

You have downloaded a document from



*The Central and Eastern European Online Library*

The joined archive of hundreds of Central-, East- and South-East-European publishers, research institutes, and various content providers

**Source:** Byzantinoslavica - Revue internationale des Etudes Byzantines

Byzantinoslavica - Revue internationale des Etudes Byzantines

**Location:** Czech Republic

**Author(s):** Daryia Rafiyenko

**Title:** Towards the compilation principles of Excerpta historica Constantiniana

Towards the compilation principles of Excerpta historica Constantiniana

**Issue:** 1-2/2017

**Citation style:** Daryia Rafiyenko. "Towards the compilation principles of Excerpta historica Constantiniana". Byzantinoslavica - Revue internationale des Etudes Byzantines 1-2:291-324.

<https://www.ceeol.com/search/article-detail?id=608926>

# Towards the compilation principles of *Excerpta historica Constantiniana*

Daryia RAFIYENKO (Leipzig)

*Our knowledge about the mechanisms underlying the creation of Excerpta historica Constantiniana (EC) – an encyclopedia commissioned by the Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos in 10th century Byzantium – is still insufficient, despite a number of important studies. This paper sets out to approach this question on the basis of textual repetitions present in the text of EC. The overall goal is to shed light on the principles and methodology that were guiding the compilers of EC. In particular, the focus of this study lies on repetitions, i.e. those text passages of the same author that appear in at least two different places in EC; Such pairs of passages are denoted as reiterations in the following. Overall, 54 pairs of reiterations were identified by using automated tools and then analyzed. The respective length of the reiterated passages ranges from 8 to 150 words per reiteration; the reiterated passages were found in 101 excerpts. The subsequent analysis reveals two main types: the subset type and the intersection type. The former is found when the excerpt attesting the reiteration also contains a text not present in the counterpart excerpt. In turn, the latter type is found when only one of the excerpts contains a text not present in the counterpart excerpt. The two main types can be further classified into two subtypes each: transition, patchworking, extraction, and duplication. The analysis of these types allows to reconstruct the workflow of the excerptors, in turn illuminating the methodology of the entire EC project.*

## 1 Introduction

In 10th century Byzantium, an ambitious project on the creation of a large-scale collection of excerpts<sup>1</sup> was commissioned by the Emperor Constantine VII

1 I denote EC here as *collection of excerpts* (or *excerpt collection* respectively) because there is no *opinio communis* on how to denote the genre of EC. The most frequent term used is probably *encyclopedia*, see K. KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur von Justinian bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches: (527 – 1453)*, 2 vols., 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, München 1897, 258; TH. BÜTTNER-WOBST, *Der Codex Peirescianus. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Excerpte des Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos, Berichte über die Verhandlungen der königlich sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Klasse* 45, 1893, 261–352; A. DAIN, *L'encyclopédisme de Constantin Porphyrogénète, Bulletin de l'association Guillaume Budé, Supplément Lettres d'humanité* XII, 1953, 64–81; P. LEMERLE, *Le premier humanisme byzantin*, (Bibliothèque byzantine – Etudes, 6), Paris 1971, 287–288; A. NÉMETH, *The imperial systematisation of the past in Constantinople. Constantine VII and his Historical Excerpts*, in: J. König – G. Woolf, (eds.), *Encyclopaedism from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, Cambridge 2013, 232–258, esp. 234–235; cf. CH. HANNICK, *Enzyklopädie, Enzyklopädik*, in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 3, 1986, 2031–2039. However, the question whether it is appropriate to denote EC as encyclopedia is a matter of the ongoing debate, cf. P. ODORICO, *La cultura della ΣΥΛΛΟΓΗ. 1) Il cosiddetto enciclopedismo bizantino 2) Le tavole del sapere di Giovanni Damasceno, BZ* 83, 1990, 10–21 and the volume edited by P. Van Deun, C. Macé (eds.) *Encyclopedic Trends in Byzantium?* (Proceedings of the International Conference held in Leuven, 6–8 May 2009), (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 212), Leuven 2011, and the contributions of Magdalino, Odorico, and Schreiner in this volume in particular.

Porphyrogenetos. The goal of the project was to create a work in which passages from historiographical texts would be arranged according to their content into totally fifty-three thematic subjects such as “ambushes”, “gnomic statements” and others. The motivation for the project probably came from the idea that the existing writings were, in their totality, perceived as incomprehensible and vague accumulations of knowledge. Consequently, the plan was to restructure “all the writings that were collected from everywhere all around the world”.<sup>2</sup> However, one does not have to take this phrase literary. It is known that works of only about thirty authors were used for five volumes of EC.<sup>3</sup> The undertaking was carried out by a team of scholars commonly referred to as *Constantinian excerptors* (or simply *excerptors*), of whom, however, nothing is known.<sup>4</sup> The resulting collection of excerpts is referred to as *Excerpta Constantiniana historica* or, simplified, the *Excerpta Constantiniana* (henceforth EC) in the modern literature.

Unfortunately, we do not know to what extent the plan of the original project was fulfilled and whether all fifty-three subjects were completed. Only five volumes are preserved to a varying degree, purportedly only a small part of a once much more voluminous work. Three volumes – *Excerpta de virtutibus et vitiis* (EV), *Excerpta de legationibus Romanorum ad gentes* (ELR), and *Excerpta de legationibus gentium ad Romanos* (ELG) – are almost completely extant.<sup>5</sup> The volume *Excerpta de sententiis* (ES) is preserved in about two thirds of its original size, in fragments that randomly survived after the manuscript was palimpsested.<sup>6</sup> The volume *Excerpta de insidiis* (EI) is preserved in about a half of its original size. We

2 Cf. prooemium: βίβλους ἄλλοθεν ἄλλας ἐξ ἀπάσης ἑκασταχοῦ οἰκουμένης συλλέξασθαι.

3 See below under 1.1.

4 The size of the project presupposes that the compilation of EC was carried out by a group of excerptors. Numerous studies inquire into the question of how the tasks of the project were distributed amongst them, cf. M. R. JAMES, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College*, vol. 3, Cambridge 1902, 208–209; TH. BÜTTNER-WOBST, Die Anlage der historischen Encyclopädie des Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos, *BZ* 15, 1906, 88–120, esp. 99–100; M. KRAŠENINNIKOV, Novaya rukopis' izvlecheniy peri prósbeon Pwmaiôn prós êθνικοὺς (cod. Cantabrigiensis Coll. SS. Trinit. O. 3.23), *IV* 21, 1914, 45–170, esp. 45ff., 63; J. M. MOORE, *The Manuscript Tradition of Polybius*, Cambridge 1965, 152; LEMERLE, *Humanisme*, op. cit., 285; P. SCHREINER, Die Historikerhandschrift Vaticanus Graecus 977: ein Handexemplar zur Vorbereitung des Konstantinischen Exzerptenwerkes?, *JÖB* 37, 1987, 1–29, esp. 25–29; B. FLUSIN, Les Excerpta Constantiniens. Logique d'une anti-histoire, in: S. Pittia (ed.), *Fragments d'historiens grecs. Autour de Denys d'Halicarnasse*, École française de Rome 2002, 537–559, esp. 542 n. 20; M. MOLIN, De l'intérêt des Excerpta historica iussu Imp. Constantini Pophyrogenniti pour la lecture de la dernière décade de Dion Cassius, *Ktema* 29, 2004, 209–213. There is, however, no reliable data that would allow for deeper insights into the process of the creation of EC.

5 See the editions *Excerpta de legationibus Romanorum ad gentes*, C. G. de Boor (ed.), Berlin 1903; *Excerpta de legationibus gentium ad Romanos*, C. G. de Boor (ed.), Berlin 1903; *Excerpta de insidiis*, C. G. de Boor (ed.), Berlin 1905; *Excerpta de sententiis*, U. P. Boissevain (ed.), Berlin 1906; *Excerpta de virtutibus et vitiis*, vol. 1, Th. Büttner-Wobst (ed.), Berlin 1906; *Excerpta de virtutibus et vitiis*, vol. 2, A. G. Roos (ed.), Berlin 1910.

6 Cf. recently A. NÉMETH, Layers of Restorations: *Vat. Gr. 73* transformed in the tenth, fourteenth, and nineteenth centuries, *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae* XXI, 2015, 281–330.

possess a selection from the text of EI that was intentionally made in the 17th century, after which time the original manuscript was lost.

It is important to distinguish between the terms *subject* and *volume*. Subjects are the fifty-three thematic categories established by the excerptors into which the relevant text pieces from historiographical works were arranged according to their content. The term *volume*, in turn, refers to each of the five physical parts of EC preserved hitherto. It is possible that one subject could embrace more than one volume. Thus, we do not know whether the volumes of *Excerpta de legationibus*, that is ELR and ELG (collectively designated as EL\* in the following), were regarded as one subject or two.<sup>7</sup> There is also an assumption that EV could have been designed as consisting of two volumes.<sup>8</sup>

EC, although being represented by only five volumes, can be characterized as a unique literary work in a number of ways, most prominently through its rather unusual arrangement of material (i.e. according to 53 subjects). This is why this work imposes so many questions that have not been properly answered yet. For example, we still poorly understand why exactly EC was created and how it was intended to be used later on.<sup>9</sup>

Our only sources of knowledge about EC are the preserved volumes themselves. The first important piece of evidence here is the prooemium presumably originally preceding each volume of EC in the same form, nowadays preserved only in ELR and EV.<sup>10</sup> The prooemium is written in the first person, in the name of Constantine VII, and describes the reasons and goals of the project as well as elucidates a number of methodological issues.<sup>11</sup> Still, it gives only a concise, yet sometimes vague description of the project which makes an in-depth reconstruction of methodology based only on the basis of the prooemium impossible.

---

7 A. NÉMETH, *Imperial Systematization of the Past. Emperor Constantine VII and His Historical Excerpts*, Budapest 2010 (working copy of the doctoral thesis), [www.etd.ceu.hu/2010/mphnea01.pdf](http://www.etd.ceu.hu/2010/mphnea01.pdf) (retrieved February, 24, 2017), 135–141.

8 BÜTTNER-WOBST, *Anlage*, op. cit., 96–97, 105.

9 Cf. U. ROBERTO, Byzantine Collections of Late Antique Authors: Some Remarks on the *Excerpta historica Constantiniana*, in: M. Wallraff – L. Mecella (eds.), *Die Kestoi des Julius Africanus und ihre Überlieferung, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* 165, Berlin 2009, 71–84, or more generally P. A. BRUNT, On historical Fragments and Epitomes, *Classical Quarterly* 74, 1980, 477–494; R. M. PICCIONE, Scegliere, raccogliere e ordinare. Letteratura di raccolta e trasmissione del sapere, *Humanitas* 58, 2003, 44–63; S. Morlet (ed.) *Lire en extraits. Lecture et production des textes de l'Antiquité à la fin du Moyen Âge*, Paris 2015.

10 See the edition in *Excerpta de sententiis*, op. cit., 1–2 and *Excerpta de virtutibus*, vol. I, op. cit., 1–2.

11 The translations and interpretations of the prooemium can be found in BÜTTNER-WOBST, *Anlage*, op. cit., 88–89; LEMERLE, *Humanisme*, op. cit., 281–282; P. LEMERLE, *Byzantine humanism: the first phase. Notes and remarks on education and culture in Byzantium from its origins to the 10th century*, Canberra 1986 (Translated form LEMERLE, *Humanisme*, op. cit.), 325–326; WILSON, *Scholars*, op. cit., 143–145; FLUSIN, *Logique*, op. cit., 538–539; ROBERTO, *Some Remarks*, op. cit., 73–76; NÉMETH, *Imperial Systematisation (doctoral thesis)*, op. cit., 180–197, and NÉMETH, *Systematisation*, op. cit., 236–239; P. SCHREINER, Die enzyklopädische Idee in Byzanz, in: Van Deun – Macé (eds.), op. cit., 3–28.

Further evidence on the methodology of the project can be gained through the analysis of the text of EC itself,<sup>12</sup> amounting to circa 1600 pages in a printed edition. For example, the examination of the structure of the volumes may provide clues as to how the historical material was arranged in EC. Furthermore, a detailed analysis of single excerpts may shed light onto what kind of information was considered as important by the excerptors, both for EC in general and for each subject in particular. Finally, in cases where the original text is preserved independently, the comparison with the original text may reveal the modifications made by the excerptors and thereby their methodology.<sup>13</sup> Basing ourselves on the abovementioned sources, we are capable to reconstruct the compilation process of EC to a considerable extent, a rough outline of which is given in 2.1 below.

