

Presenting Fragments as Quotations or Quotations as Fragments

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Abstract: In this paper, we shall present some reflections on issues that arise when scholars prepare new editions of fragmentarily preserved works from antiquity. Our focus will be on those fragments that are transmitted as quotations in other extant texts from antiquity. In such cases, the textual sequences considered as fragments have to be dealt with in a particular way, as they are the results of several selection processes that have not been taken into account adequately previously. A digital approach provides better means to represent this special form of fragments, so that the complexity of the transmission of these pieces of evidence can be understood more accurately.

1. Introduction

The issues dealt with in this contribution originated from questions that were at the center of a research project, which was mainly carried out at the University of Hamburg, but which could also benefit, during a Marie Curie Fellowship, from much input provided by the Department of Digital Humanities at King's College London. The aim of the project consisted in investigating a fragmentarily preserved work from antiquity with the ultimate goal to prepare a new digital edition of the remaining evidence. A large part of our investigations turned out to be dedicated to the question of what a fragment is and how the answer to this question would influence the process of editing fragmentarily texts in the future. Moreover, this question had to be approached from a particular angle, as the work, on which our project focused, was preserved only through quotations made by later authors. The preserved evidence from the lost work did not have the form of a broken piece that can be studied, as for instance an inscription engraved on a stone that later was broken. It should, on the contrary, be seen as a textual sequence that has been embedded as quotation in a second text and was then transmitted as part of this second text. This situation is of particular interest with regard to two editorial issues, for which a digital approach brings new solutions. The first, as mentioned, touches on the definition of the term „fragment“ and its status as object of research, whereas the second deals with the arrangement of these items in a new digital edition and the consequences this has for our understanding of the work under discussion. We shall discuss both aspects, but before doing so, we would like to add a few preliminary remarks about the author we are dealing with, as the peculiarities of our case study may have some influence on our approach, even if the two questions, which are at the center of our investigation, have a much broader scope.

2. The historical context of our case study

Demetrius of Scepsis is a scholar from the 2nd century BCE, who is roughly contemporaneous with Aristarchus of Samos and Crates of Mallos, two of the most influential scholars in Hellenistic times.¹ He lived and worked in Asia Minor, either in his hometown Scepsis or in the Library of Pergamon.² His main field of research was Homeric scholarship and he wrote a detailed commentary on a special part of the Homeric text, the so-called Catalogue of Trojans, the enumeration, given in book 2 of the *Iliad*, of the warriors fighting on the Trojan side in the famous Trojan War.³ According to ancient testimonia Demetrius' work was a huge exegetical treatise, extending over 30 books.⁴ However, today only 76 rather short fragments are preserved, which is one of the difficulties in our task here.⁵ In order to understand Demetrius' work today we have to find a way to bridge the gap between the few items, which were preserved, and the voluminous original work, which they should represent. The title of the work, however, is fairly well attested as ὁ Τρωϊκὸς διάκοσμος (*ho troikos diakosmos*) and gives a good starting point, as it refers to the part of the Homeric text, on which Demetrius was commenting. The two Homeric catalogues (the Catalogue of Ships and the Catalogue of Trojans) are indeed either refers to by ὁ κατάλογος (*ho katalogos*) or by ὁ διάκοσμος (*ho diakosmos*), so that the title of Demetrius' work emphasizes the link between his own work and the text he wanted to explain. With this in mind, we may now proceed to our two questions: (1) what kind of witness of the original work is a fragment when this textual sequence is a quotation preserved in a subsequent work and (2) how should these pieces of evidence been arranged, so that a modern reader may have an idea about the original work, despite the indirectness and fragmentation of our modern access to the ancient work.

3. The status of quotations as witnesses about an ancient work

When a work, like the one by Demetrius, is preserved indirectly, which means only in form of quotations made by later authors, the editorial work starts from a different point than when scholars work on pieces of evidence that came down, even in a broken form, from Antiquity (e.g. inscriptions and papyri, or entirely preserved medieval manuscripts of a given work). In the case of a fragmentarily preserved work, the editorial process does not start with the transcription of a set of (medieval) manuscripts, or of an original document from Antiquity (inscriptions and papyri). In the case of collections of quotations, the editorial work most often starts with the study of previous editions of the texts, in which the quotations were embedded. This means that the analysis is based on critical editions of extant ancient texts, from which only very few parts are relevant.⁶ Therefore, there is often more than one source-text involved and the fragments of a given work have to be gathered from several source-texts. In this case, it is not possible to study the history of transmission of all of the source-texts involved, before

1 Str. 13.1.55 [C 609], and Montanari (2015) 641–672 and Montana (2015) 60–183.

2 Montanari (1993) 651–652.

3 Il. 2.816–877. This part of the Homeric text is considered as the smaller counterpart to the Catalogue of Ships, which is the enumeration of the Achaean participants in the Trojan War (Il. 2.494–759).

