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A few remarks on the evolution of the manuscript tradition related to the epitome of Theodore Lector's *Church history*

Uwagi o kształtowaniu się tradycji rękopiśmiennej epitomy *Historii Kościoła* Teodora Lektora

Streszczenie: Artykuł jest poświęcony tradycji rękopiśmiennej epitomy *Historii Kościoła* Teodora Lektora, pochodzącej z początku VII w. Autor analizuje wzajemne zależności między czterema zachowanymi fragmentarycznie rękopisami *Epitome* i konfrontuje je z *Listem* mnicha Kaliksta do metropolity Tesaloniki Manuela, napisanym w 1276 r., wysuwając tezę, że autorowi tego listu prawdopodobnie znany był pełny tekst *Epitome*, a zatem przetrwał on do drugiej połowy XIII w. W artykule zawarte zostały też sugestie dotyczące korekt *stemma codicum* epitomy, zaproponowanych przez Günthera Christiana Hansena w jego wydaniu krytycznym *Historii Kościoła* Teodora Lektora.

Słowa kluczowe: *Historia Kościoła* Teodora Lektora, *Epitome*, *List* mnicha Kaliksta

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Abstract: The article is focused on examining the manuscript tradition of the early 7th-century epitome of Theodore Lector's *Church history*. The author analyzes the correlations among the four partially surviving manuscripts of the *Epitome*, confronts those preserved fragments with the monk Kallistos' *Epistle* (1276) addressed to Manuel, the metropolitan bishop of Thessalonica, and goes on to propose that the author of the document should have been familiar with the complete text of the *Epitome* (therefore, as it appears, the text must have remained in existence up until as late as the second half of the 13th century). Furthermore, the article includes a number of suggestions on possible emendations of the epitome's *stemma codicum* proposed by Günther Christian Hansen in his critical edition of Theodore Lector's *Church history*.

Keywords: *Church history* by Theodore Lector, *Epitome*, *Epistle* by monk Kallistos

The partially preserved Church history is known primarily from its *Epitome*, i.e., an anonymous abridgement dating from the early 7th century. It forms part of a broader collection of excerpted works which consists of excerpts of the ecclesiastical histories by Eusebius of Caesarea, Gelasius of Caesarea, Philip of Syde, and John Diakrinomenos as well as an extract of Theodore Lector's *Historia tripartita*.¹

The *Epitome* of Theodore's composition survives, in various forms, only in four manuscripts:

M = *Codex Parisinus suppl. gr.* 1156, fol. 26^r–29^v. A parchment manuscript, 19.2 × 29 cm, dated to 10th–11th century. It contains, in fol. 26^r–28^r, 25 pas-

¹ For more on the *Epitome*, see several articles by Bernard Pouderon: *Le codex Parisinus graecus 1555 A et sa recension de l'Épitomé byzantin: d'histoires ecclésiastiques*, "Revue des Études Byzantines" 1998, vol. 56, pp. 169–191; *Pour une évaluation de l'Épitomé anonyme d'histoires ecclésiastiques: confrontation des trois historiens sources, de la Tripartite de Théodore le Lecteur et de celle de Cassiodore*, "Travaux et Mémoires" 2014, vol. 18, pp. 527–545; *Théophane, témoin de l'Épitomé d'histoires ecclésiastiques, de Théodore le Lecteur ou de Jean Diakrinoméno?*, "Travaux et Mémoires" 2015, vol. 19, pp. 279–314, and *The Church histories of Theodore Lector and John Diakrinomenos*, ed. R. Kosiński, K. Twardowska, transl. A. Zabrocka, A. Szopa, Berlin 2021, pp. 232–240. In the present article, I have used the numeration according to the edition *The Church histories of Theodore Lector and John Diakrinomenos*, at the same time, the numeration according to Günther Christian Hansen's critical edition of 1995 is given in square brackets (Theodoros Anagnostes, *Kirchengeschichte*, ed. G. Ch. Hansen, 2nd ed., Berlin 1995).

