήιον ἰδὼν, «Εὖγε, ἔφη, τῆς σπουδῆς, ὦ νεανία, ὅτι [καὶ] Κατούλου πρότερον ἀνηγόρευσας Λέπιδον, τοῦ πάντων ἀρίστου τῶν πολιτῶν [τὸν ἐμπληκτότατον] ὥρα μέντοι σοι σκοπεῖν ὅπως ἰσχυρὸν γεγονότα καταγωνίσῃ τὸν ἀντίπαλον». Τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ὁ Σύλλας ὥσπερ ἀπεθέσπισε. Μετ' ὀλίγον γὰρ ἐξυβρίσας εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Λέπιδος, πολέμιος κατέστη τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πομπήιον.	ἀποδειχθέντος δὲ ὑπάτου Λεπίδου, χαίροντα τῷ γεγονότι τὸν Πομπήιον ἰδὼν, «εὖγε» ἔφη «τῆς σπουδῆς, ὦ νεανία, ὅτι καὶ Κατούλου πρότερον ἀνηγόρευσας Λέπιδον, τοῦ πάντων ἀρίστου τῶν πολιτῶν τὸν ἐμπληκτότατον· ὥρα μέντοι σοι σκοπεῖν, ὅπως ἰσχυρὸν γεγονότα καταγωνίσῃ τὸν ἀντίπαλον». τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ὁ Σύλλας ὥσπερ ἀπεθέσπισε. μετ' ὀλίγον γὰρ ἐξυβρίσας εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Λέπιδος πολέμιος κατέστη τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πομπήιον.

^a The edition of the excerpts is the one given by Mariev (2008) in his edition of John of Antioch.

^b The edition of the excerpts is the one given by Mariev (2008) in his edition of John of Antioch.

^c ἥ Mariev (ed.) 2008.

Appendix II: Tables

I. The *Excerpta Anonymi* and the *Parastaseis*

<i>Excerpta Anonymi</i>	<i>Par.</i>	<i>Excerpta Anonymi</i>	<i>Par.</i>
Περὶ στηλῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ Σοφίᾳ (= <i>Excerpta</i> <i>Anonymi</i> 9, 14–25)	Ch. 11	Περὶ στηλῶν Σοφίας καὶ Ἀραβίας (= <i>Excerpta Anonymi</i> 13, 18–19)	Ch. 35
Περὶ στήλης Μαναΐμ στρατηγοῦ (= <i>Excerpta</i> <i>Anonymi</i> 9, 26–10, 14)	Ch. 12	Περὶ στηλῶν Ἀρκαδίου καὶ Θεοδοσίου (= <i>Excerpta</i> <i>Anonymi</i> 13, 20–22)	Ch. 35a
Περὶ στηλῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀψίδι τῆς καμάρας τοῦ φόρου (= <i>Excerpta</i> <i>Anonymi</i> 10, 15–20)	Ch. 16	Περὶ στηλῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ τριβουνάλῳ (= <i>Excerpta</i> <i>Anonymi</i> 13, 23–26)	Ch. 36
Περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῦ τῷ ἐν τῷ βορείῳ μέρει τοῦ φόρου (= <i>Excerpta</i> <i>Anonymi</i> 10, 21–25)	Ch. 17	Θέαμα α΄ (= <i>Excerpta Anonymi</i> 13, 27–14, 13)	Ch. 37
Περὶ στήλης ἐφίππου ἐν τῷ μιλίῳ (= <i>Excerpta</i> <i>Anonymi</i> 10, 26–28)	Ch. 18	Θέαμα β΄ (= <i>Excerpta Anonymi</i> 14, 14–24)	Ch. 38
Περὶ στηλῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ περιπάτῳ (= <i>Excerpta</i> <i>Anonymi</i> 10, 29–32)	Ch. 19	Περὶ Ἀρείου (= <i>Excerpta Anonymi</i> 14, 25–31)	Ch. 39
Περὶ τοῦ Ξηρολόφου (= <i>Excerpta</i> <i>Anonymi</i> 11, 1–7)	Ch. 20	Περὶ τοῦ κυναρίου (= <i>Excerpta</i> <i>Anonymi</i> 15, 1–16)	Ch. 40
Περὶ τῶν β΄ σταυρῶν τῶν ληστῶν (= <i>Excerpta</i> <i>Anonymi</i> 11, 8–12)	Ch. 23	Περὶ τοῦ Ἀμαστριανοῦ (= <i>Excerpta</i> <i>Anonymi</i> 15, 17–21)	Ch. 41
Περὶ γεφύρας (= <i>Excerpta</i> <i>Anonymi</i> 11, 13–22)	Ch. 22–24	Περὶ τοῦ βοῶς (= <i>Excerpta</i> <i>Anonymi</i> 15, 22–2)	Ch. 42
Περὶ ὁστῶν (= <i>Excerpta</i> <i>Anonymi</i> 11, 23–27)	Ch. 25	Περὶ γοργονοειδῶν (= <i>Excerpta</i> <i>Anonymi</i> 15, 30–16, 7)	Ch. 44a
Περὶ στήλης εὐνούχου τινὸς ἐν τῇ χελώνῃ (= <i>Excerpta</i> <i>Anonymi</i> 11, 28–12, 6)	Ch. 26–27	Περὶ τῶν Κονταρίων (= <i>Excerpta</i> <i>Anonymi</i> 16, 8–14)	Ch. 53

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<i>Excerpta Anonymi</i>	<i>Par.</i>	<i>Excerpta Anonymi</i>	<i>Par.</i>
Περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ κυνηγίῳ στηλῶν (= <i>Excerpta</i> <i>Anonymi</i> 12, 7–23)	Ch. 28	Περὶ τῶν Βιγλεντίου (= <i>Excerpta</i> <i>Anonymi</i> 16, 15–17)	Ch. 54–55
Περὶ τῶν β' στηλῶν Βηρίνης τῆς γυναικὸς τοῦ μεγάλου Λέοντος (= <i>Excerpta Anonymi</i> 12, 24–32)	Ch. 29	Περὶ τοῦ Φιλαδελφίου (= <i>Excerpta</i> <i>Anonymi</i> 16, 18–31)	Ch. 56–57
Περὶ Εὐφημίας τῆς γυναικὸς Ίουστίνου (= <i>Excerpta</i> <i>Anonymi</i> 13, 1–3)	Ch. 30–31	Περὶ τοῦ ἐν τῷ Φιλαδελφίῳ σταυροῦ (= <i>Excerpta Anonymi</i> 17, 1–6)	Ch. 58
Περὶ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας εἰς Ἀρκαδιανὰς (= <i>Excerpta</i> <i>Anonymi</i> 13, 4–9)	Ch. 32	Περὶ τοῦ σενάτου (= <i>Excerpta</i> <i>Anonymi</i> 17, 7–15)	Ch. 59
Περὶ στήλης Πουλχερίας (= <i>Excerpta</i> <i>Anonymi</i> 13, 10–12)	Ch. 33	Περὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης στηλῶν (= <i>Excerpta</i> <i>Anonymi</i> 17, 16–18)	Ch. 60
Περὶ στηλῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ καμάρα τοῦ μυλίου (= <i>Excerpta</i> <i>Anonymi</i> 13, 13–16)	Ch. 34	Περὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Νικομηδείας (= <i>Excerpta</i> <i>Anonymi</i> 20, 3–20, 6)	Ch. 76
Περὶ τῆς καθεζομένης (= <i>Excerpta</i> <i>Anonymi</i> 17, 24–27)	Ch. 61b	Περὶ στήλης Μαξιμιανοῦ (= <i>Excerpta</i> <i>Anonymi</i> 20, 7–20, 9)	Ch. 77
Περὶ τῆς ὑαίνης (= <i>Excerpta</i> <i>Anonymi</i> 17, 28–30)	Ch. 62	Περὶ τῶν Γοργόνων (= <i>Excerpta</i> <i>Anonymi</i> 20, 10–20, 13)	Ch. 78
Περὶ τῶν ἐπτὰ φιλοσόφων (= <i>Excerpta Anonymi</i> 17, 31–18, 24)	Ch. 64	Περὶ Ἀρτέμιδος (= <i>Excerpta</i> <i>Anonymi</i> 20, 14–20, 16)	Ch. 79
Περὶ Ἀσκληπιοδώρου (= <i>Excerpta</i> <i>Anonymi</i> 18, 25–31)	Ch. 65	Περὶ στηλῶν ἐν τῇ Χάλκῃ τοῦ παλατίου (= <i>Excerpta Anonymi</i> 20, 17–20, 19)	Ch. 80
Περὶ τοῦ ταύρου (= <i>Excerpta</i> <i>Anonymi</i> 19, 1–4)	Ch. 66–69	Περὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ Ζευξίππῳ (= <i>Excerpta</i> <i>Anonymi</i> 20, 20–20, 22)	Ch. 82–83
Περὶ τοῦ Φιλαδελφίου (= <i>Excerpta</i> <i>Anonymi</i> 19, 5–11)	Ch. 70	Περὶ τῶν ἵππων (= <i>Excerpta</i> <i>Anonymi</i> 20, 23–20, 25)	Ch. 84
Περὶ τοῦ ξηρολόφου (= <i>Excerpta</i> <i>Anonymi</i> 19, 12–16)	Ch. 71	Περὶ Περσέως (= <i>Excerpta</i> <i>Anonymi</i> 20, 26–21, 11)	Ch. 85
Περὶ τοῦ νεωρίου (= <i>Excerpta</i> <i>Anonymi</i> 19, 17–20)	Ch. 72	Περὶ τῆς γεννώσης θήρας ἐν τῷ Ἱπποδρομίῳ (= <i>Excerpta</i> <i>Anonymi</i> 17, 19–23)	Ch. 61a
Περὶ τοῦ Ζευξίππου (= <i>Excerpta</i> <i>Anonymi</i> 19, 22–23)	Ch. 73	Περὶ Αἰτίου (= <i>Excerpta Anonymi</i> 21, 12–21, 15)	Ch. 87