4 Str. 13.1.45 [C603].

5 See the collection made by Biraschi (2011) (= FGrHist 2013).

6 These critical editions are those that are based on the deciphering of medieval manuscripts and of other objects from Antiquity.

focusing on the fragments of the given author, in which one is interested. For Demetrius, this would for instance mean that the editor would have to edit first works with extremely difficult histories of transmission such as Strabo's *Geography*, Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistai* or the scholia to the *Iliad* before focusing on Demetrius, which would be a completely different task, and this not only because of the length of the task.⁷ Therefore, when a scholar plans to establish a new edition of a fragmentarily preserved work – and in particular in the case of a digital edition –, two questions should be addressed with regard to this special state of preservation:

(1) How to represent texts which are not based on the transcription of a set of manuscripts or on original documents from Antiquity, but on previous editions themselves based on critical editions of ancient texts.⁸

(2) How to represent as accurately as possible the links between the preserved quotations in a given source-text and the source-text itself, as these textual sequences are more or less close renderings of an initial lost piece.

This second question raises a very important point we should bear in mind when dealing with fragments of works that were transmitted through quotations. Up to now, editions of such kind of works frequently created the illusion that they are reconstructions of a lost work. Nonetheless, we need to remain aware of the fact that, however complete these editions may be, they are only collections of either statements about these works, which are gathered under the heading of *testimonia*, or more or less close renderings of passages from the original work, which passed through the mind and/or writing-process of the second, quoting author.⁹

However, a further aspect a scholar has to take into account, when dealing with fragmentarily preserved texts, has to be added to these two initial questions. Most of the time, when studying an author whose work is lost, the editorial work has also to take into account one or several previous modern editions of the same work.¹⁰ However, modern editors do often not agree with regard to editorial choices about a given textual sequence, which is accounted for as a fragment of a given work. Therefore, if several modern editions of fragmentarily preserved works exist, they often differ considerably with regard to the appearance or non-appearance in the collection of a given textual sequence, the way these pieces of evidence should be edited and presented or about the length the textual sequences should have. Therefore, a further question should be addressed when dealing with fragments:

(3) How to keep visible for the modern reader the choices made by modern scholars/editors in the editorial process.

7 The fragments of Demetrius' work are preserved in: Strabo (1st century BCE–1st century CE); Athenaeus, Pausanias and Harpocration (2nd century CE); Hesychius (5th or 6th century CE); Stephanus of Byzantium (6th century CE); Eustathius and Tzetzes (12th century CE) and the scholia to the *Iliad*, those to Pindarus, to Euripides, to Apollonius Rhodius and to Theocritus.

8 The *digital Athenaeus* (<http://digitalatheneus.org>) is for instance a project that starts from an extant text, which contains many quotations (Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistai*) and edits it first before focusing on the quotations from other texts that it contains.

9 For a project addressing this issue, see the *Sharing Ancient Wisdoms (SAWS) Project* from King's College London (<http://www.ancientwisdoms.ac.uk/>).

10 For Demetrius of Scepsis, the list of previous editions/collections of the preserved fragments is composed by: Stiehle (1850), Stiehle (1851), Gaede (1880), Biraschi (2011) and Pagani (2016).

