

# On the Transmission of Paeanius

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AS AN UNIMPOSING TEXTBOOK of Roman history, Eutropius' *Breviarium ab urbe condita* has enjoyed success from its first appearance to present times.<sup>1</sup> It was written at the request of emperor Valens (r. 364–378) by his *magister memoriae* Eutropius,<sup>2</sup> completed during the emperor's campaign against the Goths at the Danube (367–369),<sup>3</sup> and published circa 369/70 after Valens had accepted the title *Gothicus maximus*. Spanning ten short books (six for the Regal and Republican period, four for the Emperors), the *Breviarium* relates the history of Rome from its foundation in 753 BCE to the death of the then current emperor's predecessor Jovian (r. 363–364), focussing on military affairs and the expansion of the Empire, with biographical details of the protagonists. It was widely used by Pagan and Christian authors alike, and in the eighth century Paul the Deacon created an extended version called *Historia Romana*. This version has surpassed the original with

<sup>1</sup> On the immediate success of the Latin *Breviarium* see J. Hellegouarc'h, *Eutrope. Abrégé d'histoire romaine* (Paris 1999; <sup>2</sup>2002) LV–LVIII; D. Rohrbacher, *The Historians of Late Antiquity* (London 2002) 49–56.

<sup>2</sup> According to G. Bonamente, *Giuliano l'Apostata e il 'Breviario' di Eutropio* (Rome 1996) 22, Eutropius held this office from 369 to 370. Since his title *magister memoriae* is attested in only a single manuscript (cf. Bonamente 32, 40 tav. I), it has been contested by R. W. Burgess, "Eutropius 'v. c. magister memoriae'?" *CP* 96 (2001) 76–81 (repr. in *Chronicles, Consuls, and Coins* [Farnham 2011] no. VIII).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. H. W. Bird, *The Breviarium ab urbe condita of Eutropius* (Liverpool 1993) XIII, who suggests that Eutropius composed the *Breviarium* while accompanying Valens on his campaign.

more than 200 manuscripts extant,<sup>4</sup> but Eutropius' text has also survived in some 20 manuscripts dating from the ninth to the fifteenth century. The long and arduous process in which scholars disentangled Paul's and Eutropius' versions cannot be related here;<sup>5</sup> suffice it to say that after the efforts of early editors such as Schoonhoven, Vinet, and Sylburg, and later Mommsen, Hartel, and Scivoletto, Eutropius is today well served with editions and translations.<sup>6</sup>

Eutropius' *Breviarium* was widely read early from its publication around 369/70, and remarkably not only by Latin but also by Greek writers, as Paul Périchon has proved for the Church historian Socrates.<sup>7</sup> This was due to the fact that several Greek translations were created,<sup>8</sup> the first as early as circa

<sup>4</sup> L. B. Mortensen, "The Diffusion of Roman Histories in the Middle Ages: A List of Orosius, Eutropius, Paulus Diaconus and Landolfus Sagax Manuscripts," *Filologica Mediolatina* 6/7 (1999/2000) 101–200.

<sup>5</sup> For an overview see L. D. Reynolds, *Texts and Transmission. A Survey of the Latin Classics* (Oxford 1983) 159–162.

<sup>6</sup> C. Santini, *Eutropii Breviarium ab urbe condita* (Leipzig 1979; <sup>2</sup>1992): critical edition; Bird, *The Breviarium*: English translation, F. W. Müller, *Eutropii Breviarium ab urbe condita. Eutropius, Kurze Geschichte Roms seit Gründung* (Stuttgart 1995): Latin/German; St. Ratti, *Les empereurs romains d'Auguste à Dioclétien dans le Bréviaire d'Eutrope* (Paris 1996): French, books 7–9; Gh. Șerban, *Flavius Eutropius: Breviar de la întemeierea Romei* (Brăila 1997): Latin/Romanian; E. Falque, *Eutropio, Breviario. Aurelio Victor, Libro de los Césares* (Madrid 1999; <sup>2</sup>2008): Spanish; Hellegouarc'h, *Eutrope*: Latin/French; Ç. Menzilioğlu, *Eutropius. Breviarium historiae Romanae. Roma Tarhinin Özeti* (Istanbul 2007): Latin/Turkish; F. Gasti and F. Bordone, *Eutropio. Storia di Roma* (Sant'arcangelo di Romagna 2014): Latin/Italian; B. Bleckmann and J. Groß, *Eutropius. Breviarium ab urbe condita*. (Paderborn 2018): Latin/German; V. Hunink and J. Lending, *Eutropius. Korte geschiedenis van Rome* (Amsterdam 2019): Dutch.

<sup>7</sup> P. Périchon, "Eutrope ou Paeanius? L'historien Socrate se référerait-il à une source latine ou grecque?" *REG* 81 (1968) 378–384; cf. G. Ch. Hansen, *Sokrates. Kirchengeschichte* (GCS N.S. 1, Berlin 1995) LI.

<sup>8</sup> On the Greek translations of the *Breviarium* see D. Trivolis, *Eutropius Historicus καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες μεταφράσται τοῦ Breviarium ab urbe condita* (Athens 1941) 127–166 (summarized by H. Gerstinger, *HZ* 171 [1951] 333–334, and J. Irmscher, *Byzantinoslavica* 16 [1955] 361–365); V. Reichmann,

379 by Paeanius—whose *Μετάφρασις τῆς τοῦ Εὐτρόπιου Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἱστορίας* is transmitted in five manuscripts dating from the twelfth to the sixteenth century. While the stemma for most of these manuscripts has been sufficiently established, the link between the two oldest manuscripts (which this paper aims to investigate) remains to be determined.

1. *Greek translations of Eutropius' Breviarium*

Before we consider the manuscripts, a few words are in order on the various translations of Eutropius' *Breviarium*. The first translator Paeanius is usually identified with an advocate from Syria who, like Eutropius, had studied with Libanius and is mentioned in several of his letters.<sup>9</sup> It is hence likely that Eutropius and Paeanius were acquaintances and a common place of origin (Caesarea in Palestine) for both of them has been suggested by Joseph Geiger.<sup>10</sup> Yet this is uncertain, as is Seeck's hypothesis that Eutropius commissioned the Greek translation himself.<sup>11</sup>

However, as Paeanius chose a rather liberal translation style (adding or omitting details, sometimes distorting the sense of the Latin original), there seems to have been a demand for another translation. John of Antioch in his *Chronicle* used Eutropius extensively—not from Paeanius' version, but mediated

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*Römische Literatur in griechischer Übersetzung* (Leipzig 1943) 62–87; E. Malcovati, "Le traduzioni greche di Eutropio," *RIL* 77 (1943/4) 273–304.

<sup>9</sup> E. Schulze, "De Paeanio Eutropii interprete," *Philologus* 29 (1870) 285–299; Trivolis, *Eutropius Historicus* 129–136; W. Enßlin, "Paianios 2," *RE* 18 (1942) 2374–2375; M. E. Colonna, *Gli storici bizantini dal IV al XV secolo. Gli storici profani* (Naples 1956) 95–96; P. Petit, *Les étudiants de Libanius* (Paris 1957) 19, 24–25, 52, 111, 143 n.43, 144 n.35; "Paeanius," *PLRE* I (1971) 657; A. Pellizzari, "Tra Antiochia e Roma: il network comune di Libanio e Simmaco," *Historiká* 3 (2013) 101–127, esp. 113–116.