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<i>Excerpta Anonymi</i>	<i>Par.</i>	<i>Excerpta Anonymi</i>	<i>Par.</i>
Περὶ τοῦ ἀγωγοῦ (= <i>Excerpta Anonymi</i> 19, 24–25)		Περὶ Ἀσπαρος (= <i>Excerpta Anonymi</i> 21, 16–21, 19)	Ch. 88
Περὶ τῆς κινστέρνης βασιλικῆς (= <i>Excerpta Anonymi</i> 19, 26–29)	Ch. 74	Περὶ τοῦ Μοδίου (= <i>Excerpta Anonymi</i> 21, 20–21, 23)	Ch. 12
Περὶ στήλης τοῦ ἄρμαμέντου (= <i>Excerpta Anonymi</i> 19, 30–20, 2)	Ch. 75		

II. Section Περὶ ἀγάλματων in the *Excerpta Anonymi*, the *Patria II*, the *Codex Vaticanus gr.* 468 (V), and John Lydus' *De Mensibus*

<i>Excerpta Anonymi</i>	<i>Patria II</i>	<i>Vaticanus gr.</i> 468 (V)	<i>John Lydus' De Mensibus</i>
<i>Exc.An.</i> 4, 12–19: Περὶ ἀγάλματος Ἰανουαρίου	<i>Patria II</i> , 2: Περὶ ἀγάλματος Ἰανουαρίου	V 5: τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἰανουαρίου	<i>De Mensibus</i> 4.1.16–22
<i>Exc.An.</i> 4, 20–27: Περὶ ἀγάλματος κρατοῦντος δόρυ	<i>Patria II</i> , 3: Περὶ ἀγάλματος κρατοῦντος δόρυ	V 9: Περὶ ἀγάλματος κατέχοντος δόρυ	
<i>Exc.An.</i> 4, 28–31: Περὶ ἀγάλματος κρατοῦντος κιθάραν	<i>Patria II</i> , 4: Περὶ ἀγάλματος κρατοῦντος κιθάραν	V 6: Περὶ ἀγάλματος κρατοῦντος κιθάραν ἐπὶ χερσὶ	<i>De Mensibus</i> 4.51.25–26
<i>Exc.An.</i> 5, 1–14: Περὶ ἀγάλματος τοῦ ἐν τῷ Αὐγουστείῳ ἐφίππου κρατοῦντος σταυρὸν καὶ σφαῖραν	<i>Patria II</i> , 17: Περὶ τοῦ ἀγάλματος τοῦ ἐν τῷ Αὐγουστίῳ ἐφίππου κρατοῦντος σταυρὸν καὶ σφαῖραν		
<i>Exc.An.</i> 5, 15–19: Περὶ ἀγάλματος ἔχοντος ψαλῖδα χαλκῆν	<i>Patria II</i> , 5: Περὶ ἀγάλματος κρατοῦντος ψαλῖδα χαλκῆν	V 7: Περὶ ἀγάλματος κατέχοντος ψαλῖδα	
<i>Exc.An.</i> 5, 20–23: Περὶ ἀγάλματος βαστάζοντος πύργους	<i>Patria II</i> , 6: Περὶ ἀγάλματος βαστάζοντος πύργον	Περὶ ἀγάλματος Δημήτρας βασταζούσης πύργον (V 8)	<i>De Mensibus</i> 4.63.2–3

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Excerpta Anonymi	Patria II	Vaticanus gr. 468 (V)	John Lydus' De Mensibus
<i>Exc.An.</i> 5, 24–6, 3: Περὶ ἀγάλματος κτένα φέροντος	<i>Patria II</i> , 7: Περὶ ἀγάλματος κτένα φέροντος		<i>De Mensibus</i> 2.11.14–16 and 4.64.57–59
<i>Exc.An.</i> 6, 4–7: Περὶ ἀγάλματος τοῦ Ἡρακλέους βαστάζοντος τῇ ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ τρία μῆλα	<i>Patria II</i> , 8a: Περὶ ἀγάλματος Ἡρακλέους βαστάζοντος		
<i>Exc.An.</i> 6, 8–17: Περὶ ἀγάλματος τοῦ Διός	<i>Patria II</i> , 8: Περὶ ἀγάλματος τοῦ Διός	V10: Περὶ ἀγάλματος Ἡρ ακλέο<υ>ς βα στάζοντος τρία μῆλα	<i>De Mensibus</i> 4.67.11–12
<i>Exc.An.</i> 6, 18–27: Περὶ ἀγάλματος περωτοῦ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ	<i>Patria II</i> , 9–10: Περὶ ἀγάλματος περωτοῦ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ	V 1: Περὶ ἀγάλματος περωτοῦ Ἑρμοῦ	<i>De Mensibus</i> 4.76.59–73
<i>Exc.An.</i> 6, 28–32: Περὶ ἀγάλματος τῆς Εὐγνωμοσύνης	<i>Patria II</i> , 11: Περὶ ἀγάλματος τῆς Εὐγνωμοσύνης	V 3: Περὶ ἀγάλματος τῆς Εὐγνωμοσύνης	
<i>Exc.An.</i> 7, 1–12: Περὶ ἀγάλματος τοῦ Πριάπου	<i>Patria II</i> , 12: Περὶ ἀγάλματος τοῦ Πριάπου		
<i>Exc.An.</i> 7, 13–16: Περὶ ἀγάλματος τῆς γῆς	<i>Patria II</i> , 13: Περὶ ἀγάλματος τῆς γῆς	V 4: ἄγαλμα γῆς	
<i>Exc.An.</i> 7, 17–25: Περὶ ἀγάλματος ἔχοντος ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ κέρατα	<i>Patria II</i> , 14: Περὶ ἀγάλματος ἔχοντος ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ κέρατα		
<i>Exc.An.</i> 7, 26–8, 2: Περὶ ἀγάλματος Ἑρμοῦ βαστάζοντος μάρσιππον	<i>Patria II</i> , 10: Περὶ ἀγάλματος Ἑρμοῦ βαστάζοντος μάρσιππον	V 2: Περὶ ἀγάλματος Ἑρμοῦ βαστάζοντος μάρσιππον	