This third question should also remind us of another characteristic of fragments preserved in form of quotations. Their existence depends most of the time not only on the choices of ancient authors who decided to use pieces from them in their own works as quotations, but also on selections modern scholars made in ancient texts. They read the works, in which the quotations have been transmitted and decide which part of the initial text would be a fragment from a given author. Therefore, we have actually two selection processes to deal with when trying to edit fragmentarily preserved authors: first we should focus on the choices the ancient authors made. They had for instance Demetrius' entire work at their disposal and could select those passages from his book, which seemed relevant for their own argumentation; in a second step, we should also analyze the decisions modern editors make when extracting these pieces again out of their transmitted context.¹¹ Therefore, we should remain aware of the fact that, when taking the form of quotations, fragments have no independent existence and should be represented within their context, so that the reader can take account of this intermediary status. From this point of view, it becomes obvious that the link between the textual sequence, which an editor decided to consider as evidence from a lost work, and the source-text, in which it was preserved as a quotation should be maintained, when one attempts to gather all pieces of evidence from a lost work. This procedure would indeed enable an editor to express, not only the ancient authors' choices, but also the ones made by his modern predecessors.

To sum up, with regard to the three issues concerning editions of fragmentarily preserved works that we just mentioned, two characteristics about the way the evidence from these works has been preserved should be made visible when establishing a new (digital) edition. First, it should remain clear that their existence depends on two kinds of choices: the one from ancient authors who selected passages from a previously written work to use them in their own text and the one from modern scholars who decide which part from an entirely preserved text could be interpreted as a quotation from another work. Secondly, as the source-text, in which the quotations are made, is crucial for the transmission of the pieces of evidence from the lost text,¹² the establishing of the wording of the fragments depend on two steps, which are carried out by two different scholars, or group of scholars: the editors (1) dealing with the fragments will build on the work the scholars (2) who edited the source-text have done. This situation creates some problems with regard to these two methodological steps, as an „edition“ of a fragmentarily preserved text does not mean the same as an „edition“ of an entirely preserved text. There is for instance less need for the deciphering of the original document or for a diplomatic transcription of the writing it bears. The work for an edition of a fragmentarily preserved work starts, as mentioned above, directly with the critical editions of the source-texts, as previous scholars have established them. But, as a matter of fact, there is often more than one edition of a work from Antiquity, so we have the following situation:

11 Trachsel (2012) 415–429.

12 This is particularly visible when scholars use the concept of „cover text“ to define a source-text, in which the quotations are preserved. For this concept (a cover text conceals, protects and encloses a textual sequence from a previous work) and its implications for collections of fragments, see Schepens (1997) 144–172, Schepens (2000) 1–29, Lenfant (2002) 415–477, Lenfant (2013) 289–305, Berti (2012) 439–458, and Berti (2013) 269–288.

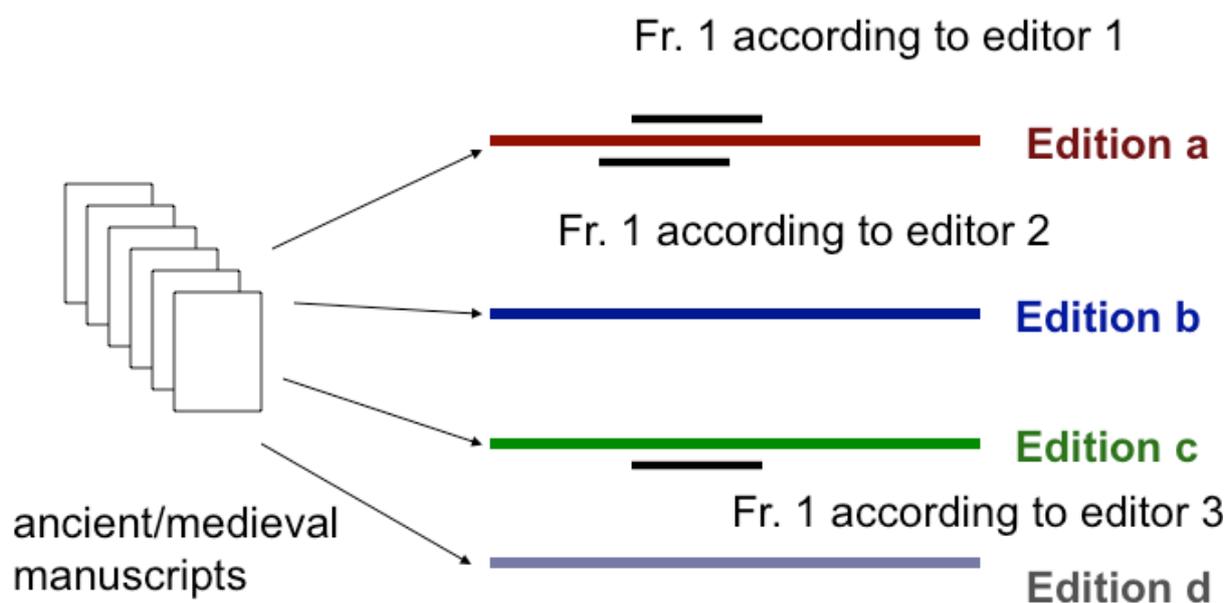


Figure 1: Edition a, b, c, d: the different modern editions of an extant work (source-text); Fr. 1 (according to editor 1, 2, 3): the choices made by the editors of a collection of fragments about a textual sequence that could count as fragment of a lost work.