The aim of this paper is to analyse repetitions in the text of EC. A closer examination of EC shows that there are more than fifty instances thereof, 8 to 150 words in length, in which largely the same text passage appears in at least two different places in EC. I will refer to these passages as *reiterations* in this paper. Even though most reiterations exhibit minor deviations caused by the excerptors in the process of the compilation, for all cases considered in the following article I may safely claim identity of two distinct passages, i.e. the same text fragment was incorporated twice into EC by the excerptors.

The very existence of reiterations in EC indicates that sometimes a particular piece of information could not be unambiguously assigned to only one subject and was therefore inserted twice in two subjects. In this paper it is assumed that an analysis of reiterations may elucidate the decisions made by the excerptors in problematic cases, allowing for a better understanding of their methodology. Thus, the present paper aims to find out whether the excerptors strove to integrate each relevant text passage only once and to only one subject. Another question that will be addressed here is whether the excerptors tried to integrate the whole source text by splitting it and placing different pieces of it into different excerpts, so that no part of it would be left out, or whether this was not crucial for them. In other words, whether the excerptors made every effort to define the borderline between the future excerpts precisely, without passages in between that could not be

12 Some reflections on the methodology of the excerptors that are based on the evidence gained from the study of the text of EC can be found in C. M. MAZZUCCHI, *Alcune vicende della tradizione di Cassio Dione in epoca bizantina*, *Aevum* 53, 1979, 94–139, esp. 131–134; ROBERTO, *Some Remarks*, op. cit.; and NÉMETH, *Imperial Systematisation (doctoral thesis)*, op. cit.

13 The comparison with the original is possible, for instance, for the works of Procopius, Zosimus, Josephus Flavius, Arrianus, and some others. Some changes made by excerptors in comparison to the original texts are discussed by H. NISSEN, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die Quellen der vierten und fünften Dekade des Livius*, Berlin 1863, 4–7; M. KRAŠENINNIKOV, *Procopii Caesariensis Anecdota: quae dicuntur*, Ivrievi 1899, LIII; C. G. DE BOOR, *Römische Kaisergeschichte in byzantinischer Fassung. I. Der Anonymus Post Dionem 1*, *BZ* 1, 1892, 13–33, esp. 32–33; 1912, 338; BÜTTNER-WOBST, *Berichte*, op. cit., 283; *ibid. Anlage*, op. cit., 99–100; BRUNT, *Fragments and Epitomes*, op. cit., 483; A. CAMERON, *The Greek Anthology: from Meleager to Planudes*, Oxford 1993, 293–297; E. CALVAGNO, *Diodoro, Arpago e la presenza della flotta persiana nell’Egeo*, *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica* 89, 1996, 209–231; FLUSIN, *Logique*, op. cit., 542–543; G. MARTIN, *Dexipp von Athen. Edition, Übersetzung und begleitende Studien*, Tübingen 2006, 54; ROBERTO, *Some Remarks*, op. cit., 78–82; NÉMETH, *Imperial Systematisation (doctoral thesis)*, op. cit., 228–235.

assigned to any of the subjects. Peter Schreiner and András Németh hypothesize how the fragments from Theophylactus Simocatta and Procopius respectively could have been distributed between the volumes of EC without remainder.<sup>14</sup> Umberto Roberto goes even further and not only assumes that the texts have been excerpted without remainder, but that many of them could have been excerpted more than once for different volumes. Thus it is possible, according to him, that the overall dimension of EC was double compared to the texts of the selected historians.<sup>15</sup> This means that reiteration was an important strategy for the excerptors. Altogether, in many cases, we do not have enough data to give definite answers. The analysis below reveals that the borders between the excerpts were not always drawn precisely so that overlapping between two different excerpts does occur. Overlaps furthermore indicate that the same text could be assigned to different subjects, which does not happen very frequently, however.

In what follows, I set out to describe the compilation process of EC (2.1), going into more details about reiterations (2.2). Section 3 is devoted to the analysis of reiterations. It describes the main strategies of the excerptors when reiterating the text. The reiterations themselves could be classified into two main types (3.2) as well as the four subtypes (3.3). In section 3.4, the results are discussed and conclusions about the methods of the excerptors are made. Finally, section 4 provides conclusions and outlook.

## 2 Reconstructed methodology of the excerptors

In the following section the methodology used by the excerptors in the process of compiling EC will be presented to the extent that it can be reconstructed, based on the preserved volumes. Alongside the well-known facts about EC, new data is integrated, such as the amount of text excerpted into EC per author or the average length of the excerpts per volume and in EC overall.

### 2.1 Process of the compilation of EC on the macro-level

In the first phase of the compilation process the originals were split into sections. These sections are conventionally referred to as excerpts because the precise formulation of the original was largely preserved. The examination of circa 3560 excerpts from the five extant volumes of EC allows us to determine their average length (Table 1). It turns out that the vast majority of the excerpts (82%, ca. 3000 excerpts) are no longer than 200 words (that is approximately 20 lines in the edition),<sup>16</sup> whereas only around 18% exceed 200 words. The rate for extremely large excerpts (2000 up to 8700 words) is extremely low: only 15 excerpts (0.4%) were found.

---

14 SCHREINER, *Historikerhandschrift*, op. cit., 25–29; NÉMETH, *Systematisation*, op. cit., 237.

15 ROBERTO, *Some Remarks*, op. cit., 76 n. 18 referencing to MAZZUCCHI, *Tradizione di Cassio Dione*, op. cit., 133.

16 The length of the excerpts in words is calculated based on the number of lines that the excerpt takes in the printed edition. According to my observations, the average count is 10 words per line.

**Table 1: Length of excerpts**

Length of excerpts in lines of the modern edition	Number of excerpts	%
less than 2 lines	c. 600 excerpts	16%
3–5 lines	c. 900 excerpts	25%
5–10 lines	c. 800 excerpts	22%
10–20 lines	c. 700 excerpts	19%
20–50 lines	c. 410 excerpts	11%
50–100 lines	c. 145 excerpts	4%
100–200 lines	c. 90 excerpts	2.5%
200–870 lines	15 excerpts	0.4%

When the excerptors were splitting texts, they simultaneously classified each of the excerpts to one of the subjects of EC. The list of subjects used as the main arrangement criterion is, to my knowledge, a unique feature of the EC project with no comparable counterparts elsewhere in the Byzantine literature. According to the prooemium, the total of subjects was fifty-three. However, we know the titles of only about a half of the subjects that are attested in the volumes. Five of them are preserved in the extant volumes: “On virtue and vice”, “On the embassies of Romans to the barbarians” and “On the embassies of the barbarians to the Romans”, “On gnomic statements” and “On ambushes”. Further twenty-six subjects are restored with a reasonable degree of certainty, due to the references to these subjects in the remnant volumes, which were commonly introduced by ζῆται ἐν in combination with the title of the respective subject.<sup>17</sup>

Interestingly, it turns out that the length of the excerpts correlates with the subject of its volume as can be observed from Table 2. For example, it is typical for ES to incorporate short excerpts in a great number, where 85% of 1360 excerpts in total are 1 to 9 lines in length and even the longest excerpt counts only c. 1700 words.<sup>18</sup> In turn, long excerpts in a small number (only 600 in total) are typical for ELR and ELG. Finally, the medium-size excerpts are found in EV and EI:

17 The lists of reconstructed subjects can be found in H. WÄSCHKE, Über die Reihenfolge der Exzerpte Konstantins, *Philologus* 41, 1882, 270–283; R. VÁRI, Zum historischen Exzerptenwerke des Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos, *BZ* 17, 1908, 75–85; BÜTTNER-WOBST, *Anlage*, op. cit., 108–119; LEMERLE, *Humanisme*, op. cit., 280–282; SCHREINER, *Historikerhandschrift*, op. cit., 13–23; NÉMETH, *Systematisation*, op. cit., 247–255.

18 It is important to remember that the length of the excerpts in ES could be influenced by the fact that we deal with fragmentary remains of the volume that were preserved after the manuscript with ES was palimpsested in the 14<sup>th</sup> century (A. MAI, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio e Vaticanis codicibus edita*. Vol. 2: *Historicorum Geacorum partes novas complectens*, Roma 1827, XXXI; G. MERCATI – P. F. DE’ CAVALIERI, *Codices Vaticani Graeci. Vol. 1: Codices 1–329*, Roma 1923, 67).

**Table 2: Length according to volumes**

Volume of EC	Number of excerpts	Length mean	Length of the longest except
ES	c. 1360 excerpts	8 lines	174 lines
EV	c. 1300 excerpts	16 lines	800 lines
EI	c. 400 excerpts	25 lines	860 lines
EL*	c. 600 excerpts	32 lines	870 lines

According to the traditional point of view, the excerptors strove to split the original texts into excerpts in such a way that none of the text parts would be left out, in other words, they aimed at integrating the original texts completely. The most recent attempt to prove this idea has been made by Németh.<sup>19</sup> In his book, Németh provides a detailed comparison of Procopius' *Persian Wars* with EC and shows that sections from chapters 2.2 – 2.28 have been integrated into ELR and ELG as ELG Proc. 9–11 and ELR Proc. 5–16, respectively. Analysing the gaps in Procopius between these excerpts, Németh comes to the conclusion that the missing sections might potentially have been attributed to some other subject of EC. By way of example, he mentions an oration of a Roman commander allotted to the subject “On public speeches” or a letter from an emperor allotted to the subject “On the letters of sovereigns”. Similar attempts were also made by de Boor and Flusin on the text of Polybius' *History*<sup>20</sup> or by Schreiner on Theophylactus Simocatta.<sup>21</sup> The data in the present study do not provide for direct evidence either against or in favour of this theory. Below it will be shown, however, that the primary goal of the excerptors was to collect the relevant passages for each volume separately and not to mechanically divide the content of the original texts among the volumes (see 3.4). This indirectly speaks against the theory of complete integration of the original texts.

After having split the original texts into excerpts and having assigned the latter to subjects, the next step on the agenda of the excerptors was to combine these excerpts into the volumes of EC. In order to do so, the excerptors merged excerpts on the same subject from one author into blocks. This procedure was repeated for all the authors that were to be integrated into EC. Within each single block, henceforth referred to as *author-block*, the excerptors not only preserved the original formulation of the excerpt but also strove to sustain the original succession of excerpts.<sup>22</sup>

19 NÉMETH, *Imperial Systematisation (doctoral thesis)*, op. cit., 228–235.

20 C. G. DE BOOR, Zu den Excerptsammlungen des Konstantin Porphyrogennetos, *Hermes* 19, 1884, 123–148, 131; FLUSIN, *Logique*, op. cit., 542–543. Cf. also Nissen, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, op. cit., 4; BÜTTNER-WOBST, *Anlage*, op. cit., 97.

21 SCHREINER, *Historikerhandschrift*, op. cit., 21–23.

22 Cf. ROBERTO, *Some Remarks*, op. cit., 80. There are, however, some exceptions, cf., e.g., the text of EI Georg. M. 44 and 45 that corresponds to the text on pages 772,7–25 and 771,4–7 of the edition respectively (*Georgii monachi chronicon*, 2 vols., C. G. de Boor (ed.), Leipzig).

To give an example, when the excerptors created the author-block from Polybius for EV (the “EV Pol.” author-block<sup>23</sup>), they copied all excerpts from Polybius’ *History* classified by themes (that is subjects) containing descriptions of virtues and/or vices one by one as they appear in the original. The same procedure was applied to Polybius’ *History* in order to collect passages for all other subjects, as well as to all other authors, so that each original work of each author was now transformed into a number of author-blocks.

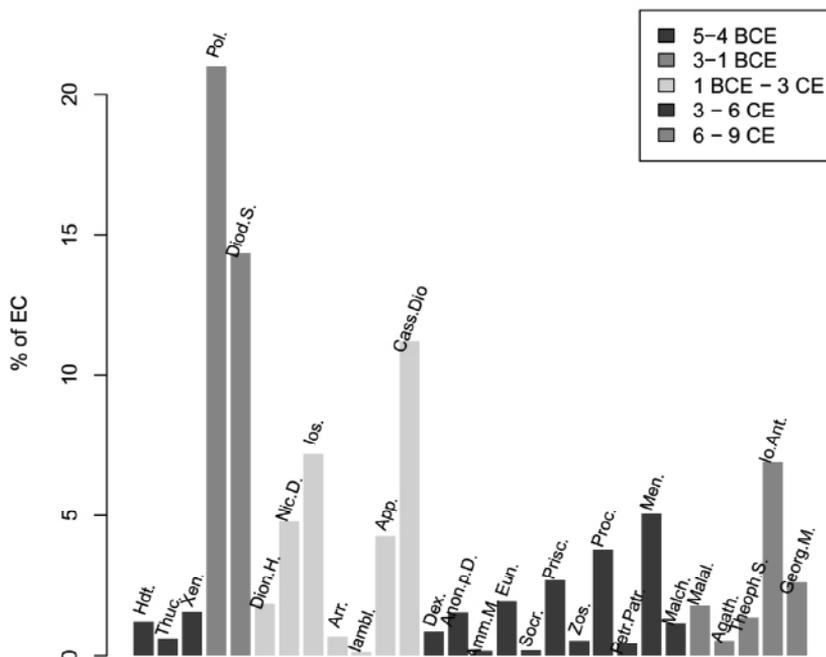
After that, the author-blocks were put together into volumes according to their subjects. In addition, each volume was preceded by a prooemium containing among other things the list of the authors included into that volume. In total, there are 72 fully or partly preserved author-blocks found in the five preserved volumes of EC. The number of author-blocks within one volume varies from 15 to 19 in the fully preserved volumes of ELR, ELG, and EV. The damaged volumes ES and EI contain in their present state 14 and 7 author-blocks respectively. The original number of author-blocks in these volumes is unknown.