<sup>10</sup> J. Geiger, "How Much Latin in Greek Palestine?" in H. Rosén (ed.), *Aspects of Latin. Papers from the Seventh International Colloquium on Latin Linguistics* (Innsbruck 1996) 39–58, esp. 39–41.

<sup>11</sup> O. Seeck, *Die Briefe des Libanius* (Leipzig 1906) 153.

through another translation.<sup>12</sup> It is usually identified with the one by Capito of Lycia (fl. late fifth/early sixth cent.), who according to the *Suda* (κ 342) translated Eutropius into Greek. But the identification of Capito's translation with the one used by John of Antioch is not undisputed. While Umberto Roberto suggested that John rather created his own translation,<sup>13</sup> Alan Cameron has proposed that John used a Greek translation not of Eutropius but of his source, the *Enmannsche Kaisergeschichte*.<sup>14</sup> Capito, according to Cameron, should rather be identified as the author of another, third translation that was used by Theophanes the Confessor in his *Chronicle* (published 813–818) for the reign of Diocletian.<sup>15</sup> In contrast to the other two, this translation presented Eutropius' *Breviarium* without additions or omissions and adhered much more closely to the original phrasing. Though Cameron's hypothesis merits consideration,<sup>16</sup> it has no bearing on the aims of this paper.

## 2. Editions of Paeanius' *Metaphrasis*

Our previous statement that Eutropius' *Breviarium* is well served with editions and translations cannot be extended to Paeanius' *Metaphrasis*, unfortunately.

<sup>12</sup> The fragments are collected in H. Droysen, *Eutropi Breviarium ab urbe condita cum versionibus Graecis et Pauli Landolfique additamentis* (Berlin 1879). On Capito of Lycia, E. Schwartz, "Capito 10," *RE* 3 (1899) 1527; cf. "Capito 6," *PLRE* II (1980) 259–260.

<sup>13</sup> U. Roberto, "Il *Breviarium* di Eutropio nella cultura greca tardoantica e bizantina: la versione attribuita a Capitone Licio," *MEG* 3 (2003) 241–271.

<sup>14</sup> A. Cameron, *The Last Pagans of Rome* (Oxford 2011) 666–668.

<sup>15</sup> On this translation see C. de Boor, "Zu Johannes Antiochenus," *Hermes* 20 (1885) 321–330, esp. 324–326; E. Condurachi, "Una versione greca di un passo di Eutropio," *RivFil* 65 (1937) 47–50; Trivolis, *Eutropius Historicus* 187–192; and Malcovati, *RIL* 77 (1943/4) 302–303.

<sup>16</sup> For sceptical views see F. Paschoud, "On a Recent Book by Alan Cameron: The Last Pagans of Rome," *AntTard* 20 (2012) 359–388, esp. 386; W. Treadgold, "Byzantine Historiography and the Supposedly Lost Books of Ammianus Marcellinus," in B. Outtier et al. (eds.), *Armenia between Byzantium and the Orient* (Leiden/Boston 2020) 530–579, esp. 556–557.

The first printed edition, by Friedrich Sylburg (1590), was based on a 16<sup>th</sup>-century manuscript (now lost) that did not have a complete text.<sup>17</sup> All subsequent editions up to Doukas (1807)<sup>18</sup> merely repeated Sylburg's text, and no effort was made to find a superior manuscript until Mommsen set the task of creating a new critical edition of Eutropius for the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* that also included the Greek translations by Paeanius and Capito. This edition was prepared, under Mommsen's auspices, by his pupil Hans Droysen and published in 1879. For Paeanius, Droysen could refer to an earlier study by Ernst Schulze, who had collated two manuscripts (*Laur.Plut.* 70.5 and *Monac.gr.* 101) and established that the Monacensis was a copy of the Laurentianus. While both have the same major lacunae as Sylburg's lost manuscript (Paean. 6.9–11 and from 10.12 to the end), their text is still superior as it has fewer spelling mistakes and minor omissions.

Unfortunately, Droysen did not consult another manuscript mentioned in an 18<sup>th</sup>-century catalogue from the Iviron Monastery (Μόνη τῶν Ἰβήρων) on Mount Athos.<sup>19</sup> This manuscript

<sup>17</sup> F. Sylburg, *Romanæ Historiae Scriptores Graeci minores* III (Frankfurt 1590) 62–133.

<sup>18</sup> Ch. Cellarius, *Eutropii Breviarium Romanae Historiae ... cum Metaphrasi Graeca Paeanii* (Zeititz 1678; Jena <sup>2</sup>1697; <sup>3</sup>1716; <sup>4</sup>1726): Latin/Greek; Th. Hearne, *Eutropii breviarium historiae Romanae. Cum Paeanii Metaphrasi Graeca* (Oxford 1703): Latin/Greek; S. Havercamp, *Eutropii Breviarium historiae Romanae. Cum Metaphrasi Graeca Paeanii* (Leiden 1729): Latin/Greek; C. F. W. Schmid, *Παιανίου Μετάφρασις εἰς τὴν τοῦ Εὐτροπίου Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἱστορίαν* (Lauenburg 1736): Greek only; H. Verheyk, *Eutropii Breviarium historiae Romanae. Cum Metaphrasi Graeca Paeanii* (Leiden 1762; <sup>2</sup>1793): Latin/Greek; J. Ch. Harenberg, *Παιανίου Μετάφρασις εἰς τὴν τοῦ Εὐτροπίου Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἱστορίαν* (Brunswick 1763): Greek only; J. S. Kaltwasser, *Παιανίου Μετάφρασις εἰς τὴν τοῦ Εὐτροπίου Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἱστορίαν* (Gotha 1780): Greek only; N. Doukas, *Εὐτροπίου Ἐπιτομὴ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἱστορίας εἰς βιβλία δέκα μεταφρασθεῖσα ἐκ τῆς Λατινίδος εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνίδα παρὰ Παιανίου* I–II (Vienna 1807): Ancient Greek/Modern Greek (Katharevousa).

<sup>19</sup> Droysen, *Eutropii Breviarium* XXI n.11: “est denique vel fuit codex Paeani in bibliotheca monasterii τῶν Ἰβήρων in monte Atho, quem commemorari

was eventually rediscovered in 1880 by Spyridon Lambros on his first journey to the Holy Mountain, in his effort to produce a complete catalogue of the Athos manuscripts. Lambros found this manuscript (no. 4932 in his general catalogue, no. 812 in the Iviron catalogue) to have a more complete Paeanius text. While he was unable to collate the manuscript himself, he obtained a collation (based upon Doukas' edition) and a transcription of the previously unedited parts from his pupil Philippos Georgantas, who inspected the manuscript in the summer of 1896. Lambros immediately published his results in the *Classical Review* (writing in German).<sup>20</sup> However, scholarly interest in Paeanius had already ceased at that time, and Lambros' invaluable discovery was ignored for a long time save for short bibliographical notes.<sup>21</sup> Despite this (and countless other duties), Lambros prepared a complete critical edition of Paeanius' *Metaphrasis* which he eventually published in his own journal *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων* in 1912.<sup>22</sup>

Although this edition for the first time presented a (nearly) complete text of the *Metaphrasis*, it has been woefully ignored by the majority of scholars<sup>23</sup> (including editors and translators of

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in catalogo eius bibliothecae saeculo XVIII scripto, edito a Satha (bibl. Graec. med. aevi I, 282) nos docuit Deboor."