This representation shows the most basic case, when editor 2, in this case not the editor of the source-text, but the one of the collection of fragments, may have used the same edition of the source-text as editor 1 (who made a previous edition of the same collection of fragments), but did not agree about his or her choice when it come to the decision about which part from the source-text belongs to the quoted author. Then, editor 3, who again works on the same collection of fragments, but a few years after editor 2, may agree with either editor 1 or ²¹³ about the choices they made in the text about the part, which belongs to Demetrius, but he or she may have used a different edition of the source-text¹⁴ and then still have a rather different text for fragment 1.

Often, however, the situation is more complex, as for instance an utterance, which is believed to belong to a lost work, is composed of two textual sequences that have been transmitted in two different ancient works. In this case, because the passages from the two different source-texts are almost similar in their content or wording, editors believe that it was the same passage from the original work, which was used in two different ways in Antiquity, most of the time by two different scholars, (which we call ancient work 1 and ancient work 2 in the illustration below) and therefore got, from the beginning, two different renderings.

¹³ In our schema editor 3 agrees with editor 1.

¹⁴ Here it is edition c, which is used. This may be a more recent edition of the extant source-text, in which the quotations are preserved, or one that editor 3 considers more accurate, because of his or her own scholarly background, than the other editions.

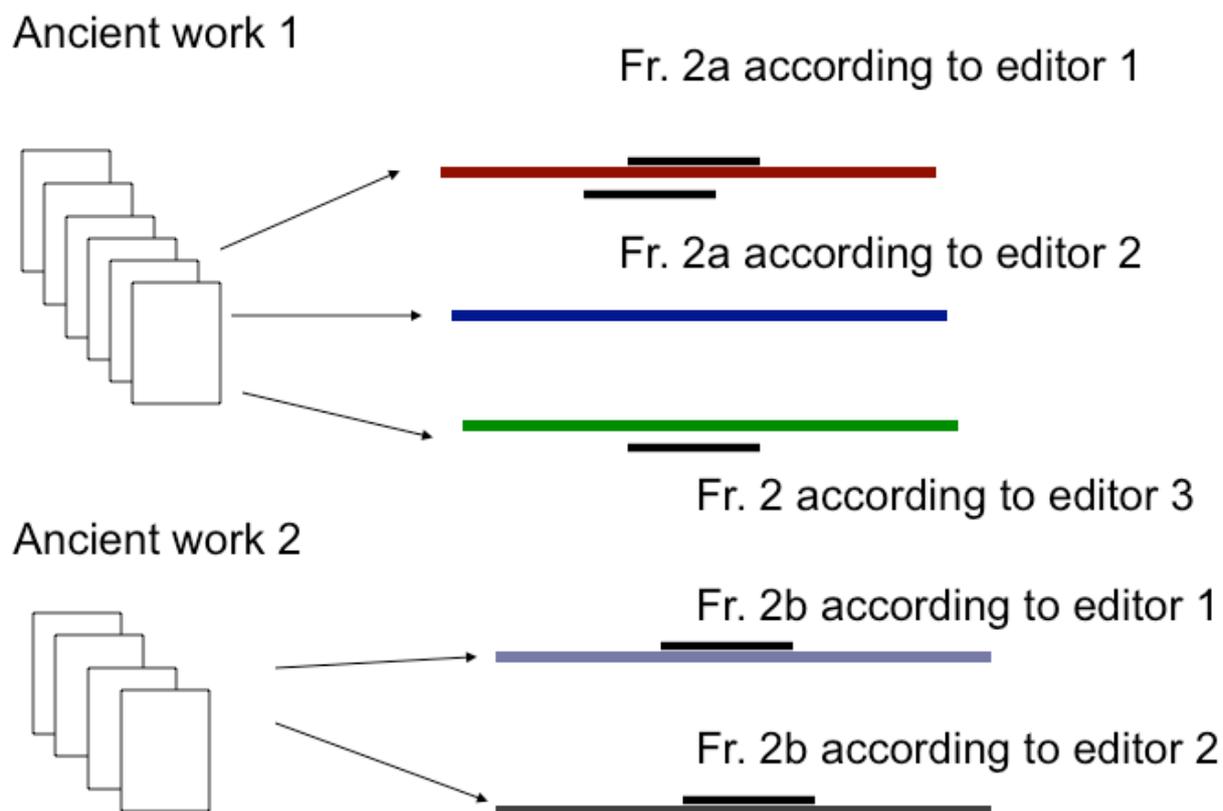


Figure 2: Editor 1 and editor 2 compose the fragment from the lost work from two textual sequences taken from two different ancient works (Fr. 2a and Fr. 2b). Editor 3, on the contrary, argues that only the passage from ancient work 1 is a witness of the lost work. He or she dismisses the evidence from ancient work 2.

This situation is, however, not the same as saying fragment 1 is from source-text A whereas fragment 2 is from source-text B. That would mean that, even if the two fragments (or quotations) are from the same lost work, they come from different places within this book. For instance one comes from the beginning whereas the other comes from the end. In this case, the two fragments can be quite different in their content and not be linked to each other. In the case that is illustrated by the schema, the two pieces are believed to illustrate exactly the same passage of the lost work, but preserved in different renderings.

In some cases, the link between the wording of fragment 2a and fragment 2b is obvious and there is no difficulty to believe that they come from the same passage. In other cases, however, the link one editor sees between two texts is more controversial, especially when there is, for instance, no name appearing in one of the fragments, or if fragment 2b is rather short or comes from a work for which the history of transmission is in itself complex. This aspect is represented in the schema by editor 3, who dismisses the evidence from the second ancient work in opposition to editor 1 and editor 2. He or she only considers the textual sequence from ancient work 1 as a witness from the lost work.

This complexity of the modern choices about the accuracy of a preserved textual sequence to represent an extract from a lost work makes it even more relevant to represent these modern choices in a new digital edition of a collection of fragments. Moreover, the two cases just presented should also have shown how peculiar the status of a fragment of a lost work is. It becomes obvious from these considerations that a fragment, if it has been preserved as a quotation, becomes a cluster of different renderings which are sometimes assembled from very different ancient works in which they have been preserved in very different forms. Moreover, the relations between the supposed wording of the original work and the several preserved

