

# 1 Fragmentary Texts and Print Culture

This chapter explains the meaning and the development of the word *fragment* when referred to the domain of literary texts and print culture. The first section (1.1) distinguishes between material fragments of ancient evidence and textual fragments represented by quotations and text reuses. The second section (1.2) traces the relationship between Classical scholarship and textual fragments by individuating the most important phases that have been producing modern collections of fragmentary authors and works. The third section (1.3) offers statistics for quantifying the amount of fragmentary authors and works based on data available in contemporary digital libraries. The fourth section (1.4) analyzes characteristics of printed editions of historical fragmentary texts in order to understand the role of the technology of printed books in determining the birth and the growth of fragmentary historiography in the last two centuries.

## 1.1 Fragments and Fragmentary Texts

The English term *fragment* comes from the Latin word *fragmentum* and from the verb *frangere*, which means *to break*. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines *fragment* (s.v.) as “a part broken off or otherwise detached from a whole; a broken piece; a (comparatively) small detached portion of anything.” The word can also be used figuratively as “a detached, isolated, or incomplete part; a (comparatively) small portion of anything; a part remaining or still preserved when the whole is lost or destroyed.” As far as artistic or literary works are concerned, the word refers to “an extant portion of a writing or composition which as a whole is lost; also, a portion of a work left uncompleted by its author; hence, a part of any unfinished whole or uncompleted design.”

These definitions show that the inner characteristic of a fragment is its being the surviving piece of something irremediably lost or never finished. In this sense the word is applied to a great variety of physical remains of ancient evidence, such as monumental ruins, potsherds, scraps of papyri and broken inscriptions. The boundaries of these fragments are marked by margins, whose materiality draws our attention to the exteriority of the evidence, influencing our reconstruction of

the wholeness to which the fragment belonged and our perception of the reasons of its fragmentation, usually due to an external violent event like destruction or consumption.<sup>1</sup>

Most of what we still have from the ancient world has been preserved in a fragmented form and physical fragments include many typologies ranging from big architectural elements to small sherds. When physical fragments bear textual evidence the materiality of the fragment extends also to the text, which becomes the surviving broken off piece of an ancient writing. Epigraphy and papyrology are the disciplines devoted to collecting, restoring, studying and integrating texts that have been engraved, painted, or written on any materials surviving from the past. Fragmentary texts of this kind include many different types of documents that pertain to public, private, documentary and literary spheres. Examples are fragments of decrees, laws, *ostraka*, gravestones, inscribed vases, brick stamps, loom weights, letters, private contracts, legal documents, accounts and literary texts.<sup>2</sup> An interesting group of this evidence is constituted by literary works preserved only on physical fragments. Given that this book is mainly focused on Greek historical and historiographical texts, two significant examples are the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* and the *Marmor Parium*.

The *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* is a 4th century BC work of history transmitted on papyrus fragments of the 1st and 2nd century CE stored in different collections in Egypt, Great Britain, Italy and the United States of America.<sup>3</sup> In this case we have a fragmentary work in the literal sense of the word, because the historiographical research of the author of the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* – whose identity is still questioned – has been preserved only thanks to these fragments of papyrus.

The *Marmor Parium* is a Hellenistic chronicle on a marble slab coming from the Greek island of Paros. The document contains a Greek chronology (1581/80–299/98 BC) with a list of kings and archons accompanied by short references to historical events mainly based on the Athenian history. The text is dated to the 3rd century BC and part of it survives in two fragments (A and B) preserved in the Ashmolean Museum of the University of Oxford and in the Archaeological

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1 See Most (2009) and other papers on the topic in Tronzo (2009).

2 For the objects of study of epigraphy and papyrology, see Bodel (2001) and Bagnall (2009).

3 P.Oxy V 842; PSI XIII 1304; P.Cair. temp. inv. no. 26/6/27/1–35. Editions of the work have been published by Kalinka (1927), Bartoletti (1959), and Chambers (1993). Open to debate is the belonging of P.Mich. 5982, 5796b, and other papyri to the same work: see Pesely (1994) and Mariotta (2013). For a recent historiographical study of the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*, see Occhipinti (2016).

Museum of Paros.<sup>4</sup> As for the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*, also the *Marmor Parium* is a fragmentary work produced by an unknown author whose historiographical text is still extant only through these fragments of marble. Another example is a group of texts that the online *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (TLG) labels as *Anonymi Historici* (t1g1139). This collection includes forty historical fragmentary texts preserved on inscriptions, papyri, manuscripts and quotations in later texts.<sup>5</sup>

Even if technically it is not a fragmentary text, I can also mention the *Constitution of the Athenians* attributed to Aristotle. The Aristotelian work was known only thanks to quotations and text reuses until the discovery in Egypt in the 19th century of papyri bearing the text, which are now preserved in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin and in the British Library in London.<sup>6</sup> The text is for the most part complete and is a very important example of a literary work transmitted only on papyrus and not through manuscript tradition in the Middle Ages.<sup>7</sup>

Scholarship employs the expressions *fragment* and *fragmentary text* to refer also to another kind of evidence, which is constituted by incomplete textual quotations and reuses. This category includes many different examples that range from *verbatim* quotations to paraphrases and allusions.<sup>8</sup> Fragmentary texts of this type can be divided into two main groups:

1. *Fragmentary texts of still extant works*. This form of reuse is attested when an ancient author quotes, paraphrases, or alludes to another author whose text has been preserved by the tradition. In this case the reuse can be compared with the original text in order to check the reliability of the quotation.

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4 IG XII 5, 444. The upper part of fragment A is lost and known only from the transcription produced by John Selden in the 17th century. Standard editions of the *Marmor Parium* are still those published by Jacoby (1904) and in FGrHist 239. Cf. also BNJ 239. The Greek text of the stone with Latin translation, chronological table, and commentary was published by Karl Müller in FHG I, whose digital version is now available as part of the *Digital Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* (DFHG) project, which is also producing an experimental digital edition of the *Marmor Parium*: see section 4.5. For a recent study of the literary and historiographical characteristics of the chronicle, see Rotstein (2016).

5 FGrHist (= BNJ) 18, 40, 83, 105, 148, 151, 153, 155, 159, 160, 180, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 252, 255, 257a, 258, 329, 352, 355, 356, 368, 369, 375, 415, 479, 506, 550, 637, 647, 839, 849; Mette (1978) 11 (64bis), 17–20 (115bis, 148, 148bis), 29 (415).

6 P.Berol. 163 (= BerlPap 5009) and P.Lond. 131. Editions of the text have been published by Kenyon (1920) and Chambers (1994). For a very detailed and comprehensive commentary, see Rhodes (1993).

7 On the relationship between fragments and the Aristotelian constitution, see Most (2009) 19.

8 Darbo-Peschanski (2004); Berti/Romanello et al. (2009); Berti (2012); Berti (2013a). On the culture and history of quotation, see also Compagnon (1979) and Finnegan (2011).

Examples are citations of Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides or Xenophon in the *Deipnosophists* of Athenaeus of Naucratis.<sup>9</sup> Here is an example for Herodotus:

*Deipn.* 12.58 = 541bc: περὶ δὲ Σμινδυρίδου τοῦ Συβαρίτου καὶ τῆς τούτου τρυφῆς ἰστόρησεν Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῇ ἕκτῃ, ὡς ἀποπλέων ἐπὶ τὴν μνηστείαν τῆς Κλεισθένου τοῦ Σικυωνίων τυράννου θυγατρὸς Ἀγαρίστης, φησὶν, ἀπὸ μὲν Ἰταλίας Σμινδυρίδης ὁ Ἴπποκράτεος Συβαρίτης, ὃς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον δὴ χλιδῆς εἷς ἀνὴρ ἀφίκετο. εἶποντο γοῦν αὐτῷ χίλιοι μάγειροι καὶ ὀρνιθευταί. ἱστορεῖ περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ Τίμαιος ἐν τῇ ἑβδόμῃ.<sup>10</sup>

Hdt. 6.127.1: ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ Ἰταλίας ἦλθε Σμινδυρίδης ὁ Ἴπποκράτεος Συβαρίτης, ὃς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον δὴ χλιδῆς εἷς ἀνὴρ ἀπίκετο (ἡ δὲ Σύβαρις ἤμαζε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον μάλιστα), καὶ Σιρίτης Δάμασος Ἀμύριος τοῦ σοφοῦ λεγομένου παῖς.<sup>11</sup>

Athenaeus quotes almost *verbatim* the words of Herodotus, but the context is different because he is talking about people who are famous for their love for luxury (τρυφή), while the Halicarnassensis is mentioning Smindyrides in a passage concerning the family of the Alcmeonidae and he uses only the term χλιδή (extravagance), which is different from τρυφή (luxury). If the work of Herodotus was lost, we could read his words through Athenaeus, but we would attribute to him also the information about the number of cooks and fowlers accompanying the Sybarite, which doesn't appear in his text and probably comes from the lost historian Timaeus who is cited at the end of the passage.<sup>12</sup>

Another example is a reference to the *History of the Peloponnesian War* of Thucydides in the text of the *Deipnosophists*:

9 Ambaglio (1990); Bouvier (2007); Bréchet (2007); Lenfant (2007c); Maisonneuve (2007); Olson (2018). On quotations of Homer in the text of the *Deipnosophists* and how to represent them in a digital environment, see Berti/Blackwell et al. (2016).

10 "Herodotus in Book VI told the story of Smindyrides of Sybaris and his addiction to luxury, describing how he sailed off to court Agariste, the daughter of Cleisthenes, the tyrant of Sicyon: From Italy, he says, came Smindyrides the son of Hippocrates of Sybaris, who was more devoted to luxury than any of the others. He was accompanied, for example, by 1000 cooks and fowlers. Timaeus also discusses him in Book VII." Trans. by Olson (2006–2012). The same story is also narrated in Athen., *Deipn.* 6.105 (= 273bc).

11 "From Italy came Smindyrides of Sybaris, son of Hippocrates, the most luxurious liver of his day (and Sybaris was then at the height of its prosperity), and Damasus of Siris, son of that Amyris who was called The Wise." Trans. by Godley (1920–1925).

12 FGrHist 566 F 9 = BNJ 566 F 9. See Ambaglio (1990) 55–56, Pelling (2000) 176–177, 180, Canfora (2001), III 1352 nn. 2–3, Lenfant (2007c) 61, Gorman/Gorman (2014) 30 nn. 55 and 191, Olson (2018) 427. For a textual alignment of the two passages, see <http://demo.fragmentarytexts.org/en/athenaeus/ath-deipn-1258-a-hdt-6127.html>.

*Deipn.* 5.15 = 189c: λέγονται δὲ Ἀθήνησι καὶ ἱεροὶ τινες ἀυλῶνες, ὧν μέμνηται Φιλόχορος ἐν τῇ ἐνάτῃ. καλοῦσι δ' ἀρσενικῶς τοὺς ἀυλῶνας, ὡσπερ Θουκυδίδης ἐν τῇ δ' καὶ πάντες οἱ καταλογάδην συγγραφεῖς, οἱ δὲ ποιητὰι θηλυκῶς.<sup>13</sup>

Thuc. 4.103.1: ἐπὶ ταύτην οὖν ὁ Βρασίδας ἄρας ἐξ Ἀρνῶν τῆς Χαλκιδικῆς ἐπορεύετο τῷ στρατῷ. καὶ ἀφικόμενος περὶ δείλῃν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀυλῶνα καὶ Βορμίσκον, ἧ ἢ Βόλβη λίμνη ἐξέιψιν ἐς θάλασσαν, καὶ δειπνοποιησάμενος ἐχώρει τὴν νύκτα.<sup>14</sup>

The two contexts are completely different because Athenaeus is discussing the meaning of the words ἀυλή (court), ἀυλός (pipe), ἀυλῶπις (helmet with a tube-like opening) and ἀυλῶν (hollow), while Thucydides is talking about the march of the Spartan general Brasidas against Amphipolis and he mentions the toponym Aulon (Ἀυλῶν) in Chalcidice. If we didn't have the text of Thucydides, it would be impossible to infer the context of his passage, as for the lost text of Philochorus who is mentioned in the same context.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, Athenaeus is not precise because Thucydides doesn't refer to the noun but to the geographical place, and the Naucraticites was probably getting the citation of the passage of the historian from an intermediate source.<sup>16</sup>

2. *Fragmentary texts of lost works.* This kind of reuse, which is the most interesting and challenging one, is represented by authors who quote, cite, or paraphrase other authors whose texts are currently lost. In this case the reuse can't be compared with the original text and its interpretation depends on many factors. An example is a passage of the *Lexicon of the Ten Orators* of Harpocration concerning the Athenian festival of the Panathenaea:<sup>17</sup>

*Lex.*, s.v. Παναθήναια: Δημοσθένης Φιλίππικοῖς. διττὰ Παναθήναια ἤγετο Ἀθήνησι, τὰ μὲν καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν, τὰ δὲ διὰ πενταε-

13 "Certain sacred *aulones* (hollows) in Athens are referred to; Philochorus mentions them in Book IX. Some authorities have the word in the masculine, as for example Thucydides in Book IV and all prose-authors, whereas the poets have it in the feminine." Trans. by Olson (2006–2012).