III. The transmission of Malalas' *Chronographia* through the *Exc.Salm.II*, the *Suda*, and the *Codex Parisinus gr. 1630 (B)*

<i>Malalas, Chronographia</i>	<i>Exc.Salm.II</i>	<i>Suda</i>	<i>B (ff. 235r–239r)</i>
<i>Chronographia</i> I 7–8	<i>Exc.Salm.II. 1–3</i>		235r, 15–235v, 10
<i>Chronographia</i> I 11	<i>Exc.Salm.II. 4</i>	<i>Suda</i> Z 160	
<i>Chronographia</i> I 12	<i>Exc.Salm.II. 5</i>	<i>Suda</i> Θ 417	235v, 10–14
<i>Chronographia</i> I 13	<i>Exc.Salm.II. 6</i>	<i>Suda</i> Π 1500, 14–17	235v, 20–25
<i>Chronographia</i> I 14	<i>Exc.Salm.II. 7</i>		23v, 25–32
<i>Chronographia</i> I 15	<i>Exc.Salm.II. 8</i>	<i>Suda</i> H 661	236r, 13–18
<i>Chronographia</i> II 1	<i>Exc.Salm.II. 9</i>		236r, 18–28
<i>Chronographia</i> II 3	<i>Exc.Salm.II. 10</i>	<i>Suda</i> Σ 867	236r, 32–236v, 2
<i>Chronographia</i> II 4	<i>Exc.Salm.II. 11</i>	<i>Suda</i> E 3038	236v, 2–18
<i>Chronographia</i> II 6	<i>Exc.Salm.II. 12</i>	<i>Suda</i> I 453	236v, 18–27
<i>Chronographia</i> II 11	<i>Exc.Salm.II. 13</i>	<i>Suda</i> M 406	237r, 9–21
<i>Chronographia</i> II 15	<i>Exc.Salm.II. 14</i>		
<i>Chronographia</i> II 18	<i>Exc.Salm.II. 15</i>	<i>Suda</i> Σ 253, 5–8; Σ 254, 30–34	237v, 14–25
	<i>Exc.Salm.II. 16</i>	<i>Suda</i> I 422	237v, 28–29
<i>Chronographia</i> III 9	<i>Exc.Salm.II. 17</i>		238r, 5–17
	<i>Exc.Salm.II. 18</i>	<i>Suda</i> X 79	238r, 20–21
<i>Chronographia</i> III 12	<i>Exc.Salm.II. 19</i>	<i>Suda</i> K 2078	238r, 25–30
<i>Chronographia</i> IV 3	<i>Exc.Salm.II. 20</i>	<i>Suda</i> Π 2506, 2–8	238v, 1–3
<i>Chronographia</i> IV 5	<i>Exc.Salm.II. 21</i>	<i>Suda</i> Π 2506, 8–21	238v, 4–8
<i>Chronographia</i> IV 9	<i>Exc.Salm.II. 22</i>		238v, 27–239r, 8
	<i>Exc.Salm.II. 23</i>	<i>Suda</i> Δ 250	238r, 8–239r, 11
<i>Chronographia</i> IV 18	<i>Exc.Salm.II. 24</i>	<i>Suda</i> A ₁ 23	
<i>Chronographia</i> V 2	<i>Exc.Salm.II. 25</i>		
<i>Chronographia</i> V 9	<i>Exc.Salm.II. 26</i>	<i>Suda</i> T 7	
	<i>Exc.Salm.II. 27</i>		
<i>Chronographia</i> V 24	<i>Exc.Salm.II. 28</i>		
<i>Chronographia</i> V 8	<i>Exc.Salm.II. 29</i>		
	<i>Exc.Salm.II. 30</i>	<i>Suda</i> P 146	
<i>Chronographia</i> V 14	<i>Exc.Salm.II. 31</i>		
<i>Chronographia</i> V 12	<i>Exc.Salm.II. 32</i>	<i>Suda</i> Π 34	
<i>Chronographia</i> V 17–18	<i>Exc.Salm.II. 33</i>		
<i>Chronographia</i> V 19–20	<i>Exc.Salm.II. 34</i>		
<i>Chronographia</i> VII 4	<i>Exc.Salm.II. 35</i>		
<i>Chronographia</i> V 43	<i>Exc.Salm.II. 36</i>		
	<i>Exc.Salm.II. 37</i>		
<i>Chronographia</i> VII 5	<i>Exc.Salm.II. 38</i>		
	<i>Exc.Salm.II. 39</i>		
	<i>Exc.Salm.II. 40</i>	<i>Suda</i> A 4126	
	<i>Exc.Salm.II. 41</i>		
	<i>Exc.Salm.II. 42</i>		
	<i>Exc.Salm.II. 43</i>		

IV. The common use of passages from the *CD* tradition in the *Exc.Salm.II* and the *Excerpta Anonymi*

<i>CD</i> = Cassius Dio, <i>Historiae Romanae</i> (ed. Boiss.) Direct tradition (<i>Laurentianus Plut.</i> 70, 8 & <i>Marcianus</i> 395) <i>Xiph.</i> = Xiphilini epitome <i>EVetV</i> = Excerpta de Virtutibus et Vitiis	<i>Pet.Patr.</i> = Peter the Patrician (<i>Excerpta de Sententiis</i>)	<i>Exc.Salm.II</i> = Excerpta Salmasiana	<i>EA</i> = Excerpta Anonymi
<i>CD 44, 17, 1 (Laur. Plut. 70, 8 f. 140v)</i> ἐν γὰρ τῇ νυκτὶ ἐν ἣ ἐσφάγη, ἣ τε γυνὴ αὐτοῦ τὴν τε οἰκίαν σφῶν συμ- πεπτωκέναι καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα συντετρῶσθαι τε ὑπὸ τινῶν καὶ ἐς τὸν κόλπον αὐτῆς καταφυγεῖν ἔδοξε.		<i>Exc.Salm.II 44</i> Πρὸ δὲ μιᾶς ἡμέρας τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ, ἔδοξεν ὄρᾱν ἣ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ πετωκυῖαν τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ.	<i>EA 29, 19–21</i> Ἦ δὲ γαμετὴ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ νυκτί, μεθ’ ἣν ἐσφάγη, ἔδοξεν ὄρᾱν τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ Καίσαρος πᾶσαν συμπεπτωκυῖαν.
<i>CD 37, 52, 2 (Laur. Plut. 70, 8 f. 28r)</i> τῇ μητρὶ συγγίγνεσθαι ὄναρ ἔδοξε.		<i>Exc.Salm.II 44</i> Γάιος Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ νέος ὢν, ἔδοξε καθ’ ὕπνου συνουσιάζειν τῇ ἰδίᾳ μητρὶ.	<i>EA 29, 25–27</i> Ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ Γάιος Ἰούλιος νέος ὢν ἔδοξεν ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις συνουσιάζειν τῇ οἰκείᾳ μητρὶ.
<i>CD 45, 1, 3 (Marcianus 395 f. 8v)</i> πρίν τε ἢ ἐς τὸ φῶς ἐξιέναι, ἔδοξεν ὄναρ τὰ σπλάγχνα ἑαυτῆς ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναφέρεισθαι καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐπεκτείνεισθαι.		<i>Exc.Salm.II 45</i> ἡμέρας μιᾶς πρὸ τεχθῆναι τοῦτον, εἶδεν ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ, ὡς τὰ σπλάγχνα αὐτῆς ἐξαρπαγέντα εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐφέρετο.	<i>EA 29, 28–30</i> Ἦ δὲ μήτηρ τοῦ Αὐγούστου πρὸ μιᾶς ἡμέρας τοῦ τεκεῖν αὐτὴν ἐθεάσατο ἐνὸπνιον ὡς τὰ σπλάγχνα αὐτῆς ἐξαρπαγέντα εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναφέρετο.
<i>CD 45, 1, 3 (Marcianus 395 f. 8v)</i> καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ νυκτὶ καὶ ὁ Ὀκτάουιος ἐκ τοῦ αἰδοίου αὐτῆς τὸν ἥλιον ἀνατέλλειν ἐνόμισεν.		<i>Exc.Salm.II 45</i> καὶ ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ἣ ἐγεννήθη εἶδεν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ὅτι ἐκ τῶν κόλπων τῆς αὐτοῦ γυναικὸς ἀνέτειλεν ὁ ἥλιος.	<i>EA 29, 31–33</i> καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ νυκτί, ἐν ἣ ἐτέχθη Ὀκτάβιος ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἐνόμισεν ἐκ τῶν κόλπων τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ τὸν ἥλιον ἀνατέλλειν.