renderings, as well as the relations between the different renderings, may be quite different and has to be defined by the editor in order to establish how accurately the preserved textual sequence may represent the original work. All these questions challenge the more traditional view that a fragment of a lost work is a well-defined textual sequence, which is supposed to reflect the original state of this work and which can be detached from the context, in which it has been preserved, and printed as an independent body of text in a collection of fragments. These questions could, however, be taken into account when using new digital tools to establish such editions of fragmentarily preserved works.¹⁵

4. The arrangement of the fragments once they have been defined

Once the textual sequences have been defined as belonging to a given lost work, the editor has to face still another difficulty, namely the one of arranging the selected passages in the collection he or she wants to establish. This further choice, even if this seems trivial, may have considerable effects on the way the work will be perceived by modern readers and has therefore not to be neglected.

In the case of Demetrius of Scepsis, this question of arrangement or ordering of the fragments in a collection is particularly important. First, as mentioned above, we have kept only very few fragments from his work and, because of this small number of evidence, we are no longer able to reconstruct the original structure of the work. We rely, therefore, entirely on modern opinions with regard to this question. Secondly, because of this lack of evidence, the ways modern editors arranged the fragments differ widely from one collection to the other and they provide completely different perceptions of the work. In our case of the fragments of Demetrius' work, the first editor, Richard Gaede,¹⁶ arranged most of the fragments according to a geographical principle. His choice is explained by the fact that the German scholar took Strabo's *Geography* as his starting point, as the largest amount of fragments from Demetrius' work was preserved in this source-text. Strabo was a geographer, who described the regions he was interested in according to a spatial representation. For instance, during his description of the Troad in book 13 of his *Geography*, the part, in which Demetrius is most frequently quoted by Strabo, the geographer follows an outline, which goes from North to South and from East to West. Moreover, he first describes the seashore before giving details about the interior of the land. In this description, Strabo quotes Demetrius as a valuable source, whenever he finds his work relevant for the point he wants to make. Gaede took account of this situation, when preparing his collection of the fragments from Demetrius' work. He collected and numbered the passages from Strabo's text defined as quotations of Demetrius' work according to their occurrence in the Strabonian account. Moreover, the modern scholar gave them a somewhat disproportional weight, as he decided to subordinate fragments coming from source-texts other than Strabo to this structuring principle. This means that the other witnesses about Demetrius' work were added rather independently either before the core elements from Strabo or after.¹⁷ This procedure highlights the geographical content of Demetrius' work and led subsequent scholars