The 72 author-blocks in EC originate from 28 authors (see the list of authors in Attachment 1). This implies that one and the same author was frequently used as the source for several author-blocks on different subjects, however, not every author was used for every subject. The combination of authors within each single volume is unique and there is no good explanation for the choice of authors for each single volume of EC that I am aware of. The only observation made so far is that a number of authors (Priscus, Procopius, Theophylactus Simocatta, Zosimus, Malchus, and Petrus Patricius) are testified only within the two volumes on embassies. Based on the evidence we have, we must assume that the choice of authors was a matter of the literary taste and awareness of the excerptors.

As it was noted above, there were 28 authors used in EC. This number is by itself not instructive if one considers the fact that the amount of text excerpted from each author for each volume of EC differs considerably (see Figure 1 and the percentage figures in Attachment 1). Within single volumes, the most extensively excerpted authors are Cassius Dio, Diodorus Siculus, Josephus and Polybius in EV, Appianus and Polybius in ELG, Menander Protector and Polybius in ELR, and Joannes Antiochenus and Nicolaus Damascenus in EI. The case of ES is more complicated as we deal here with fragments that were randomly preserved. However, even here, Diodorus Siculus, Polybius and Cassius Dio seem to be the authors that were excerpted to a much larger extent than the others. Overall, Polybius, Diodorus Siculus and Cassius Dio seem to have been the main sources for the excerptors independent of the subject of a volume. The excerpts from these three top authors amount to 21%, 14,5% and 11,2% of the total amount of EC, respectively. Together they make up about a half of the preserved text, see Figure 1:

---

23 In what follows I refer to author-blocks by providing the abbreviated designation of the volume (EV, ELR, ELG, ES, or EI) in the first part and the abbreviated form of the author’s name (Pol., Anon.p.D., etc.) in the second part. I refer to single excerpts in the same manner, adding the number of the excerpt after the indication of the author-block to which it belongs. For instance, the excerpt with the number 250 from Cass. Dio contained in EV is referred to as “EV Cass.Dio 250”.



**Figure (1):** Proportion of the authors in EC

The aspects discussed here, such as the structure of author-blocks and volumes or the amount of authors per volume, provide a rough picture of how the compilation process was designed. From this “macro-level” I now turn to the “micro-level” of single excerpts.

## 2.2 Modification of the text on the micro-level

As described above, the excerptors split up the original texts into segments, or excerpts, most of which were between 10 and 200 words (cf. Table 2 above), and ordered them thematically into volumes. There is, however, one inherent problem with such an approach. The procedure of splitting, if it were applied mechanically, would have led to incomprehensibility of single excerpts because the excerpt was deprived of its original context. In a small fragment of 10 to 200 words in length there might simply not be enough context to understand the relations between the main events and the persons acting therein as well as to interpret their speeches and actions.

One may reasonably ask whether the excerptors were aware of this problem and whether they strove to create an independent literary work that had to be comprehensible *per se*, i.e. without the knowledge of the original historiographical works that served as its basis. The research on EC suggests that the excerptors were indeed aware of this problem because they developed a number of strategies to make single excerpts understandable in their new context, i.e. in a series of other excerpts within the author-blocks.

One of these strategies was to modify certain less significant details of the excerpts, such as adding names or short summaries that were provided in order to substitute the original context. Example (1) shows how the name Ἀρβάκης ὁ Μῆδος is inserted by the excerptors in the EI Nic.D. 3. Another name inserted into the same excerpt by the excerptors – the name of the Assyrian King Sardanapalus (“ἐπὶ Σαρδαναπάλλου τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων”) – serves also as a time stamp:

### Example (1)

#### EI Nic.D. 3

Ὅτι ἐπὶ Σαρδαναπάλλου τοῦ ≈<sup>24</sup>  
βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων

Ἀρβάκης ὁ Μῆδος

ἀκηκοὺς τὸν βίον καὶ τὰ ἦθη, ≈  
οἷς χρῆται ὁ βασιλεύς, εἰς νοῦν  
ἐνεβάλετο καὶ ἐνεθυμήθη ἄρα, ὅτι  
ἀπορία γενναίου ἀνδρὸς οὗτος ἔχει  
τὰ τῆς Ἀσσυρίας κράτη.

#### EV Nic.D. 7

Ὅτι Σαρδανάπαλος Ἀσυρίων ἐβασίλευσεν,

om. ἀπὸ ε Νίνου καὶ Σεμιράμεως τὴν βασιλείαν  
παραδεξάμενος, οἰκησιν ἔχων ἐν Νίνῳ,  
ἔνδον τὸ σύμπαν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις  
διατρίβων, ὄπλων μὲν οὐχ ἀπτόμενος  
οὐδ’ ἐπὶ θήραν ἐξιών, ὥσπερ οἱ πάλαι  
βασιλεῖς, ἐγγιόμενος δὲ τὸ πρόσωπον  
καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὑπογραφόμενος  
πρὸς τε τὰς παλλακίδας ἀμιλλόμενος  
περὶ κάλλους καὶ ἐμπλοκῆς τὸ τε σύμπαν  
γυναικείῳ ἦθει χρώμενος. κατὰ δὲ τὰ  
πρότερον συντεταγμένα ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας  
αὐτῶ παρήσαν οἱ τε ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν  
σατράπαι ἄγοντες τὰς εἰρημένας δυνάμεις  
καὶ δὴ Ἀρβάκης ὁ Μῆδων ὑπαρχος,  
om. ἀνὴρ τὸν τε βίον σώφρων καὶ πραγμάτων,  
εἰ δὴ τις ἄλλος, ἐμπειρος, τετριμμένος τε  
ἐν κυνηγεσίῳ καὶ πολέμοις καὶ πολλὰ  
μὲν πάλαι γενναῖα ἐξειργασμένος, πλείω  
δ’ ἔτι καὶ μείζω τότε διανοοῦμενος.  
οὗτος ἀκηκοὺς τὸν τε βίον καὶ τὰ ἦθη,  
οἷς χρῆται ὁ βασιλεύς, εἰς νοῦν ἐνεβάλετο  
καὶ ἐνεθυμήθη ἄρα, ὅτι ἀπορία γενναίου  
ἀνδρὸς οὗτος ἔχει τὰ τῆς Ἀσίας κράτη.

24 In order to show how similar the text in two excerpts is, I use four characters. I use the equal sign (“=”) if the two text are identical and ‘almost equal to’ sign (“≈”) if the two texts are near to identical, differing only in small details such as the forms of the same word, different prefixes in verbs, different articles or conjunctions with the same meaning, etc. The ‘approximately but not actually equal to’ sign (“≈”) is used when the two texts exhibit considerable divergences but share some vocabulary and potentially meaning. This sign is also used when we deal with a kind of summary in one of the excerpts. The ‘not equal to’ sign (“≠”) is used in cases when the two texts have nothing in common. The marking “om.” indicates omissions inside of an excerpt on the part of the excerptors.

ἀνδρειότατον δὲ φύλον τὸ Μηδικὸν om.  
 ἐδόκει τότε μετὰ τὸ Ἀσσύριον εἶναι.  
 οὗτος οὖν ὁ Ἀρβάκης ἐν ὁμίλια  
 γενόμενος Βελέσσυ τῆς Βαβυλωνῶνος  
 ἄρχοντι, καίσυνεδρίτης ὧν αὐτῷ  
 πρὸ τῶν βασιλειῶν θυρῶν, ἀνδρὶ  
 τοῦ Χαλδαίων γένους, (ιερεῖς δ'  
 οὗτοι ἦσαν καὶ πρώτην ἔφερον  
 τιμὴν) συντίθεται αὐτῷ,  
 καὶ κοινῇ βουλευούσιν ἐπιθέσθαι τῇ ≈ καὶ βουλὴν συντίθεται περὶ τῆς ὅλης  
 ὅλη ἀρχῆ  
 ἀρχῆς.  
 τά τε Ἀσσυρίων κράτη μεταστῆσαι  
 εἰς Μήδους.  
 (...) <sup>25</sup>

The same phenomenon can be demonstrated in another example (2) from Pol. In the ES Pol. 106, the name Φίλιππος ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεύς was added by the excerptors in order to make the contents of the excerpt interpretable.

Another strategy applied by the excerptors was summarizing the original. An example of such a summary which was pointed out already by de Boor<sup>26</sup> is found in example (2). In this example (ES Pol. 106), a detailed story about the misfortunes of Philip of Macedonia as found in EV Pol. 81 was summarized. The strong resemblance between the two accounts allows for an assumption that both accounts go back to the same account in Polybius. However, whereas EV Pol. 81 represents the original version, ES Pol. 106 is a summary thereof made by the excerptors. For instance, a long narration of how Philip ordered to imprison all sons and daughters of the Macedonians that were killed by him, found in the EV Pol. 81, is summarized by only one sentence in ES Pol. 106: “πολλοὺς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀνελῶν, καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτῶν ἐπανεῖλεν, ὧς φασι, τὸν στίχον τοῦτον εἰπών· νῆπιος ὃς πατέρα κτείννας υἱοὺς καταλείπει.” The account on how the sons of Philip started to plot against each other is also summarized by a short phrase: “καὶ τὸ κατὰ τοὺς υἱοὺς νεῖκος ἅμα τοῖς προειρημένοις ἐξεκαύθη”. These changes in the text shift the perspectives of the two excerpts. The main focus of the account in EV Pol. 81 is to list all the misfortunes that happened to Philip of Macedonia in his old age, such as the wrath of heaven owing to the crimes of his past life. In turn, the account in ES Pol. 106 focuses on the idea that fortune brings an outbreak of terrible misfortunes at one and the same time.

<sup>25</sup> The horizontal ellipsis in brackets (“(...)”) marks that I have omitted the text of the excerpt. The absence of this marking automatically means that the excerpt is cited in full.

<sup>26</sup> C. G. DE BOOR, Suidas und die Konstantinische Excerptsammlung I, *BZ* 21, 1912, 381–424, 396.

**Example (2)****EV Pol. 81**

Ὅτι τῷ βασιλεῖ Φιλίπῳ καὶ τῇ συμπάσῃ Μακεδονίᾳ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν δεινὴ τις ἀρχὴ κακῶν ἐνέπεσε καὶ πολλῆς ἐπιστάσεως καὶ μνήμης ἀξία. καθάπερ γὰρ ἂν εἰ δίκην ἢ τύχῃ βουλομένη λαβεῖν καιρῷ παρ' αὐτοῦ πάντων τῶν ἀσεβημάτων καὶ παρανομημάτων ὧν εἰργάσατο κατὰ τὸν βίον, (...)

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα βουλευθεὶς μηδὲν ≠ ἀλλότριον ὑποκαθέσθαι μηδὲ δυσμενὲς μηδὲν ἀπολιπεῖν τῇ βασιλείᾳ, ἔγραψε τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν πόλεων διατεταγμένοις ἀναζητήσασαι τοὺς υἱοὺς καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Μακεδόνων ἀνηρημένων, εἰς φυλακὴν ἀποθέσθαι, μάλιστα μὲν φέρων ἐπὶ τοὺς περὶ Ἄδμητον καὶ Πύρριχον καὶ Σάμιον καὶ τοὺς μετὰ τούτων ἀπολομένους.

ἅμα δὲ τούτοις συμπεριέλαβε καὶ om.

τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας, ὅσοι κατὰ βασιλικὸν πρόσταγμα τοῦ ζῆν ἐστερήθησαν,

ἐπιφθενξάμενος, ὡς φασι, τὸν στίχον ≈ τοῦτον· νήπιος ὃς πατέρα κτείνας υἱοὺς καταλείπει.

(...)

