On the Transmission of Paeanius

Jonathan Groß

As an unimposing textbook of Roman history, Eutropius’ *Breviarium ab urbe condita* has enjoyed success from its first appearance to present times. It was written at the request of emperor Valens (r. 364–378) by his *magister memoriae* Eutropius, completed during the emperor's campaign against the Goths at the Danube (367–369), 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), focusing 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

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2 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, “Étienne ‘v. c. magister memoriae’?” *CP* 96 (2001) 76–81 (repr. in *Chronicles, Consuls, and Coins* [Farnham 2011] no. VIII).

3 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,¹ 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;⁵ suffice it to say that after the efforts of early editors such as Schoonhoven, Vinet, and Sylburg, and later Mommsen, Hartel, and Scivioletto, Eutropius is today well served with editions and translations.⁶

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.⁷ This was due to the fact that several Greek translations were created,⁸ the first as early as circa

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⁸ On the Greek translations of the Breviarium see D. Trivolis, Eutropius Historicus καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες μεταφράσται τοῦ Breviari um ab urbe condita (Athens 1941) 127–166 (summarized by H. Gerstinger, Η Ζ 171 [1951] 333–334, and J. Irmscher, Byzantinoslavica 16 [1955] 361–365); V. Reichmann,
379 by Paeanius—whose Μετάφρασις τῆς τοῦ Εὐτροπίου 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.9 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.10 Yet this is uncertain, as is Seeck’s hypothesis that Eutropius commissioned the Greek translation himself.11

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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through another translation.\textsuperscript{12} It is usually identified with the one by Capito of Lycia (fl. late fifth/early sixth cent.), who according to the \textit{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,\textsuperscript{13} Alan Cameron has proposed that John used a Greek translation not of Eutropius but of his source, the \textit{Enmannsche Kaisergeschichte}.\textsuperscript{14} Capito, according to Cameron, should rather be identified as the author of another, third translation that was used by Theophanes the Confessor in his \textit{Chronicle} (published 813–818) for the reign of Diocletian.\textsuperscript{15} In contrast to the other two, this translation presented Eutropius’ \textit{Breviarium} without additions or omissions and adhered much more closely to the original phrasing. Though Cameron’s hypothesis merits consideration,\textsuperscript{16} it has no bearing on the aims of this paper.

2. \textit{Editions of Paeanius’ Metaphrasis}

Our previous statement that Eutropius’ \textit{Breviarium} is well served with editions and translations cannot be extended to Paeanius’ \textit{Metaphrasis}, unfortunately.


\textsuperscript{14} A. Cameron, \textit{The Last Pagans of Rome} (Oxford 2011) 666–668.


The first printed edition, by Friedrich Sylburg (1590), was based on a 16th-century manuscript (now lost) that did not have a complete text. All subsequent editions up to Doukas (1807) 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 18th-century catalogue from the Iviron Monastery (Μόνη τῶν Ἱβήρων) on Mount Athos. This manuscript

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19 Droysen, *Eutrophi Breviarium* XXI n.11: ‘est denique vel fuit codex Paeanii in bibliotheca monasterii τῶν Ἱβήρων 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).\textsuperscript{20} 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.\textsuperscript{21} Despite this (and countless other duties), Lambros prepared a complete critical edition of Paeanius’ \textit{Metaphrasis} which he eventually published in his own journal \textit{Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων} in 1912.\textsuperscript{22}

Although this edition for the first time presented a (nearly) complete text of the \textit{Metaphrasis}, it has been woefully ignored by the majority of scholars\textsuperscript{23} (including editors and translators of

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

\textsuperscript{22} “Παιανίου Μετάφρασις εἰς τὴν τοῦ Εὐτροπίου Ῥωμαϊκήν ἱστορίαν,” \textit{Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων} 9 (1912) 1–115 (hereafter “Lambros, Paianios”).

\textsuperscript{23} For listings see \textit{Bibliotheca philologica classica} 40 (1913) 19; P. Marc, \textit{BZ} 22 (1913) 632–633.
Eutropius), probably because of its remote publication venue. 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. 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; 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

24 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), Menzilcioğlu, Gasti/Bordone (cf. R. Brendel, *BMCR* 2015.11.28), and Hunink ignored it. Müller cited Lambros’ CR paper but made no use of it.

25 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 Ελληνομνήμων* was digitized in 2015 for the Olympia repository (http://dx.doi.org/10.26268/heal.uoi.7762, accessed 10 May 2020).