14 "Against this place Brasidas marched with his army, setting out from Arnae in Chalcidice. Arriving about dusk at Aulon and Bormiscus, where the lake Bolbe has its outlet into the sea, he took supper and then proceeded by night." Trans. by Smith (1928–1935).

15 FGrHist 328 F 68 = Costa (2007) F 68 = BNJ 328 F 68.

16 Zecchini (1989) 33; Ambaglio (1990) 56. For a textual alignment of the two passages, see <http://demo.fragmentarytexts.org/en/athenaeus/ath-deipn-515-and-thuc-41031.html>.

17 "Demosthenes (uses the word) in *Philippics*. Two (festivals called) Panathenaia were celebrated at Athens, the one yearly, the other every fifth year (i.e. four years apart). And this was called the Great (Megala). Isokrates in the *Panathenaios* uses the expression 'a little before the Great Panathenaia.' The festival was first celebrated by Erikhthonios, son of Hephaistos, as both Hellanikos and Androtion record, each one in the first (book) of *Atthis*. Before this (the festival) was called *Athenaia*, as is made clear by Istros in the third (book) of his *Attika*." Trans. by Harding (2008) 39.

τηρίδος, ἅπερ καὶ μεγάλα ἐκάλουν. Ἰσοκράτης Παναθηναϊκῶ φησι “μικρὸν δὲ πρὸ τῶν μεγάλων Παναθηναίων.” ἤγαγε δὲ τὴν ἑορτὴν πρῶτος Ἐριχθόνιος ὁ Ἡφαίστου, καθά φησιν Ἑλληνικός τε καὶ Ἀνδροτίων, ἐκάτερος ἐν ᾿Ατθίδος. πρὸ τούτου δὲ Ἀθήναια ἐκαλεῖτο, ὡς δεδήλωκεν Ἰστρος ἐν γ’ τῶν Ἀττικῶν.

In this entry Harpocration cites five authors, of whom two are still extant (Demosthenes and Isocrates) and three are lost (Hellanicus, Androtion, and Istros). Demosthenes and Isocrates are cited as examples of the use of the expressions Παναθήναια (Panathenaea) and μεγάλα Παναθήναια (great Panathenaea), but their contexts don't contain a description of the two festivals.<sup>18</sup> As far as the three Attidographers are concerned and except for the few references of Harpocration, it is not possible to reconstruct the context of their texts and in fact their contribution to the history of the festival of the Panathenaea is discussed by scholars.<sup>19</sup>

All these examples show that the term *fragment* can be quite misleading when referred to a reused text. In most cases a fragment is not the broken off piece of a lost original text, but the result of the philological and historiographical interpretation of the scholar who has to dig into the context in order to measure the distance between the lost text and its reuse.<sup>20</sup> This is one of the reasons why in recent scholarship the focus has moved from the *fragment* to the preserving context, and in the digital environment the expression *text reuse* is preferred to *fragmentary text*.<sup>21</sup>

Classical scholarship makes also use of other terms to refer to other texts transmitted in the form of quotations and reuses, such as, for example, *epitoma*, *excerptum*, *frustulum* and *reliquia*.<sup>22</sup> As far as epitomes are concerned, there are many different examples among which I can remember the abridged versions of the works of Livy (including the *Periochae*), the epitome of the Aristotelian *Politeiai* by Heraclides Lembus, Iustinus' epitome of Pompeius Trogus' *Historiae*

18 Dem. 4.35; Isocr. 12.17.

19 Hellanicus: FGrHist (BNJ) 4 F 39 = FGrHist (BNJ) 323a F 2 = Ambaglio (1980) F 162; Androtion: FGrHist (BNJ) 324 F 2 = Harding (1994) F 2; Istros: FGrHist (BNJ) 334 F 4 = Berti (2009b) F 4.

20 Schepens (1997) (166 on the concept of *cover-text* meaning the context *covering* the fragment preserved in it); Schepens (2000); Berti (2012) 445. See also Most (1997) vi on “fragments as *partes pro toto*” (*fragment and synecdoche*), and Most (2009) 10–11, who remembers that “all of the Greek and Latin words for ‘fragment’ are applied in antiquity only to physical objects, never to portions of discourse [...] This metaphor seems not to have been invented until relatively modern times [...] small parts of a larger text are not fragments but just quotations or excerpts.”

21 See section 2.3.

22 It is not always possible to distinguish between *fragmenta* and these forms of text reuses, because many times there is an inevitable overlapping, but in any case this terminology gives a sense of the vast variety of reuses of texts of Classical works: see Most (1997).

*Philippicae*, Xiphilinus' epitome of the *Historia Romana* by Cassius Dio, the epitome of Athenaeus' *Deipnosophists*, and Sextus Iulius Africanus' and Eusebius' epitomes of the *Aegyptiaca* by Manetho.<sup>23</sup> An important example of excerpts is represented by the *Excerpta Constantiniana* that was produced in Constantinople in the 10th century under the supervision of the emperor Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, who gathered a group of *excerptores* to extract and combine excerpts about 53 topics from Classical and Byzantine historiographical works.<sup>24</sup> Another example is represented by the excerpts of ancient Greek geographers collected by Karl Müller in the 19th century.<sup>25</sup> The terms *frustula* and *reliquiae* are used, for example, to refer to groups of anonymous poetic fragments and in the collection of the fragments of the Roman historians by Hermann Peter.<sup>26</sup>

## 1.2 Classical Scholarship and Textual Fragments

Collecting fragments is not a recent activity, but dates back to ancient times when authors excerpted passages of texts in order to assemble and transmit them for many different purposes. Philologists, grammarians, and lexicographers produced collections of notes, extracts, quotations and references to other texts in order to create bibliographies and research tools about a wide range of topics. Alexandrian scholarship has a crucial role in this long and complex process that has indirectly transmitted Classical works, and the tradition also preserves traces of the methods used by authors like Pliny the Elder, Plutarch, Aulus Gellius and Athenaeus in their intellectual activities.<sup>27</sup>

Given that for a long period of time in antiquity texts were for the most part still available, in this case collecting fragments didn't originate from the need of looking for lost works, but from the necessity of producing reference tools that could facilitate information management and accessibility.<sup>28</sup> From the Renaissance onwards, when humanists realized that recently discovered manuscripts didn't preserve the entirety of Classical textuality, collecting fragments became

23 See, for example, Brunt (1980), Montanari (1997), Arnott (2000), and BNP, s.v. *Epitome*.

24 The *Excerpta Constantiniana* has not survived in its entirety, but remains still allow to reconstruct methods and criteria of this monumental project: Brunt (1980) 483–485; Wilson (1983) 140–145; Roberto (2005) xxxvii ff.; Németh (2016); Németh (2018).

25 Müller (1855–1861).

26 Lloyd-Jones/Parsons (1983) 517–561 (*frustula adespota ex auctoribus*); Peter (1870–1914), who is now superseded by Cornell (2013), on whose collection see Marincola (2014) and other papers in *Histos Working Papers* 5.

27 See, for example, Pfeiffer (1968), Tosi (1988), Montanari (1993), Jacob (2000), Darbo-Peschanski (2004), Dorandi (2007) 29–46, Blair (2010), Berti (2013b), Schubert (2016), Hunt/Smith et al. (2017), Schubert (2017).

28 Most (2009) 13–14.

a way for publishing the most celebrated authors and, after that, for gathering traces of an irremediably lost past.<sup>29</sup>

Glenn Most individuates two phases in the history of postclassical scholarship on collecting fragments. The first is the “humanist and early modern” phase that began in the second half of the 16th century and was “largely aesthetic in orientation,” because the interest was more in publishing the very best fragments of the most important authors than in producing complete, critical, and exhaustive collections.<sup>30</sup> The second is the “romantic and contemporary” phase that began in the second half of the 18th century and was characterised by a “reformulated scholarship,” which brought a new attempt to understand the totality of the past beyond the few surviving canonical works and “a new dignity to the fragment.” These elements were fundamental for developing a new scholarship on ancient literary fragments that took off in the middle and the second half of the 19th century, when “systematic coherence and philological rigor” produced big collections of fragmentary texts belonging to many different genres, as for example epic poetry, comedy, tragedy, philosophy and historiography.<sup>31</sup> This second phase lies at the bottom of contemporary scholarship on fragmentary authors, which still relies on four “basic methodological pillars”: 1) the efforts of identifying and attributing (a) single lost works to individual authors, (b) single fragments to individual authors and works, and (c) single fragments to literary genres but not to a particular author or work; 2) the complete and exhaustive examination of all the sources that make possible the identification of fragments; 3) the distinction between the original words of a lost text and the context in which the reference to them is preserved; 4) a systematic source criticism in order to investigate and understand, as far as possible, the relationship among the sources of fragments.<sup>32</sup>

A complete and detailed list of collections of fragmentary authors and works produced between the 19th and the 21st century is beyond the scope of this book, but I can cite the most important editions:

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29 On the fact that “the link between bio-bibliography, library catalogues and the hunt for lost works remains widely if unobtrusively operative,” see Dionisotti (1997) 8, who explores many different forms of *fragmenta* in Classical scholarship.

30 Most (2009) 15 cites the names of Antonio Augustín, Henri II Estienne, Joseph Scaliger, Isaac Casaubon, Gerhard Johann Vossius, Pierre Gassendi, Thomas Stanley, Ralph Cudworth, Johann Jakob Brucker, Pierre Bayle, Richard Bentley, and Johann Albert Fabricius.

31 Most (2009) 16–17 cites the names of Christian Gottlob Heyne, Friedrich August Wolf, Friedrich Schlegel, Novalis, Friedrich Schleiermacher, Goerg Friedrich Creuzer, August Meineke, Johann August Nauck, and Hermann Alexander Diels. On early editions of the fragments of the Roman historians, see Pobjoy/Rich (2013). As for fragmentary historians, see Grafton (1997).

32 Most (2009) 17.



- Epic poets: *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* by Gottfried Kinkel and Malcolm Davies, *Poetae Epici Graeci* by Alberto Bernabé, *Greek Epic Fragments* by Martin West, and *Early Greek Epic Fragments* by Christos Tsagalis.<sup>33</sup>
- Lyric poets: *Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta* by Edgar Lobel and Denys Page.<sup>34</sup>
- Tragic poets: *Poetarum Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* by Friedrich Wagner and *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* by August Nauck and Bruno Snell.<sup>35</sup>
- Comic poets: *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* by Georg Kaibel, *Fragmenta Comicorum Graecorum* by August Meineke, *Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta* by Theodor Kock, *Fragments of Attic Comedy* by John Edmonds, *Poetae Comici Graeci* by Rudolf Kassel and Colin Austin, and the volumes of the project *Kommentierung der Fragmente der griechischen Komödie* by Bernhard Zimmermann.<sup>36</sup>
- Historians: *Historicorum Graecorum Antiquissimorum Fragmenta* by Georg Creuzer, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* by Karl Müller, *Historici Graeci Minores* by Ludwig Dindorf, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* by Felix Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker Continued. Part IV* by Guido Schepens and Stefan Schorn, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker Continued. Part V* by Hans-Joachim Gehrke and Felix Maier, *Brill's New Jacoby* by Ian Worthington, and *I Frammenti degli Storici Greci* by Eugenio Lanzillotta.<sup>37</sup>
- Philosophers: *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* by Hermann Diels and Walther Kranz.<sup>38</sup>

This short list includes big collections that gather fragmentary authors and texts with an arrangement based on literary genres. Beside them, scholars have been also publishing many separate editions of fragmentary authors, as for example the fragments of the tragedies of Aeschylus and the fragments of Aristotle.<sup>39</sup> Moreover, if the 19th and 20th centuries saw the birth of big collections grouping together many fragmentary authors, in the last decades scholars have been focus-

33 Kinkel (1877); Davies (1988); Bernabé (1987); Bernabé (1996); Bernabé (2004); Bernabé (2005); Bernabé (2007); West (2003); Tsagalis (2017).