(Continued)

(Continued)

CD = Cassius Dio, *Historiae Romanae* (ed. Boiss.)
 Direct tradition (*Laurentianus Plut.* 70, 8 & *Marcianus* 395)
Xiph. = Xiphilini epitome
EVerV = Excerpta de Virtutibus et Vitiis

Pet.Patr. = Peter the Patrician (Excerpta de Sententiis)

Exc.Salm.II = Excerpta Salmasiana

EA = Excerpta Anonymi

CD 45, 1, 3–5 (*Marcianus* 395 f. 8v)

καὶ Νιγίδιος Φίγουλος βουλευτῆς παραχρήμα αὐτῷ τὴν αὐταρχίαν ἐμαντεύσατο· (...) οὗτος οὖν τότε τὸν Ὀκτάσιον βραδύτερον ἐς τὸ συνέδριον διὰ τὸν τοῦ παιδὸς τόκον (ἔτυχε γὰρ βουλή οὕσα) ἀπαντήσαντα ἀνῆρετο διὰ τί ἐβράδυνε, καὶ μαθὼν τὴν αἰτίαν ἀνεβόησεν ὅτι “δεσπότην ἡμῖν ἐγέννησας”, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκταραχθέντα ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ διαφθεῖραι τὸ παιδίον ἐθελήσαντα ἐπέσχεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι ἀδύνατόν ἐστι τοιοῦτό τι αὐτὸ παθεῖν.

CD 45, 2, 1 (*Xiph.* 37, 8–38, 13)

δὴ ταῦτ’ ἐλέχθη, τρεφομένου δὲ ἐν ἀγρῷ αὐτοῦ ἀετὸς ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ ἐξαρπάσας ἄρτον ἐμετεωρίσθη καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καταπτόμενος ἀπέδωκεν αὐτόν.

CD 45, 2, 1–2 (*Laur. Plut.* 70, 8 f. 154r)

παιδίσκου τε αὐτοῦ ὄντος καὶ τὴν διατριβὴν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ποιουμένου, ἔδοξε ποτε ὁ Κικέρων ὄναρ ἀλύσει τε αὐτὸν χρυσαῖς ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καθιμῆσθαι καὶ μάστιγα παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς εἰληφέναι· καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἡπίστατο ὅστις ἦν, περιέτυχέ τε αὐτῷ τῆς ὑστεραίας ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ,

Exc.Salm.II 45

Νιγίδιος δὲ τις βουλευτῆς ἀστρολόγος, βραδύτερον προελθόντος τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, ἠρώτησε τὴν αἰτίαν, ὃ δὲ ἔφη υἱὸν αὐτῷ τεχθῆναι· κακεῖνος, “ὦ τί ἐποίησας; δεσπότην ἡμῖν ἐγέννησας,” ἀνεβόησε.

Exc.Salm.II 45

τρεφομένου δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐν ἀγρῷ, ἀετὸς καταπτάς ἄρτον ἐκ χειρῶν αὐτοῦ ἀφείλετο, καὶ ἐπανελθὼν πάλιν αὐτὸν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ ἀπέθετο.

Exc.Salm.II 45

ἐν παισὶ δὲ τελούντα εἶδε καθ’ ὕπνου αὐτὸν Κικέρων χρυσῇ ἀλύσει δεδεμένον, καὶ μάστιγα κρατοῦντα ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ χαλασθῆναι οὐρανόθεν.

EA 30, 1–7

καὶ Νιγίδιος τις Φίγουλος βουλευτῆς ἀστρολόγος, ἠρώτησεν Ὀκτάσιον τὸν πατέρα Αὐγούστου· ἀνθ’ ὅτου βραδὺ προήλθεν· ὃ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο υἱὸν αὐτῷ τετέχθαι· κακεῖνος ἀνεβόησεν· ὦ τί ἐποίησας; δεσπότην ἡμῖν ἐγέννησας. ὃ δὲ πιστεύσας καὶ ταραχθεὶς ἡβουλήθη ἀνελεῖν αὐτόν· Νιγίδιος δὲ φησι πρὸς αὐτόν· οὐκ ἰσχύεις· οὐ γὰρ συγκεχώρησαι τοῦτο ποιεῖν.

EA 30, 8–10

Πάλιν δὲ τρεφομένου αὐτοῦ ἐν ἀγρῷ ἀετὸς καταπτάς ἀετὸς ἄρτον ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ τὸν ἄρτον ἀρπάσας καὶ ἐπανελθὼν πάλιν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ αὐτὸν ἐναπέθετο.

EA 30, 11–13

Πάλιν ἐν παισὶ αὐτοῦ τελούντος ὄναρ ἐθεάσατο ὁ Κικέρων αὐτόν Ὀκτάσιον χρυσῇ ἀλύσει δεδεμένον καὶ μάστιγα κρατοῦντα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ χαλασθῆναι εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον.

CD 65, 1, 4 (Xiph.193, 23–30)

Οὐτέλλιος δὲ ἐπεὶ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐγένετο, τᾶλλά τε διώκει ὥς που καὶ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ, καὶ πρόγραμμα ἔθετο δι' οὗ τοὺς ἀστρολόγους ἐξήλασε, προειπὼν σφισιν ἐντὸς τῆσδε τῆς ἡμέρας, ῥητὴν τινα τάξας, ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς Ἰταλίας χωρῆσαι. καὶ αὐτῷ ἐκείνοι νυκτὸς ἀντιπροθέντες γράμματα ἀντιπαρήγγειλαν ἀπαλλαγῆναι ἐκ τοῦ βίου ἐντὸς τῆς ἡμέρας ἐν ᾗ ἐτελεύτησε. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἀκριβῶς τὸ γενησόμενον προέγνωσαν.

CD 67, 16, 2–3 (Xiph. 225, 9–15)

Λαργίνος τις Πρόκλος δημοσίᾳ προειπὼν ἐν Γερμανίᾳ ὅτι τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἐν ᾗ ἀπέθανε τελευτήσῃ, ἀνεπέμφθητε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος, καὶ ἐσαχθεὶς πρὸς τὸν Δομιτιανὸν ἔφη καὶ τότε τοῦθ' οὕτως ἔξιν, καὶ καταδικασθεὶς τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἀνεβλήθη τε ὅπως διαφυγόντος αὐτοῦ τὸν κίνδυνον ἀποθάνῃ, κὰν τούτῳ τοῦ Δομιτιανοῦ σφαγέντος ἐσώθῃ καὶ δέκα μυριάδας δραχμῶν παρὰ τοῦ Νέρουα ἔλαβεν.

Pet.Patr. (ES 89)

Ὅτι βιτέλλιος ἐξέβαλε τοὺς γόητας καὶ τοὺς ἀστρολόγους διὰ προγράμματος εἰπὼν αὐτοῖς ἐντὸς ῥητῆς ἡμέρας ἐκχωρῆσαι πάσης τῆς ἰταλίας καὶ αὐτοὶ νυκτὸς πρόγραμμα ἀντιτεθείκασιν ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι αὐτὸν τοῦ βίου ἐν ᾗ τελευτᾶν ἔμελλεν· οὕτως ἀκριβῶς τὸ γενησόμενον προέγνωσαν.