28 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, 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:30

1. I = Mount Athos, Iviron Monastery: Athous 4932 Iviron 812 (olim 162),31 dated to the 14th cent. by Lambros and others and written by four scribes.32 The Paeanius text on f. 1r–2v, 7r–10v, and 15r–92r is written by scribe A who also copied the subsequent text Περὶ τοῦ Καίσαρείου γένους (f. 92r–98v).33 The latter is acephalous and begins in the middle of a line on f. 92r immediately after Paeanius, which, in turn, is incomplete and ends in the middle of a sentence at the word δικαιοσύνης (Paean. 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.34 The first two quires in I are mixed with leaves containing excerpts

29 Trivolis, Eutropius Historicus 143–148, is largely superseded.

30 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).


34 Lambros, Paianios 6.
from John of Antioch’s *Chronicle* (f. 3–6, 11–14), written by another scribe, and now form an octonio. The last part of the manuscript (f. 99–301), written by scribes *B* and *C*, contains John Xiphilinus’ *Épitome* of Cassius Dio’s *Histories*. While *I* is generally in bad condition, 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 11th/12th century, and *ABC* to the first half of the 12th century. 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 Συναγωγὴ 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. The writing style of *A*, compared by Pérez Martín to a hand in *Vat.gr.* 746 (assigned to the 12th cent. by some), is actually more similar to a hand found in *Marc.gr.* IV 58 (late 12th cent.), as brought to my attention by Ciro Giacomelli. In my opinion, *I* should be dated to the same period.


36 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’ *Épitome* is being prepared by Kai Juntunen (Helsinki).


39 On the quire numberings see Sotiroudis, *Untersuchungen* 161.


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2. \( L = \) Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana: Pluteus 70.5,\(^{41}\) assigned to the 15\(^{th}\) cent. by Droysen and to the late 14\(^{th}\) 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.\(^{42}\) 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.\(^{43}\) The manuscript was acquired for Lorenzo de’ Medici between 1464 and 1491.\(^{44}\) The Paeanius text on f. 198\(^{r}\)–219\(^{v}\), 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,\(^{45}\) and again by Lambros between 1897 and 1912 (possibly in 1902 or 1903).\(^{46}\)

3. \( V = \) Venice, Biblioteca Marciana: Marcianus Graecus Z 523 (coll. 846),\(^{47}\) from the library of Cardinal Bessarion (1403–1472), is a

\(^{41}\) Diktyon no. 16570. A. M. Bandini, Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae II (Florence 1768) 659–665.


\(^{44}\) Clérigues, RHT n.s. 2 (2007) 46.

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


\(^{47}\) Diktyon no. 69994. E. Mioni, Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum codices

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composite manuscript with various parts of different origin. The Paeanius part on f. 166r–207r was written by two scribes; the second one has been identified by Giacomelli as Emmanuele Zacharidis, who was active on Crete in the 1460s. 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 Cat-taneo but has never been collated fully.

4. \(M\) = Munich, Bavarian State Library: Codex Graecus 101, written around 1555 in Florence and brought to Germany around 1561. Havercamp had wrongly assumed it to be the manuscript used by Sylburg. The Paeanius text on f. 1r–50r, 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.

5. \(P\) = Lanvellec, library of the Marquis de Rosanbo: no. 296 (Pithoeanus), assigned to the 16th cent. by Omont, containing only Paeanius, on 49 folios. This manuscript was acquired by

\begin{quote}
\textit{Graeci manuscripti II} (Venice 1985) 396–398.
\end{quote}


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

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

6. *S* = Sylburg’s copy (*apographum ex scriniis Francisci Pithei*), used in his 1590 *editio princeps*, 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* (*LVMP*), 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 αʹ). 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*. This was confirmed by Droysen and Lambros. While Schulze was ambiguous on whether *S* was also copied from *L*, Droysen and Lambros subsequently proved this to be the case. 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

54 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.


57 Schulze, *Philologus* 29 (1870) 293: “Librarius enim, cuius manu M. liber exaratus est, tantae erat diligentiae, ut ubi vocabulum vocabulo superscriptor vidit, id accurate depingeret.”


59 Schulze, *Philologus* 29 (1870) 293: “S. ex codem fonte derivatus, sed minore cura adhibita scriptus est.”

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 $P$. 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. 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. However, the link between $I$ and $L$, dated close to each other by Lambros (14th/late 14th 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-
line, while scans of I were kindly sent to me by the librarian of the Iviron Monastery, Father Theologos Iviritis.

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 (Paean. 6.9–11, not missing in I) yields proof for this supposition (fig. 1).