34 Lobel/Page (1955).

35 Wagner (1844–1852); Nauck (1856); Nauck (1889); Snell (1971–2004).

36 Kaibel (1899); Meineke (1839–1857); Kock (1880–1888); Edmonds (1957–1961); Austin (1973); Kassel/Austin (1983–1995). On the KomFrag volumes, see <http://www.komfrag.uni-freiburg.de>.

37 Creuzer (1806); Müller (1841–1873); Dindorf (1870–1871); Jacoby (1923–1958); Schepens (1997); Schepens (1998); Worthington (2006–); Lanzillotta (2009). For other editions of ancient Greek fragmentary historians, see p. 128 n. 4.

38 Diels/Kranz (1959–1960).

39 Rose (1886); Mette (1959). A quick search in the TLG *Canon* and in the *Perseus Catalog* shows the number of editions of fragmentary texts: cf. section 1.3.

ing on commenting in details single authors. Examples are the series *I Frammenti degli Storici Greci* at the University of Roma Tor Vergata, which is separately editing authors originally published in the FGrHist of Felix Jacoby, and the project KomFrag of the University of Freiburg, which is producing monographic commentaries to authors collected in the *Poetae Comici Graeci* of Rudolf Kassel and Colin Austin.<sup>40</sup>

New technologies applied to philology are posing new questions and challenges about representing fragmentary texts in a digital environment. The goal of this book is to discuss these questions and offer solutions by describing the impact of the digital revolution on literary sources and by presenting the *Digital Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* (DFHG) and the *Digital Athenaeus* projects (see chapters 2–5). I begin by showing preliminary statistics of the amount of fragmentary authors and works at our disposal and by examining characteristics of printed editions of fragmentary texts.

### 1.3 How Many Fragmentary Texts?

In an important paper significantly entitled *Umblick im Trümmerfeld der griechischen Geschichtsschreibung*, Hermann Strasburger tried to quantify the “land of ruins” of ancient Greek historiography and came to the conclusion that the tradition has preserved only about 2.5% of what was originally written, with a ratio of 1 to 40 between what is still extant and what is lost.<sup>41</sup>

Given the fragmentary state of ancient evidence and its complexity, counting the amount of textual fragments and calculate its proportion in relation to what has survived from the past are a difficult task that can't produce complete and definitive results, first of all because it's not possible to establish with precision what is a fragmentary text.<sup>42</sup> Nevertheless, undertaking this task is important from a methodological and a numerical point of view: From a methodological point of view, because a survey of fragmentary texts helps scholars identify and overview different kinds of textual fragments and their characteristics across the centuries and in different literary cultures; from a numerical point of view, because this effort gives the opportunity to quantify — at least partially and in a relative way — the amount of evidence that we have at our disposal and the kind of work necessary to produce new editions of fragmentary authors and new collections of fragmentary works.

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40 Lanzillotta (2009); Zimmermann (2017).

41 Strasburger (1977) 9–15. See also Canfora (1995) 184–119, Canfora (2000) viii, and Schepens (2007) 59–60.

42 Cf. Brunt (1980) and Most (2009).

In a digital environment this kind of task is even more relevant because it allows research investigators to calculate the amount of data to be digitized, processed, produced, critically edited and stored. These statistics become important in order to plan digital projects that involve a certain number of people with different expertise, that might require a long period of time to be accomplished, and that consequently request an estimate of project costs.

Hermann Strasburger based his statistics on the number of pages of the *editiones minores* of the *Bibliotheca Teubneriana* and on the number of books of fragmentary works and of pages of modern collections of fragmentary historians.<sup>43</sup> The interest in counting books and the extent of library collections is evidenced since ancient times. Callimachus of Cyrene in his *Tables (Pinakes)* of ancient literature classified authors by genre and, as far as we know, probably included also information about the number of books and lines of every work.<sup>44</sup> Ancient authors tried also to quantify the amount of texts stored in the Library of Alexandria and modern scholars have made an effort to check the reliability of these numbers and produce new figures.<sup>45</sup> All these methods depend on the kind of medium by which works are transmitted, like papyri, manuscripts, printed books, and now digital data.<sup>46</sup> Moreover, we also have to take into account the nature and arrangement of libraries and catalogs.

Digital technologies and the World Wide Web have been creating many different resources that range from huge collections (like *Internet Archive*, *Google Books*, and *HathiTrust*) to digital library catalogs and repositories belonging to specific domains of Classical literature. Most of these projects are collecting data created for printed publications and are generating other data that is the result of a digitization workflow of printed editions. In order to quantify what is now available and what has to be done in the next decades, we can explore these digital collections to see how they reflect the “land of ruins” described by Hermann Strasburger in his paper.

As far as ancient Greek fragmentary historians and works are concerned, I provide here a first set of data and statistics drawn from different digital projects pertaining to ancient Greek literature: the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (TLG), the *Perseus Catalog*, the *Open Greek and Latin* (OGL), the *First One-Thousand Years of Greek* (First1KGreek), the *Brill’s New Jacoby* (BNJ), and the *Digital Fragmenta His-*

43 Strasburger (1977) 10 ff.

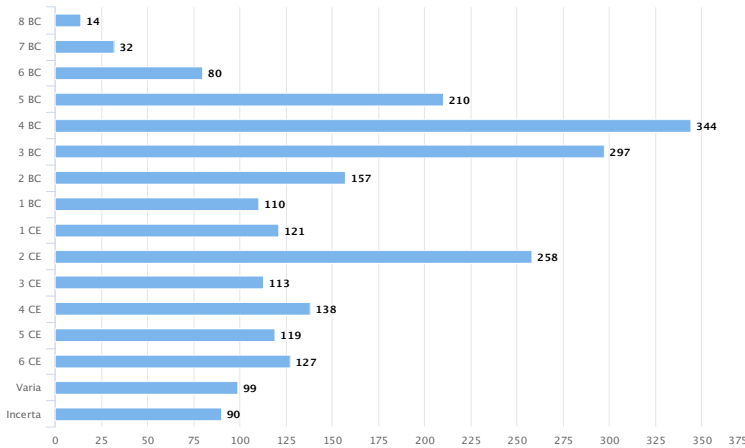
44 *Suda* [K 227] s.v. Καλλιμάχος. The *Pinakes* were originally in 120 books, but only 25 fragments of it has been preserved. For the nature of this collection see, among many others, Parsons (1952) 204–218, Witty (1958), and Blum (1991). Traces of ancient criteria for calculating the extent of works can be also found in later authors as Athenaeus of Naucratis and in encyclopedic works like the *Suda*: see, for example, Jacob (2001) lxiv ff., Jacob (2004), and Berti/Blackwell et al. (2016) 123.

45 Delia (1992); Bagnall (2002); Berti/Costa (2010) 96–100.

46 Cf. Parsons (1952) 204–206, and Canfora (1988) 11–13.

*toricorum Graecorum* (DFHG). These resources are ongoing projects and therefore I can only offer provisional statistics, which are in any case important to understand the state of the art at the beginning of the 21st century, not only in terms of numbers but also in terms of characteristics, limits, and omissions of these collections.<sup>47</sup>

*Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (TLG). The TLG (subscription required) is the oldest and biggest digital library of ancient Greek texts.<sup>48</sup> The project started in 1972 at the University of California, Irvine, with the goal of creating a digital library of Greek literary texts from Homer (8th century BC) to 600 CE.<sup>49</sup> The collection was later expanded to include Byzantine works until 1453 CE and a large number of texts up to the 20th century.<sup>50</sup> Today the online version contains more than 110 million words from over 10,000 works associated with 4,000 authors. The TLG *Statistics* page (subscription required) shows that the TLG collects 3,293 authors for the period of time between the 8th century BC and the 20th century CE, including authors dated as *varia* and *incerta*. Limiting the selection to the centuries 8th BC through 6th CE, the TLG has 2,120 authors + 99 *varia* and 90 *incerta* for a total of 2,309 authors (fig. 1.1).



**Figure 1.1.** TLG authors by century (8 BC – 6 CE with *varia* and *incerta*)

47 These statistics, based on data that I collected in the first half of 2018, are available at <http://www.dfhg-project.org/Fragmentary-Texts>.

48 As of 2021, the individual one year online TLG subscription costs \$140. Costs of the institutional subscription depends on the size of the institution (total number of FTEs) and the number of anticipated users.

49 Bozzi (1986); Berkowitz/Squitier (1990) (on the TLG *Canon*); Brunner (1991); Brunner (1993); Brunner (1994); Reggiani (2017) 210–222.

50 Pantelia (2000).

Since the beginning, the TLG has addressed the problem of including lost authors. According to the *Canon*, the TLG lists authors “represented by some form of text that owes its provenance to codices, papyri, inscriptions, or quotations by later authors. There are, however, some authors who are lost except for the testimonia provided by later authors. [...] Some of these lost writers have, in fact, been assigned a place in the *Canon*, although there has not been a consistent effort to include every lost author mentioned in the surviving testimonia. [...] Entirely omitted from the *Canon*, however, are authors who are known to us only by way of anecdote or through recollected or (ostensibly) reported conversation. Such authors remain lost, and it is the anecdotist whose text resides in the data bank.”<sup>51</sup> Luci Berkowitz and Karl Squitier clarify that the criterion for including lost authors in the TLG *Canon* depends on printed collections of fragments, where fragmentary authors may be represented by quotations (*fragmenta*), by references to their literary production and activity (*testimonia*), or only by titles.<sup>52</sup> In the CD-ROMs of the TLG, work titles were accompanied by codes identifying the means of *transmission* of texts, and the codes Q and NQ were used for quotation and no quotation: They stood for direct and indirect quotations, and for *testimonia* and titles.<sup>53</sup> This criterion is still reflected in the online version of the TLG, where there are no more codes for indicating the means of transmission of texts, but the field *Work Title* includes the forms *fragmentum*, *testimonium*, and *titulus*.<sup>54</sup> Examples are the *Fragmenta* of the comic author Aristophanes (t1g0019.012-018), the *Testimonia* of the historian Acusilaus (t1g0392.001 and 003), and the *Tituli* of the comic author Alexis (t1g0402.004).<sup>55</sup>

Considering this arrangement of texts and editions, it is possible to search the online version of the TLG with the string *fragm\** in the TLG field *All Fields* (which includes *Author*, *Editor*, *Work Title*, *Publ. Title*, *Series* and *Publ. Year*).

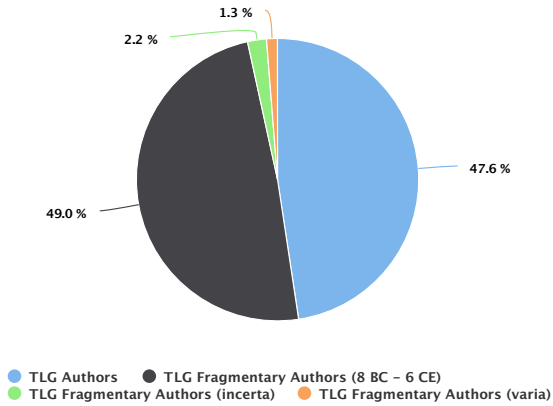
51 Berkowitz/Squitier (1990) xiii.

52 For the treatment of fragmentary authors in printed editions and for the distinction between *fragmenta* and *testimonia*, see section 1.4.