τρίτον δ' ἢ τύχῃ δρᾶμα κατὰ τὸν ≠ αὐτὸν καιρὸν ἐπεισήγαγεν τὸ κατὰ τοὺς υἱοὺς, ἐν ᾧ τῶν μὲν νεανίσκων ἀλλήλοις ἐπιβουλευόντων, τῆς δ' ἀναφορᾶς περὶ τούτων ἐπ' αὐτὸν γινομένης, καὶ δέον διαλαμβάνειν πότερον δεῖ γίνεσθαι τῶν υἱῶν φονέα καὶ πότερον αὐτῶν δεδιέναι μᾶλλον κατὰ τὸν ἐξῆς βίον, μὴ γηράσκων αὐτὸς πάθῃ τὸ παραπλήσιον, ἐστροβεῖτο νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν περὶ τούτων διανοούμενος.

**ES Pol. 106**

Ὅτι Φίλιππος ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς πολλοὺς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀνελῶν, καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτῶν ἐπανεῖλεν,

ὡς φασι, τὸν στίχον τοῦτον εἰπών· νήπιος ὃς πατέρα κτείνας υἱοὺς καταλείπει.

≠ καὶ διὰ ταῦτα τῆς ψυχῆς οἶονεὶ λυττώσης αὐτοῦ,

καὶ τὸ κατὰ τοὺς υἱοὺς νεῖκος ἅμα τοῖς προειρημένοις ἐξεκαύθη,

ἐν τοιαύταις δ' οὔσης ἄτυχίαις καὶ ἄ  
 παραχαῖς τῆς αὐτοῦ ψυχῆς, τίς οὐκ  
 ἂν εἰκότως ὑπολάβοι θεῶν τινων  
 αὐτῷ μῆνιν εἰς τὸ γῆρας κατασκῆψαι  
 διὰ τὰς ἐν τῷ παραγεγονότι βίῳ  
 παρανομίας;  
 (...)

The two above-mentioned examples showcase how the text could be changed by the excerptors when they added names and summarized. These examples, furthermore, demonstrate how parts of the original text could be dropped in an excerpt. In example (1), for instance, the initial passage is omitted in EI with the exception of the key phrases containing the names of the acting persons (“ἐπὶ Σαρδαναπάλλου τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων” and “Ἀρβάκης ὁ Μῆδος”). The final sentence of the same text is absent in EV except for one phrase “καὶ βουλήν συντίθεται περὶ τῆς ὄλης ἀρχῆς”. Thus, it may be assumed that the first sentence was considered important for the context of the EI-excerpt and the last sentence for the EV-excerpt.

Furthermore, these two examples illustrate another important phenomenon observed in EC, namely, that the same text sometimes occurs in two excerpts. Both examples contain reiterated passages. In example (2), the reiterated passage runs for 12 words. The only difference is the choice of the lexeme and the position of the participle with the meaning “he used to say”, cf. ἐπιφθεγξάμενος in EV Pol. 81 vs. εἰπὼν in ES Pol. 106. A similar phenomenon is observed in (1) where the reiterated passages run for more than 25 words. The only substantial difference between the two passages here is the use of the word Ἀσσυρίας in EI Nic.D. 3 instead of Ἀσίας in EV Nic.D. 7.

To conclude, I demonstrated in section 2 how the analysis of the preserved volumes of EC allows to reconstruct the main methodological principles underlying the compilation process. On the macro-level it was shown, *inter alia*, that the average length of an excerpt was 10 to 200 words and that the length of the excerpts was partly dependent on the subject of the volume. Furthermore, it was demonstrated that different authors were integrated into EC to a different extent with a clear penchant for Diodorus Siculus, Polybius, and Cassius Dio. On the micro-level, I argued that the excerptors developed a number of strategies to overcome the problem of insufficient contextualization that arises when a part of the text is taken out of its original context in order to adopt them to their new environment. These strategies are: adding names, summarizing the omitted content, omitting less relevant passages, and reiteration. In the following, special attention will be given to the last phenomenon, i.e. to reiterations.

### 3 Classification of the reiterations in EC

In this section, I will classify and analyse 54 reiteration pairs that form the data set of this study. An overall description of the data that was collected is given in section 3.1 while section 3.2 contains a description of the two general working principles of the excerptors: *intersection* and *subset*. Finally, section 3.3

provides a description of the four subtypes of content distribution that could be distinguished in the data set: *transition*, *patchworking*, *extraction*, and *duplication*.

### 3.1 Primary data on reiterations

In the following, 54 cases of reiterations will be scrutinized. Importantly, this data was collected automatically by means of the citation-tool developed within the eAQUA-project at University of Leipzig.<sup>27</sup> The software looks for correspondences according to the following principles: all possible combinations of five successive words within the two sources are checked for repetitions and at least two places with identical passages no shorter than five words are spotted. Crucially, the results yielded according to the given parameters of the tool are exhaustive – something that cannot be easily achieved by a manual search given the text size of EC. Obviously, if the search criteria are changed more reiterations may be discovered. Thus, the four reiterations spotted manually by Roberto in the excerpts of Joannes Antiochenus (EV Io.Ant. 5 - EI Io.Ant. 1; EV Io.Ant. 39 - EI Io.Ant. 50; EV Io.Ant. 48 - EI Io.Ant. 57; and EV Io.Ant. 51 - EI Io.Ant. 71) could not be found automatically.<sup>28</sup>

Apart from these 54 cases of reiterations, the citation-tool spotted numerous other cases of reiterations in EC that lie beyond the scope of the present paper. Thus, approximately a dozen of cases were found in which two almost identical passages occur in two different authors, cf., for example, the excerpt pair ES Pol. 125 and ES Diod.S. 360. Furthermore, a number of reiterations arose from formulaic phrases frequently reiterated by certain authors, e.g. the phrase “ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφή τάδε” in ELR Proc. 22 and ELG Proc. 5., or the phrase “καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐν τοῦ τοις ἦν” in ELR Pol. 27 and ELR Pol. 100. Some of the reiterations found within the same author may be due to a phenomenon analogical to “clusters” in Plutarch.<sup>29</sup> More research is, however, needed to verify this assumption. Yet another type of reiteration found is represented by the formulaic expressions used by the excerptors themselves such as the note “Ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας Ἀππιανοῦ τῆς ἐπιγραφομένης Ἰταλικῆς” before ELR App. 1, or “τέλος τῆς ἱστορίας Ἀππιανοῦ τῆς ἐπιγραφομένης βασιλικῆς” after EV App.

27 The citation-tool (URL: <http://www.eaqua.net/>) allows the comparison of two different texts with each other or one text with itself. As a result, the user gets a list of all text places in which the two text pieces share at least five successive words. If two different texts are compared, the user gets the list with repetitions in two different texts; if the same text is compared with itself, the software lists all repetitions no shorter than five words from the same text. See further information on tools in CH. SCHUBERT, *Zitate und Fragmente: Die kulturelle Praxis des Zitierens im Zeitalter der Digitalisierung*, *Working Papers Contested Order: Das Portal eAQUA – Neue Methoden in der geisteswissenschaftlichen Forschung III* 7, 2012, 3–30 and CH. SCHUBERT – A. WEISS, *Die Hypomnemata bei Plutarch und Clemens: Ein Textmining-gestützter Vergleich der Arbeitsweise zweier ‚Sophisten‘*, *Hermes* 143, 2015, 447–471.

28 ROBERTO, *Some Remarks*, op. cit., 81.

29 Cf. recently L. VAN DER STOCKT, *Plutarch in Plutarch: The problem of the Hypomnemata*. In *La Biblioteca di Plutarco, Atti del IX Convegno plutarco Pavia*, 13–15 giugno 2002, Naples 2004, 331–340; S. A. XENOPHOTOS, *Plutarch’s compositional technique in the An seni respublica gerenda sit: Clusters vs. Patterns*, *American Journal of Philology* 133, 61–91.

36, or “Ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας Ἀππιανοῦ τῆς ἐπιγραφομένης βασιλικῆς” before EV App. 1. These reiterations have been left out of consideration in this paper.

As to the reiterations analysed in this paper, there are in total 101 excerpts attesting 54 reiteration pairs (108 text passages). Most of the excerpts (84 excerpts) contain only one reiteration and are thus associated with only one other excerpt (cf. example 3). Three further excerpts are each associated with two other excerpts by sharing two different reiterations with two different excerpts: ELG Pol. 79 shares one text passage with ES Pol. 128 and one text passage with ES Pol. 129; ELG Theoph.S. 3 shares one text passage with ES Theoph.S. 14 and a different one with ES Theoph.S. 15 (see example 13); EV Pol. 81 reiterates text passages from ES Pol. 105 and 106. Finally, only two excerpts contain three reiterations shared with three excerpts: ELG App. 3 shares one text passage with ES App. 2, another text passage with ES App. 3 and still another text passage with ES App. 4; analogically, ELR Pol. 5 reiterates text passages from ES Pol. 28, 29 and 30.

The length of a single reiterated passage can vary from 8 to 152 words, most frequently though it lies in the range of 10 to 40 words. The sheer amount of the reiterated text in 108 passages in EC is about 4000 words (that is c. 2000 words reiterated by another c. 2000 words), or approximately 10 pages of a printed edition overall.

It is important to stress that these 10 pages, or 4000 words, make out only about 0.6 % of the amount of the printed edition of EC, or 0.3% of the text of EC, reiterated by another 0.3%. This means that only very occasionally text of EC was reiterated within itself.

If we consider the distribution of all 108 passages, the following picture emerges. The reiterations occur in 11 out of the 28 authors of the whole EC (sorted by frequency): Pol. (21), App. (9), Cass.Dio (7), Diod.S. (7), Men. (3), Theoph.S. (2), Eun. (1), Georg.M. (1), Nic.D. (1), Prisc. (1), and Proc. (1).

Furthermore, reiterations occur in 28 out of 72 author-blocks. Author-blocks containing the highest number of reiterations are the following (sorted by frequency): ES Pol. (18 times); EV Pol. (13); ES Diod.S. (8); ES Cass.Dio (7); ELG App. (7); ES App. (7); EV Cass.Dio (6); ELG Pol. (6); EV Diod.S. (6); ELR Pol. (4). In 18 further author-blocks, the reiterations occur from 1 to 3 times (sorted alphabetically): EV App.; ES Men.; ES Theoph.S.; ES Eun.; ES Proc.; EI Georg.M.; EI Nic.D.; EI Pol.; ELR App.; ELR Men.; ELG Theoph.S.; ELG Eun.; ELG Prisc.; ELR Cass.Dio; ELR Prisc.; ELR Proc.; EV Georg.M.; EV Nic.D.

The most frequent pairs of author-blocks (i.e. author-blocks that share a reiterated passage) are the following:

- EV Pol. – ES Pol. (11 pairs)
- EL\* Pol. – ES Pol. (4 pairs with ELG and 3 pairs with ELR)
- EV Diod.S. – ES Diod.S. (6 pairs)
- ELG App. – ES App. (6 pairs)
- EV Cass.Dio – ES Cass.Dio (4 pairs)
- ELR Men. – ES Men. (3 pairs)

While reiterations occur in all preserved volumes of EC, most frequently they are found in ES (47 times); there are 28 occurrences in EV and 30 occurrences in EL\* (17 in ELG and 13 in ELR). In turn, EI has only 3 reiterations.

If we consider the combination of volumes in which two excerpts associated by a reiteration are found then the most frequent combinations of volumes are EV-ES with 22 reiteration pairs and EL\*-ES with 21 reiteration pairs (13 with ELG and 8 with ELR). Further combinations are EV-EI (3), ELR-ELG (3), and EV-ELG (1). These 50 instances in which a text passage was integrated into two different volumes of EC will be referred to as *volume-external* combinations. Furthermore, there are four examples of *volume-internal* combinations. Volume-internal combinations are found when both excerpts of a reiteration pair originate from the same volume of EC. Such combinations are ES-ES (2 occurrences), ELR-ERL (1), and EV-EV (1). An overview of the reiteration pairs is given in Table 3:

**Table 3: Distribution of reiterations among the volumes of EC**

type	combinations of volumes (count)
volume-external	EV-ES (22); ELG-ES (13); ELR-ES (8); EV-EI (3); ELR-ELG (3); EV-ELG (1)
volume-internal	ES-ES (2); ELR-ERL (1); EV-EV (1)

So far I have presented the primary data about the distribution of reiterations. Taken together, there are two major tendencies that can be identified. First, the most frequently reiterated authors are Pol. (21), App. (9), Cass.Dio (7), and Diod.S. (7). The number of reiterations from each single author roughly correlates with the amount of text excerpted from these authors for EC (see Figure 1 above): for example, Polybius is most frequently reiterated and it is also Polybius who provides the largest text amount among the authors. Appianus, however, is a notable exception here: his text is reiterated more frequently than the text of all other authors except for Polybius. At the same time, Appianus' text contribution to EC is much lower than the one of Polybius, Cassius Dio or Diodorus Siculus.