<sup>20</sup> Sp. Lambros, "Ein neuer Codex des Pāianius," *CR* 11 (1897) 382–390. On the discovery of the manuscript see 383 and Sp. Lambros, "Ἀνέκδοτον ἀπόσπασμα Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἀντιοχέως," *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων* 1 (1904) 7–31, esp. 7–12.

<sup>21</sup> Summaries by K. Krumbacher, *BZ* 7 (1898) 457; B. Melioransky, *Византийскій временник* 5 (1898) 559–560; Th. Opitz, *Bursians Jahresbericht* 122 (1904 [1905]) 129. For bibliographical listings see *Bibliotheca philologica classica* 24 (1897 [1898]) 292; *HZ* 80 (1898) 349; *RivFil* 26 (1898) 631; *Rivista di storia antica e scienze affini* 3 (1898) 140; *Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie* 15 (1898) 193; W. Kroll and F. Skutsch, *W. S. Teuffels Geschichte der römischen Literatur*<sup>6</sup> III (1913) 248.

<sup>22</sup> "Παιανίου Μετάφρασις εἰς τὴν τοῦ Εὐτροπίου Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἱστορίαν," *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων* 9 (1912) 1–115 (hereafter "Lambros, *Paianios*").

<sup>23</sup> For listings see *Bibliotheca philologica classica* 40 (1913) 19; P. Marc, *BZ* 22 (1913) 632–633.

Eutropius),<sup>24</sup> probably because of its remote publication venue.<sup>25</sup> What is more, most of the few scholars dealing with Paeanius after 1912 used Droysen's edition over Lambros', referring to the latter only for the parts missing in the former.<sup>26</sup> This may be explained by some shortcomings of Lambros' edition, which unfortunately ignored much of previous scholarship, most importantly Schulze's paper and Droysen's edition;<sup>27</sup> its text and critical apparatus are not always reliable,<sup>28</sup> and, as this paper will demonstrate, Lambros missed the connection between the two oldest manuscripts.

In an effort to create a new critical edition of the *Metaphrasis*, I have transcribed the two oldest manuscripts (*Iviron* 812 and

<sup>24</sup> Of the editions listed in n.6, only Bleckmann/Groß used Lambros' edition, while Santini, Bird, Ratti, Şerban, Falque, Hellegouarc'h (on whom cf. C. M. Lucarini, *AeR* 3 [2006] 41–44), Menzilioğlu, Gasti/Bordone (cf. R. Brendel, *BMCR* 2015.11.28), and Hunink ignored it. Müller cited Lambros' *CR* paper but made no use of it.

<sup>25</sup> In the age of digitization, this drawback is alleviated by the fact that the *TLG* has been including Lambros' Paeanius edition since the 1970s, and that the *Νέος Έλληνομνήμων* was digitized in 2015 for the Olympias repository (<http://dx.doi.org/10.26268/heal.uoi.7762>, accessed 10 May 2020).

<sup>26</sup> L. Baffetti, "Di Peanio traduttore di Eutropio," *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher* 3 (1922) 15–36; Malcovati, *RIL* 77 (1943/4) 273–304; E. Fisher, "Greek Translations of Latin Literature in the Fourth Century," in J. J. Winkler et al. (eds.), *Later Greek Literature* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1982) 189–193; P. Venini, "Peanio traduttore di Eutropio," *MIL* 37 (1983) 421–447; G. Matino, "Due traduzioni greche di Eutropio," in A. Conca et al. (eds.), *Politica, cultura e religione nell'impero romano (secolo IV–VI) tra oriente e occidente* (Naples 1993) 227–238; C. M. Lucarini, "Il *Codex Pithoei* di Peanio e l'apografo di Sylburg," *GIF* n.s. 3 (2012) 267–271; and G. Matino, "Peanio e il latino," *Κοινωνία* 41 (2017) 43–59.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. S. Kougéas, "Analekta Planudea," *BZ* 18 (1909) 106–146, esp. 141 n.1; Trivolis, *Eutropius Historicus* 165; Malcovati, *RIL* 77 (1943/4) 294; Venini, *MIL* 37 (1983) 426 n.26; Lucarini, *GIF* n.s. 3 (2012) 268; Bleckmann and Groß, *Eutropius* 37. It remains unclear why Mommsen failed to notify Lambros of this edition when he congratulated him on his discovery in a letter of 28 February 1897.

<sup>28</sup> A few examples in Bleckmann/Groß, *Eutropius* 40.

*Laur.Plut.* 70.5) and can now present an accurate assessment of their relationship. Because editions take their time, I want to present my conclusions about the manuscript tradition in advance.

### 3. *The manuscripts of Paeanius' Metaphrasis*

Since Droysen and Lambros no independent assessment of the manuscript tradition has been attempted,<sup>29</sup> so it seems desirable to give a full overview of all Paeanius manuscripts and their mutual relationships as established by previous scholarship.

Of six known manuscripts transmitting the *Metaphrasis*, five (all on paper) are still extant, the first four of which are miscellaneous or composite manuscripts:<sup>30</sup>

1. *I* = Mount Athos, Iviron Monastery: Athous 4932 Iviron 812 (*olim* 162),<sup>31</sup> dated to the 14<sup>th</sup> cent. by Lambros and others and written by four scribes.<sup>32</sup> The Paeanius text on f. 1<sup>r</sup>–2<sup>v</sup>, 7<sup>r</sup>–10<sup>v</sup>, and 15<sup>r</sup>–92<sup>r</sup> is written by scribe *A* who also copied the subsequent text *Περὶ τοῦ Καισαρείου γένους* (f. 92<sup>r</sup>–98<sup>v</sup>).<sup>33</sup> The latter is acephalous and begins in the middle of a line on f. 92<sup>r</sup> immediately after Paeanius, which, in turn, is incomplete and ends in the middle of a sentence at the word δικαιοσύνης (Paeon. 10.16.3). Lambros explained this as a copying error, facilitated by the first word of the following text (ἐνεχθείσης) matching the last from Paeanius in casus, numerus, and genus.<sup>34</sup>

The first two quires in *I* are mixed with leaves containing excerpts

<sup>29</sup> Trivolis, *Eutropius Historicus* 143–148, is largely superseded.

<sup>30</sup> The manuscripts are described in chronological order. Sigla are those assigned by Schulze, Droysen, Lambros, and Lucarini (except for *Marc.gr.* 523 which I call *V*).

<sup>31</sup> Diktyon no. 24407. Sp. Lambros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos* II (Cambridge 1900) 228.

<sup>32</sup> Lambros, *CR* 11 (1897) 382 and *Paianios* 5; P. Sotiroudis, *Untersuchungen zum Geschichtswerk des Johannes von Antiocheia* (Thessaloniki 1989) 159–164.

<sup>33</sup> Ed. Sp. Lambros, “Ἀνέκδοτον ἀπόσπασμα συγγραφῆς Περὶ τοῦ Καισαρείου γένους,” *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων* 1 (1904) 129–155.