Exc.Salm.II 54

Οὐτίλλιος ἔθηκε πρόγραμμα τοὺς γόητας καὶ ἀστρολόγους ἐντὸς ῥητῆς ἡμέρας ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς Ἰταλίας, καὶ αὐτοὶ νυκτὸς ἀντιτεθείκασιν πρόγραμμα παραγγέλλοντες, ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι τοῦ βίου ἐντὸς ἡμέρας, ἐν ᾗ τελευτᾶν ἔμελλεν.

Exc.Salm.II 56

Λάργιος δὲ Πρόκλος ἐν Γερμανίᾳ προεῖπε δημοσίᾳ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ ὁ βασιλεὺς τεθνήξεται· διὸ δέσμιος Δομετιανῷ εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπέμφθη. καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ εἰς ὅσιν τὸ αὐτό. ὁ δὲ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν φυλαχθῆναι, ὥς ἂν τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης διαδραμοῦσης ἀνερθεῖ· ἀλλὰ θανόντος τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπελύθη ἀβλαβής.

EA 31, 24–30

Ἐν τῷ τέλει τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ὀργισθεὶς τοῖς γόησι καὶ ἀστρολόγοις ἐποίησε πρόγραμμα καὶ ἀνατέθεικεν αὐτὸ ἐμφαίνον ἐντὸς τίνος ῥητῆς ἡμέρας ἐξέρχεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐκ πάσης τῆς Ἰταλίας· οἱ δὲ νυκτὸς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀνατεθείκασιν προσαγγέλλοντες ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι αὐτὸν τοῦ βίου ἐντὸς τῆς ἡμέρας ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν.

EA 32, 1–9

Λέγουσι γάρ, ὡς Πρόκλος ἀστρολόγος καὶ γόης ἐν Γερμανίᾳ δημοσίᾳ προεῖπεν τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐν ᾗ τεθνήξεται. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δεθεὶς ἀνεπέμφθη εἰς Ῥώμην καὶ προσήχθη τῷ Δομετιανῷ καὶ αὐτῷ εἶπεν εἰς ὅσιν αὐτὴν τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐν ᾗ μέλλει τελευτᾶν· ὁ δὲ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν φυλαχθῆναι ἐν δεσμοῖς ὡς ὀφείλοντα ἐπ' ὅσιν αὐτοῦ ἀναιρεθῆναι. τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος· οὐ μὲν με κτενέεις, ἐπεὶ οὐ τοι μόρσιμός εἰμι. ἐν τῷ μέσῳ Δομετιανὸς ἀπώλετο.

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CD = Cassius Dio, *Historiae Romanae*
(ed. Boiss.)
Direct tradition (*Laurentianus Plut.* 70, 8
& *Marcianus* 395)
Xiph. = Xiphilini epitome
EVetV = Excerpta de Virtutibus et Vitiis

Pet.Patr. = Peter the
Patrician (*Excerpta de*
Sententiis)

Exc.Salm.II = Excerpta
Salmasiana

EA = Excerpta Anonymi

***CD* 67, 16, 3 (*Xiph.* 225, 15–22)**

ἕτερός τέ τις πρότερόν ποτε εἰπὼν αὐτῷ καὶ
ὅποτε καὶ ὅπως φθαρῇσεται,
ἔπειτα ἐρωτηθεὶς ὁποῖῳ αὐτὸς τέλει τοῦ
βίου χρήσεται, καὶ ἀποκρινάμενος ὅτι
ὑπὸ κυνῶν ἀναλωθήσεται, ἐκέλευσθη
μὲν ζῶν κατακαυθῆναι καὶ τὸ πῦρ αὐτῷ
προσῆχθαι, ὕετοῦ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ πολλοῦ
καταρρυνέντος ἢ τε πυρὰ ἐσβέσθη καὶ
ἐκεῖνον κύνες ὀπίσω τῷ χεῖρι δεδεμένον
καὶ ἐπικείμενον ἐπ' αὐτῆς εὐρόντες διε
σπάραξαν.

***Exc.Salm.II* 57**

Δομετιανὸς ἔτη πέντε. προεῖπεν
ἀστρολόγος καὶ πότε καὶ
ὅπως τεθνήξεται. ἠρώτησεν
οὖν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνος, ποίῳ
τέλει αὐτὸς χρήσεται· καὶ
εἰπόντος, θέλων ἀπελέγξαι
αὐτὸν ψευδόμενον,
ἐκέλευσε ζῶντα καυθῆναι,
ἀχθέντος δὲ πυρός, ὕετος
πολὺς καταβράγεις τὴν
πυρὰν ἔσβεσε, καὶ κύνες
ὀπίσω τῷ χεῖρι δεδεμένου
τοὺς δεσμοὺς διεσπάραξαν.

***EA* 32, 11–21**

Ἀσκληπιδὸς ἀστρολόγος προσῆλθε
τῷ Δομετιανῷ λέγων πάντως
ἀποσφαγήσεσθαι αὐτὸν τῇ ἐπιούσῃ
ἡμέρᾳ, πρὶν ἢ πέντε ὥρας παρελθεῖν
τῆς ἡμέρας. ὁ δὲ γελάσας ἤρετο
αὐτόν, εἴ τι περὶ αὐτοῦ ἔχει
μαντεύσασθαι. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· ὥς καὶ
αὐτὸς ἀνὺ ταχέως ὑπὸ κυνῶν
διασπασθήσεται. ὁ δὲ βουλόμενος
αὐτὸν ἀποδείξαι ψευδόμενον
ἐκέλευσε σταυρῷ προσδεθέντα
καυθῆναι. ὥς δὲ τὸ πῦρ ὑπέβαλον,
ραγδαίωτος ὁ μβρος ἐπέγενετο
καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἀπέσβεσεν· καὶ διὰ τὴν
σφοδρότητα τοῦ ὕδατος φυγόντων
τῶν φυλάκων κύνες προσελθόντες
διέσπασαν αὐτόν· ὅπερ μαθὼν ὁ
Δομετιανὸς ἐν φόβῳ ἐγένετο, μήπως
καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἀληθεύσῃ. ὅπερ καὶ
γένονεν.

V. The use of *CD* and *Pet.Patr.* from the tenth to the twelfth century

<i>CD</i> = Cassius Dio (ed. Boiss.) Direct tradition (<i>Laurentianus Plut.</i> 70, 8 & <i>Marcianus</i> 395) <i>Xiph.</i> = Xiphlinus' <i>Epitome</i> (<i>EV</i>)	<i>Pet.Patr.</i> = Peter the Patrician's excerpts (<i>ES</i>)	<i>Exc.Salm.II</i>	<i>EA</i> = Excerpta Anonymi	Sym. Log. <i>Chronicon</i>	<i>PS</i> = Ps.-Symeon, <i>Chronographia</i> (<i>Parisinus</i> gr.1712)	<i>Zon.</i> = Zonaras, <i>Epitome</i> <i>historiarum</i> ; <i>Cedr.</i> = Cedrenus, <i>Compendium</i> <i>historiarum</i>	Constantine Manasis, <i>Breviarium</i> <i>Chronicum</i>
<i>CD</i> 44, 18, 2–3 (<i>Laurentianus Plut.</i> 70, 8 f. 141r)			<i>EA</i> 29, 14–18	<i>Chronicon</i> , 48.4, 11–17 Wahlgren	<i>PS</i> ^a (<i>Par. gr.</i> 1712 f. 74v)	<i>Cedr.</i> 1 p. 300, 15–17	
<i>CD</i> 44, 17, 1 (<i>Laurentianus</i> <i>Plut.</i> 70, 8 f. 140v)		<i>Exc.Salm.</i> <i>II</i> 44	<i>EA</i> 29, 19–21		<i>PS</i> (<i>Par. gr.</i> 1712 f. 74r)	<i>Cedr.</i> 1 p. 300, 10–13	<i>Breviarium</i> <i>Chronicum</i> , 1825–1829
			<i>EA</i> 29, 21–24 (added by the compiler)				
<i>CD</i> 37, 52, 2 (<i>Laurentianus</i> <i>Plut.</i> 70, 8 f. 28r)		<i>Exc.Salm.</i> <i>II</i> 44	<i>EA</i> 29, 25–27				
<i>CD</i> 45, 1, 3 (<i>Marcianus</i> 395 f. 8v)		<i>Exc.Salm.</i> <i>II</i> 45	<i>EA</i> 29, 28–30		<i>PS</i> (<i>Par. gr.</i> 1712 f. 74v)	<i>Zon.</i> 10, 13 p. 339, 14–17B	<i>Breviarium</i> <i>Chronicum</i> , 1837–1855
<i>CD</i> 45, 1, 3 (<i>Marcianus</i> 395 f. 8v)		<i>Exc.Salm.</i> <i>II</i> 45	<i>EA</i> 29, 31–33	<i>Chronicon</i> , 50.1, 4–6 Wahlgren	<i>PS</i> (<i>Par. gr.</i> 1712 f. 74v)	<i>Zon.</i> 10, 13 p. 339, 14–17B	
<i>CD</i> 45, 1, 3–5 (<i>Marcianus</i> 395 f. 8v)		<i>Exc.Salm.</i> <i>II</i> 45	<i>EA</i> 30, 1–7		<i>PS</i> (<i>Par.gr.</i> 1712 f. 74v)	<i>Zon.</i> 10, 13 p. 339, 17–304, 3B	