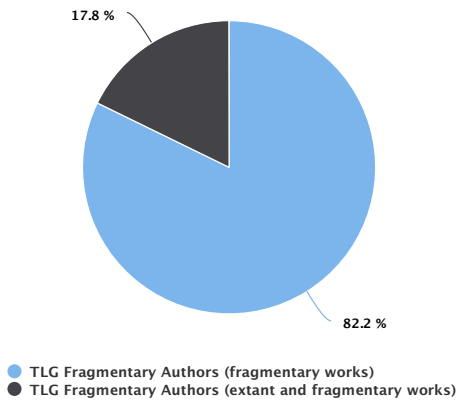
53 Berkowitz/Squitier (1990) xxv–xxvi.

54 On the TLG work title *Fragmentum* or *Fragmenta*, see Berkowitz/Squitier (1990) xxiii. The online version of the TLG has *work classification* tags, which include also the forms *fragm.* and *test.* As for now, *fragm.* is used only for the fragments of Joannes Doceianus (t1g3288.006), while *test.* is used for the *Testimonia* published in 147 editions of different authors. On work classification tags and on the label *Test.* in the TLG *Canon*, see Berkowitz/Squitier (1990) xxviii and xlvi.

55 TLG authors have four-digit numbers, while TLG works have three-digit numbers. In the examples mentioned in the text, multiple works correspond to multiple editions. *Fragmenta* of Aristophanes are from seven editions and the *Testimonia* of Acusilaus from two editions. In the past, TLG fragmentary works (i.e., works not to be found in an independent text edition) had numbers with an x replacing the first of the three digits in the work number (e.g., the fragments of Erasistratus quoted by Galen: t1g0690.x01): see Berkowitz/Squitier (1990) xxii.



**Figure 1.2.** TLG authors (8 BC – 6 CE with *varia* and *incerta*)



**Figure 1.3.** TLG fragmentary authors (8 BC – 6 CE with *varia* and *incerta*)

The search is not limited to the fields *Author* and *Work Title* because there are TLG fragmentary works without a *fragmentary* specification (e.g., the work title *Κωμωδοῦμενοι* of a fragmentary comedy of the *Comica Adespota*: *tlg0662.008*). On the other hand, it is also necessary to eliminate works that are included in the results because the corresponding *Publ. title* has a form of the word *fragmentum* (e.g., Lysias' extant orations that are part of Christopher Carey's edition entitled *Lysiae orationes cum fragmentis*). For the period between the 8th century BC and the 6th century CE, the TLG counts 1,131 fragmentary authors + 29 *varia* and 50 *incerta*, for a total of 1,210 fragmentary authors (fig. 1.2). Within this group, there are 215 authors with both extant and fragmentary works, and 995 authors with only fragmentary works (fig. 1.3). Examples are authors like Sophocles, for whom we have both extant tragedies and fragmentary ones, and Hellanicus, who is known only through references and quotations in later texts.<sup>56</sup>

**Table 1.1.** TLG fragmentary authors and work titles (8 BC – 6 CE with *varia* and *incerta*)

Fragmentary Authors	1,210
Fragmentary Work Titles	2,314
Publ. Titles	489
Series	1

Table 1.1 shows that for the period between the 8th century BC and the 6th century CE (including *varia* and *incerta*) the TLG collects 1,210 fragmentary authors and 2,314 fragmentary work titles whose texts have been digitized from 489 editions. The TLG field *Series* includes only the entry *Poetarum Graecorum Fragmenta*. A deeper analysis reveals that there are other terms in the TLG field *Work Title* used for fragmentary works: *fragmentum*, *frustulum*, *epitome*, *excerptum*, *testimonium* and *titulus* with inflected forms. Table 1.2 shows the number of occurrences of these terms based on data filtered with the string *fragm\** in the TLG field *All Fields* and for the period of time between the 8th century BC and the 6th century CE (including *varia* and *incerta*).

For the same period of time, TLG fragmentary authors are classified according to 69 *epithets* grouped in 117 combinations:<sup>57</sup>

*Alchemista, Alexandrinus, Apamensis, Apocrypha, Apologeta, Astrologus, Astronomus, Atticista, Biographus, Bucolicus, Caesariensis, Choliambographus, Comicus, Doxographus, Elegiacus, Encomiastica, Epicus, Epigrammaticus, Epistolographus, Evangelica, Geographus, Geometra, Gnomologus, Grammaticus, Hagiographa, Hexametrica, Hierosolymitanus, Historicus, Hymnus, Iambo-*

56 In the TLG Sophocles has seven tragedies (*tlg0011.011-017*) and *Fragmenta* (*tlg0011.008-010*), while under Hellanicus are grouped *Testimonia* (*tlg0539.001*) and *Fragmenta* (*tlg0539.002-003*).

57 TLG *author epithets* may also include geographical epithets or epithets attributed to works: Berkowitz/Squitier (1990) xvii–xix.

**Table 1.2.** TLG terms for fragmentary work titles (8 BC – 6 CE with *varia* and *incerta*)

Fragmentum	1,950
Testimonium	158
Titulus	119
Epitome	4
Excerptum	4
Frustulum	1

*graphus, Judaeus, Junior, Lyricus, Magica, Mathematicus, Mechanicus, Medicus, Mimus, Mimo-graphus, Musicus, Mythographus, Narratio Ficta, Naturalis Historia, Nomographus, Oraculum, Orator, Paradoxographus, Parodica, Parodius, Periegeta, Philosophus, Philologus, Poema, Poeta, Poeta Didacticus, Poeta Medicus, Poeta Philosophus, Polyhistor, Protector, Pseudepigrapha, Rhetor, Scholia, Scriptor Aenigmatum, Scriptor De Re Equestri, Scriptor Ecclesiasticus, Scriptor Eroticus, Sophista, Theologus, Tragicus.*

TLG fragmentary authors are also classified according to 268 *geographical epithets* grouped in 313 combinations:<sup>58</sup>

*Abderita, Adramyddenus, Aegaeus, Aegimius, Aegineta, Aegyptius, Aethiopia, Aetolus, Agrigentinus, Alabandus, Alexandrinus, Alexandrinus (Troadis), Amasenus, Amasiotes, Amastrianus, Amathusiaticus, Amidenus, Amisenus, Amorginus, Amphissensis, Ancyranus, Antiochenus, Apamensis, Aphrodisiensis, Aphroditensis (Aegypti), Apolloniates, Arabicus (Arabius), Arcadius, Arcas, Arelatensis, Argiva, Argivus, Arianus, Artemita, Ascalonius, Ascræus, Aspendius, Assius, Atheniensis, Babylonius, Babylonius (Aegypti), Barcaeus, Benaëus, Bithynius, Boeotus, Borysthenius, Byblius, Byzantia, Byzantius, Caesariensis, Caesariensis (Cappadociae), Calactinus, Callatianus, Camirensis, Cappadox, Capreensis, Cardianus, Carrhaeus, Carthaginiensis, Caryandensis, Carystius, Cassandrensis, Cataneus, Ceus, Chaeronensis, Chalcedonius, Chalcidensis, Chalcidicus, Chersonesita, Chius, Citiensis, Citieus, Clazomeneus, Cnidius, Cnidius (Calliphon), Colophonius, Constantiensis (Cypri), Constantinopolitanus, Coptites, Corcyraeus, Corinthius, Cous, Cretensis, Creticus, Crotoniensis, Crotoniensis (Democedes), Cumaëus, Curiensis, Cydonius, Cyprius, Cyrenaëus, Cyrenensis, Cytherius, Cyzicenus, Damascenus, Delius, Delphicus, Dorylaeus, Elaita, Eleaticus, Eleus, Eleusinius, Emesenus, Ephesius, Epidauria, Epidaurius, Epiphaniensis, Epirota, Epirotes, Eresius, Eretriensis, Erythraeus, Euboëensis, Gabalensis, Gadarensis, Gaditanus, Gazaëus, Gelensis, Gelous, Halicarnassensis, Heracleensis, Heracleota, Heracleota (Ponti), Hermioneus, Hierapolitanus, Hierosolymitanus, Himeræus, Iasensis, Iconiensis, Iliensis, Judaëus, Lacedaemonius, Lacon, Lamp-sacenus, Laodicensis, Larandensis, Larissæus, Leontinus, Lepreates, Leriùs, Lesbia, Lesbius, Leucadius, Lindia, Lindius, Locrus, Lucanus, Lugdunensis, Lycius, Lydius, Macedo, Magnes, Mallotes, Massiliensis, Mauretanicus, Micybernaeus, Megalopolitanus, Megarensis, Megareus, Megaricus, Melius, Mendesicus, Messanius, Metapontinus, Methymnaeus, Milesius, Myndius, Myrleanus, Mysius, Mytilenensis, Naucratis, Nazianzenus, Neapolitanus, Neocaesariensis, Nicaeensis, Nicome-*

58 On TLG *geographical epithets*, see Berkowitz/Squitier (1990) xx–xxii.



*diensis, Nilous, Nyssensis, Nyssenus, Oasites, Oeneius, Oenoandensis, Oenoensis, Olbiopolitanus, Olynthius, Orchomenius, Oxyrhynchites, Palaestinus, Palmyrenus, Panites, Panopolitanus, Panormitanus, Paphius, Paphlagonius, Parius, Patrensis, Pellaeus, Pergamenus, Petraeus, Phalereus, Pharsalius, Phaselinus, Philadelphius, Phliasius, Pieriota, Pitanaeus, Plataeus, Ponticus, Prieneus, Proconnesis, Prusensis, Pygelensis, Rheginus, Rhodius, Romanus, Salaminius, Samaritanus, Samius, Sardianus, Scarpheus, Scepsius, Seleuciensis, Selinuntius, Selymbrianus, Siceliota, Siculus, Sicyonia, Sicyonius, Sidetes, Sidonius, Sigeus, Sinopensis, Smyrnaeus, Soleus, Sphettius, Stagirites, Stymphalicus, Sybarita, Syracusanus, Syrius, Syrus, Tanagraea, Tarentinus, Tarsensis, Tauromenitanus, Tegeates, Teius, Telia, Telmessensis, Tenedius, Thasius, Theangelus, Thebaeus, Thebaïs, Thebanus, Theraeus, Thessalius, Thoricensis, Thurinus, Thurius, Thyatirius, Tragilensis, Tralilianus, Troezenius, Tyanensis, Tyrius, Volsiniensis, Xanthius.*

TLG fragmentary works are classified according to 69 *work classifications* grouped in 236 combinations:<sup>59</sup>

*Alchemica, Apocalypsis, Apocrypha, Apologetica, Astrologica, Astronomica, Biographa, Bucolica, Catena, Chronographa, Comica, Commentarius, Coquinaria, Dialogus, Doxographa, Ecclesiastica, Elegiaca, Encomiastica, Epica, Epigrammatica, Epistolographa, Evangelica, Exegetica, Geographa, Gnomica, Grammatica, Hagiographa, Hexametrical, Historica, Homiletica, Hymnus, Hypothesis, Iambica, Ignatum, Invectiva, Legalia, Lexicographa, Liturgica, Lyrica, Magica, Mathematica, Mechanica, Medica, Metrologica, Mimus, Musica, Mythographa, Narratio Ficta, Naturalis Historia, Onirocritica, Oraculum, Oratio, Paradoxographa, Parodica, Paroemiographa, Periegesis, Philosophica, Physiognomonica, Poema, Polyhistorica, Pseudepigrapha, Rhetorica, Satyra, Scholia, Tactica, Testimonia, Theologica, Tragica, Typica.*

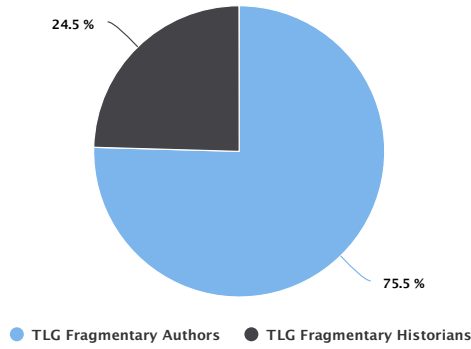
Given that the TLG is an ongoing project and new authors, works, and editions are periodically added, this data is partly provisional, even if it mostly covers the current state of textual transmission. Moreover, literary and geographical classifications of authors and works are always problematic. Nevertheless, the goal of these statistics and numbers is to collect a first set of information concerning what is available online in a digital format and the kind of challenges and issues we have to deal with for new textual entries.