<sup>34</sup> Lambros, *Paianios* 6.



from John of Antioch's *Chronicle* (f. 3–6, 11–14), written by another scribe, and now form an octonio.<sup>35</sup> The last part of the manuscript (f. 99–301), written by scribes *B* and *C*, contains John Xiphilinus' *Epitome* of Cassius Dio's *Histories*.<sup>36</sup> While *I* is generally in bad condition,<sup>37</sup> the Paeanius text is for the most part well preserved and easy to read. In a recent study, Inmaculada Pérez Martín proposed dating the John of Antioch scribe to the turn of the 11<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century, and *ABC* to the first half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>38</sup> By "tentatively" assigning some marginal notes to Maximus Planudes (ca. 1255–1330) and Nicephorus Gregoras (ca. 1295–1359/61), she proposed this to be the actual manuscript used by Planudes while compiling his *Συναγωγή συλλεγεῖσα ἀπὸ διαφόρων βιβλίων* (which like *I* features excerpts from John of Antioch, Paeanius, and Xiphilinus). This exciting hypothesis requires further study, as does the mixing of the folios in the first section and the concurrent page and quire numberings in the manuscript.<sup>39</sup> The writing style of *A*, compared by Pérez Martín to a hand in *Vat.gr.* 746 (assigned to the 12<sup>th</sup> cent. by some), is actually more similar to a hand found in *Marc.gr.* IV 58 (late 12<sup>th</sup> cent.), as brought to my attention by Ciro Giacomelli.<sup>40</sup> In my opinion, *I* should be dated to the same period.

<sup>35</sup> Sotiroudis, *Untersuchungen* 160–161.

<sup>36</sup> On the importance of this manuscript (not used by Boissevain) which is the sole witness to an independent strand of transmission, see B. C. Barmann, "The Mount Athos Epitome of Cassius Dio's Roman History," *Phoenix* 25 (1971) 58–67 (who accepted Lambros' dating). A new critical edition of Xiphilinus' *Epitome* is being prepared by Kai Juntunen (Helsinki).

<sup>37</sup> On the deterioration of *I* since 1896 see Sotiroudis, *Untersuchungen* 162; U. Roberto, *Ioannis Antiocheni fragmenta ex Historia chronica* (Berlin/New York 2005) CXII n.245; S. Mariev, *Ioannis Antiocheni fragmenta quae supersunt omnia* (Berlin/New York 2008) 21\*.

<sup>38</sup> I. Pérez Martín, "The Role of Maximus Planudes and Nikephoros Gregoras in the Transmission of Cassius Dio's *Roman History* and of John Xiphilinos' *Epitome*," *MEG* 15 (2015) 175–193, discussing the script of the main text (182–184) and the marginal notes (185–189).

<sup>39</sup> On the quire numberings see Sotiroudis, *Untersuchungen* 161.

<sup>40</sup> In private communication. On *Marc.gr.* IV 58 see C. Giacomelli, "Sulla tradizione di [Arist.] *De mirabilibus auscultationibus*," *BollClass* 37–38 (2016/2017) 39–95, esp. 50–54 and 91–92 (tav. 1–2).

2. *L* = Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana: Pluteus 70.5,<sup>41</sup> assigned to the 15<sup>th</sup> cent. by Droysen and to the late 14<sup>th</sup> by Lambros. These dates are superseded, as Mazzucchi (building upon a study by Dilts) established that the manuscript was created under the supervision of Nicephorus Gregoras who also took part in copying the text.<sup>42</sup> Mazzucchi's findings were confirmed by Jean-Baptiste Clérigues, who concluded that the manuscript was created by an équipe of thirteen scribes between 1334/5 and 1341/2 while Gregoras was writing his *Life of Constantine*.<sup>43</sup> The manuscript was acquired for Lorenzo de' Medici between 1464 and 1491.<sup>44</sup> The Paeanius text on f. 198<sup>r</sup>–219<sup>v</sup>, written by four scribes (one of them being Gregoras, the others were designated *i*, *j*, and *k* by Clérigues), was first collated by Rudolf Schoell (Books 1–2) for Schulze, and later completely by Droysen in July 1876,<sup>45</sup> and again by Lambros between 1897 and 1912 (possibly in 1902 or 1903).<sup>46</sup>
3. *V* = Venice, Biblioteca Marciana: Marcianus Graecus Z 523 (coll. 846),<sup>47</sup> from the library of Cardinal Bessarion (1403–1472), is a

<sup>41</sup> Diktyon no. 16570. A. M. Bandini, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae* II (Florence 1768) 659–665.

<sup>42</sup> C. M. Mazzucchi, “Leggere i classici durante la catastrofe (Costantinopoli, maggio-agosto 1203): le note marginali al Diodoro Siculo Vaticano gr. 130,” *Aevum* 68 (1994) 164–218, esp. 211, and 69 (1995) 200–258; cf. M. R. Dilts, “The Manuscripts of Appian’s *Historia Romana*,” *RHT* 1 (1971) 49–71.

<sup>43</sup> J.-B. Clérigues, “Nicéphore Grégoras, copiste et superviseur du *Laurentianus* 70,5,” *RHT* N.S. 2 (2007) 21–47, esp. 43 on the date. Cf. M. Losacco, “Niceforo Gregora lettore di Fozio,” *BollClass* 29 (2014) 53–100, esp. 57–61. On Paeanius’ *Metaphrasis* as a source for Gregoras’ *Life of Constantine* (BHG 369) see P. L. M. Leone, *Nicephori Gregorae Vita Constantini* (Catania 1994) IX.

<sup>44</sup> Clérigues, *RHT* N.S. 2 (2007) 46.

<sup>45</sup> I deduce this date from Droysen’s unpublished diary, now in the Stiftung Kulturwerk Schlesien, Würzburg (Urkunden- und Handschriftenarchiv 97, f. 28<sup>r</sup>–29<sup>r</sup>).

<sup>46</sup> Lambros, *Paianios* 5. Cf. his letter to Krumbacher of 12 December 1901 (BSB, Krumbacheriana I, 46). An edition of their correspondence is being prepared by Judith Ramharter (Vienna). On Krumbacher’s correspondence in general see P. Schreiner and E. Vogt (eds.), *Karl Krumbacher. Leben und Werk* (Munich 2011) 85–147.

<sup>47</sup> Diktyon no. 69994. E. Mioni, *Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum codices*

composite manuscript with various parts of different origin. The Paeanius part on f. 166<sup>r</sup>–207<sup>r</sup> was written by two scribes; the second one has been identified by Giacomelli as Emmanuele Zacharidis, who was active on Crete in the 1460s.<sup>48</sup> This would place the respective part of the manuscript in the final decade of Bessarion's life. The Paeanius text was used by Droysen and Cattaneo but has never been collated fully.<sup>49</sup>

4. *M* = Munich, Bavarian State Library: Codex Graecus 101,<sup>50</sup> written around 1555 in Florence and brought to Germany around 1561. Havercamp had wrongly assumed it to be the manuscript used by Sylburg.<sup>51</sup> The Paeanius text on f. 1<sup>r</sup>–50<sup>r</sup>, written by a scribe called 'Occidental arrondi', was collated by Schulze in 1868, by Mommsen (or a collaborator of his) in 1872, and by Lambros between 1897 and 1912.<sup>52</sup>
5. *P* = Lanvellec, library of the Marquis de Rosanbo: no. 296 (Pithoeanus),<sup>53</sup> assigned to the 16<sup>th</sup> cent. by Omont, containing only Paeanius, on 49 folios. This manuscript was acquired by

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*Graeci manuscripti* II (Venice 1985) 396–398.

<sup>48</sup> C. Giacomelli, "Bessarion traduttore di Pietro Lombardo (*Marc. gr.* 523): con appunti sulla versione greca della *Rhetorica ad Herennium*," in Ch. Athanasopoulos (ed.), *Translation Activity in the Late Byzantine World. Contexts, Authors, and Texts* (forthcoming). See also Giacomelli's description of the manuscript in the *CAGB* database of November 2017, available online at <https://cagb-db.bbaw.de/handschriften/handschrift.xql?id=69994> (accessed 10 May 2020).