sages from the *Epitome* of Theodore's work (all the rest is an epitome of John Diakrinomenos' history), of which nine are identical with the manuscript **P**, while seven with the **B**.²

P = *Codex Parisinus gr.* 1555 A, fol. 7^{rB}–20^{rA}. A paper manuscript written in two columns, 29 verses each, dated to the 13th–14th century. The codex consists of 10 + 194 folios.³ The pages 15^{vA}–20^{vA} contain 47 passages from the *Epitome* of Theodore's history.⁴

V = *Codex Athos Vatopedi* 286, fol. 91^r–218^r. A parchment manuscript, 22 × 30 cm, 19–22 verses on each page, dated to the 13th century. The codex consists of 305 folios.⁵ The pages 201^r–218^v contain 77 passages from the *Epitome* of Theodore's history, which are cut short at *Epitome* 110 [458].⁶

B = *Codex Baroccianus* 142, fol. 216^v–224^r and 236^v–240^r. A paper manuscript, 16.5 × 25 cm, 40–44 verses on each page, dated to the early 14th cen-

² For the circumstances of the **M** manuscript discovery, see E. Miller, *Fragments inédits de Théodore le Lecteur et de Jean d'Égée*, "Revue Archéologique" 1873, vol. 26, pp. 273–276. Physical description in: Theodoros Anagnostes, *Kirchengeschichte*, pp. xxiv–xxv. The manuscript was first published by Emmanuel Miller in 1873: E. Miller, *Fragments inédits*, pp. 273–288 (presentation of the manuscript and a translation), 396–403 (Greek text).

³ For a description of the manuscript's contents, see H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale*, vol. 2, Paris 1888, pp. 93–94; Theodoros Anagnostes, *Kirchengeschichte*, p. xxvi; B. Pouderon, *Le codex Parisinus graecus 1555 A*, pp. 169–170.

⁴ The manuscript was first published by John Anthony Cramer in 1839: J. A. Cramer, *Anecdota Graeca e codd. manuscriptis bibliothecae regiae Parisiensis*, vol. 2, Oxford 1839, pp. 100–108.

⁵ For a description of the manuscript, see Theodoros Anagnostes, *Kirchengeschichte*, pp. xxvi–xxvii.

⁶ The manuscript was first published by Athanasios Papadopoulos-Kerameus in 1901: A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Nea temachē tēs ekklesiastikēs istorias Theodōrou Anagnōstou tou Entoleōs* [Νέα τεμάχη τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας Θεοδώρου Αναγνώστου τοῦ Ἐντολέως], "Zhurnal' Ministerstva Narodnago Prosvi ŗshenii ā" ["Журналъ Министерства Народнаго Просвѣщенiя"] 1901, vol. 333, pp. 1–24.

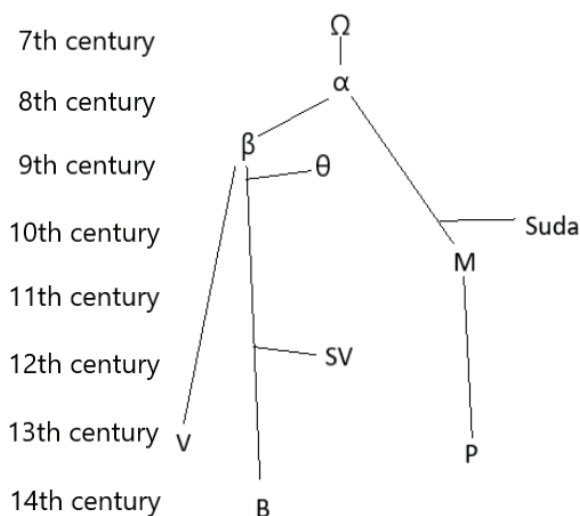
tury. The codex consists of 292 folios.⁷ The pages 236^v–240^r contain 80 excerpts from the *Epitome* of Theodore’s history.⁸