If we focus on historical fragmentary texts, which are the research question of this book, the TLG includes 273 fragmentary historians (based on the TLG author epithet *Hist.*) for the centuries 8 BC through 6 CE including *varia* and *incerta*. Moreover, if we take into account the TLG combination of the epithet *Hist.* with other epithets, there are 297 fragmentary historians (fig. 1.4):<sup>60</sup>

Abydenus (0116) *Hist.*, Acesander (1832) *Hist.*, Acusilaus (0392) *Hist.*, Aelius Dius (2434) *Hist.*, Aethlius (0686) *Hist.*, Agaclytus (0687) *Hist.*, Agatharchides (2192) *Hist.*, Agathocles (0688) *Hist.*, Agathon (2566) *Hist.*, Agesilaus (2555) *Hist.*, Aglaosthenes (2345) *Hist.*, Agroetas (1835) *Hist.*, Alcimus (0695) *Hist.*, Alexarchus (2556) *Hist.*, Alexis (0707) *Hist.*, Amelesagoras (2219)

59 On TLG *work classifications*, see Berkowitz/Squitier (1990) xxviii and xxxi–xlix.

60 Ciphers in round brackets are TLG four-digit numbers of authors: see p. 19 n. 55.



**Figure 1.4.** TLG fragmentary historians (8 BC – 6 CE with *varia* and *incerta*)

Hist., Amometus (2445) Hist., Anaxandridas (2284) Hist., Anaxicrates (2210) Hist., Anaximenes (0547) Hist. Rhet., Andreas (2393) Hist., Andriscus (2346) Hist., Androetas (2412) Hist., Andron (1123) Hist., Andron (2172) Hist., Andron (4347) Hist., Androtion (1125) Hist., Antenor (2322) Hist., Antigenes (1945) Hist., Antileon (2173) Hist., Antiochus (1145) Hist., Apollas (1162) Hist., Apollodorus (1164) Hist., Apollonius (1170) Hist., Appianus (0551) Hist., Aratus (2162) Hist., Archemachus (1174) Hist., Archinus (2418) Hist., Aretades (2193) Hist., Ariaethus (2215) Hist., Aristagoras (1190) Hist., Aristides (2194) Hist., Aristippus (2216) Hist., Aristobulus (2557) Hist., Aristocrates (1189) Hist., Aristocreon (2455) Hist., Aristocritus (2341) Hist., Aristodemus (1875) Hist. Myth., Aristodemus (2148) Hist., Aristonicus (1899) Hist., Aristophanes (1196) Hist., Armenidas (0360) Hist., Artemon (2307) Hist., Artemon (2392) Hist., Asclepiades (1199) Gramm. Hist., Asclepiades (2423) Gramm. Hist., Athanis (2387) Hist., Autesion (2205) Hist., Autocharis (2175) Hist., Autocrates (2204) Hist., Balagrus (1211) Hist., Basilis (1218) Hist., Bato (1219) Hist. Rhet., Berosus (1222) Astrol. Hist., Bion (1225) Hist., Bion (1871) Hist., Callippus (2270) Hist., Callisthenes (0534) Hist., Callixenus (1240) Hist., Capito (2506) Hist., Carystius (1245) Hist., Cassius Dio (0385) Hist., Cephalion (1249) Hist. Rhet., Chaeremon (2424) Hist. Phil., Charax (1254) Hist., Charon (1258) Hist., Chrysermus (2195) Hist., Chrysippus (2559) Hist., Claudius Iolaus (1268) Hist., Clidemus (1276) Hist., Clitonymus (2190) Hist., Clitophon (1281) Hist., Clytus (1282) Hist., Conon (1285) Hist., Cornelius Alexander (0697) Polyhist., Craterus (1288) Hist., Crates (1289) Hist., Cratippus (1907) Hist., Creophylus (1291) Hist., Crito (1867) Hist., Critolaus (2552) Hist., Ctesias (0845) Hist. Med., Ctesiphon (2201) Hist., Daimachus (1908) Hist., Daimachus (2482) Hist., Damastes (1868) Hist., Damon (2273) Hist., Deilochus (2326) Hist., Demaratus (1812) Hist., Demetrius (0624) Hist. Phil., Demetrius (1917) Hist., Demetrius (2511) Hist., Demochares (1303) Hist. Orat., Democles (4390) Hist., Democritus (1305) Hist., Demon (1307) Hist., Dercylus (2196) Hist., Dictys (1310) Hist., Dieuchidas (1313) Hist., Dinias (1314) Hist., Dinon (1316) Hist., Diodorus Siculus (0060) Hist., Diogenes (2328) Hist., Dionysius (1324) Hist., Dionysius (1328) Hist., Dionysius (2354) Hist., Dionysius (2466) Hist., Dionysius Halicarnassensis (0081) Hist. Rhet., Diophantus (2539) Hist., Dioscurides (2409) Hist., Diyllus (1911) Hist., Domitius

Callistratus (1239) Hist., Dosiadas (1338) Hist., Dositheus (1896) Hist., Duris (1339) Hist., Eche-  
 pylidas (2289) Hist., Eparchides (1343) Hist., Ephorus (0536) Hist., Ergias (1354) Hist., Euagon  
 (2372) Hist., Eudoxus (1915) Hist., Eumachus (1972) Hist., Eunapius (2050) Hist. Soph., Euty-  
 chianus (2158) Hist., Flavius Arrianus (0074) Hist. Phil., Gaius Acilius (2545) Hist. Phil., Gaius  
 Asinius Quadratus (2122) Hist., Glaucus (2460) Hist., Glaucus (4391) Hist., Gorgias (2255) Hist.,  
 Gorgon (2357) Hist., Hagias-Dercylus (1387) Hist., Harmodius (1388) Hist., Hecataeus (0538)  
 Hist., Hecataeus (1390) Hist., Hegesander (1392) Hist., Hegesippus (1397) Hist., Hellenicus (0539)  
 Hist., Hellenica (0558) Hist., Heraclides (1406) Hist., Heraclides Lembus (1407) Hist., Hereas  
 (2336) Hist., Herennius Philo (1416) Gramm. Hist., Hermaeus (2426) Hist., Hermesianax (2532)  
 Hist., Hermias (2384) Hist., Hermippus (1421) Gramm. Hist., Herodorus (1427) Hist., Hestiaeus  
 (1428) Hist., Hesychius Illustrius (2274) Hist., Hieronymus (1953) Hist., Hippias (1435) Hist., Hip-  
 postratus (2391) Hist., Hippys (1438) Hist., Hypermenes (2277) Hist., Hyperochus (2396) Hist.,  
 Idomeneus (1442) Hist., Ister (1450) Hist., Joannes Epiphaniensis (4392) Hist., Juba li Rex Maure-  
 taniae (1452) Hist., Laetus (2525) Hist., Leo (1941) Hist., Leo (1978) Hist., Leo (2186) Hist., Lepidus  
 (1459) Hist., Lucius Cincius Alimentus (2543) Hist., Lucius Licinius Lucullus (1977) Hist., Lyceas  
 (1469) Hist., Lycus (1470) Hist., Lysanias (2298) Hist., Lysimachus (0574) Hist., Maeandrius (2339)  
 Hist., Magica (5002) Magica Nat. Hist., Magnus (2157) Hist., Malchus (2582) Hist., Manetho  
 (1477) Hist., Marcellus (2458) Hist., Megasthenes (1489) Hist., Melanthius (1491) Hist., Melis-  
 seus (2282) Hist., Memnon (1496) Hist., Menander (1498) Hist., Menander (4076) Protector Hist.,  
 Meneclis (1499) Hist., Menecrates (1503) Hist., Menecrates (2475) Hist., Menecrates (4344) Hist.,  
 Menecrates (4345) Hist., Menecrates (4346) Hist., Menesthenes (1505) Hist., Menetor (4395) Hist.,  
 Menodotus (1506) Hist., Menyllus (2202) Hist., Metrodorus (1976) Hist., Metrophanes (2531)  
 Hist., Mnesimachus (2565) Hist., Molpis (1516) Hist., Myron (1523) Hist., Myronianus (4397)  
 Hist., Myrsilus (2331) Hist., Neanthes (1525) Hist., Nicander (2474) Hist., Nicias (2217) Hist., Nic-  
 ocles (1534) Hist., Nicocrates (1535) Hist., Nicolaus (0577) Hist., Nonnosus (4393) Hist., Nymphis  
 (1544) Hist., Nymphodorus (0578) Hist., Paeon (2512) Hist., Pamphila (1828) Hist., Parthax (1568)  
 Hist., Patrocles (2479) Hist., Pausanias (2573) Hist., Phanodemus (1583) Hist., Phanodicus (2278)  
 Hist., Pherecydes (1584) Hist., Philinus (1969) Hist., Philippus (1590) Hist., Philistus (1591) Hist.,  
 Phillis (2594) Hist., Philochorus (0583) Hist., Philomnestus (1598) Hist., Philostephanus (0584)  
 Hist., Phylarchus (1609) Hist., Polybius (0543) Hist., Polycharmus (1623) Hist., Polycrates (1627)  
 Hist., Posidonius (2187) Hist., Possis (2333) Hist., Potamon (1949) Hist., Praxagoras (2151) Hist.,  
 Priscus (2946) Hist. Rhet., Promathidas (2300) Hist., Promathion (2548) Hist., Protagorides (1636)  
 Hist., Proxenus (1638) Hist., Ptolemaeus (1646) Hist., Ptolemaeus VIII Euergetes II (1645) Hist.,  
 Publius Herennius Dexippus (2141) Hist., Publius Rutilius Rufus (2546) Hist., Pyrander (2349)  
 Hist., Pyrgion (1648) Hist., Pyrrhus (2160) Hist., Pythaenetus (1649) Hist., Pythermus (1651)  
 Hist., Pythocles (2560) Hist., Quintus Fabius Pictor (2542) Hist., Satyrus (1661) Hist., Scamon  
 (2330) Hist., Sextus Julius Africanus (2956) Hist. Scr. Eccl., Silenus (1970) Hist., Socrates (1678)  
 Hist., Socrates (1679) Hist., Sophanetus (1683) Hist., Sosicrates (1687) Hist., Sosthenes (2568)  
 Hist., Staphylus (2182) Hist., Stesiclides (2171) Hist., Stesimbrotus (1923) Hist., Teucer (1704)  
 Hist., Thallus (1706) Hist., Theagenes (1709) Hist., Themison (1713) Hist., Theodorus Anagnostes

(2869) Hist. Scr. Eccl., Theognis (2367) Hist., Theophanes (1981) Hist., Theophilus (2203) Hist., Theopompus (0566) Hist., Theotimus (1727) Hist., Theseus (1728) Hist., Thrasyllus (2428) Hist., Timachidas (1732) Hist., Timaeus (1733) Hist., Timagenes (1918) Hist., Timagetus (4396) Hist., Timagoras (2268) Hist., Timolaus (2533) Hist., Timonax (1736) Hist., Timonides (2386) Hist., Timotheus (2213) Hist., Uranius (2461) Hist., Xanthus (1751) Hist., Xenagoras (1752) Geogr. Hist., Xenion (1753) Hist., Xenomedes (2306) Hist., Zeno (2364) Hist.

*Perseus Catalog*. The *Perseus Digital Library* and the *Scaife Viewer* (open access) have no texts of fragmentary authors, but the *Perseus Catalog* collects information about editions of fragmentary authors and works. The *Perseus Catalog* was conceived in 2005 with the goal of collecting open bibliographic data and metadata about authors, works, and editions of Greek and Latin literature. Inspired by the FRBR model (*Functional Requirements for Bibliographic Records*), the *Perseus Catalog* aims at offering a complete view of the editorial and textual tradition of every work of Classical literature producing linked data and using standards for connecting its resources to bigger library systems and international data banks, as for example *WorldCat* and the *Virtual International Authority File (VIAF)*.<sup>61</sup> The *Perseus Catalog* includes not only ancient Greek and Latin works, but also Arabic works, and it is browsable by *Author*, *Work Title*, *Work Original Language*, *Edition or Translation Year Published*, *Edition or Translation Language*, *Series* and *Subjects*. The catalog counts 2,072 authors and 4,584 work titles (table 1.3). The catalog offers also numbers for works in the original language, series, and subjects (table 1.4).