Another tendency is that reiterated passages were mostly distributed among different volumes of EC: 50 instances of the volume-external distribution vs. 4 instances of the volume-internal one. ES is the most frequent member in such combinations. Very frequent combinations here are ES-EV (11 from Pol., 6 from Diod.S., 4 from Cass.Dio and others) and EL\*-ES (7 from Pol., 6 from App., 3 from Men. and others).

In the following analysis I will scrutinize the reiterations and classify them. The aim is to find out what types of reiterations occurred in EC and what could be the motivations behind them.

### 3.2 Two reiteration strategies: subset and intersection

In many instances, the reiterated passage makes up only a part of the excerpt where it occurs. In other words, the excerpt itself is, as a rule, longer than the reiterated passage and the latter can be located at the beginning, in the middle or at the end of the former. This naturally leads to the situation that one or both of the excerpts that share a reiterated passage contain text pieces that are not present in the other excerpt. The non-reiterated text – referred to as *unique context* – integrates each of the reiterated passages into a different context.

Depending on whether the unique context occurs in one of the excerpts of the reiteration pair or in both of them, two types of distribution of the unique context have been distinguished in the data respectively. The first type is when unique contexts are found in both excerpts, referred to as *intersection*. The second type is when the unique context is present in only one of the excerpts so that the excerpt without the unique context is just a smaller portion of the excerpt with more context. This type will be referred to as *subset* (see the description of these terms below).

The difference between the two types is illustrated in examples (3) and (4) below, both of which show how the text of Cassius Dio was distributed between EV and ES. In (3), the segment describing how Torquatus treats turncoats and renegades was assigned to ES, whereas the subsequent description of the virtues of Torquatus was assigned to EV. At the same time, the passage on the border of the two excerpts containing a short positive characteristic of Torquatus has been copied twice. In (4), a longer passage containing the description of virtues of Gaius Fabricius was assigned to EV. We can see, however, that one sentence from this description was copied parallel into ES.

As can be observed from these examples, there is one important distinction between the two. In (3), two excerpts contain an identical segment but the remaining context in both excerpts is different, providing for two unique contexts for the same reiterated passage. In turn, in (4), the new context is present only in one of the excerpts whereas the other provides no new information.

#### **Example (3)**

##### **EV Cass.Dio 18**

Ὅτι ὁ Τορκουᾶτος οὐ τὰ πάντα τραχὺς ἦν, οὐδ' οἷος ἐς τὸν υἱὸν ἐγένετο καὶ ἐς τᾶλλα ἦν,

##### **ES Cass.Dio 54**

Ἦν μὲν δὴ παντὶ καταφανὲς ὅτι περισκοπήσαντες τὴν ἔκβασιν τῆς τύχης πρὸς τὸ κρατοῦν ἔστησαν. οὐ μὴν ἐξήλεγεξεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Τορκουᾶτος, μὴ τι οἰδούτων σφίσιν ἔτι τῶν πρὸς τοὺς Λατίνους πραγμάτων νεωτερίωσιν.

οὐ γὰρ τοι τὰ πάντα τραχὺς, οὐδ' οἷος ἐς τὸν υἱὸν ἐγένετο καὶ ἐς τᾶλλα ἦν.

ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐβουλος καὶ εὐπόλεμος ὁμολόγητο εἶναι. ὥστε καὶ πρὸς τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἐναντίων ὁμοίως λέγεσθαι, ὅτι τό τε κράτος τοῦ πολέμου ὑποχείριον ἔσχε, καὶ εἰ καὶ τῶν Λατίνων ἠγεῖτο, πάντως ἂν αὐτοὺς νικῆσαι ἐποίησεν.

#### **Example (4)**

##### **EV Cass.Dio 21**

᾽Οτι Γάϊος Φαβρίκιος ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅμοιος ἦν Ῥουφίνῳ, ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ ἀδωροδοκίᾳ πολὺ προέχων. ἦν γὰρ ἀδωρότατος, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκείνῳ οὐτ' ἠρέσκετο καὶ ἀεὶ ποτε διεφέρετο· ὅμως ἐχειροτονήθη. ἐπιτηδειότατον γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν τοῦ πολέμου χρεῖαν ἐνόμισεν εἶναι, καὶ παρ' ὀλίγον τὴν ἰδίαν ἔχθραν πρὸς τὰ κοινῇ συμφέροντα ἐποίησατο.

καὶ δόξαν γε καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐκτήσατο, κρείττων καὶ τοῦ φθόνου γενόμενος, ὅσπερ που καὶ τῶν ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν πολλὸς ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας ἐγγίνεται.

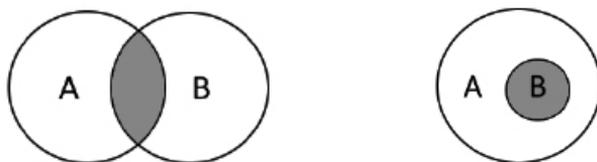
φιλόπολις τε γὰρ ἀκριβῶς ὢν, καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ προσχήματι ἀρέσκων, ἐν τῷ ἴσῳ τό τε ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ δι' ἑτέρου τινός, κἄν διάφορός οἱ ᾔ, εὔ τι τὴν πόλιν παθεῖν ἐτίθετο.

##### **ES Cass.Dio 78**

≈ ᾽Οτι Φαβρίκιος ἐδοξάσθη  
= κρείττων τοῦ φθόνου  
γενόμενος ὅσπερ που καὶ τῶν  
ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν πολλοῖς ὑπὸ  
φιλοτιμίας ἐγγίνεται.

To summarize, these two examples distinguish themselves by the presence vs. absence of a unique context along with the reiteration. In terms of the set theory, we can speak of *intersection* in the case of (3) and *subset* in case of (4). This is visualized in Figure 2:

The categorization into subset and intersection is important as it shows one of the main working principles of the excerptors. Intersection indicates that the excerptors tried to distribute the text among different excerpts by copying some of the passages twice in those places where just a pure text split without any intersection would have not fulfilled their intentions. Subsetting indicates that the excerptors could not or did not want to distribute the text among different excerpts



**Figure (2):** Intersection of the excerpts A and B

Excerpt B as subset of the excerpt A

and copied it in full into one excerpt and only a part of it into another excerpt. The categorization into intersection and subsetting turns out to be a shallow one and I will analyse it in more details in 3.3 immediately below.

### 3.3 Four subtypes: transition, patchworking, extraction and duplication

In what follows, I set out to describe how the content was distributed while reiterating. The subset and the intersection type are further divided each into two subtypes respectively: subset is further classified into *extraction* and *duplication*, intersection into *transition* and *patchworking*. This way, we get four subtypes of content distribution. I visualize this in the following table:

**Table 4: Types and subtypes of reiteration**

<b>Types of reiteration</b>	Intersection		Subset	
<b>Subtypes of reiteration</b>	Transition	Patchworking	Extraction	Duplication

This division allows for a better understanding of the process of assigning the content to different volumes of EC. Thus, *transition* is a simple case of intersection (see example (3) above) and it shows how the original text was split between two excerpts. *Patchworking* is a more complex instance of transition. Here, different parts of the text were arbitrarily distributed between two excerpts. Examples of transition indicate that assigning content to different excerpts could become a sophisticated procedure at times. *Extraction* is a subtype of subset and it shows that in many cases the excerptors preferred to make a copy instead of trying to sort out the content. *Duplication* unifies the few – and so far unclear – cases in which almost identical passages have been copied into the same author-block. In the following, I describe the four subtypes, provide examples for each of them and try to explain why the subtype in question was selected by the excerptors.

#### 3.3.1 Transition

The first subtype is an instance of intersection in which the final segment of an excerpt appears at the beginning of another excerpt. This subtype was used in those cases in which a text piece equally contributed to the content of the two adjacent excerpts. A ‘mechanical’ division of the latter would have decreased the comprehensibility or even made the excerpt deprived of this part incomprehensible. In order to prevent such an outcome, the part of the text in question was copied twice: at the end of the first excerpt and at the beginning of the second

excerpt. This subtype is referred to as *transition* here because these reiterated passages form the transitional part from one excerpt to the next.

There are 14 instances that qualify as transitions. An example of transition has already been given in (3) (see above), where the final part of ES Cass.Dio 54 is copied into the initial part of EV Cass.Dio 18. The reiterated passage contains the characteristics of Torquatus, which is vital for both excerpts. Another example (5) shows how the last sentence from ELR App. 7 was reiterated as the first sentence in ELG App. 13:

### **Example (5)**

#### **ELR App. 7**

(...) ψηφισαμένων δὲ Ῥωμαίων Κρησὶ Κρησὶ πολεμεῖν διὰ τάδε, οἱ Κρηῖτες ἐπρέσβευσαν ἐς Ῥώμην περὶ διαλλαγῶν. οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο.

#### **ELG App. 13**

Ἵτι ψηφισαμένων Ῥωμαίων Κρησὶ πολεμεῖν διὰ τάδε, οἱ Κρηῖτες ἐπρέσβευσαν εἰς Ῥώμην περὶ διαλλαγῶν. (...)

Similar examples can be found between the following excerpts:

- ES Cass.Dio 54 and EV Cass.Dio 18;
- ES Cass.Dio 133 and EV Cass.Dio 31
- ELR Cass.Dio 4 and ES Cass.Dio 84
- EV Diod.S. 188 and ES Diod.S. 244
- ES Diod.S. 386 and EV Diod.S. 305
- EI Georg.M. 12 and EV Georg.M. 8
- EV Nic.D. 7 and EI Nic.D. 3
- ELR Pol. 19 and ELG Pol. 37
- ELR App. 7 and ELG App. 13
- ELG Prisc. 15 and ELR Prisc. 11

Another interesting example of transition is (6), which shows how the text of Eunapius was divided between ELG and ES. The excerpt ELG Eun. 7 contains the description of the behavior of the barbarian leaders after their tribes crossed over to the Roman territory. In its second half, the excerpt accounts how the plot of barbarians against Romans was brought into the open after the former got drunk at a banquet thrown by the Roman Emperor. This part of the account in ELG Eun. 7 is repeated in the excerpt ES Eun. 58, although with one important difference. In ES, we find a passage where a certain property of wine is discussed – which is not present in ELG. This passage informs the reader that wine brings the hidden thoughts of a person into the open. This passage changes the focus in the ES Eun 58 so that it is now about a person under the influence of alcohol being more likely to speak their hidden thoughts. Opposed to that, the focus of ELG Eun. 7 is the description of behavior of the barbarian leaders.

**Example (6)****ELG Eun. 7**

(...) τῶν μὲν οὖν ὁμοφύλων ὀλίγοι τινὲς τὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ ἀρετὴν ἀγασθέντες τοῦ νεανίσκου πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου γνώμην ἐχώρησαν καὶ συνεστήκεσαν, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ δυνατώτεροι τῶν δεδογμένων ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀπρίξ εἶχοντο καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὠδῖνα τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς σφραδάζοντες ἐμεμήνευσαν· ὧν ἦρχεν Ἐριούλφος, ἀνὴρ ἡμιμανῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων λυσσωδέστερος.

συμποσίου δὲ προτεθέντος αὐτοῖς παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδροτέρου καὶ πολυτελεστέρου, τὴν παροιμίαν ἀποδείξαντες ἀληθῆ τὴν λέγουσαν· οἶνος καὶ ἀλήθεια τοῦ Διονύσου,

καὶ τότε ῥήξαντος αὐτοῖς παρὰ πότον τὴν ἐπικρυπτομένην στάσιον, διαλύεται μὲν τὸ συμπόσιον ἀτάκτως,

καὶ διὰ θυρῶν ἐχώρου τεθορυβημένοι καὶ παρακεκινηκότες· ὁ δὲ Φράβιθος δι' ἀρετῆς ὑπερβολὴν τὸ καλὸν καὶ δίκαιον κάλλιον ἅμα καὶ θεοφιλέστερον ὀφθῆσεσθαι νομίζων, εἰ προσθεῖη τάχος, οὐ περιμείνας ἕτερον καιρὸν, ἀλλὰ σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος τῆς πλευρᾶς Ἐριούλφου διήλασεν. (...)

**ES Eun. 58**

= Συμποσίου δὲ προτεθέντος αὐτοῖς παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδροτέρου καὶ πολυτελεστέρου, τὴν παροιμίαν ἀπέδειξαν ἀληθινὴν <τὴν> λέγουσαν· „οἶνος καὶ ἀλήθεια τοῦ Διονύσου.“

om. διὸ καὶ τὸν θεὸν εἰκότως Λυαῖον καλοῦσιν, ὡς οὐ μόνον διαλύοντα τὰς λύπας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ στεγανὸν τῶν ἀπορρήτων διαχέοντα καὶ διακαλύπτοντα.