<sup>49</sup> Droysen, *Eutropi Breviarium* XXI n.11; G. Cattaneo, "Il *De animae procreatione in Timaeo* (Plut. Mor. 77), l'Aldina di Plutarco e il Marc. gr. Z. 523," *MEG* 14 (2014) 51–59, esp. 57. Lambros did not know this manuscript, cf. Trivolis, *Eutropius Historicus* 147. I refer for *V* to photographs kindly shared with me by Ciro Giacomelli.

<sup>50</sup> Diktyon no. 44545. M. Molin Pradel, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München* II (Wiesbaden 2013) 279–286.

<sup>51</sup> Havercamp, *Eutropii Breviarium* [XLVIII\*]. Cf. Lambros, *Paianios* 2.

<sup>52</sup> Schulze, *Philologus* 29 (1870) 287–293; Lambros, *Paianios* 5–7, 114–115 (reporting notes from *M* recording that it had been lent to Beck in 1868 and Mommsen in 1872).

<sup>53</sup> Diktyon no. 37456. H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la bibliothèque nationale* III (Paris 1888) 381 (no. 105).

Pierre Pithou in Basel in 1568–1570 from the estate of the printer Johannes Oporinus (1507–1568).<sup>54</sup> It has since been in the possession of his heirs, the Marquises de Rosanbo. A microfilm of this manuscript was used by Lucarini.<sup>55</sup>

6. *S* = Sylburg's copy (*apographum ex scriniis Francisci Pithoei*), used in his 1590 *editio princeps*,<sup>56</sup> has since been lost. However, as Sylburg's edition gives copious information about the manuscript's textual properties (variant readings, lacunae, scholia) we can determine with certainty its place in the history of transmission.

The filiation of most of these manuscripts has been sufficiently established. All except for *I* (*LVMPS*) end abruptly with Paean. 10.12 εἰ πρὸς ἄλλο (or ἄλλο) and have another major lacuna in Paean. 6.9–11 where *LVM* report the omission of one leaf (λείπει φύλλον α'). By comparing the text of *LMS*, Schulze established that *M* is a direct copy of *L* done in such a diligent manner that the scribe even repeated interlinear glosses and marginal notes from *L*.<sup>57</sup> This was confirmed by Droysen and Lambros.<sup>58</sup> While Schulze was ambiguous on whether *S* was also copied from *L*,<sup>59</sup> Droysen and Lambros subsequently proved this to be the case.<sup>60</sup> Droysen also established that *V* was another copy of *L*, which was later confirmed by Cattaneo. The possibility that *MS* might be copies of *V* rather than *L* is

<sup>54</sup> Cf. C. Gilly, *Die Manuskripte in der Bibliothek des Johannes Oporinus* (Basel 2001) 152 (no. 128.5). In a letter of 7 September 1570 (not 1576, as Droysen stated), published by Th. Mommsen, "Epigraphische Analekten (Fortsetzung)," *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaft zu Leipzig, Phil.-Hist. Classe* 4 (1852) 188–282, esp. 281, Pierre Pithou told Josias Simler about this manuscript.

<sup>55</sup> Lucarini, *GIF* N.S. 3 (2012) 267–271.

<sup>56</sup> Sylburg, *Romanae Historiae* III 62.

<sup>57</sup> Schulze, *Philologus* 29 (1870) 293: "Librarius enim, cuius manu *M*. liber exaratus est, tantae erat diligentiae, ut ubi vocabulum vocabulo superscriptum vidit, id accurate depingeret."

<sup>58</sup> Droysen, *Eutropi Breviarium* XXI n.11; Lambros, *Paianios* 113–115.

<sup>59</sup> Schulze, *Philologus* 29 (1870) 293: "S. ex eodem fonte derivatus, sed minore cura adhibita scriptus est."

<sup>60</sup> Droysen, *Eutropi Breviarium* XXII; Lambros, *Paianios* 113.

ruled out by the fact that *MS* retain some marginal notes from *L* that are missing in *V*.

The most elusive manuscript (apart from *I*) is *P*, which was known to Lambros from Omont's catalogue—but because of the owners' notorious vigilance which has frustrated many scholars, he was not permitted to see it. Nevertheless, Lambros was able to form a valid hypothesis thanks to his knowledge of book history: since Sylburg had stated in his preface that he had used a copy (*apographum*) from the library of François Pithou, and bearing in mind that the Marquises de Rosanbo were heirs to Pierre Pithou and his library, Lambros concluded that Sylburg's manuscript *S* was identical to *P*.<sup>61</sup> One hundred years later Carlo M. Lucarini revisited this question and, by examining a microfilm of *P* (Pierre's manuscript), concluded that *S* (François's manuscript) was a copy of *P*, as evidenced by some additional lacunae compared to the other manuscripts.<sup>62</sup> By extension, judging from several errors separating *P* from *M*, we can safely assume that *P* was also an independent copy of *L*, which thus emerges as the parent (or grandparent) of all manuscripts except for *I*.

#### 4. *Iviron 812 and Laur.Plut. 70.5: a bipartite stemma?*

As to the two oldest textual witnesses *I* and *L*, Lambros judged them to be independent of one another but did not make an elaborate argument for this and instead referred readers to the variants in his apparatus.<sup>63</sup> However, the link between *I* and *L*, dated close to each other by Lambros (14<sup>th</sup>/late 14<sup>th</sup> cent.), merits greater attention than his short remark in the afterword to his edition. If I am able to revisit this question and present an informed opinion (which is far easier today than it was for Lambros at the time) it is thanks to scans of the manuscripts in question: for *L*, they are available on-

<sup>61</sup> Lambros, *Paianios* 4–5.

<sup>62</sup> Lucarini, *GIF* N.S. 3 (2012) 267–271.

<sup>63</sup> Lambros, *Paianios* 113: “Καὶ δὴ ἀνεξάρτητοι ἀλλήλων εἶνε οἱ πάντων ἀρχειότατοι.” Repeated by Trivolis, *Eutrophius Historicus* 147.

line,<sup>64</sup> while scans of *I* were kindly sent to me by the librarian of the Ivron Monastery, Father Theologos Iviritis.<sup>65</sup>

The textual contents and dating of *I* and *L* rule out the possibility that *I* was copied from *L*, as it is much older and exhibits a more complete text. On the contrary, *L* can be a copy of *I*, and a closer look at the first major lacuna in *L* (Paeon. 6.9–11, not missing in *I*) yields proof for this supposition (*fig.* 1).

In *L* (f. 210<sup>r</sup>.34–36) the text is transmitted as follows:

λούκουλλος δ' ἐπεξελθὼν | κ(αί) τῆς τιγράνου βασιλείας  
κατεφρόνησε· κ(αί) τὴν μεγίστην αἶρει †πόλιν† ὅθεν δὴ καὶ  
κρητικὸς ὁ μέτελλ(ος) | προσηγορεύθη.