In L (f. 210r.34–36) the text is transmitted as follows:

\[\text{λούκουλλος δ’ ἐπεξελθὼν τῆς τιγράνου βασιλείας κατεφρόνησε κ(αί) τὴν µεγίστην αἰρεῖ †πόλιν †ὅθεν δὴ καὶ κρητικὸς ὁ µέτελλ(ας) ἢ προσηγορεύθη.}\]

Figure 1: Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana
MS. Laur. Plut. 70.5, f. 210r (detail)
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The word after αἰρεῖ (read as πόλιν in the apographa) is corrected from an earlier µάχας or µάχης, and followed by a sign

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65 I acquired two sets of photos taken in 2007 (f. 1r–92v) and 2018 (f. 1r and 7r–92v: 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) is difficult to decipher, the second part is straightforward: \( \lambda \varepsilon \iota \varphi \nu \lambda \lambda \alpha (\nu) \alpha ' \), 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 \( \alpha \iota \rho e i \) is found in \( I \) at the end of f. 44r, the text from \( \mu \acute{a} \chi a \zeta \) (or \( \mu \acute{a} \chi \eta \zeta \)) at the beginning of f. 45\textsuperscript{v}. The parts of the text missing in \( L \) coincide with the text from f. 44\textsuperscript{v}–45\textsuperscript{r} 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 \( \lambda \varepsilon \iota \varphi \nu \lambda \lambda \alpha (\nu) \alpha ' \) 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 \( I \). Instead he relied on the collation by Georgantas, who in transcribing the lacuna at Paean. 6.9–11

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67 Lambros, Paianios, wrote “καὶ τις ΚΛ (\( ? \)).” An anonymous reader suggested καὶ πριήνην or καὶ τιγράνην (which, judging from context, makes the most sense).

68 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.

69 In \( I \) \( \mu \acute{a} \chi a \zeta \) is a self-correction for \( \mu \acute{a} \chi \eta \zeta \), as reflected in the ambiguity of the corrected word \( \mu \acute{a} \chi a \zeta / \mu \acute{a} \chi \eta \zeta \) in \( L \). However, the preceding \( \lambda \omicron \mu 
\omicron \rho a \zeta \) in \( I \) shows the dative plural form to be correct.

70 In his apparatus, Lambros remarked on the lacuna in \( L \) that the text is transmitted in \( I \) on f. 44\textsuperscript{v}–45\textsuperscript{r} (instead of 45\textsuperscript{r}). It is unclear whether this is a typesetting error or a mistake by Lambros.
made a mistake: at the end and beginning of f. 45r–v he reported λαμπρώς κρατήσας instead of λαμπράς κρατήσας μάχας, leading Lambros to assume that the corrected word μάχας in L came from a different textual tradition. Also, Lambros regarded L’s addition ὁ μέτελλος (Paean. 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),71 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 Paean. 3.9.2) is rendered in I as πέντε καὶ ὡκτὼ χιλιάδας while Eutr. 3.9.2 has XXV milia.72 Accordingly, scribe i in L erased ὡκτὼ and replaced it with the number sign κ’ (εἴκοσι). Another example is Paean. 7.21.2 where Titus’ valor in the Judaean War is illustrated:

ήνικα δὲ τῷ πατρὶ κατὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων συνεστρατεύετο, δύο καὶ δέκα τῶν προμάχων ἰσαρθίμωις βέλεσι (κατηγωνίσατο).

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

71 Examples are Paean. 2.26.2 ἐπ’ αὐτῷ γὰρ τῷ χέρσῳ IIₚ.ₑ. : ἐπ’ αὐτῇ γὰρ τῷ χέρσῳ Lₚ.ₑ.; 3.10.2 κόνναις IIₚ.ₑ. : κόννας Lₚ.ₑ.; 3.16.1 πεπραμένων I : πεπραμένων Lₚ.ₑ. : πεπραμένων IIₚ.ₑ. (also suggested by Cellarius); 3.20.2 οὖν πλοκῇ I : συμπλοκῇ L; 4.7.2 εἶδεν I : οἴδεν L; 4.8.1 δὲ καὶ πέντε I : ἐδεκαπέντε L.

72 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.

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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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paean. 2.1</th>
<th>type of division in $I$</th>
<th>type of division in $L$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(none)</td>
<td>(none)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paean. 3.1</td>
<td>paragraph, initial</td>
<td>paragraph, initial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paean. 4.1</td>
<td>paragraph, initial</td>
<td>paragraph, initial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paean. 5.1</td>
<td>paragraph, initial</td>
<td>paragraph, initial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paean. 6.1</td>
<td>initial</td>
<td>spacing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paean. 7.1</td>
<td>paragraph, initial</td>
<td>paragraph, initial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paean. 7.5</td>
<td>paragraph</td>
<td>spacing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paean. 7.9</td>
<td>paragraph</td>
<td>paragraph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paean. 7.21</td>
<td>paragraph</td>
<td>(none)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paean. 8.1</td>
<td>spacing, initial</td>
<td>spacing, cruces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paean. 9.1</td>
<td>paragraph</td>
<td>paragraph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paean. 10.1</td>
<td>spacing, initial</td>
<td>paragraph, initial</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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.73 However, some are more significant: besides the major lacunae at Paean. 6.9–