≈ καὶ τότε ῥήξαντος αὐτοῖς παρὰ πότον τὴν βουλὴν, διαλύεται τὸ συμπόσιον ἀτάκτως.

The way the excerptors handled the transition in (6) can be reconstructed as follows. The passage about the behavior of barbarians was assigned to ELG, whereas the passage about wine to ES. As the passage about wine was incomprehensible without a wider context, that is a text that actually belongs to the description of the behavior of the barbarians, the immediate surrounding context of the former was copied into ES. At the same time, the passage about properties

of wine seemed inappropriate in the context of the description of behavior of the barbarians and was consequently removed from ELG.

This example further shows that transition could be applied not only between the borderlines of two adjacent excerpts (for instance in (3)) but also within an excerpt as this is the case in (6.). Similar transition subtype reiterations are found in ELR Pol. 5 vs. ES Pol. 29 and ES Pol. 30.

From the overall 14 instances of the transition subtype, 13 are volume-external. This seems to be the rule for this subtype with one notable exception. In the excerpts ES Cass.Dio 33a and ES Cass.Dio 33b the transition occurs within the same volume, with the consequence that the reiterated passage occurs on the border of the two excerpts within the same author-block (see example 7). A closer look at the content of these two excerpts shows that ES Cass.Dio 33a provides a short description of greediness of the people around Coriolanus, whereas ES Cass.Dio 33b contains a long description of how the mother of Coriolanus convinced the latter to abandon his plan of besieging his native city, as well as Coriolanus' speech in reply. The last sentence in ES Cass.Dio 33a (οὕτω πως κακῶς ἐστασίαζον ὥστε μηδ' ὑπὸ τῶν κινδύνων καταλλαγήναι "they were, indeed, so bitterly at variance that not even dangers could reconcile them") serves as a kind of summary in this excerpt. This very sentence (with the only difference that it has an insertion οἱ περὶ Κοριολανόν "the people around Coriolanus") serves as a departing point for the story in ES Cass.Dio 33b:

### **Example (7)**

#### **ES Cass.Dio 33a**

Πάνυ γὰρ περιθύμωζ ἔφερεν ὅτι καὶ περὶ τῆς οἰκείας κινδυνεύοντες μηδ' ὡς τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἀφίσταντο. ὡς οὖν καὶ ταῦτα ἀνηγγέλθη σφίσι, οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐκινήθησαν· οὕτω πως κακῶς ἐστασίαζον ὥστε

μηδ' ὑπὸ τῶν κινδύνων καταλλαγήναι.

#### **ES Cass.Dio 33b**

Ὅτι οὕτω κακῶς ἐστασίαζον οἱ περὶ Κοριολανόν ὥστε μηδ' ὑπὸ τῶν κινδύνων καταλλαγήναι. (...)

The question arises why the excerptors decided to split the original into two excerpts and not to leave this text as one excerpt. One possible way to explain this is to assume that the excerptors had an idea of an excerpt as a complete story. In accordance with this idea, this passage was considered as containing two stories and was divided into two excerpts respectively, even though both of them were assigned to the same subject of EC, being copied in ES one directly after another.

### 3.3.2 Patchworking

The next subtype, referred to here as patchworking, presents another subtype of intersection and, at the same time, a more complicated instance of transition. Here, two excerpts share a reiteration, but the distribution of the content between the two excerpts is not as straightforward as under transition. For exam-

ple, a passage at the beginning of one excerpt can be reiterated at the beginning of another excerpt so that both of them start with an identical passage. In other cases, the reiterated parts can be located in the middle of both excerpts, at the end of them or in other combinations. This means that the excerptors compiled the text of excerpts from passages originating from different parts of the original work so that, in some cases, the constitution of the source text cannot be reconstructed.

There are 10 examples of patchworking in my data. In what follows, I describe the main kinds of reiterations belonging to this subtype. The first common type of patchworking is the case when the two excerpts share a reiteration in the beginning. An example of this kind is (8). Here, an identical description of the family of the Fabii is given in the beginning of both EV Cass.Dio 9 and ES Cass.Dio 38. Based only on the text of EC, it is impossible to decide where this description initially belonged to. At the same time, there is no reason to assume that this text passage was inserted twice into the original text of Cassius Dio.<sup>30</sup>

### **Example (8)**

#### **EV Cass.Dio 9**

Ὅτι οἱ Φάβιοι ἐπὶ τε τῷ γένει καὶ  
τῷ πλούτῳ ὅμοια τοῖς ἀρίστοις  
φρονοῦντες  
ὑπὸ Τυρσηγῶν διεφθάρησαν, ἕξ καὶ  
τ' ὄντες· οὓς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μειζόνως ἢ  
κατ' ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἀπογενομένων καὶ  
ἰδία καὶ κοινῇ ἐπένησαν. (...)

#### **ES Cass.Dio 38**

Ὅτι οἱ Φάβιοι ἐπὶ τῷ γένει καὶ  
τῷ πλούτῳ ὅμοια τοῖς ἀρίστοις  
φρονοῦντες  
ὡς τάχιστα αὐτοὺς ἀθυμοῦντας εἶδον·  
ὅταν γὰρ τινες ἐς πολλὰς ἅμα καὶ  
δυσχερεῖς πράξεις ἐμπέσωσιν (...)

Similar cases can be observed in the pairs EV Pol. 82 - ES Pol. 108, EV Pol. 81 - ES Pol. 106, and EV Diod.S. 312 - ES Diod.S. 388. The last excerpt pair is particularly interesting as it has more than one reiteration (see 9). As was mentioned above, the two excerpts share a reiteration at their beginning – a passage giving a short characterization of Viriathus. After this, the two excerpts contain different texts: EV Diod.S. 312 features Viriathus' speech at his wedding, whereas ES Diod.S. 388 contains the description of Viriathus' virtues and the questions Viriathus asked the Romans at his wedding. After this, both excerpts share another reiteration – a passage that says that Viriathus expressed himself both sincerely and faultless at the same time.

---

30 Cf. also the reconstruction of the text of Cassius Dio where this passage occurs only once, see chapter 5,21 (*Cassii Dionis Cocceiani Historiarum Romanarum quae supersunt*, Vol. 1 – 3, U. P. Boissevain (ed.), Berlin 1895–1901, here vol. 3, p. 58).

**Example (9)****EVDiod.S. 312**

Ἵτι Ὑρίαθος, πολλῶν παρατεθέντων κατὰ τὸν γάμον ἀργυρῶν τε καὶ χρυσῶν ἐκπωμάτων καὶ ποικίλων καὶ παντοδαπῶν ὑφασμάτων,

[Speech of Viriathus at his wedding and the description of his virtues]

ἦν δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος καὶ κατὰ τὰς ὁμολογίας εὖστοχος, ὡς ἂν ἔξ αὐτοδιδάκτου καὶ ἀδιαστρόφου φύσεως ἀμωμήτους φέρων τοὺς λόγους.

**EVDiod.S. 3882**

Ἵτι ὁ Ὑρίαθος, ἐπὶ τὸν γάμον πολλῶν προτεθέντων πραγμάτων καὶ πολυτελῶν,

[Questions of Viriathus to the Romans at his wedding]

ἦν δὲ οὗτος κατὰ τὰς ἀπολογίας εὖστοχος, ὡς ἂν ἔξ αὐτοδιδάκτου καὶ ἀδιαστρόφου φύσεως φέρων τοὺς λόγους.

[Fable in which Viriathus taunts the inconsistency of the people of Tucca]

On the basis of these two excerpts, it may be assumed that the talk of Viriathus at his wedding as well as his questions to the Romans constituted originally a single account that was deconstructed by the excerptors into two excerpts. Concerning the discrepancies in the reiterated text at the beginning of these two excerpts, I may furthermore assume that the original formulation is given in EV whereas ES presents an abridged version.

Example (10) presents a case where the reiterated section is found in the middle of each of the excerpts, with both excerpts containing different text before and after the reiteration:

**Example (10)****EV Pol. 68**

(...) ἤδη γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τῆς δωροδοκίας ἐπιπολαζούσης καὶ τοῦ μηδένα μηδὲν δωρεὰν πράττειν, καὶ τοῦ χαρακτηῖρος τούτου νομιστευομένου παρὰ τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς, οὐκ ἐδύνατο πιστεῦν διότι χωρὶς δῶρων ἡ τηλικαύτη μεταβολὴ γέγονε τοῦ Τίτου, τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον, οὐκ εἰδότες τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἔθη καὶ νόμιμα περὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος. (...)

**ELG Pol. 1**

(...) ἤδη γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τῆς δωροδοκίας ἐπιπολαζούσης καὶ τοῦ μηδένα μηδὲν δωρεὰν πράττειν, καὶ τοῦ χαρακτηῖρος τούτου νομιστευομένου παρ' Αἰτωλοῖς, οὐκ ἐδύνατο πιστεῦν διότι χωρὶς δῶρων ἡ τηλικαύτη μεταβολὴ γέγονε τοῦ Τίτου πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον, οὐκ εἰδότες τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἔθη καὶ νόμιμα περὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος. (...)

In (11), the reiterated section happens to be at the beginning of EV Pol. 55 and in the middle of EI Pol. 1:

**Example (11)****EV Pol. 55**

Ὅτι Ἀγαθοκλῆς, ὁ ψευδεπίτροπος Πτολεμαίου, ἐπεὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκποδῶν ἐποίησεν, καὶ τὸ πολὺ τῆς τοῦ πλήθους ὀργῆς παρακατέσχε τῇ τῶν ὀψωνίων ἀποδόσει, παρὰ πόδας εἰς τὴν ἕξ ἀρχῆς συνήθειαν ἐπανῆλθε. (...)

**EI Pol. 1**

(...) ὁ δὲ Ἀγαθοκλῆς, ἐπεὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκποδῶν ἐποίησε, καὶ τὸ πολὺ τῆς τοῦ πλήθους ὀργῆς παρακατέσχε τῇ τῶν ὀψωνίων ἀποδόσει, παρὰ πόδας εἰς τὴν ἕξ ἀρχῆς συνήθειαν ἐπανῆλθε. (...)

Similar distribution of content as in the last two examples can also be observed in the following four excerpt pairs:

- ELG App. 3 - ES App. 2
- EV Pol. 76 - ES Pol. 102
- EV Pol. 104 - ES Pol. 13
- ELR Pol. 5 - ES Pol. 28

**3.3.3 Extraction**

The next subtype found in the data set is *extraction*. Extraction presupposes that a portion of the text that could not be unambiguously assigned to only one subject in EC was copied into one volume in a broader context and, at the same time, into another volume as an extract. Thus, a reiteration of the subset type arose.

An example of extraction has already been given in (4) above. There, a description of virtues of Gaius Fabricius was allocated to EV and, at the same time, one sentence from this description was copied in parallel into ES, namely about Fabricius gaining renown by showing himself superior even to jealousy.

27 similar instances of extraction are found in the data. Interestingly, all these examples share the common feature that they happen to be a combination of one of the three volumes – EV, ELG, or ELR – with ES. Thus, we are dealing with a volume-external distribution in which ES is an invariable part of the volume-combination.

Another distinctive feature of extraction is that ES excerpts are in all cases shorter than their counterparts in the other volumes. This suggests that the excerpt in ES was meant as a short recapitulation of larger text pieces in the other volumes of EC. The former are usually rather small parts of the latter, with the average length of the reiterated passage between 10 to 40 words.

However, the longest reiterated sections run up to 145 words, as in example (12) below. EV Pol. 33 consists of two episodes that show Scipio's virtues towards captive women. In the first episode, Scipio frees a noble woman from slavery. In the second episode, he refuses to accept a beautiful girl as a gift from his comrades, referring to his position as a general; after that, he delivers the girl over to her father. By this example Scipio presumably indicates that soldiers should

not indulge in entertainment in times of military activities. This second episode was copied as an excerpt into ES to the effect that 145 words from Polybius run parallel in EV and ES:

### **Example (12)**

#### **EV Pol. 33**

(...)