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<i>CD</i> = Cassius Dio (ed. Boiss.) Direct tradition (<i>Laurentianus Plut.</i> 70, 8 & <i>Marcianus</i> 395) <i>Xiph.</i> = Xiphlinus' <i>Epitome</i> (<i>EV</i>)	<i>Pet.Patr.</i> = Peter the Patrician's excerpts (<i>ES</i>)	<i>Exc.Salm.II</i>	<i>EA</i> = Excerpta Anonymi	Sym. Log. <i>Chronicon</i>	<i>PS</i> = Ps.-Symeon, <i>Chronographia</i> (<i>Parisinus</i> gr.1712)	<i>Zon.</i> = Zonaras, <i>Epitome</i> <i>historiarum</i> ; <i>Cedr.</i> = Cedrenus, <i>Compendium</i> <i>historiarum</i>	Constantine Manasis, <i>Breviarium</i> <i>Chronicum</i>
<i>CD</i> 45, 2, 1 (<i>Xiph.</i> 37, 8–38, 13)		<i>Exc.Salm.</i> <i>II</i> 45	<i>EA</i> 30, 8–10		<i>PS</i> (Par.gr. 1712 f. 74v)	<i>Zon.</i> 10,13 p. 340, 3–5B	
<i>CD</i> 45, 2, 2 (<i>Laurentianus</i> <i>Plut.</i> 70, 8 f. 154r)		<i>Exc.Salm.</i> <i>II</i> 45	<i>EA</i> 30, 11–13		<i>PS</i> (Par.gr. 1712 f. 74v)	<i>Zon.</i> 10, 13 p. 340, 5–8B	
<i>CD</i> 47, 48, 4–49, 2 (<i>Xiph.</i> 53, 15–30)			<i>EA</i> 30, 13–15 <i>EA</i> 30, 17–26			<i>Zon.</i> 10, 20 p. 364, 5–7B	
<i>CD</i> 55, 4, 2 (<i>Xiph.</i> 98, 16–30)		<i>Exc.Salm.</i> <i>II</i> 46		<i>Chronicon</i> , 50.4, 18–5.27 Wahlgren	<i>PS</i> (Par.gr. 1712 f. 75r)	<i>Zon.</i> 10, 35 p. 419, 11–19	
<i>CD</i> 55, 11, 1–2 (<i>Xiph.</i> 102, 16–25)			<i>EA</i> 30, 27–31, 3	<i>Chronicon</i> , 51.2 (in app.) Wahlgren	<i>PS</i> (Par.gr. 1712 f. 75v)	<i>Zon.</i> 10, 36 p. 423, 1–11B <i>Cedr.</i> 1 p. 344, 2–7	
<i>CD</i> 55, 11, 3 (<i>Xiph.</i> 102, 25–30)			<i>EA</i> 31, 4–9			<i>Zon.</i> 10, 36 p. 423, 12–14 B? check if fits	
<i>CD</i> 56, 43, 1–2 & 52, 37		<i>Exc.Salm.</i> <i>II</i> 47		<i>Chronicon</i> , 50.6, 27–38 Wahlgren			
<i>CD</i> 56, 30, 4 (<i>Marcianus</i> 395 f. 201v)		<i>Exc.Salm.</i> <i>II</i> 48		<i>Chronicon</i> , 50.9, 53–55 Wahlgren	<i>PS</i> (Par.gr. 1712 f. 76r)	<i>Zon.</i> 10, 38 p. 429, 10	<i>Breviarium</i> <i>Chronicum</i> , 1919–1922

CD 58, 23, 3 (<i>Xiph.</i> 154, 7–8)	<i>Pet.Patr.</i> (ES 14, p.243, 11–13)	EA 31, 10–13 <i>EA</i> 31, 14–17			<i>Zon.</i> 11, 3 p. 443, 4–6B	
		<i>EA</i> 31, 18–23				
CD 59, 12, 3 (<i>Xiph.</i> 160, 24–161) &		<i>Exc.Salm.</i> II 49		<i>Chronicon</i> , 52.1, 2–6 Wahlgren	<i>Zon.</i> 11, 5 p. 451, 4–10B <i>Cedr.</i> p. 364, 4–8	<i>Breviarium Chronicum</i> , 1990–2001
CD 59, 22, 3–4 (<i>Xiph.</i> 166, 12–28)		<i>Exc.Salm.</i> II 49				
CD 57, 5, 6 (<i>Xiph.</i> 127, 13–17)		<i>Exc.Salm.</i> II 50				
CD 60, 3, 3		<i>Exc.Salm.</i> II 51		<i>Chronicon</i> , 53.2, 2–4 Wahlgren	<i>PS</i> (Par.gr. 1712 f. 76v)	<i>Zon.</i> 11, 8 p. 461, 1–8B <i>Breviarium Chronicum</i> , 2003–2008
CD 63, 29, 2 (<i>Xiph.</i> 185, 33–186, 5)		<i>Exc.Salm.</i> II 52		<i>Chronicon</i> , 54.3, 5–9 Wahlgren	<i>PS</i> (Par.gr. 1712 f.77v)	<i>Zon.</i> 11, 13 p.481, 6–482, 2B <i>Breviarium Chronicum</i> , 2031–2033
CD 62, 18, 4 (<i>Xiph.</i> 169, 2–6)	<i>Pet.Patr.</i> (ES 59)	<i>Exc.Salm.</i> II 53		<i>Chronicon</i> , 54.2 (in app.) Wahlgren	<i>PS</i> (Par.gr. 1712 f. 77r)	<i>Cedr.</i> I, p. 360, 9
CD 65, 1, 4 (<i>Xiph.</i> 193, 23–30)	<i>Pet.Patr.</i> (ES 89)	<i>Exc.Salm.</i> II 54	<i>EA</i> 31, 24–30	<i>Chronicon</i> , 57.2, 2–6 Wahlgren	<i>PS</i> (Par.gr. 1712 f. 78r)	<i>Zon.</i> 11, 16 p. 487, 3–8B
CD 66, 16, 1 (<i>Xiph.</i> 209, 27–29)		<i>Exc.Salm.</i> II 55				
CD 67, 16,2–3 (<i>Xiph.</i> 225, 9–15)		<i>Exc.Salm.</i> II 56	<i>EA</i> 32, 1–9	<i>Chronicon</i> , 60.6, 13–16 Wahlgren	<i>PS</i> (Par.gr. 1712 f. 78v)	<i>Zon.</i> 11, 19 p. 502, 8–14B