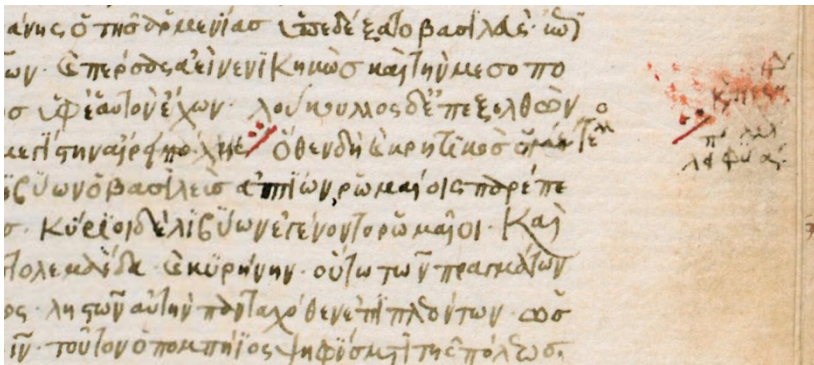


Figure 1: Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana  
MS. *Laur.Plut.* 70.5, f. 210<sup>r</sup> (detail)

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The word after αἶρει (read as πόλιν in the apographa) is corrected from an earlier μάχαις or μάχης, and followed by a sign

<sup>64</sup> In the Digital Repository of the Bibliotheca Medicea Laurenziana, URL <http://mss.bmlonline.it/s.aspx?Id=AWOIt24SI1A4r7GxMMVp> (accessed 10 May 2020).

<sup>65</sup> I acquired two sets of photos taken in 2007 (f. 1<sup>r</sup>–92<sup>v</sup>) and 2018 (f. 1<sup>r</sup> and 7<sup>r</sup>–92<sup>v</sup>: high resolution, sharp focus, smooth and even lighting).

·/ linking it with a marginal note that Lambros could not read. While the first part of this note (smudged with the red ink used by Gregoras)<sup>66</sup> is difficult to decipher,<sup>67</sup> the second part is straightforward: λείπ(ει) φύλλ(ον) α',<sup>68</sup> reporting the omission of one leaf. Correction, sign, and note are written by the same scribe (*i*) who copied the text, and the sign ·/ was repeated afterwards by Gregoras in red.

Without taking *I* into account, the marginal note in *L* can be explained in two ways: either the scribe *i* noted a defect in his model, or he inadvertently omitted one leaf from his model and reported the extent of his omission afterwards. As comparison with *I* shows, the latter is the case.

The text until αἴρει is found in *I* at the end of f. 44<sup>r</sup>, the text from μάχαις (or μάχης)<sup>69</sup> at the beginning of f. 45<sup>v</sup>. The parts of the text missing in *L* coincide with the text from f. 44<sup>v</sup>–45<sup>r</sup> in *I*, the equivalent of one leaf. It is evident that scribe *i* leafed over those two pages while transcribing *L*, and upon discovering his mistake remarked λείπ(ει) φύλλ(ον) α' in the margin. We may thus conclude that *L* is a direct copy of *I*, the oldest manuscript.

Lambros was not able to reach this conclusion as he had not personally collated *I*.<sup>70</sup> Instead he relied on the collation by Georgantas, who in transcribing the lacuna at Paean. 6.9–11

<sup>66</sup> Clérigues, *RHT* N.S. 2 (2007) 35 n.57.

<sup>67</sup> Lambros, *Paianios*, wrote “καὶ τιτῆ<sup>ΚΛ</sup> (?)”. An anonymous reader suggested καὶ πριήνην or καὶ τιγράνην (which, judging from context, makes the most sense).

<sup>68</sup> Thus reported by Schulze, *Philologus* 29 (1870) 291 (on Paean. p.90.28 Kaltwasser), and Droysen, *Eutropi Breviarium* ad loc., while Lambros could not read it. The same note occurs in *VM*, as Schulze, Droysen, and Lambros recorded.

<sup>69</sup> In *I* μάχαις is a self-correction for μάχης, as reflected in the ambiguity of the corrected word μάχαις / μάχης in *L*. However, the preceding λαμπραῖς in *I* shows the dative plural form to be correct.

<sup>70</sup> In his apparatus, Lambros remarked on the lacuna in *L* that the text is transmitted in *I* on f. 44<sup>v</sup>–45<sup>v</sup> (instead of 45<sup>r</sup>). It is unclear whether this is a typesetting error or a mistake by Lambros.

made a mistake: at the end and beginning of f. 45<sup>r-v</sup> he reported λαμπρῶς κρατήσας instead of λαμπραῖς κρατήσας μάχαις, leading Lambros to assume that the corrected word μάχαις in *L* came from a different textual tradition. Also, Lambros regarded *L*'s addition ὁ μέτελλος (Paeon. 6.11) as genuine although it was written by a corrector (possibly Gregoras himself) in place of an erased προ outside of the written area.

What, in Lambros' view, might have skewed the link between *I* and *L* are several places where *L* is correcting *I*. However, most of these cases are easy corrections (introduced by one of the scribes or a corrector, sometimes by Gregoras himself),<sup>71</sup> while others are not necessarily taken from a different tradition of Paeanius but rather testimony to Gregoras' knowledge of Greek and of the sources of Roman history. For example, the number of Roman victims in the Battle of Lake Trasimene (at Paeon. 3.9.2) is rendered in *I* as πέντε καὶ ὀκτὼ χιλιάδας while Eutr. 3.9.2 has *XXV milia*.<sup>72</sup> Accordingly, scribe *i* in *L* erased ὀκτὼ and replaced it with the number sign κ' (εἴκοσι). Another example is Paeon. 7.21.2 where Titus' valor in the Judaeon War is illustrated:

ἦνίκα δὲ τῷ πατρὶ κατὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων συνεστρατεύετο, δύο καὶ δέκα τῶν προμάχων ἰσαριθμοὶς βέλεσι <κατηγωνίσασατο>.

When he waged war against the Judaeans together with his father, <he slew> twelve fighters with the same number of missiles.

The last verb, missing in *I*, is added in *L* by a corrector outside of the written area. In all these cases, *L* originally had the same text as *I*.

Had Lambros collated *I* himself, he might have noticed

<sup>71</sup> Examples are Paeon. 2.26.2 ἐπ' αὐτῷ γὰρ τῷ χέρσῳ *II*<sup>a.c.</sup> : ἐπ' αὐτῇ γὰρ τῇ χέρσῳ *L*<sup>b.c.</sup>; 3.10.2 κέννας *II*<sup>a.c.</sup> : κάννας *L*<sup>b.c.</sup>; 3.16.1 πεπραμμένων *I* : πεπραγμένων *L*<sup>a.c.</sup> : πεπραμένων *L*<sup>b.c.</sup> (also suggested by Cellarius); 3.20.2 οὖν πλοκῇ *I* : συμπλοκῇ *L*; 4.7.2 εἶδεν *I* : οἶδεν *L*; 4.8.1 δὲ καὶ πέντε *I* : δεκαπέντε *L*.

<sup>72</sup> The origin of this number is unclear. Plb. 3.84.7 has 15,000 killed and 15,000 captured, while App. *Hann.* 10 has 20,000 casualties.



another sign of *L*'s dependence on it: both manuscripts divide the same blocks of text by new paragraphs (or additional spacing), often accompanied with enlarged initials. These breaks largely correspond to the book division that is also attested in the manuscripts of the Latin *Breviarium*; in some cases, the division is not between books but chapters (Table 1).

	type of division in I	type of division in L
Paean. 2.1	(none)	(none)
Paean. 3.1	paragraph, initial	paragraph, initial
Paean. 4.1	paragraph, initial	paragraph, initial
Paean. 5.1	paragraph, initial	paragraph, initial
Paean. 6.1	initial	spacing
Paean. 7.1	paragraph, initial	paragraph, initial
Paean. 7.5	paragraph	spacing
Paean. 7.9	paragraph	paragraph
Paean. 7.21	paragraph	(none)
Paean. 8.1	spacing, initial	spacing, cruces
Paean. 9.1	paragraph	paragraph
Paean. 10.1	spacing, initial	paragraph, initial

TABLE 1: Book and chapter divisions in *I* and *L* through *mise-en-page*

The agreement between *I* and *L* is striking. Both forgoe marking the beginning of Book 2 but make several subdivisions in Book 7, two of them for the reign of Augustus. The fact that the beginning of Titus' reign (Paean. 7.21) is not marked in *L* can be explained by the fact that shortly before this, scribe *j* had taken over from *i*. Overall, the use of *mise-en-page* confirms that *I* was the model of *L*.