νεανίσκοι τινές τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιτυχόντες παρθένῳ κατὰ τὴν ἀκμὴν καὶ κατὰ τὸ κάλλος διαφερούση τῶν ἄλλων γυναικῶν, καὶ συνιδόντες φιλογύνην ὄντα τὸν Πόπλιον, ἤκον αὐτὴν ἄγοντες καὶ παραστήσαντες αὐτῷ δωρεῖσθαι τὴν κόρην. ὁ δὲ καταπλαγεὶς καὶ θαυμάσας τὸ κάλλος, ιδιώτης μὲν ὢν οὐδε μίαν ἥδιον ἂν ἔφη δέξασθαι ταύτης τῆς δωρεᾶς, στρατηγὸς δ' ὑπάρχων οὐδ' ὁποῖαν ἤττον, ὡς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, τοῦτ' αἰνιττόμενος διὰ τῆς ἀποφάσεως, διότι κατὰ μὲν τὰς ἀναπαύσεις ἐνίστε καὶ ῥαθυμίας ἐν τῷ ζῆν ἡδίστες τοῖς νέοις ἀπολαύσεις τὰ τοιαῦτα παρέχεται καὶ διατριβάς, ἐν δὲ τοῖς τοῦ πράττειν καιροῖς μέγιστα γίνεται καὶ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα καὶ κατὰ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐμπόδια τοῖς χρωμένοις. τοῖς μὲν οὖν νεανίσκοις ἔφη χάριν ἔχειν, τὸν δὲ τῆς παρθένου πατέρα καλέσας καὶ δοὺς αὐτὴν ἐκ χειρὸς ἐκέλευε συνοικίζειν ᾧ ποτ' ἂν προαιρηῆται τῶν πολιτῶν. δι' ὧν καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐγκρατείας καὶ τὰ τῆς μετριότητος ἐμφαίνων μεγάλην ἀποδοχὴν ἐνειργάζετο τοῖς ὑποταπτομένοις.

#### **ES Pol. 61**

Ἵτι νεανίσκοι τινές Ῥωμαίων ἐπιτυχόντες παρθένῳ κατὰ τὴν ἀκμὴν καὶ κατὰ τὸ κάλλος διαφερούση τῶν ἄλλων γυναικῶν, καὶ συνιδόντες φιλογύνην ὄντα τὸν Πόπλιον, ἤκον αὐτὴν ἄγοντες, καὶ παραστήσαντες ἔφρασκον αὐτῷ δωρεῖσθαι τὴν κόρην. ὁ δὲ καταπλαγεὶς καὶ θαυμάσας τὸ κάλλος, ιδιώτης μὲν ὢν οὐδεμίαν ἥδιον ἂν ἔφη δέξασθαι ταύτης τῆς δωρεᾶς, στρατηγὸς δ' ὑπάρχων οὐδ' ὁποῖαν ἤττον, ὡς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, τοῦτ' αἰνιττόμενος διὰ τῆς ἀποφάσεως, διότι κατὰ μὲν τὰς ἀναπαύσεις ἐνίστε καὶ ῥαθυμίας ἐν τῷ ζῆν ἡδίστες τοῖς νέοις ἀπολαύσεις τὰ τοιαῦτα παρέχεται καὶ διατριβάς, ἐν δὲ τοῖς τοῦ πράττειν καιροῖς μέγιστα γίνεται καὶ κατὰ σῶμα καὶ κατὰ ψυχὴν ἐμπόδια τοῖς χρωμένοις, τοῖς μὲν οὖν νεανίσκοις ἔφη χάριν ἔχειν, τὸν δὲ τῆς παρθένου πατέρα καλέσας καὶ δοὺς αὐτὴν ἐκ χειρὸς ἐκέλευε συνοικίζειν ᾧ ποτ' ἂν προαιρηῆται τῶν πολιτῶν. δι' ὧν καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐγκρατείας καὶ τὰ τῆς μετριότητος ἐμφαίνων μεγάλην ἀποδοχὴν ἐνειργάζετο τοῖς ὑποταπτομένοις.

In some instances, there are not just one but two excerpts in ES that have been copied from one excerpt in some other part of EC, as it is the case with ELG Theoph.S. 3 - ES Theoph.S. 14 / ES Theoph.S. 15 in example (13). Here, the excerpt ELG Theoph.S. 3 contains an account of how the Persians tried to negotiate a treaty with the Romans in 586. The excerpt consists of roughly two parts: the speech of Mebodes, a Persian ambassador, in which he offers the Romans to buy peace and, in the second part, the reaction of the Romans to this offer and their refusal to stop the war on such conditions. Three citations from the speech of Mebodes have were copied into ES as two excerpts. Two

aphorisms with some text omission between them were integrated into the ES Theoph.S. 14: ‘the cultivation of peace is regal, just as belligerence is characteristic of tyrants’ and ‘we have often observed death, for war is death’s artist’.<sup>31</sup> Another aphorism that stems from the final part of this very speech of Mebodes was excerpted into ES as ES Theoph.S. 15: ‘it is appropriate [‘fitting’ in ELG] that those who initiated a wrong should also repent in its rectification’.<sup>32</sup>

### **Example (13)**

#### **ELG Theoph.S.3**

(...)

βασιλικὸν γὰρ ἢ τῆς εἰρήνης ἀρέσκεια, ὡς καὶ τυράννων ἴδιον τὸ φιλόνεικον.

ἄνδρες τῶν αὐτῶν παθημάτων ἡμῖν  
κοινωνοί, μεινάτω τῶν πάντων  
ὁ πόλεμος μόνος ἀκόρεστος. αἷματι τὴν  
γῆν ἐμιάναμεν,

πολλάκις τὸν θάνατον ἱστορήσαμεν.  
ζωγράφος γὰρ τοῦ θανάτου ὁ πόλεμος,

ἐγὼ δέ φημι, καὶ ἀρχέτυπον καὶ τῶν  
ἀνθρωπίνων κακῶν ἀρχηγέ της καὶ  
διδάσκαλος αὐτοδίδακτος. χρημάτων  
ἐρᾷ τις; ἀλλὰ πλούτῳ καὶ πενία γεγόναμεν  
παίγνιον, ποτὲ κρατοῦντες ποτὲ δὲ  
κρατούμενοι, καὶ συμμεταβαλλόμενοι  
ταῖς τοῦ πολέμου τροπαῖς αἰδίων ὥσπερ  
τὴν μεταβολὴν ἐκαρπούμεθα. ἐκόμα  
τις τῶν ἀριστέων χρυσῶ; μετὰ τῆς  
ἡδονῆς τὴν ἀπιστίαν ἐκέκτητο. τί γὰρ  
ἀπιστότερον ἐν πολέμῳ χρημάτων  
ἀμέσως μετατιθεμένων ἐς ἄλλον  
καὶ πάλιν ἐξ ἐκείνου εἰς ἕτερον,  
ὡς ἐγρηγορότα βλέπειν ἐνύπνιον  
τὸν κτησάμενον, ἢ τῇ ὑστεραία τῆς  
ἐναγχος μεμνησθαι κραιπάλης; ὑμεῖς,  
ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, τὴν παρρησίαν πάλαι  
τῷ πολέμῳ δεδώκατε. ὑμεῖς καὶ τῆς  
εἰρήνης γίνεσθε μαθηταί. ἐπικηρυκε-  
υομένων Περσῶν τὸν φιλόδακρυον  
ἀποσεύσασθε πόλεμον.

#### **ES Theoph.S. 14/15**

≈ {14} Ὅτι βασιλικὸν ἢ τῆς εἰρήνης  
ἀρέσκεια, ὡς καὶ τυράννων ἴδιον τὸ  
φιλόνεικον.

≈ πολλάκις γὰρ τὸν θάνατον  
ἱστορήσαμεν. ζωγράφος γὰρ τοῦ  
θανάτου ὁ πόλεμος.

31 Translation by M. Whitby – M. Whitby, *The History of Theophylact Simocatta*, Oxford, New York 1986.

32 Translation by Whitby – Whitby, *Theophylact Simocatta*, op.cit.

οἷς γὰρ τῆς ἀμαρτίας ἡ ἔναρξις, τούτοις ≈ {15} Ὅτι οἷς τῆς ἀμαρτίας ἡ ἔναρξις,  
καὶ τῆς ἐπανορθώσεως ὁ μετὰμελός τούτοις καὶ τῆς ἐπανορθώσεως ὁ  
ἐστὶν ἀρμόδιος. (...) μετὰμελός ἐστὶν ἴδιος.

Further instances similar to (13) are found in the following excerpt pairs: ELG App. 3 - ES App. 3 / ES App. 4 and ELG Pol 79 - ES Pol. 128 / 129.

### 3.3.4 Duplication

*Duplication* is attested by only three examples. Here, an almost identical text was copied as two separate excerpts into the same volume. The first case is example (14) in which two almost identical excerpts from Cassius Dio were included by the excerptors into ES. The length of the reiteration is 25 words. The only difference between the two excerpts is the indication in EV Cass.Dio 285 that the emperor Domitian remained in one of the cities of Moesia.

#### **Example (14)**

##### **EV Cass.Dio 280**

Ὅτι ὁ Δομιτιανὸς

τό τε σῶμα ἦν ἄπνοος καὶ τὴν  
ψυχὴν ἄτολμος, καὶ ἀσωτότατος καὶ  
ἀσελγέστατος καὶ πρὸς γυναῖκας καὶ  
πρὸς μειράκια ἦν.

##### **EV Cass.Dio 285**

= Ὅτι ὁ Δομιτιανὸς  
ἐν πόλει τινὶ Μυσίας ὑπομείνας  
ὑβρίζεν ὥσπερ εἰώθει.  
οὐ γὰρ ὅτι τό τε σῶμα ἄπνοος  
καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἄτολμος, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
ἀσωτότατος καὶ ἀσελγέστατος καὶ  
πρὸς γυναῖκας καὶ πρὸς μειράκια  
ἦν.

An attempt to explain this phenomenon in EC should be made, as there is no reason to assume that this text has been inserted twice in the original text of Cassius Dio. If we take a closer look at these two excerpts and their surroundings in EV, we see that the excerpts EV Cass.Dio 280, 281, 282, and 283 correspond – according to *conspectus excerptorum* in the edition<sup>33</sup> – to chapters 67,6,3, 67,6,4, 67,11,1–2, and 67,11,3 from Cassius Dio (see Table 5 below). One should expect that the numbers of the chapters would increase further on. However, the excerpts EV Cass.Dio 284 and EV Cass.Dio 285 go back to previous content and correspond to chapters 67,6,1 and 67,6,3 in Cass.Dio. Why did the excerptors change the sequence of the excerpts as compared to the sequence of the fragments in the original (as the latter is reconstructed in the modern research).<sup>34</sup> This phenomenon can be explained by analyzing the respective content of the excerpts in question: the alternation of ‘vices’ vs. ‘virtues’ can be observed in the excerpts EV Cass.Dio 280–286. Thus, after the description of Domitian’s vices in EV Cass.Dio 280 and 281, a description of the virtues of a certain Maximus is

33 *Excerpta de virtutibus*, vol. 2, op. cit., 414.

34 See the edition of *Cassius Dio*, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 171.

given. Further descriptions of Domitian's vices in EV Cass.Dio 283 and 285 are followed by the descriptions of Decebalus' and Trajan's virtues in EV Cass.Dio 284 and 286, respectively.

This way it can be assumed that the excerptors thought that the descriptions of vices and virtues should alternate each other. And the description of Domitian's moral corruption found in EV Cass.Dio 280 has been reiterated in EV Cass.Dio 285 in order to follow the subtype, given that the excerptors had no other suitable description for this passage. However, this is just a hypothesis that needs additional support from a broader analysis.

**Table 5: Excerpts EV Cass.Dio 280–286**

<b>Book of Cass.Dio</b>	<b>Excerpt in EC</b>	<b>Content of the excerpt</b>
67,6,3	EV Cass.Dio 280	Domitian's vices: moral corruption
67,6,4	EV Cass.Dio 281	Domitian's vices: blames others for his defeats
67,11,1–2	EV Cass.Dio 282	Maximus' virtue: prevented blackmailing anyone
67,11,3	EV Cass.Dio 283	Domitian's vice: executed without distinction
67,6,1	EV Cass.Dio 284	Decebalus' virtues: as a general
67,6,3	EV Cass.Dio 285	Domitian's vices: moral corruption
68,6,2–4	EV Cass.Dio 286	Trajan's virtues: justice, bravery, and simplicity

Another case of duplication similar to the one described above is found in (15). Here, a shorter and a longer version of the same account on how the Carthagians violated the agreement with Rome from Diodorus Siculus (27,11) is given in the excerpts ES Diod.S. 302 and 304. The only difference between these two is the indication at the beginning of ES Diod.S. 302 that Carthagians were pressed for food and that their solution was to attack Roman ships. There are no parallel accounts of this passage other than in EC, but the modern research reconstructs this as one passage from the original work of Diodorus Siculus.<sup>35</sup> I have no plausible explanation why this reiteration is found in EC:

---

<sup>35</sup> See chapter 27,11 in the edition of *Diodorus of Sicily*, vol. 12, F. R. Walton (ed.), Cambridge, Mass. 1967.