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73 For example, Paean. 4.23 νάρβωνα $I$ : νάρκωνα $L$; 6.7.2 κρίζον $I$ : κρίζον $L$; 6.25 λειψάν(ου) ὄν(τος) $I$ : λειψάνου $L$; 8.9.1 λούκιος ἀννιος ἀντωνῖνος ὄνηρος $I$ : λούκιος ἀντωνῖνος ὄκρος $L$. 

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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).

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, in-pulsore Apro, qui socer eius erat, per insidias occisis 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.

δόλῳ θνήσκει τοῦ κηδεστοῦ (Ἄπρως δὲ ἦν ὄνομα αὐτῷ). καὶ θνήσκει τὸν τρόπον τόνδε· ἐπιρροῆς αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸν ὦμμάτων γενομένης οὐ δυνάμενος ἀλώπος δέχεσθαι τὸν καθαρὸν ἄερα, ἐπιθεὶς ἐκείνου φορεῖν καὶ δέρματι παντοχόθεν περικλείσσας, ήνυε τὴν ὀδόν.

He was killed through a plot of his father-in-law (whose name was Apros). 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 αὐτῷ are omitted because of Augensprung (or saut du même au même), as scribe k’s eye skipped from αὐτῷ at the end of a line (f. 81v.12) to the second αὐτῷ at the beginning of line 14. Realising his mistake, scribe k later changed the words κατὰ τῶν ὦμμάτων γενομένης to καὶ διὰ τὸ τῶν ὦμμάτων γενόμενον πάθος, a divination adopted by all copies of L.

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

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).


Lambros, Paianios 99.18–20, reported καὶ τὰ instead of κατὰ for L etc., 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.

\[\text{Figure 2: Stemma codicum Paeanii}\]

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. 219v), a reader left the note ζήτει τὸ λεῖπον, recommending readers to look elsewhere for the missing text. Similar notes occur on f. 22v and 32v, always by the same hand, designated l7 by Dilts.\(^{77}\) 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.\(^{78}\) 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

\(^{77}\) Dilts, \textit{RHT} 1 (1971) 51.

\(^{78}\) Clérigues, \textit{RHT} n.s. 2 (2007) 29 n.37.
the notes in question does indeed seem to be Gregoras’, we may safely assign the remark ζήτει τὸ λεῖπον 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. 90r.16–92r.10). In L the Paeanius text is present on three quires, the first two of which were written by scribe i. The third quire, according to Clérigues, is a quinio containing Paeanius on f. 214r–219v and the beginning of Plutarch’s De animae procreatione in Timaeo (Mor. 77) on f. 220r–223v. It was written by three scribes: j copied portions from both texts, Gregoras took over for him on parts of f. 217r before handing over the rest of Paeanius to scribe k. Although k’s ductus on f. 217v 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. 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. 214–217r), Gregoras handed the quire to k and then decided to have him complete the rest of Paeanius on a separate leaf. He gave

79 As confirmed by Ciro Giacomelli in private communication.
80 L f. 198v–213v = I f. 1r–2v, 7v–10v, 15v–62v.
81 Paeanius: L f. 214v–216v = I f. 62r–75r.2; L f. 217r.9–13 = I f. 75r.7–15; L f. 75r.16–35 = I f. 76r.4–76r.20. Plutarch: L f. 220r–220v.15.
82 In two separate blocks, L f. 217v.1–9 = I f. 75r.2–75r.7; L f. 217v.13–16 = I f. 75v.15–76r.4.
83 L f. 217v–219v = I f. 76v.20–90r.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 Paean. 10.12–16. The defect at the end of Paeanius 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.84 L’s model for Dionysius of Halicarnassus’ Roman History (Book 11) is entirely unknown.85 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.86 The same manuscript could have been used for the extracts from Evagrius’ Ecclesiastical History.87 All

85 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.
87 The reservations of Clérigues, RHT N.S. 2 (2007) 23 n.9, notwithstanding.

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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 12th 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. 88

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

knowledge of history have been duly pointed out by scholars, 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 17th to the early 19th century. I heartily agree with Giuseppina Matino (who next to Lambros is the only scholar who deemed Paeanius worthy of two separate publications) that the *Metaphrasis* is deserving of further study and a new critical edition.

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