15 See Romanello (2009) 155–174, Romanello (2011) 147–155, and Berti (2009) 259–262 for the present state of research.

16 Gaede (1880).

17 For instance all the fragments coming from Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistai* are given before those coming from Strabo's *Geography*. This is explained by the fact that, despite their smaller number, they all contain some indications about the place within Demetrius' work from where they were taken.

to classify Demetrius' work as a mainly geographical treatise.¹⁸ However, other arrangements are possible: some scholars have ordered the fragments from Demetrius' work according to the chronological order of the authors who quoted Demetrius.¹⁹ Finally, a third solution would highlight the link between Demetrius' work and the Homeric text, which he wanted to explain. Such an approach would allow us to take into account the fact that Demetrius' work was most probably a commentary-like exposition of the scholar's statements, which followed, in its structure, the outline of the Catalogue of Trojans.²⁰ Moreover, such an additional layer, which is based on the outline of a well-defined part of the Homeric text rather than on a map, would enable us to explore a richer way of interpreting Demetrius' goals, which would probably offer a more accurate understanding of Demetrius' work. However, with such an approach, there are again several difficulties, which must first be resolved. For instance, we would need to decide which fragments could be linked to which word or verse of the Homeric text. For some of the fragments such a link is easy to find, especially for those mentioning explicitly toponyms occurring in the Catalogue of Trojans or those about textual criticism for a given line.²¹ For other fragments, the situation is more difficult. Sometimes the line or the word, on which Demetrius is commenting, does not come from the Catalogue of Trojans.²² In still other cases, the topic dealt with in the preserved fragment can not be linked to any of the lines from the Homeric texts, neither to those of the *Iliad* nor to the ones of the *Odyssey*.²³ In order to explain both situations, we must consider two hypotheses. In the first, we must assume that in some of his comments Demetrius quoted passages, which came from other parts of the Homeric texts than the Catalogue of Trojans. In the second, we should postulate that only the parts of his comments, which did not contain the link to the Homeric text, were preserved. Indeed, to explain the first case, we must hypothesize that a later author, who reused Demetrius' work, extracted from Demetrius' long comment on a given line of the Catalogue of Trojans a textual sequence, which deals with a passage that came from a different part of the Homeric text. In Demetrius' comment this may only have been a secondary point, but for the quoting author these parts were more interesting, so that he or she selected it for his own text. The explanation for the second hypothesis is similar. In this case, the author, who quoted from Demetrius' work, was interested in a detail from Demetrius' comment, which came for instance from an excursus made by Demetrius in his comment. This portion of the text may have been quite independent from the main point of Demetrius' comment and completely unrelated to the Homeric text. But, as we kept in the quotation once again only the issues selected by the quoting author, we do no longer see how these elements were used in the original comment.

Another difficulty arises when more than one word in the Homeric text can be linked to the topic developed in one fragment, or if a word, which is dealt with in a fragment, is mentioned more than once in the Homeric text. In both cases, even if the link between the word, or the place name, and the content of the fragment is clearly established, there still remains some ambiguity about which of the occurrences in the Homeric text should be taken as entry for the comment

18 This is the reason why Demetrius appears for instance in volume 5 of the continuation project of Jacoby's *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (= FGrHist) dedicated to geography. See Gehrke (2016).

19 Müller (1851) 382 (= FHG) and Pagani (2016). This procedure does not take account of the structure of the original work, but emphasizes the history of transmission.