**Example (15)****ES Diod.S. 302**

Ὅτι οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι σιτοδείας  
ἐμπεσοῦσης  
οἱ καχέκται τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπιθυμοῦντες  
λύσαι τὴν εἰρήνην  
προετρέψαντο τὸν δῆμον ἐπιπλεῦσαι  
ταῖς ναυσὶ καὶ τὸν σῖτον εἰς λιμένα  
κομίσαι.

τῆς δὲ γερουσίας οὐκ ἐώσης λύσαι τὰς  
συνθήκας οὐδεὶς ἐπήκουσε· τὴν γὰρ  
κοιλίαν ἔφασκον οὐκ ἔχειν ὄτα.

**ES Diod.S. 304**

Ὅτι τῶν καχεκτῶν ἐπιθυμούντων  
λύσαι τὴν εἰρήνην

καὶ τῆς γερουσίας οὐκ ἐώσης λύσαι  
τὰς συνθήκας οὐδεὶς ὑπήκουσε· τὴν  
γὰρ κοιλίαν ἔφασκον οὐκ ἔχειν ὄτα.

The third example of duplication originates from Appian and is given in (16). This example distinguishes itself from duplications (14) and (15) by its length: there are circa 150 words that run in parallel in the excerpts ELR App. 2 and ELR App. 5. These are almost identical accounts about the Senones, a Celtic tribe that violated the peace treaty with the Romans by supporting Etruscans in their war against the Romans. And even worse, Senones assassinated Roman ambassadors who were sent to them with the mission to recall of the conditions of the treaty with Rome. In response to this, the Roman consul Cornelius devastated the towns and the population of the Senones. After this, also Senones who were outside their homelands ended up badly after fights against the Romans. All in all, the only difference between the two accounts is an insignificant additional remark in ELR App. 2 that the Senones who were in Etruria joined with the Etruscans and marched against Rome.

**Example (16)****ELR App. 2**

Ὅτι Κελτῶν Σεσόνων πολὺ πλῆθος  
Τυρρηνοῖς συνεμάχουν κατὰ  
Ῥωμαίων.

Ῥωμαῖοι δ' (ἐς) τὰς Σεσόνων πόλεις  
ἐπρέσβευον καὶ ἐνεκάλουν,  
ὅτι ὄντες ἔνοσπονδοι μισθοφοροῦσι  
κατὰ Ῥωμαίων.

τούσδε τοὺς πρέσβεις Βριτόμαρις  
μετὰ τῶν κηρυκίων καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς  
στολῆς κατέτεμεν ἐς πολλὰ καὶ  
διέρριπεν ἐγκαλῶν, ὅτι αὐτοῦ ὁ  
πατὴρ ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ πολεμῶν ἀνήρητο  
ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων.

**ELR App. 5**

Ὅτι τὸ τῶν Σεσόνων ἔθνος  
ἔνοσπονδον ἦν Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ  
ἐμισθοφόρουσαν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων.

ἢ δὲ βουλὴ πρέσβεις ἔπεμψεν  
ἐγκαλέσοντας,  
= ὅτι ὄντες ἔνοσπονδοι μισθοφοροῦσι  
κατὰ Ῥωμαίων.

≈ τούτους Βριτόμαρις ὁ Κελτὸς  
≠ ἀγανακτῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρός, ὅτι  
συμμαχῶν Τυρρηνοῖς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων  
ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ διέφθαρτο, τὰ τε  
κηρύκια φέροντας. καὶ τὴν ἄσυλον  
ἐσθῆτα περικειμένους κατέτεμεν ἐς  
πολλὰ καὶ τὰ μέρη τῶν σωμάτων  
διέρριπεν ἐς τὰ πεδία.

<p>Κορνήλιος δὲ ὁ ὕπατος τοῦ μύσους ἐν ὁδῷ πυθόμενος τὰ μὲν Τυρρηγῶν εἶασεν, ἐς δὲ τὰς Σεσόνων πόλεις συντόνω σπουδῇ διὰ Σαβίνων καὶ Πικεντίνων ἐσβαλὼν πάντα καθήρει καὶ ἐνεπίμπρη, καὶ τὰς μὲν γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ παιδιά ἠνδραποδίκετο, τοὺς δὲ ἡβῶντας πάντας ἔκτεινε πλὴν Βριτομάριος, ὃν δεινῶς αἰκισάμενος ἦγεν ἐς τὸν θρίαμβον.</p>	≈	<p>καὶ τοῦ μύσους ὁ Κορνήλιος ἐν ὁδῷ πυθόμενος, ἐς τὰς Σεσόνων πόλεις συντόνω σπουδῇ διὰ Σαβίνων καὶ Πικεντίνων ἐσβαλὼν ἅπαντα καθήρει καὶ ἐνεπίμπρη, τῶν τε ἀνθρώπων τὰς μὲν γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ παιδιά ἠνδραποδίκετο, τοὺς δ' (ἐν) ἡβῆ πάντας ἔκτεινε ὁμαλῶς, καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐλυμαίνετο ποικίλως καὶ ἄοικον ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν ἐποίει. Βριτόμαριν δὲ μόνον ἦγεν αἰχμάλωτον ἐπὶ λύμῃ.</p>
<p>οἱ δὲ Σεσόνων, ὅσοι ἦσαν ἐν Τυρρηγίᾳ, πυθόμενοι ἀνηρῆσθαι, Τυρρηνοὺς ἦγον ἐπὶ Ῥώμης. καὶ πολλῶν μεταξὺ γενομένων οἱ Σέσονες οὕτε πατρίδας ἔχοντες, ἐς αἷς διαφύγωσιν, ὀργιζόμενοί τε τῶν γεγονότων, ἐνέπιπτον τῷ Δομετίῳ, καὶ διεφθάρησαν πολλοί, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς διεχρῶντο μανικῶς. καὶ δίκη μὲν ἤδη παρανομίας (ἐς) πρέσβεις ἐγένετο Σέσοσιν.</p>	≈	<p>ἕστερον δὲ Σέσονες οὐκ ἔχοντες ἔτι πατρίδας, ἐς αἷς διαφύγωσιν, συνέπεσον εἰς χεῖρας ὑπὸ τὸλμης τῷ Δομετίῳ, καὶ ἠττώμενοι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ ὀργῆς διεχρῶντο μανικῶς. καὶ δίκη μὲν ἤδη παρανομίας ἐς πρέσβεις ἐγένετο Σέσοσιν.</p>

These two excerpts have been taken from the parts of Appianus' historical work that are otherwise not preserved. Therefore, we cannot prove whether it was Appianus who reiterated an identical account in two of his books – the two excerpts are used in the reconstruction of the lost *Samnitica* and *Celtica* of Appianus respectively<sup>36</sup> – or the excerptors who copied the same passage from Appianus twice. However, it is important to note that, as we have seen in the example of Cassius Dio (14) and Diodorus Siculus (15), the excerptors sometimes seemed to reiterate the same accounts within the same volume. From this perspective, the inclusion of the same account into the reconstruction of the original work of Appianus may be somewhat controversial.

### 3.4 Overview of the strategies of the excerptors

In sections 3.2 and 3.3 I have reconstructed aspects of the working principles of the excerptors as they were creating EC. I assumed that the excerptors tried to split up the original texts into excerpts in such a way that each excerpt would thematically fit only one volume of EC. In doing so, the excerptors most probably tried to avoid overlaps between text parts of different excerpts. This

36 *Appiani Historia Romana*, vol. 1, P. Viereck – A. G. Roos – E. Gabba (eds.), Leipzig 1962, 34–35 (fr. 6) and 51–52 (fr. 11).

assumption receives support by the fact that the vast majority of 3560 excerpts preserved in EC exhibit no reiterations.

However, as the data shows, overlaps still occur: 54 reiteration pairs have been spotted in 101 excerpts. These cases – although being relatively few in number – indicate that the excerptors included certain passages twice into EC if they considered such a procedure necessary. Thus, the reiterations can be understood as a ‘plan B’ for the excerptors in cases where splitting without an overlap could not be achieved.

On the basis of the data collected, I have observed that there are two main strategies that were applied by the excerptors, namely the intersection and the subset strategy. Both strategies are more or less equally frequent: among the 54 reiteration pairs, there are 24 instances where the intersection strategy was applied and 30 instances of the subset strategy. As has been discussed above, intersection has two subtypes: transition (cases of the straightforward distribution of content between the two excerpts where the phrase at the end of one excerpt is reiterated at the beginning of another) and patchworking (cases of the complicated distribution of the content where different parts of the original are intricately distributed between the two excerpts). Subset was also divided into two subtypes: extraction (cases where a part of an excerpt was copied into another volume of EC) and duplication (cases where the two excerpts present almost identical copies of each other). The following table provides an overview over all reiteration strategies in EC:

**Table 6: Frequency of different reiteration strategies**

Type	Count of excerpt pairs	Subtype	Count of excerpt pairs	Volume external	Volume internal	Combination with ES	Combination with other than ES
<b>Intersection</b>	24	<b>Transition</b>	14	13	1	9	5
		<b>Patch-working</b>	10	10	0	8	2
<b>Subset</b>	30	<b>Extraction</b>	27	27	0	27	0
		<b>Duplication</b>	3	0	3	1	2
<b>Total</b>	54		54	50	4	45	9

The following conclusions can be drawn from these figures:

- 1) The strategies of intersection and subset were applied almost evenly with a slight preference for the subset strategy.

- 2) The most frequent subtype is extraction. It is found in the half of all reiterations. Transition and patchworking account for further 24 examples being almost evenly distributed with 14 and 10 examples, respectively. The least frequent subtype is duplication, which is found in only three excerpt pairs.
- 3) The vast majority of reiterations represent volume-external distributions. This is true of transition, patchworking and extraction (there is only one volume-internal transition, see example (7)). In turn, duplication is set apart from other strategies in that it is used volume-internally only.
- 4) In the vast majority of all reiterations (45 out of 54) ES is one of the volume pairs. This is true of transition, patchworking and, particularly, extraction. As for the latter strategy, ES is a permanent part in all reiteration pairs. In contrast, duplication is not biased for a particular volume.

#### 4 Conclusions

The aim of this paper was to approach the methodology of the excerptors. In order to do so, I have analyzed all 54 reiteration pairs found in EC that were at least five words long. There are two main strategies that the excerptors applied to the reiterations: *subset* and *intersection* (3.2), which, in turn, are further divided into four subtypes depending on how they were integrated into the new context: *transition* (3.3.1), *patchworking* (3.3.2), *extraction* (3.3.3), and *duplication* (3.3.4).

Transition and extraction are the most transparent strategies. Under transition, the excerptors left some overlapping text on the borders between the two adjacent excerpts assigned to different volumes. In the case of extraction, the excerptors copied a part of a longer excerpt from one of the volumes (ELR, ELG or EV) as an independent excerpt into ES.

The other two subtypes – patchworking and duplication – are less clear. Patchworking encompasses reiterations in which reiterated passages occur at different places of the two excerpts. The reiterated text passage in such excerpt pairs may be found in the beginning of one excerpt and in the middle of another or in any other combination.

Duplication represents another unclear strategy. Here, similarly to extraction, a longer passage from one excerpt is reproduced in another excerpt. The difference to extraction consists in the fact that both excerpts that contain reiteration do not have any other text but the reiterated. Thus, we are dealing with pairs of excerpts that contain identical text. Striking is also the fact that all reiteration of this subtype occur only within the same volume and the same author-block. I have no plausible explanation for this.

All in all, reiterations show that the goal of the excerptors was not to mechanically divide the original into passages that could be assigned to a subject of EC, but rather to collect relevant passages for each such subject. Furthermore, depending on the purpose of the excerpt, the excerptors shaped the final form of each excerpt individually. They inserted relevant information and dropped superfluous passages as well as changing the sequence of the original text wherever they found it necessary. This, in turn, suggests that the excerptors were flexible in their approach. Thus, in a broader context, the goal of this paper is to argue

that the excerptors were creative in their approach with respect to the material at their disposal. Consequently, EC should not be regarded as a mechanical collection of excerpts made by thoughtless excerptors but rather as a consciously created literary product with specifically pursued literary goals – a conclusion that is still largely disputed.

Needless to say, further research on the methodology of the excerptors in general will provide more details. A detailed comparison of the text of the excerpts with the original texts where the latter are preserved in the parallel tradition appears an especially promising direction.

Daryia Rafiyenko  
Universität Leipzig  
Institut für klassische Philologie und Komparatistik  
Byzantinische und Neugriechische Philologie  
Beethovenstrasse 15  
04107 Leipzig  
*d.rafiyenko@hotmail.com*