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<i>CD</i> = Cassius Dio (ed. Boiss.) Direct tradition (<i>Laurentianus Plut.</i> 70, 8 & <i>Marcianus</i> 395) <i>Xiph.</i> = Xiphlinus' <i>Epitome</i> (<i>EV</i>)	<i>Pet.Patr.</i> = Peter the Patrician's excerpts (<i>ES</i>)	<i>Exc.Salm.II</i>	<i>EA</i> = Excerpta Anonymi	Sym. Log. <i>Chronicon</i>	<i>PS</i> = Ps.-Symeon, <i>Chronographia</i> (<i>Parisinus</i> gr.1712)	<i>Zon.</i> = Zonaras, <i>Epitome</i> <i>historiarum</i> ; <i>Cedr.</i> = Cedrenus, <i>Compendium</i> <i>historiarum</i>	Constantine Manasis, <i>Breviarium</i> <i>Chronicum</i>
<i>CD</i> 67, 16, 3 (<i>Xiph.</i> 225, 15–22)		<i>Exc.Salm.</i> II 57	<i>EA</i> 32, 11–21	<i>Chronicon</i> , 60.5, 10–13 Wahlgren	<i>PS</i> (Par.gr. 1712 f. 78v)	<i>Zon.</i> 11, 19 p. 502, 14–20B	
<i>CD</i> 67, 18, 1–2 (<i>Xiph.</i> 226, 2–6)			<i>EA</i> 32, 23–27			<i>Zon.</i> 11, 19 p.503, 5–10B	
<i>CD</i> 68, 3, 1 (<i>Xiph.</i> 227, 27–228, 2)		<i>Exc.Salm.</i> II 58				<i>Zon.</i> 11, 20 p.507, 4–6B & <i>Zon.</i> 11, 20 p. 605, 22–507, 4	<i>Breviarium</i> <i>Chronicum</i> , 2119–2125
<i>CD</i> 69, 19, 2 (<i>Xiph.</i> 253, 19–23+ <i>EVetV</i>)	<i>Pet.Patr.</i> (<i>ES</i> 112)	<i>Exc.Salm.</i> II 59		<i>Chronicon</i> , 63.3, 12–17 Wahlgren	<i>PS</i> (Par.gr. 1712 f.79r)	<i>Zon.</i> 11, 24 p. 520, 9–16B	
<i>CD</i>		<i>Exc.Salm.</i> II 60					
<i>Eutr.</i> VIII 13, 2		<i>Exc.Salm.</i> II 61					
<i>CD</i> 71, 34, 1 (<i>Xiph.</i> 267, 11–12)		<i>Exc.Salm.</i> II 62		<i>Chronicon</i> , 65.2, 5–7 Wahlgren			
<i>CD</i> 74, 1, 1–2 (<i>Xiph.</i> 293, 20–294, 3)		<i>Exc.Salm.</i> II 63				<i>Zon.</i> 12, 8 p.546, 1–4B	
<i>CD</i> 74, 14, 5		<i>Exc.Salm.II</i> 64a		<i>Chronicon</i> , 69.2, 2–3 Wahlgren		<i>Zon.</i> 13, 3	

<i>CD</i> 74, 14, 5–6	<i>Exc.Salm.II</i> 64b	<i>Chronicon</i> , 69.2, 3–8 Wahlgren	<i>Zon.</i> 13, 3 p.17, 6–13B
<i>CD</i> 78, 4, 4–5 <i>CD</i> 78, 7, 1–2 Boiss, 3, p. 409–410, 412	<i>Exc.Salm.II</i> 65	<i>Chronicon</i> , 70.2, 5–11 Wahlgren	<i>PS</i> (Par.gr. 1712 f. 80v) <i>Cedr.</i> 1 p. 448, 22–449, 1B

^a Par. gr. 1712, 12./13. c. = (O) in Wahlgren's edition of Symeon Logotheti. Wahlgren includes the ff. 6r–12v as part of the genuine Sym. Logoth. Ff. 18v–272r transmit Ps.-Symeon.

VI. The *Epitome* and the *HE* of Eusebius of Caesarea

<i>Epitome</i>	<i>Auctarium</i> E.4.18 (136r–143v)	<i>Barocc.</i> gr. 142 (212r–216r)	<i>Ath.</i> <i>Vat.</i> 286 (91r–108r)	<i>Paris. gr.</i> 1555a (7r–9v)	Eusebius' <i>EH</i>
Exc. 1	1	1	1	1	<i>EH</i> 1, V.1–2, X.1
Exc. 2	2	2	1		<i>EH</i> 1, VI.1–2
Exc. 3	3	3	2		<i>EH</i> 1, VI.6–7
Exc. 4	4	4	2		<i>EH</i> 1, VI.10–11
Exc. 5	5	5			<i>EH</i> 1, VII.1; <i>Luke</i> 24, 13; <i>Chron. Pasch.</i> 499, 5–7; <i>Georg.</i> <i>Sync.</i> 439, 15–18.
Exc. 6	6	6	3	2	<i>EH</i> 1, IX.2–4
Exc. 7	7	7	3	3	<i>EH</i> 1, X.1–7
Exc. 8		8	4		<i>EH</i> 1, XI.1–4; <i>Acts</i> 25, 13–14; <i>Acts</i> 26, 1–2
Exc. 9		9	5, 6		<i>EH</i> 1, XII.2–3
Exc. 10		10	7		<i>EH</i> 2, II.1–4, II.6
Exc. 11		11	8		<i>Acts</i> 8, 26–41; <i>EH</i> 2, I.10
Exc. 12		12			<i>EH</i> 1, XII, XII
Exc. 13		13	9		<i>EH</i> 2, IV.1, VII.1, VII.4, VII.1
Exc. 14		14			<i>EH</i> 2, IX.1–3
Exc. 15			10		<i>EH</i> 2, XIII.1–4
Exc. 16		15	11		<i>EH</i> 2, XV.1–2
Exc. 17		16	12		<i>EH</i> 2, V.4, XVII.2
Exc. 18		17	13		<i>EH</i> 2, XXIII.1–2, 19–21
Exc. 19			16		<i>EH</i> 2, XXIV.1
Exc. 20		18	14		<i>EH</i> 2, XXV.3–4
Exc. 21		19	15		<i>EH</i> 2, XXV.5–8
Exc. 22		20	17		<i>EH</i> 3, I.1–3, <i>EH</i> 2, XXV.7
Exc. 23		21	18		<i>EH</i> 3, II.1
Exc. 24		22	19		<i>EH</i> 3, III.1–5, XXV.2–3
Exc. 25		23	20		<i>EH</i> 3, IV.6
Exc. 26		24	21		<i>EH</i> 3, IV.5
Exc. 27		25			<i>EH</i> 3, IV.10
Exc. 28		26	22		<i>EH</i> 3, V.3
Exc. 29		27			<i>EH</i> 3, X.6–8
Exc. 30		28	23		<i>EH</i> 3, XI.1
Exc. 31		29	24		<i>EH</i> 3, XII.1
Exc. 32		30			<i>EH</i> 3, XIV.1, XV.1, XVI.1
Exc. 33		31	25, 26	4	<i>EH</i> 3, XVII.1, XVIII.1, XX.1–5; <i>Hegesippus</i>