**Table 1.3.** *Perseus Catalog*: authors and work titles

Authors	2,072
Work Titles	4,584

**Table 1.4.** *Perseus Catalog*: works, series, and subjects

Ancient Greek Works (to 1453)	2,908
Latin Works	1,576
Arabic Works	131
Series	92
Subjects	1,072

Within the collection of the *Perseus Catalog*, there are 891 fragmentary authors, 1,060 fragmentary work titles, 971 Greek fragmentary works, 69 Latin fragmentary works, and 141 subjects pertaining to fragmentary works (table 1.5, figures

61 Mimno/Crane et al. (2005); Babeu (2008); Babeu (2012); Babeu (2019).

1.5 and 1.6).<sup>62</sup> *Perseus Catalog* work titles include not only the term *fragmentum*, but also *testimonium* with inflected forms (table 1.6). As far as *Subjects* are concerned, the *Perseus Catalog* counts 884 fragmentary work titles classified as produced by historians of Greece (figure 1.7).

**Table 1.5.** *Perseus Catalog*: fragmentary authors and works

Fragmentary Authors	891
Fragmentary Work Titles	1,060
Fragmentary Works	1,040 (971 Greek + 69 Latin)
Subjects	141

**Table 1.6.** *Perseus Catalog*: terms for fragmentary work titles

Fragmentum	1,060
Testimonium	38

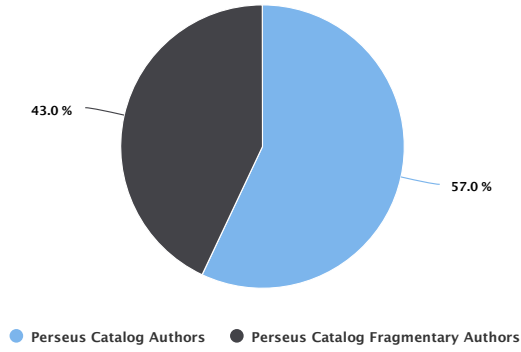
As far as identifiers of Greek authors and works are concerned, the *Perseus Catalog* has been making use of the codes of the last printed edition of the TLG *Canon* by Berkowitz/Squitier (1990). *Perseus Catalog* entries have a main CITE URN identifier for authors and TLG identifiers for authors and works that are also part of *Perseus* CTS URNs for identifying works and editions.<sup>63</sup> As for fragmentary authors, an example is Hellanicus of Lesbos, who is identified with `urn:cite:perseus:author.701` and with `tlg0539`. Hellanicus' *Fragmenta* are cataloged with `urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0539.tlg001`.<sup>64</sup>

Given that both the online TLG and the *Perseus Catalog* are ongoing projects, there are cases where authors are not any more in the online TLG (but were

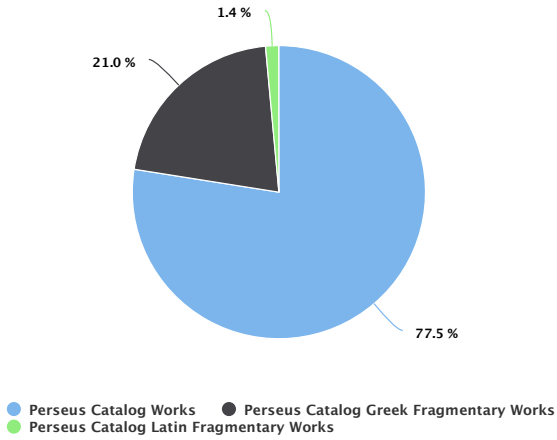
62 Different figures of *works* and *work titles* depend on *Perseus Catalog* MODS records that include both uniform official work titles and a list of alternative titles or translated titles found within a record. An example is represented by the fragments of Istros the Callimachean (`urn:cite:perseus:author.776`), where the table of contents of the MODS file includes the titles *Atthis*, *Fragmenta incertae sedis*, *Apollinis apparitiones*, *Ptolemais*, *Aegyptiorum coloniae*, *Argolica*, *Eliaca*, *Collectio sacrificorum creticorum*, *De proprietate certaminum*, *Melopoei*, *Commentarii*, *Dictiones atticae* and *Incertorum operum fragmenta* from the section of the author's fragments in the *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* (FHG): [https://github.com/PerseusDL/catalog\\_data/blob/master/mods/greekLit/tlg1450/tlg004/opp-grc1/tlg1450.tlg004.opp-grc1.mods1.xml](https://github.com/PerseusDL/catalog_data/blob/master/mods/greekLit/tlg1450/tlg004/opp-grc1/tlg1450.tlg004.opp-grc1.mods1.xml).

63 On *Perseus Catalog* identifiers and on the use of the *CITE Architecture*, see section 3.2.

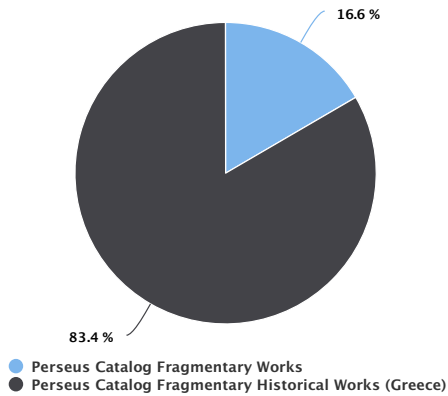
64 See <http://catalog.perseus.org/catalog/urn:cite:perseus:author.701> and <http://catalog.perseus.org/catalog/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0539.tlg001>. The further specification `opp-grc1` in the *Perseus Catalog* identifies the fragments of Hellanicus in the edition of the FHG. In the TLG *Canon*, the codes `001`, `002`, and `003` identify the *testimonia* and the *fragmenta* of Hellanicus in the FGrHist and in Mette (1978) 11–12.



**Figure 1.5.** *Perseus Catalog*: fragmentary authors



**Figure 1.6.** *Perseus Catalog*: fragmentary works



**Figure 1.7.** *Perseus Catalog*: fragmentary historical works

present in the printed edition of the *Canon* and therefore are still in the *Perseus Catalog* and other cases where authors collected in the *Perseus Catalog* are not existing in the online TLG.

An example of the first case is Amphion of Thespieae, who is a Greek fragmentary historian published in the FHG (IV 301) and in the FGrHist (387 = BNJ 387). This author was originally available in the printed edition of the TLG *Canon* with the number  $\tau\lg2271$  and the letter Q as a mean of transmission, but is not present in the online TLG.<sup>65</sup> The *Perseus Catalog* preserves his TLG record.<sup>66</sup>

As far as the second case is concerned, an example is Nicander of Alexandria, who was published in the FHG (IV 462) and in the FGrHist (1112). The author has been never published in the TLG and is therefore included as  $\text{fhg}0480$  in the *Perseus Catalog*.<sup>67</sup>

Another interesting example is represented by the historian Acestodorus of Megalopolis, who was originally inserted in the printed edition of the TLG *Canon* as  $\tau\lg1818$ . The author is mentioned in a *scholion* to Sophocles' *Oedipus Coloneus* that preserves also two fragments of Istros the Callimachean and Andron of Halicarnassus.<sup>68</sup> The printed edition of the TLG *Canon* gives this information and in fact identifies Acestodorus' fragment as  $\tau\lg1818.x01$  adding a

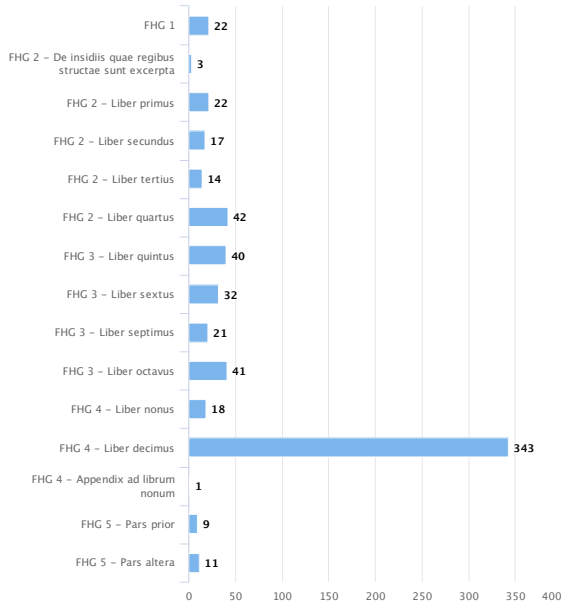
65 On the TLG codes Q and NQ for fragmentary authors, see p. 19. On Amphion in the printed edition of the *Canon*, see Berkowitz/Squitier (1990) 19.

66 See <http://catalog.perseus.org/catalog/urn:cite:perseus:author.1537>. The author has only one fragment from Athenaeus' *Deipnosophists* (14.26 = 629a).

67 <http://catalog.perseus.org/catalog/urn:cite:perseus:author.1960>

68 *Schol. Soph. Oed. Col.* 1053 = FGrHist 334 F 22 = Berti (2009b) F 22a = BNJ 334 F 22a = FGrHist and BNJ 10 F 13. Acestodorus is commented in FHG II 464 under Cineas Thessalus.

reference to Istros.<sup>69</sup> This author is not any more in the online TLG, but is collected in the *Perseus Catalog* with the original TLG number.<sup>70</sup>



**Figure 1.8.** DFHG fragmentary authors

*Open Greek and Latin* (OGL). The *Open Greek and Latin* (OGL) (open access) is a project developed at the University of Leipzig for digitizing editions of Greek and Latin sources produced in antiquity through the 6th century CE. The goal is to generate OCR outputs that are encoded according to the TEI XML Guidelines and are freely downloadable and reusable. OGL has been digitizing also fragmentary authors and is making available a first limited set of editions of fragmentary works through a GitHub repository (*fragm-dev*): <https://github.com/OpenGreekAndLatin/fragmentary-dev>.

*First One-Thousand Years of Greek* (First1KGreek). The *First One-Thousand Years of Greek* (First1KGreek) (open access) is a project maintained by the *Open and Greek Latin* (OGL) in collaboration with the Center for Hellenic Studies, the Harvard Library, Mount Alison University, Tufts University, the University of Leipzig and the University of Virginia.<sup>71</sup> The goal of this project is to collect at least one edition of every Greek work composed between Homer and 250 CE

69 Berkowitz/Squitier (1990) 1. On the use of the letter x in the TLG *Canon* for numbers of fragmentary works, see p. 19 n. 55.

70 See [http://catalog.perseus.org/catalog/urn:cite:perseus:author.8\(τlg1818\)](http://catalog.perseus.org/catalog/urn:cite:perseus:author.8(τlg1818)).

71 Muellener (2019).



FHG Volumes	FHG Books	FHG Sections	FHG Dates	FHG Authors
FHG 1				22
	De insidiis quae regibus structae sunt excerpta			3
	Liber primus	Inde ab incunabulis artis historicae usque ad finem Belli Peloponnesiaci	520-404 BC	22
FHG 2	Liber secundus	Inde a fine Belli Peloponnesiaci usque ad tempora Alexandri Magni		17
	Liber tertius	Aristoteles ejusque discipuli		14
	Liber quartus	Reliqui scriptores qui floruerunt inde ab Alexandri temporibus usque ad mortem Ptolemaei Philadelphi	336-247 BC	42
	Liber quintus	A Ptolemaeo III Evergete usque ad finem Ptolemaei VI Philometoris sive usque ad eversionem Corinthi	247-146 BC	40
FHG 3	Liber sextus	Ab eversione Corinthi usque ad Caesarem Augustum	146-27 BC	32
	Liber septimus	Ab Augusto usque ad Trajanum	27 BC - 98 CE	21
	Liber octavus	A Trajano usque ad Constantinum Magnum	98-306 CE	41
	Liber nonus	A Constantino Magno usque ad Phocam imperatorem	306-602 CE	18
FHG 4	Liber decimus	Scriptores aetatis incertae ex ordine literarum		343
	Appendix ad librum nonum			1
	Pars prior			9
FHG 5	Pars altera			11

**Figure 1.9.** Chronology of authors in the FHG

with a focus on texts that do not already exist in the *Perseus Digital Library*. The First1KGreek includes 882 editions with 30 fragmentary work editions.