As based on the text variants, Günther Christian Hansen determined the correlations between the individual manuscripts. In his opinion, the code **P** is a very much abridged copy of the manuscript **M**, as it reiterates all its text variants.⁹ The manuscript branch **PM**, as Hansen believes, became independent from the other manuscript tradition (or rather the rest of the tradition diverged from the **PM** line, which is regarded as the primary one) very early in the 7th century. During the following century, the remaining part of the tradition, leading up to the manuscripts **VB**, would become split as well. The divisions within the tradition are shown in the *stemma codicum* below (θ = Theophanes’ *Chronography*; SV = *Synodicon Vetus*):

⁷ For descriptions of this manuscript, see H. O. Coxe, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae pars prima recensioem codicum Graecorum continens*, Oxonii 1853, pp. 242–245; C. de Boor, *Zur Kenntnis der Handschriften der griechischen Kirchenhistoriker. Codex Baroccianus 142*, “Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte” 1884, vol. 6, pp. 478–493; A. Diller, *A Greek manuscript strayed from the Vatican Library*, “Bodleian Library Record” 1962, vol. 7, pp. 39–42; B. Pouderon, *Le témoignage du Codex Baroccianus 142 sur Athénagore et les origines du Didaskaleion d’Alexandrie*, in: *Science et vie intellectuelle à Alexandrie (I^{er}–III^e siècle après J.-C.)*, ed. G. Argoud, Tours 1994, pp. 167–169; Theodoros Anagnostes, *Kirchengeschichte*, pp. xxvii–xxviii.

⁸ This manuscript was published by Henri de Valois and then republished by William Reading: *Eusebii Pamphili, Socratis Scholastici, Hermiae Sozomeni, Theodoriti et Evagrii, item Philostorgii et Theodori Lectoris quae extant Historiae ecclesiasticae, Graecae et Latine, in tres tomos distributae*, Henricus Valesius Graecum textum ex MSS. Codicibus emendavit, Latine vertit, et annotationibus illustravit; Gulielmus Reading novas elucidationes, praesertim chronologicas, in hac editione adjecit, Cantabrigiae 1720. This edition had been republished several times before it was eventually reprinted by Jacques Paul Migne in: Migne PG 86.1, cols. 165–228.

⁹ Theodoros Anagnostes, *Kirchengeschichte*, pp. xxv–xxvi.



Certain corrections to the above-stated reconstruction were proposed by Pierre Nautin, who had initially agreed with Hansen's theory¹⁰ but later on, based on the disparate arrangements of the text in manuscripts **P** and **M**, he would argue that there was no direct relation between them, and both manuscripts would be independent copies of some other (lost) manuscript, which he labelled with the letter **m**.¹¹ In his second edition of Theodore's *Church history*, Hansen disagreed with this hypothesis and affirmed his reconstruction of the relationship between **M** and **P**.¹² However, Hansen and later Nautin both agreed on the view that the manuscript **M** is a copy of the original and complete version of the *Epitome*.¹³

¹⁰ P. Nautin, *La continuation de l'Histoire ecclésiastique d'Eusèbe par Gélase de Césarée*, "Revue des Études Byzantines" 1992, vol. 50, p. 174.

¹¹ Idem, *Théodore Lecteur et sa « Réunion de différentes histoire » de l'Église*, "Revue des Études Byzantines" 1994, vol. 52, p. 214.

¹² Theodoros Anagnostes, *Kirchengeschichte*, p. 229. Hansen argues that the external form of the text representation was subject to various changes and would have depended on the author's preferences.

¹³ Ibidem, p. xxiv; P. Nautin, *Théodore Lecteur*, pp. 242–243. This hypothesis has also been favoured by Ph. Blaudeau, *Alexandrie et Constantinople (451–491). De l'histoire à la géo-ecclésiologie*, Roma 2006, p. 537.

The *Epitome* of Theodore Lector's *Church history* gained considerable popularity in the world of Byzantine literature as attested by the above-mentioned four manuscripts and the fact that it was extensively utilized by Theophanes the Confessor,¹⁴ George the Monk,¹⁵ the anonymous author of the *Synodicon Vetus*,¹⁶ and also by the authors of the later Byzantine chronicles.¹⁷ For those reasons, in the context of the Byzantine historiography, this epitome had become one of the principal resources of information on the first seven decades after the Council of Chalcedon (451).