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<i>Epitome</i>	<i>Auctarium</i> E.4.18 (136r–143v)	<i>Barocc.</i> gr. 142 (212r–216r)	<i>Ath.</i> <i>Vat.</i> 286 (91r–108r)	<i>Paris. gr.</i> 1555a (7r–9v)	Eusebius' <i>EH</i>
Exc. 34		32	27		<i>EH</i> 3, XX.8–9
Exc. 35		33	28		<i>EH</i> 3, XXII.1, XXXVII.15
Exc. 36		34			<i>EH</i> 3, XXI.1, XXIII.2–4
Exc. 37		35	29		<i>EH</i> 3, XXIV.8
Exc. 38		36	30	5	<i>EH</i> 3, XXV.4–6; fontem non inveni
Exc. 39		37		6	<i>EH</i> 3, XXVII.1–6
Exc. 40		38		7	<i>EH</i> 3, XVIII.1–2, XVIII.6
Exc. 41			32		<i>EH</i> 3, XVIII.1–2
Exc. 42		39	33		<i>EH</i> 3, XXX.1–2
Exc. 43		40	34		<i>EH</i> 3, XXXI.2–3, XXXI.5
Exc. 44		41			<i>EH</i> 3, XXXII.1–3
Exc. 45		42	35		<i>EH</i> 3, XXXIII.2
Exc. 46		43			<i>EH</i> 3, XXXVI.2–3
Exc. 47		44	36		<i>EH</i> 3, XXXVIII.1–3
Exc. 48		45	37		<i>EH</i> 3, XXXIX.1–2, XXXIX.4
Exc. 49		46			<i>Papias</i>
Exc. 50		47	38		<i>Papias</i>
Exc. 51		48			Fontem non inveni
Exc. 52		49			<i>EH</i> 4, III.1–3
Exc. 53			31		<i>EH</i> 4, VII.3–4, VIII.3
Exc. 54		50		8	<i>EH</i> 4, X.1, XI.2, XI.5
Exc. 55			39		<i>EH</i> 4, XIII.8, XXVI.1.2
Exc. 56		51			<i>EH</i> 4, XIV.1, XIV.7
Exc. 57		52	40		<i>EH</i> 4, XV.46
Exc. 58		53			<i>EH</i> 4, XVIII.1, XVIII.8–9
Exc. 59		54			<i>EH</i> 4, XX.1, XXI.1, XXIV.1
Exc. 60		55			<i>EH</i> 4, XXIII.1–3, XXIII.6
Exc. 61		56			<i>EH</i> 4, XXIX.1–7
Exc. 62		57			<i>EH</i> 4, XXVII.1
Exc. 63		58			<i>EH</i> 5, XX.4, XX.7, XV.1
Exc. 64		59		9	<i>EH</i> 5, V.1–3
Exc. 65		60			<i>EH</i> 5, V. 1–2, V.4–6
Exc. 66		61			<i>EH</i> 5, VIII.15
Exc. 67		62			<i>EH</i> 5, XIII.1–4, fontem non inveni, <i>EH</i> 5, XVI.13, XVI.15, XVII.1, XVIII.1

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<i>Epitome</i>	<i>Auctarium</i> E.4.18 (136r–143v)	<i>Barocc.</i> gr. 142 (212r–216r)	<i>Ath.</i> <i>Vat.</i> 286 (91r–108r)	<i>Paris. gr.</i> 1555a (7r–9v)	Eusebius' <i>EH</i>
Exc. 68	8	63			<i>EH</i> 5, XXIII.1, XXIII.3–4, XXIV.1–3, XXIV.12, XXIV.17
Exc. 69	9				<i>HE</i> 5, XXVII.1
Exc. 70	10	64			<i>EH</i> 5, XXVIII.6, XXVIII.1–2
Exc. 71	11	65			<i>EH</i> 5, XXVIII.8–9, XXVIII.12
Exc. 72	12	66			<i>EH</i> 6, I.1, V.1
Exc. 73	13	67	41		<i>EH</i> 6, VI.1
Exc. 74	14		42		<i>EH</i> 6, VII.1
Exc. 75	15	68	43		<i>EH</i> 6, IX 3–7, X.1, XI.1.2
Exc. 76	16				<i>HE</i> 6, XII.1–2
Exc. 77	18				<i>HE</i> 6, XIII.5–7
Exc. 78	17		44		<i>EH</i> 6, XIV.2–3
Exc. 79	19	69	45		<i>EH</i> 6, XVII.1
Exc. 80	20	70			<i>EH</i> 6, XIX.2–3, XIX.6–7, XIX.9
Exc. 81	21	71	46	10	<i>EH</i> 6, XX.1–2
Exc. 82	22	72	47		<i>EH</i> , 6 XXI.3–4
Exc. 83	23	73			<i>EH</i> 6, XXII.1
Exc. 84	25		48		<i>EH</i> 6, XXVII.1
Exc. 85	24	74			<i>EH</i> 6, XXVIII.1
Exc. 86	26		49		<i>EH</i> 6, XXXI.1–3
Exc. 87	27	75			<i>EH</i> 6, XXXIV.1
Exc. 88	29				<i>HE</i> 6, XXXVII.1, XXXVIII.1
Exc. 89	28	76			<i>EH</i> 6, XXXIX.1–2
Exc. 90	30				<i>HE</i> 6, XXXIX.2
Exc. 91	31	77	50, 51		<i>EH</i> 6, XLIII.1–4, XLIII.14–15, XLIV.1
Exc. 92	32	78			<i>EH</i> 6, XLIV.1–2
Exc. 93	33	79	52		<i>EH</i> 7, I.1
Exc. 94	34	80			<i>EH</i> 7, II.1, III.1
Exc. 95	35	81			<i>EH</i> 7, VI.1
Exc. 96	36		53		<i>EH</i> 7, VII.1–3
Exc. 97	38				<i>HE</i> 7, XII.1, XV.1
Exc. 98	39		54	11	<i>EH</i> 7, XVII.1, XVIII.1–2, Philost.7.3.22
Exc. 99	40				<i>HE</i> 7, XXIV.1–2
Exc. 100	40			12	<i>EH</i> 7, XXV.1
Exc. 101	37				<i>HE</i> 7, XXIV.1–2
Exc. 102	41				<i>HE</i> 7, XVI.1, XVII.1

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<i>Epitome</i>	<i>Auctarium</i> E.4.18 (136r–143v)	<i>Barocc.</i> gr. 142 (212r–216r)	<i>Ath.</i> <i>Vat.</i> 286 (91r–108r)	<i>Paris. gr.</i> 1555a (7r–9v)	Eusebius' <i>EH</i>
Exc. 103	42	82	55	13	<i>EH</i> 7, XXVII.1–2, XXVIII.1, XXIX.2, XXXII.6, XXXII.13
Exc. 104	43	83	56		<i>EH</i> 7, XXX.23, XXXI.1–2
Exc. 105	44				<i>HE</i> 7, XXXII.21
Exc. 106	45				<i>HE</i> 7, XXXII.13
Exc. 107	46				<i>HE</i> 7, XXXII.24–25
Exc. 108	47	84, 85			<i>EH</i> 7, XXXII.26; <i>Pierius</i>
Exc. 109	48				<i>HE</i> 7, XXXII.30–31
Exc. 110	49	86	57	14	<i>EH</i> 8, VI.6
Exc. 111	50	87	58	15	<i>EH</i> 8, III.1. XI.2 XII.3, XII.5
Exc. 112	51	88	59		<i>EH</i> 8, VI.9, XII.10
Exc. 113	52		60		<i>EH</i> 8, XIII.2, <i>EH</i> 9, VI.3, Eusebius' <i>Chronikoi Canones</i>
Exc. 114	53	89	61		<i>De martyribus</i> <i>Palaestinae</i> (recension brevior), X.3, <i>HE</i> 4, XV.46
Exc. 115	54	89	62		<i>De martyribus</i> <i>Palaestinae</i> (recension brevior), X.1
Exc. 116	55				<i>HE</i> 8, XIII.11
Exc. 117	56	90	63	16	<i>EH</i> 8, XIII.11
Exc. 118	57	91	64	17	<i>EH</i> 8, XIII.12–15
Exc. 119	59		66		<i>EH</i> 8, XIII.15
Exc. 120	60		67	18	<i>EH</i> 8, XIV.1–2, XIV.5, XIV.7, XVI.1
Exc. 121	58	91	65		<i>EH</i> 9, V.1
Exc. 122	61				<i>HE</i> 8, XIV.7, XVII.2–3
Exc. 123	62	92	69		<i>EH</i> 9, V.1
Exc. 124	61		68		<i>EH</i> 9, VI.2–3
Exc. 125	62	93	70		<i>EH</i> 9, VII.2, VIII.1
Exc. 126	63	94	71, 72		<i>EH</i> 9, IX.1, IX.3, IX.12
Exc. 127	64	95	72		<i>EH</i> 9, XI.6
Exc. 128	65	96			<i>EH</i> 10, II.2, III.1–4, IV.1
Exc. 129	66	97	73		<i>EH</i> 10, VIII.2–3, VIII.9–10
Exc. 130	67	97	74		<i>HE</i> 10, IX.4, IX.6

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