*Jacoby Online*. *Jacoby Online* (JO) (subscription required) is a project developed by Brill publishers to produce a digital version of *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (FGrHist) and its *continuatio*, and to publish a new edition of the FGrHist through the *Brill's New Jacoby* (BNJ).<sup>72</sup>

*Digital Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* (DFHG). The DFHG (open access) provides the digital edition of the *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* (FHG) by Karl Müller (see chapter 4). It collects 636 Greek fragmentary historians, who are searchable through the DFHG *Fragmentary Authors Catalog* (see section 4.4.1). The FHG doesn't provide dates for each author, but arranges the content in 15 sections within 5 volumes according to general chronological classifications (figg. 1.8 and 1.9).

## 1.4 Fragmentary Texts and Printed Editions

Classical philologists born in the “Gutenberg galaxy” — and therefore working in a print culture — have been devising complex structures and typographical

<sup>72</sup> On the FGrHist and its continuation, see pp. 35 ff. On the *Jacoby Online* and its components, see section 2.1.2. The BNJ has been publishing online a bit less than 2,000 authors. For a list of correspondences among authors published in the FGrHist and in the BNJ, see the *Müller-Jacoby Table of Concordance* of the *Digital Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* project, which is constantly updated as soon as new BNJ authors are published (section 4.4.3).

strategies for publishing printed critical editions of Greek and Latin sources. A walk through the shelves of a specialized library and an online search in *Google Books* show how many different examples of printed editions of primary sources of Classical antiquity have been produced in the last five centuries. Since the experiments of Aldus Manutius in Venice up to very recent products of publishing companies, the technology of the printed book has played a fundamental role in producing and shaping forms of critical collections, arrangements, and editions of information and knowledge about historical texts.<sup>73</sup>

The digital revolution has been affecting textuality in a dramatic way and also Classical philologists are now faced with new questions about representing their data in a digital environment.<sup>74</sup> In this regard digital philology has two main goals: 1) preserve the editorial heritage of the past by digitizing printed editions and generating machine readable and structured outputs, and 2) produce a new digital scholarly model for editing primary sources and publishing new born-digital editions. In this scenario, digital philologists have the responsibility of preserving the understanding of traditional print conventions and criteria in order to transfer this editorial heritage to a computational format.<sup>75</sup> At the same time and while never abandoning the rigor of well established methods, the responsibility of digital philologists is to become independent of the print model in order to create a new digital scholarly environment and avoid the risk of producing digital replica of printed editions.

This is also valid for editions of fragmentary authors and works, and this is the aim of the two projects that will be described in chapters 4 and 5. In the following pages I present an overview of printed editions of ancient Greek fragmentary historians, focusing on the two big collections edited by Karl Müller and Felix Jacoby (including its *continuatio*) and on the volumes of the Italian series *I Frammenti degli Storici Greci*.<sup>76</sup>

The five volumes of the *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* (FHG) were edited by Karl Müller with the help of Theodor Müller and Victor Langlois, and printed in Paris between 1841 and 1873 by the publisher Ambroise Firmin-Didot.<sup>77</sup> The FHG is a collection of excerpts from many different sources preserving information and text reuses about 636 ancient Greek fragmentary historians. Excluding the first volume, authors are chronologically distributed and cover a period

73 See McLuhan (2011) and Borsuk (2018). On the importance of Aldus Manutius and his editions of Classical texts, see Davies (1999), Marzo Magno (2012), Beltramini/Gasparotto (2016), Wilson (2017) 141–183, and Marzo Magno (2020). On textual scholarship, see McDonald/Suarez (2002) and Eliot/Rose (2007). On the future of text, see also Hegland (2020).

74 Bolter (2001); Mordenti (2001); Fiormonte (2003); Mordenti (2011); Sahle (2013); Apollon/Bélisle et al. (2014); Pierazzo (2015).

75 Cf. McGann (2014) and Borsuk (2018).

76 For editions of Greek fragmentary historians before Karl Müller, see p. 128 n. 4.

77 Petitmengin (1983); Grafton (1997).

of time from the 6th century BC through the 7th century CE.<sup>78</sup> In FHG I, critical commentaries about the life and the intellectual activity of authors (*testimonia*) are published at the beginning of the volume in a section entitled *De vita et scriptis auctorum*. From FHG II onwards, introductory commentaries are printed at the beginning of the section of each author or group of authors.<sup>79</sup> There are also authors without an introduction but only with a collection of *fragmenta*, and authors who have only an introduction discussing *testimonia* about them and not a collection of *fragmenta*.<sup>80</sup>

Müller doesn't provide a formal distinction between *testimonia* and *fragmenta* like Jacoby in the FGrHist – where the letters T and F clearly separate the two kinds of sources – but inserts *testimonia* into the introductions to authors, and only the *fragmenta* represent a separate section with a numerical arrangement.<sup>81</sup> There are also cases where Müller summarizes the content of the fragments in a section called *Argumentum*.<sup>82</sup> Under each FHG author section, fragments are arranged by fragmentary works and in a sequence that depends on historiographical and philological decisions of the editor.<sup>83</sup> Figure 1.10 shows the first page of the section about Hecataeus of Miletus with numbered fragments.<sup>84</sup> After the Greek title of a fragmentary work (e.g., Περίοδος γῆς) and a possible work section (e.g., Α. Εὐρώπη), there is the number of the fragment (e.g., 1), a reference to the witness of the fragment (e.g., Herodot. IV, 36), the text of the fragment itself extracted from the source text of the witness, and sometimes also

78 For a detailed description of the content of this edition, see section 4.1.

79 Examples of groups of authors are Dionysodorus Boeotus and Anaxis Boeotus (FHG II 84), who have only *testimonia* and not *fragmenta*, and the Andrones (FHG II 346–352: Andron Ephesius, Andron Tejus, Andron Halicarnassensis, and Andron Alexandrinus).

80 An example of an author without an introduction is Ptolemaeus Euergetes II (FHG III 186–189). Examples of authors without fragments are Cadmus Milesius (FHG II 2–4) and Psaon Plataeensis (FHG III 198).

81 Exceptions are Strabo Amasensis (FHG III 490–491), Dexippus Atheniensis (FHG III 667), Eunapius Sardianus (FHG IV 9–10), Priscus Panites (FHG IV 70), Malchus Philadelphensis (FHG IV 111–112), Petrus Patricius (FHG IV 183–184), and Bardesane (FHG V 61–62), who have separate sections entitled *Testimonia*. On different types of *testimonia* about authors and works, and on the problem of distinguishing between *testimonia* and *fragmenta*, see Laks (1997), part. 237: “La couple fragment/témoignage fait partie de l'appareil critique primaire de tous les historiens de l'Antiquité, quel que soit le domaine considéré.” A further example is the collection of the fragments of the Presocratic philosophers edited by Diels/Kranz (1959–1960), who separate not only *testimonia* (A: *Leben und Schriften*) and *fragmenta* (B: *Fragmente*), but also passages of texts influenced by fragmentary philosophers (C: *Imitationen*).

82 See Pherecydes (FHG I 70), Eunapius Sardianus (FHG IV 10–11), Priscus Panites (FHG IV 70–71), Malchus Philadelphensis (FHG IV 112), Petrus Patricius (FHG IV 184), and Menander Protector (FHG IV 200–201).

83 When fragments can't be attributed to a fragmentary work, they are collected in sections entitled *fragmenta incerta*, *fragmenta incertae sedis*, *fragmenta incertorum operum*, etc.

84 FHG I 1–31.



ical apparatus for the text of the *fragmenta*, excluding those fragments that are *excerpta* from manuscripts. Examples are Diodorus Siculus, Polybius, and Dionysus of Halicarnassus at the beginning of FHG II, Nicolaus of Damascus in FHG III, and John of Antioch in the appendix of FHG IV and in FHG V.<sup>89</sup> FHG I includes also the text of the *Marmor Parium* (with Latin translation, chronological table, and commentary) and the Greek text of the *Marmor Rosettanum* (with a French literal translation as well as a critical, historical, and archaeological commentary).<sup>90</sup> FHG V has a different structure because it is divided into two parts. The first part has fragments of Aristodemus, Eusebius, Priscus, John of Antioch, John Malalas, Critobulus, Photius, the author of the Periplus of the Euxine Sea, and Dionysius of Byzantium, while the second part has only the French translation of eleven authors with Greek and Syrian historical fragments preserved in Armenian sources.<sup>91</sup> Each volume of FHG I–IV has a *praefatio* (except for vol. III), an *index nominum et rerum*, an *index auctorum*, an *index titulorum*, and *addenda et corrigenda*. The two parts of FHG V have two distinct prefaces and final indices of names.<sup>92</sup>

The fifteen volumes of the first three parts of *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (FGrHist) were edited by Felix Jacoby and printed by the publisher Brill between 1923 and 1958: *Part I. Genealogie und Mythographie*, *Part II. Zeitgeschichte*, *Part III. Geschichte von Städten und Völkern (Horographie und Ethnographie)*.<sup>93</sup> Authors are numbered sequentially within groups arranged by literary genres, and the organization of the collection is much more complex than the *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* (FHG).<sup>94</sup> The FGrHist has a formal distinction between *testimonia* (T) and *fragmenta* (F), and the text of fragments is provided with a critical apparatus, but not with a translation into a modern language. Introductions to authors and commentaries to fragments are printed in separate volumes.<sup>95</sup> Jacoby groups fragments under work titles and book numbers, when this kind of information is available in the source texts, otherwise he

89 FHG II vii–xlii; FHG III 343–464; FHG IV 535–622; FHG V 27–39. On different kinds of authors and texts collected in the FHG, see section 4.3.1.1.

90 FHG I 533–590 and 1–42 (with a separate pagination at the end of the volume). On the two inscriptions and their inclusion in the DFHG project, see sections 4.5 and 4.6.

91 See pp. 158 ff.

92 A few additions and annotations to the FHG were published in a short text by Dorschel (1873).

93 A summary of the structure of the FGrHist by Mortimer Chambers is available at [http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1873-5363\\_boj\\_aorganisation\\_fgrhist](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1873-5363_boj_aorganisation_fgrhist).

94 See Jacoby (1909) (with an English translation in Jacoby (2015), which is based on Jacoby (1956) 16–63). On the life of Jacoby and his scholarly contribution, see the text of Mortimer Chambers at [http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1873-5363\\_boj\\_abiografie\\_jacoby](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1873-5363_boj_abiografie_jacoby). See also Chambers (2009) and other papers in Ampolo (2009) and Chávez Reino (2009).

95 FGrHist III B and its supplement (b) have also separate volumes of notes to commentaries of fragments.

classifies them as of uncertain location. He also prints with spaced-out letters those parts of the fragments that seem to be direct quotations.<sup>96</sup> Volumes are accompanied by introductions, tables of contents, *addenda, delenda* and *corrigenda*, cross-references, concordances with the FHG, and *indices auctorum*.<sup>97</sup> Commentaries of the collection are in German, except for the supplement of volume B of Part III which is in English (*A Commentary on the Ancient Historians of Athens*).<sup>98</sup>

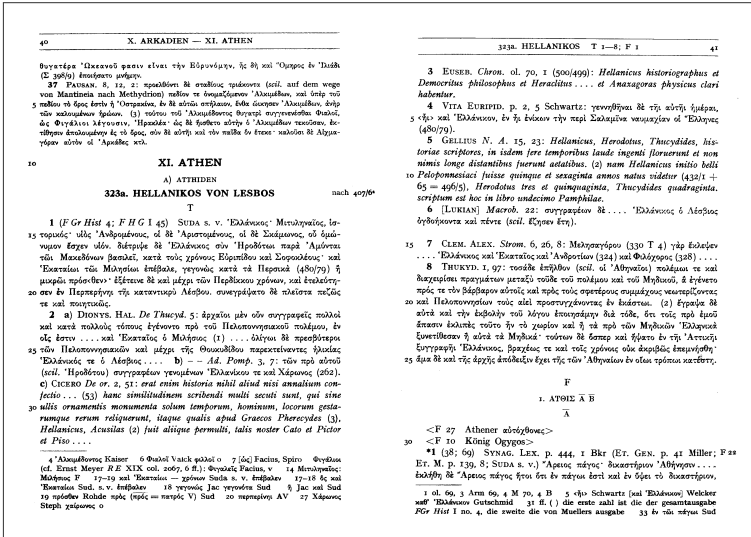


Figure 1.11. Hellanicus, FGrHist 323a 40–41

Figure 1.11 shows the first page of Hellanicus at the beginning of the section of the fragmentary local historians of Athens (FGrHist III B). In this part of the collection Hellanicus has the number 323a with 8 *testimonia* and 29 *fragmenta*. Testimonies and fragments of Hellanicus are also printed in other parts of the FGrHist because the author is classified according to different literary genres: nr. 4 (30 *testimonia* and 202 *fragmenta*) in FGrHist I (genealogy and mythography); nrr. 601a (2 *fragmenta*), 608a (7 *fragmenta*), 645a (1 *fragmentum*), and 687a (3 *testimonia* and 11 *fragmenta*) in FGrHist III (under local histories of Thessaly, Egypt, and Persia). In these different sections, the same source texts that preserve *testimo-*

96 On the editorial practices of the FGrHist, see [http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1873-5363\\_boj\\_aeditorial\\_practices](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1873-5363_boj_aeditorial_practices).