20 This is the ordering pattern Stiehle (1850) 535 follows.

21 E.g. fr. 20 [Gaede/Biraschi] = Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀρίσβη (α 426 [Billerbeck]) about *Il.* 2.836; fr. 44 [Gaede/Biraschi] = Str. 14.5.28 [C680] and fr. 45 [Gaede/Biraschi] = Str. 12.3.20–23 [C550–552] about *Il.* 2.856–857; fr. 55 [Gaede] (= fr. 55a [Biraschi]) = Str. 8.3.6 [C339] about *Il.* 2.839.

22 E.g. fr. 17 [Gaede] (= fr. 17a [Biraschi]) = Str. 10.5.19 [C489] about *Il.* 2.676–677, a line from the Catalogue of Ships; or fr. 75 [Gaede/Biraschi] (= Tzetz. *ad Lyc.* v. 530) about *Il.* 2.701, another line from the Catalogue of Ships.

23 E.g. fr. 6 [Gaede/Biraschi] = Athen. 15.697c; fr. 7 [Gaede/Biraschi] = Athen. 4.155b; fr. 9 [Gaede/Biraschi] = Athen. 3.80d; fr. 10 [Gaede/Biraschi] = Athen. 4.173f.

Demetrius gave. Furthermore, in some cases it is also important to take into consideration personal names, not only place names, as sometimes heroes are mentioned by a word that refers to the place where they are living, especially in the Catalogue of Trojans. For instance the Trojans and the Dardanians are people that are named by the place where they are living (e.g. Trojans means those from Troy and Dardanians those from Dardania). Furthermore, it is often only possible to link a fragment to the Homeric line through an action a hero performed in a given place, which is not mentioned in the Catalogue. For instance, the hero Pandarus, mentioned in *Il.* 2.827 of the Catalogue of Trojans, goes to the river Scamandros, which is not mentioned in the Catalogue, and encounters there another hero. Demetrius may have been interested in explaining the setting of the river Scamandros, but does it when the name of Pandarus occurs in the Catalogue of Trojans. In this case, in order to find a link between the preserved textual sequence and the Homeric text, we have not only to look for the name of the Scamandros, which may or may not occurring in the Catalogue of Trojans, but also for the one of Pandarus. Finally, there will certainly be cases, where it is simply not possible to decide. Especially in the fragments, which come from source-texts other than Strabo, the topic is often completely unrelated to the Homeric text.²⁴ Therefore, for a large majority of the fragments, it will be problematic to establish such a link to the Homeric text and the degree of certainty about such attributions should be expressed and made visible to the reader who may decide for himself if he wants to accept the editor's choice or not. In a digital edition, the presentation of such competing arrangement is certainly possible. In this case, not only the choices underlying this third way of arranging the fragments would remain visible, but also the two other options concerning the ordering of the fragments, the one emphasizing the geographical aspect of Demetrius' work (Gaede) and the one highlighting the history of transmission (Müller/Pagani).

5. Conclusion

In this discussion, we attempted to show, by presenting two issues that are at the centre of the editorial work about fragmentarily preserved texts, that, because of the many assumptions that guide an editor when establishing a collection of fragments, a new edition should explore nowadays the additional possibilities of digital tools in order to take account of these scholarly choices and to present them to the future reader. In the first part, we focused on the question of how a textual sequence preserved in a source-text may be interpreted as a piece of evidence from a lost work and what status this textual sequence may have when seen as a fragment from this lost work. In this context, the editorial choices concern either the length of the passage defined as fragment, or the wording of this passage, as the textual sequence may be rendered differently in various editions of the source-text. In the second part, the editorial choices about the content were dealt with. Depending on how a modern scholar interprets the content of a passage defined as a fragment he may opt for another arrangement of the fragments and creates, in doing so, a different image of Demetrius' work. Therefore, because of these many choices, on which an edition of a fragmentarily preserved text is based, we would gain much if it would be possible not only to give the most accurate reconstruction of this work, but also to present the scholarly choices, which lead to this description. This combination would certainly be one of the biggest advantages of a digital edition in comparison to a more traditional one.

24 E.g. fr. 3 [Gaede/Biraschi] = Athen. 14.658b; fr. 4 [Gaede/Biraschi] = Harpocr. s.v. Θυργωνίδα; fr. 69 [Gaede/Biraschi] = Harpocr. s.v. Ἴου; fr. 72 [Gaede/Biraschi] = Athen. 2.44e; fr. 73 [Gaede/Biraschi] = Athen. 4.167d.

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