On the other hand, the text in *L* has suffered from several copying errors that corroborate its immediate dependence on *I*. Most of these are minor spelling mistakes which can sometimes be explained by the handwriting of *I*'s scribe.<sup>73</sup> However, some are more significant: besides the major lacunae at Paean. 6.9–

<sup>73</sup> For example, Paean. 4.23 *νάββωνα* *I*: *νάρκωνα* *L*; 6.7.2 *κρίζον* *I*: *κρίζον* *L*; 6.25 *λειψάν(ου) ὄν(τος)* *I*: *λειψάνου* *L*; 8.9.1 *λούκιος ἄννιος ἀντωνίνος οὔηρος* *I*: *λούκιος ἀντωνίνος οὔκρος* *L*.

11 and the abrupt end at Paean. 10.12, *L* also truncated a phrase dealing with the death of Numerian (Eutr./Paean. 9.18.2).<sup>74</sup> For the sake of clarity and to give an example of Paeanius' liberal translation style, I present Eutropius' Latin text next to Paeanius' version as transmitted in *I*:

(scil. Numerianus) *oculorum dolore correptus in lecticula veheretur, impulsore Apro, qui socer eius erat, per insidias occisus est.*

While being conveyed in a litter because he had been stricken with a disease of the eyes, (Numerian) was killed through a plot instigated by Aper, who was his father-in-law.<sup>75</sup>

δόλω θνήσκει τοῦ κηδεστοῦ (Ἄπρωσ δὲ ἦν ὄνομα αὐτῶ). καὶ θνήσκει τὸν τρόπον τόνδε· ἐπιρροῆς αὐτῶ κατὰ τῶν ὀμμάτων γενομένης οὐ δυνάμενος ἀλύπως δέχεσθαι τὸν καθαρὸν ἀέρα, ἐπιθεὶς ἑαυτὸν φορεῖω καὶ δέρμασι πανταχόθεν περικλείσας, ἦνυε τὴν ὁδόν.

He was killed through a plot of his father-in-law (whose name was Apro). And he died in this manner: after suffering an influx into the eyes, unable to tolerate clean air without pain, he sat in a litter covered in coats from all sides, and thus proceeded on his journey.

In *L* the words καὶ θνήσκει – ἐπιρροῆς αὐτῶ are omitted because of *Augensprung* (or *saut du même au même*), as scribe *k*'s eye skipped from αὐτῶ at the end of a line (*I* f. 81r.12) to the second αὐτῶ at the beginning of line 14. Realising his mistake, scribe *k* later changed the words κατὰ τῶν ὀμμάτων γενομένης to καὶ διὰ τὸ τῶν ὀμμάτων γενόμενον πάθος, a divination adopted by all copies of *L*.<sup>76</sup>

The relationship between *L* and *I* now firmly established, we can visualize the filiation of all manuscripts as in *fig. 2*. *I* thus

<sup>74</sup> On the accounts of Numerian's death see K. Altmayer, *Die Herrschaft des Carus, Carinus und Numerianus als Vorläufer der Tetrarchie* (Stuttgart 2014) 132–142 (who regrettably does not discuss Paeanius).

<sup>75</sup> Transl. Bird, *The Breviarium* 60.

<sup>76</sup> Lambros, *Paianios* 99.18–20, reported καὶ τὰ instead of κατὰ for *L*<sup>ac</sup>, obscuring the direct link between *I* and *L*.

emerges as the only independent witness to the text, and any new edition must be based chiefly on its paradosis. All other manuscripts are to be regarded as apographa and their corrections to the text should be treated accordingly.

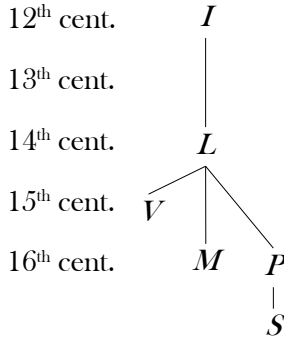


Figure 2: Stemma codicum Paeanii

5. *Excursus: Why is L's copy unfinished?*

In the light of our new stemma, we may attempt an answer to the question why the Paeanius text in *L* is unfinished and breaks off in the middle of the word ἀλλοφύλους. At the inner margin of the text (on f. 219<sup>v</sup>), a reader left the note ζήτ(ει) τὸ λείπ(ον), recommending readers to look elsewhere for the missing text. Similar notes occur on f. 22<sup>v</sup> and 32<sup>v</sup>, always by the same hand, designated *l7* by Dilts.<sup>77</sup> While Clérigues generally identified *l7* as Gregoras, he was hesitant to assign these notes to him as they could also be from a later reader of the manuscript.<sup>78</sup> However, as he stated, there would be no need for a later reader to write on the inner margin when there was space available on the outer margin. It would indeed be more difficult to do so after binding than before. As the handwriting of

<sup>77</sup> Dilts, *RHT* 1 (1971) 51.

<sup>78</sup> Clérigues, *RHT* N.S. 2 (2007) 29 n.37.

the notes in question does indeed seem to be Gregoras',<sup>79</sup> we may safely assign the remark ζήτ(ει) τὸ λειπ(ον) to him.

In the case of Paeanius, the note does not refer to a mutilation in the model, since in *I* the Paeanius text goes on for four more pages after ἀλλοφύλους (f. 90<sup>r</sup>.16–92<sup>r</sup>.10). In *L* the Paeanius text is present on three quires, the first two of which were written by scribe *i*.<sup>80</sup> The third quire, according to Clérigues, is a quinio containing Paeanius on f. 214<sup>r</sup>–219<sup>v</sup> and the beginning of Plutarch's *De animae procreatione in Timaeo* (*Mor.* 77) on f. 220<sup>r</sup>–223<sup>v</sup>. It was written by three scribes: *j* copied portions from both texts,<sup>81</sup> Gregoras took over for him on parts of f. 217<sup>r</sup><sup>82</sup> before handing over the rest of Paeanius to scribe *k*.<sup>83</sup> Although *k*'s ductus on f. 217<sup>v</sup> is very different from f. 218–219, this seems to be due to a change of pen and ink.

On all pages of *L*, the Paeanius text fills the whole of the written area with no sign of incompleteness (except for the marginal note on f. 219<sup>v</sup>). To understand why the transcription of Paeanius was not completed, we need to remember that *L* is the product of a collaboration of many scribes, some of whom worked simultaneously. Scribe *j* and *k* both transcribed different parts of two texts, Paeanius' *Metaphrasis* and Plutarch's *Mor.* 77. If we discount f. 218–219, the remaining parts of the quire are split equally between Paeanius (f. 214–217) and Plutarch (f. 220–223). Without checking the binding itself, I propose the following explanation: the quire in question was originally a quaternio. After *j* had completed the first seven pages (f. 214<sup>r</sup>–217<sup>r</sup>), Gregoras handed the quire to *k* and then decided to have him complete the rest of Paeanius on a separate leaf. He gave

<sup>79</sup> As confirmed by Ciro Giacomelli in private communication.