97 Further additions and notes to the FGrHist have been provided by Mette (1978), Mette (1979–1980), and Mette (1985). Complete indices of fragmentary historians and source texts of FGrHist fragments have been published by Bonnechère (1999) with description and review by Marincola (2000).

98 As a companion to this part of the FGrHist, see Jacoby (1949). On the genesis of this volume, see Chambers (1990).

nia and *fragmenta* of Hellanicus are frequently printed more than once because their evidence covers different categories devised by Jacoby for classifying ancient Greek fragmentary historians.<sup>99</sup> This situation is reflected in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (TLG) online, which follows the printed edition of the FGrHist and therefore reprints the same source texts when repeated by Jacoby in different parts of his collection.<sup>100</sup> Going back to figure 1.11, information in round brackets after the number of *testimonia* and *fragmenta* includes cross-references to other fragments in the FGrHist and correspondences with fragment numbers of the FHG. Lines of the texts of fragments are numbered and referenced to in the critical apparatus at the bottom of the page. Further elements in the page may include fragmentary work titles and book numbers (in ancient Greek), and chronological data.

40	1002 STESIMBROTOS OF THASOS T 1-5; F 1	41	1002 STESIMBROTOS OF THASOS T 1-5; F 1
<b>1002 (= 107). Stesimbrotos of Thasos</b> (c. 470–425 B.C.)		<b>1002 (= 107). Stesimbrotos of Thasos</b> (c. 470–425 B.C.)	
T		T	
1	Platt. <i>Gn.</i> 4.3: Σπριμβρότος ὁ Ἰθιώσις περὶ τὸν αἰῶνα ὀνόματι τὴν χρόνον τῆς Κίμωνος γενεῶν (cf. F 4).	1	Stesimbrotos of Thasos, a close contemporary of Kimon's.
2	Αἴτιον. 13.56 p. 588f: Σπριμβρότος ὁ Ἰθιώσις ἱστορεῖ, κατὰ τοὺς αἰῶνας ἀπὸρ (sc. Περικλέα) χρόνους γεννημένος καὶ εὐρακῆς αἰῶνος, ἐν τῷ	2	As recorded by Stesimbrotos of Thasos, a contemporary of his (sc. Perikles) who had seen him, in his book entitled <i>On Themistokles, Thukydides and Perikles</i> .
5	Ἐπιγραφομένων Περὶ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ Θουκυδίδου καὶ Περικλέους (cf. F 10a).	3	In my opinion I am the best speaker of all men on Homer, and neither Metrodoros of Lampakos, nor Stesimbrotos of Thasos nor Glaukon or anybody else, who has ever lived, could express so many and such beautiful thoughts on Homer as I can.
3	Platt. <i>Ion</i> 330c-d: ὁμοίαι καλλίστου ἀνδρώματος λέγεται περὶ Ὀμήρου, ὅς οἷσις Μετροδόρος ὁ Ἀμαρνακῶν οἷσις Σπριμβρότος ὁ Ἰθιώσις οἷσις Γλαυκὼν (FHG III IV B) οἷσις ἄλλος οὐδεὶς τὸν πάμποτε γεννημένων ἔσχεν εἶπαι οἷσις πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ διακίνας περὶ Ὀμήρου δόξας ἔχειν.	4	Do you know a more foolish kind of people than the reciters of epic poems? – But you (sc. Nikeratos) gave Stesimbrotos and Anaximandros and many others much money with the intention, that nothing of great value should escape your notice.
4	Κίμν. <i>Ἰσθμ.</i> 3.6: οἰσθεὶς τι σὺν ἔθνος ... φιλοπότερον ποιεῖσθε ... εἰς δέ (sc. Νεκταρος) Σπριμβρότος τε καὶ Ἀναξίμανδρος (FHG III 9 T 2) καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ πολὺ δέδωκεν ἀργύρου, οἷσις οὐδέν σε πᾶν πολλοῦ ὀλίγων λέγῃσθε.	5	Anaximachos: A man from Kolophon ... some authors – completely mistaken in their opinion – wrote that he was a servant of Panyasis the poet; for he was his and Stesimbrotos' disciple.
5	Suda A 2681 s.v.: Ἀντίμαχος Κολοφώνιος ... τινὲς δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἔτι σὺν ἀνέγραψαν Πανυσίδος τοῦ ποιητοῦ, πᾶν μυσώμενον. ἦν γὰρ αἰσίου ἀκούστης καὶ Σπριμβρότου.		
F		F	
1. ΠΕΡΙ ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΘΟΥΚΥΔΙΔΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙΚΛΕΟΥΣ (F 1-11)		1. ON THEMISTOKLES, THUKYDIDES AND PERIKLES	
1	[= FHG II p. 52 F 1] Platt. <i>Thon.</i> 2.5-6: Καίτοι Σπριμβρότος ἀποδοξάζει τὸν φυσικὸν, οἷσις εἰ τὰς χρόνους ἀπαγωγῆς Περικλέα γὰρ, ἵς πᾶσι νοήσας ἢ Θεμιστοκλέους, Μελίσιον μὲν ἀνεπηρώτητον παλαιώτατον Σπρίσιον, Ἀναξίμαχος δὲ σπουδαίωτος. Μίλλων οὐκ ἐν ἐπι ἀποστρέφει καὶς Μεταρχίδας τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα καὶ Φραγκρίσιον ὄρασθε γενέσθαι λέγουσιν ἐκδ.	1	In spite of this Stesimbrotos asserts that Themistokles was a pupil of Anaxagoras and attended the lectures of Melissos the physicist. But here he is obviously mistaken in his date, for when Perikles, who was much younger than Themistokles, was besieging Samos, Melissos was the general who opposed him, while Anaxagoras was one of Perikles' intimate friends. For this reason it is easier to believe that writers who say that Themistokles was an admirer of Melissos, a member of the same deme of Platæa.
* Platæaen coll.: <i>Diutius Syntaxis</i>			

Figure 1.12. FGrHist Continued IV A, Fascicle 140–41

Given that Felix Jacoby didn't finish his monumental work, this task has been inherited by other scholars. Charles Fornara published the first fascicle of the commentary to FGrHist III C,<sup>101</sup> Pierre Bonnechère compiled the indices to FGrHist I–III,<sup>102</sup> while an international team has been working on publishing two other parts of the collection which were planned by Jacoby but never accomplished

99 For example *Suda* [E 739] s.v. Ἑλλάνικος is T 1 in both FGrHist 4 and 323a. The text of Harpocr. s.v. Παναθηναία is printed both as 4 F 39 and as 323a F 2. Athen., *Deipn.* 15.25 (= 679f–680c) is printed as 4 F 54–55 and as 608a F 2.

100 On this problem for dealing with fragmentary texts in digital libraries, see p. 55.

101 Fornara (1994).

102 Bonnechère (1999).

(FGrHist Continued): Part IV on *Biography and Antiquarian Literature* edited by Guido Schepens and Stefan Schorn, and Part V on *Die Geographen* edited by Hans-Joachim Gehrke and Felix Maier. A few fascicles of Part IV have been already published as printed volumes, while the rest is currently being made available online before the final printed publication.<sup>103</sup> The online publication is part of the *Jacoby Online* project that includes also the *Brill's New Jacoby* (BNJ) edited by Ian Worthington, which is a “fully-revised and enlarged edition” of the FGrHist.<sup>104</sup> One of the aims of the continuation of Jacoby’s FGrHist is to make more accessible the philological and historiographical complexity of textual remains of fragmentary authors. This is one of the reasons why fascicles of Part IV have an English translation of each fragment, and commentaries and notes are printed together with *testimonia* and *fragmenta* and not in separate volumes (fig. 1.12).<sup>105</sup> To distinguish the FGrHist Continued from the work of Jacoby, numbering of authors of FGrHist Part IV starts from 1000 and numbers of authors of FGrHist Part V starts from 2000.<sup>106</sup>

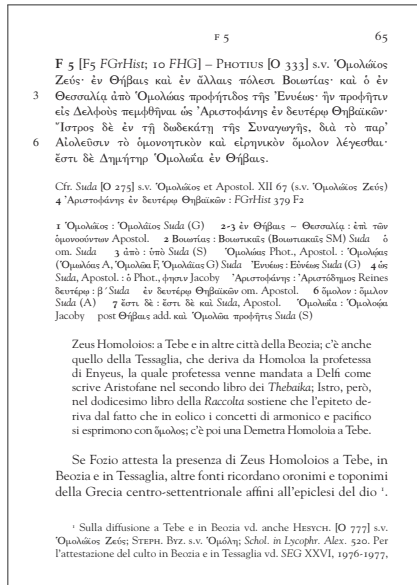


Figure 1.13. *I Frammenti degli Storici Greci*: Istro il Callimacheo, 65

103 Cf. Schepens (1997) and Schepens (1998).

104 Worthington (2005). See section 2.1.2 on the *Jacoby Online*, the BNJ, and the CD-ROM version of the FGrHist.

105 See Schepens (1998) xii–xiv, who describes also the three typographical styles used for distinguishing 1) verbatim excerpts (expanded modus, *Sperrdruck*), 2) paraphrase or an indirect or abridged reference (normal typeface), and 3) doubtful parts (*petit druck*).

106 Schepens (1998) xiv.



The Italian series *I Frammenti degli Storici Greci* directed by Eugenio Lanzillotta is publishing monographs on single authors and sections originally collected by Felix Jacoby in the FGrHist.<sup>107</sup> The books of the series follow the traditional way of publishing fragmentary texts in printed editions. They include a distinction between *testimonia* and *fragmenta*, which are accompanied by *loci paralleli*, a critical apparatus, a translation into Italian, and a historical commentary. The ancient text of testimonies and fragments is provided with an extensive context, in order to help readers understand the reasons of the textual reuse.<sup>108</sup> Commentaries have footnotes and volumes include also bibliographies, concordances, and indices of names and sources.<sup>109</sup> In general, *testimonia* and *fragmenta* follow the sequence of the FGrHist, but the goal of the series is to supplement and extend whenever possible the work of Jacoby by reviewing his work and adding new fragments discovered after his publication.<sup>110</sup> Figure 1.13 shows an example of one of the fragments of Istros the Callimachean.<sup>111</sup> The number of the fragment is always accompanied, when available, by a reference to the corresponding number of the FGrHist and of the FHG. Given the amount of witnesses for each fragmentary author and given that the scope of the series is to provide historical commentaries, the critical apparatus is not based on new examinations of manuscripts, papyri, and other primary sources, but on a selection of the most important readings published in other editions.<sup>112</sup> The goal of the historical commentary is to focus on the context of the fragment and on the roles of the quoting author who has preserved it.

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107 Lanzillotta (2009).

108 On the importance of the context of fragmentary texts, see section 2.3.

109 For a discussion of the characteristics of the printed volume of Berti (2009b), see sections 2.1.3 and 2.2.

110 Lanzillotta (2009) 289 and 292.

111 Berti (2009b) 65.

112 This is the same editorial criterion followed for the fascicles of FGrHist Continued Part IV: see Schepens (1998) xiii.