<sup>80</sup> *L* f. 198<sup>r</sup>–213<sup>v</sup> = *I* f. 1<sup>r</sup>–2<sup>v</sup>, 7<sup>r</sup>–10<sup>v</sup>, 15<sup>r</sup>–62<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>81</sup> Paeanius: *L* f. 214<sup>r</sup>–216<sup>v</sup> = *I* f. 62<sup>r</sup>–75<sup>r</sup>.2; *L* f. 217<sup>r</sup>.9–13 = *I* f. 75<sup>v</sup>.7–15; *L* f. 75<sup>v</sup>.16–35 = *I* f. 76<sup>r</sup>.4–76<sup>v</sup>.20. Plutarch: *L* f. 220<sup>r</sup>–220<sup>v</sup>.15.

<sup>82</sup> In two separate blocks, *L* f. 217<sup>r</sup>.1–9 = *I* f. 75<sup>r</sup>.2–75<sup>v</sup>.7; *L* f. 217<sup>r</sup>.13–16 = *I* f. 75<sup>v</sup>.15–76<sup>r</sup>.4.

<sup>83</sup> *L* f. 217<sup>v</sup>–219<sup>v</sup> = *I* f. 76<sup>v</sup>.20–90<sup>r</sup>.16.

the quaternio back to *j* who went ahead to transcribe Plut. *Mor.* 77 on its second half, while *k* simultaneously copied Paeanius on a new bifolium. This was later bound in the middle of the quire (now a quinio) and is now counted as f. 218–219.

As a comparison of the number of lines from *L* and *I* shows, *k* tried his best to fit Paeanius on his bifolium: he slightly expanded the written area and made copious use of abbreviation signs. He also wrote ca. 42 lines per page as opposed to the 40 lines of *i* and *j*, and he transcribed 3.1 lines from *I* per his line, while *i* and *j* had 2.32 and 2.55 lines. But even at this rate, *k* would have needed at least one more page for the missing 97 lines from Paeian. 10.12–16. The defect at the end of Paeianus in *L* is therefore most probably due to a miscalculation of the required writing space.

Our results also shed light on the sources of *L*, which for the most part are uncertain. For Appian, Clérigues suggested that *L* was copied from an older manuscript (*Vat.gr.* 141) that had since suffered a loss of text.<sup>84</sup> *L*'s model for Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *Roman History* (Book 11) is entirely unknown.<sup>85</sup> The same is true of the shorter texts, except for the excerpts from Philostorgius' *Ecclesiastical History*: Markus Stein regarded these as a corrected copy of *Baroccianus* 142 (written before 1328), the manuscript used by Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulus for his *Ecclesiastical History*.<sup>86</sup> The same manuscript could have been used for the extracts from Evagrius' *Ecclesiastical History*.<sup>87</sup> All

<sup>84</sup> Clérigues, *RHT* N.S. 2 (2007) 28–32.

<sup>85</sup> Kiessling concluded that *L*, the oldest witness for Book 11, was carefully copied from a mutilated model, cf. C. Jacoby, *Dionysii Halicarnasensis Antiquitatum Romanarum quae supersunt* IV (Leipzig 1905) VII; E. Cary, *The Roman Antiquities of Dionysius of Halicarnassus* VII (Cambridge [Mass.] 1950) VII–IX.

<sup>86</sup> B. Bleckmann and M. Stein, *Philostorgios. Kirchengeschichte* I (Paderborn 2015) 102–103 (contra Bidez, who regarded *L* as a 'twin' of the *Baroccianus*).

<sup>87</sup> The reservations of Clérigues, *RHT* N.S. 2 (2007) 23 n.9, notwithstanding.

considered, the identification of *I* as the immediate model for *L*'s Paeanius provides a good starting point for tracing *L*'s sources and further exploring its creation.

### 6. *Conclusions*

*I*'s value as a textual witness (for Paeanius' *Metaphrasis*, John of Antioch's *Chronicle*, John Xiphilinus' *Epitome*, and the anonymous text *Περὶ τοῦ Καισαρείου γένους*) should encourage us to further study its place in Byzantine antiquarian scholarship. If this manuscript is indeed from the late 12<sup>th</sup> century (which would make it a very early paper manuscript), it gives an example of Palaeologan interest in Roman history. Since we can now be certain that Gregoras had this manuscript in his hands, Pérez Martín's tentative identification of his handwriting in the margins should be revisited as it would prove that Gregoras commented on and possibly corrected the text in *I* while his team transcribed it at Chora.<sup>88</sup>

In addition, the confirmation of Planudes' handwriting in *I* should help to further determine his role in the transmission of Roman history. As the excerpts from John of Antioch's *Chronicle* in his *Sylloge* by far exceed what is transmitted in the remaining quire in *I* (f. 3–6, 11–14), the manuscript must have looked quite different in Planudes' day. Sotiroudis and Pérez Martín already noted the importance of several concurrent page and quire numberings in the manuscript for reconstructing its original composition. For its current state (John of Antioch mixed with Paeanius), we now have a definite *terminus post quem*: the copying of *L* from *I* in 1334–1341.

As to the *Metaphrasis* itself, the identification of *I* as the only independent witness to the text should encourage us to use it to its full potential in producing a critical edition. Even if its value as a historical source is doubtful, as a narrative of Roman history from the fourth century it is of considerable interest. While Paeanius' imperfect command of Latin and sketchy

<sup>88</sup> Clérigues, *RHT* N.S. 2 (2007) 43.

knowledge of history have been duly pointed out by scholars,<sup>89</sup> he provided a handy compendium for the Greek public that was appreciated from Antiquity to modern times, and has served as a school text from the 17<sup>th</sup> to the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. I heartily agree with Giuseppina Matino<sup>90</sup> (who next to Lambros is the only scholar who deemed Paeianius worthy of two separate publications) that the *Metaphrasis* is deserving of further study and a new critical edition.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> *Vituperationes Paeanii* started with Sylburg. See also e.g. Schulze, *Philologus* 29 (1870) 287: “quamquam ne ipse quidem satis accuratam sibi linguae latinae cognitionem paraverat, sed compluribus locis peccavit in vertendo”; Droysen, *Eutropi Breviarium* XXII: “Paeanii versionis ab homine Graeco neque linguae Latinae admodum perito factae in usum Graecorum haec est indoles, ut Eutropii textum in universum non ad verbum vertat sed in brevius contrahat”; E. Hohl, “Kennt Eutrop einen Usurpator Trebellianus?” *Klio* 14 (1915) 380–384, esp. 382: “Paianios ... ist nicht gerade das Ideal eines gewissenhaften Übersetzers”; Baffetti, *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher* 3 (1922) 36: “Peanio non di rado ha fraintesco il testo di Eutropio e ciò deve attribuirsi al fatto ch’ egli non aveva una conoscenza sicura della lingua latina. Così altre volte ha ommesso di tradurre delle frasi o parole tali, da far sorgere il dubbio legittimo che non ne abbia inteso il significato”; Trivolis, *Eutropius Historicus* 137: “Δὲν χωρεῖ ἀμφιβολία, ὅτι ὁ Παϊάνιος ἀτελῶς ἐγνώριζε τὴν Λατινικὴν.”

<sup>90</sup> Matino, *Koinonía* 41 (2017) 56.

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