One of the last authors to have drawn on the *Epitome* was a monk named Kallistos, a follower of Patriarch Arsenios Autoreianos of Constantinople, deposed on the orders of the Emperor John IV Dukas Laskaris in 1265. The deposition of Arsenios and the elevation of Germanos, succeeded by Joseph Galesiotes, caused the Church of Constantinople to become divided into the followers of the deposed patriarch Arsenios (Arsenites) and those who supported his successor (Josephites).¹⁸ When Arsenios died in exile in 1273, some of his adherents recognized that the unity of the Church was a matter of foremost importance and began to make efforts aimed at re-

¹⁴ Cf. Theodoros Anagnostes, *Kirchengeschichte*, pp. xxix–xxx and *The Church histories of Theodore Lector and John Diakrinomenos*, pp. 410–411.

¹⁵ Cf. R. Kosiński, *The Chronicle by George the Monk and its relation to Theodore Lector's work*, "Res Gestae. Czasopismo Historyczne" 2017, vol. 5, pp. 46–72 and *The Church histories of Theodore Lector and John Diakrinomenos*, pp. 451–459.

¹⁶ Cf. Theodoros Anagnostes, *Kirchengeschichte*, pp. xxx–xxxi and *The Church histories of Theodore Lector and John Diakrinomenos*, pp. 451–459.

¹⁷ Namely, the authors of the 10th century, such as Symeon Logothetes, Leo the Grammarian, Theodosius of Melitene, the compilers of the *Suda*, but also some later authors such as the monk Kallistos (13th century) and, finally, Nicephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos (active in the early 14th century); cf. Theodoros Anagnostes, *Kirchengeschichte*, pp. xxxi–xxxiv.

¹⁸ On Arsenios, see O. Jurewicz, *Arseniusz Autorejan*, in: *Encyklopedia kultury bizantyńskiej*, ed. O. Jurewicz, Warszawa 2002, pp. 51–52. For the circumstances of his conflict with the imperial court and his subsequent deposition, see also M. Angold, *A Byzantine government in exile. Government and society under the Laskarids of Nicaea (1204–1261)*, Oxford 1975, pp. 82–93. Joseph was the patriarch in the years 1267–1275 and again in the years 1282–1283; see A. M. Talbot, *Joseph I*, in: *The Oxford dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. A. P. Kazhdan, New York–Oxford 1991, p. 1073.

storing communion with the Josephites. One of them was a monk named Kallistos, who had written, most likely in early 1276,¹⁹ an epistle to Manuel Disypatos, the deposed and exiled archbishop of Thessalonica, another follower of the Arsenite movement.²⁰

In his address to Manuel, Kallistos buttressed his call for establishing communion with the Josephites with some arguments from the history of the Church, also citing a few instances mentioned in Theodore Lector's *Church history*. Kallistos did not know the original version of Theodore's *History*, only its *Epitome*, from which he had drawn the following passages: *Epitome* 16 [351], manuscript **V** = Kallistos, ed. Sykutris: 21, 14–18; *Epitome* 108 [455], manuscript **B** = Kallistos, ed. Sykutris: 21, 24–25; *Epitome* 110 [458], manuscript **VB** = Kallistos, ed. Sykutris: 21, 25; *Epitome* 134 [488], manuscript **M** = Kallistos, ed. Sykutris: 21, 28–22, 3; *Epitome* 145 [507], manuscript **B** = Kallistos, ed. Sykutris: 22, 26–23, 8; *Epitome* 148 [515], manuscript **B** = Kallistos, ed. Sykutris: 22, 9–15; *Epitome* 150 [517], manuscript **P** = Kallistos, ed. Sykutris: 22, 18–19.²¹ As can be seen in the columns below, particular passages of the *Epitome* are usually cited faithfully, sometimes paraphrased, in Kallistos' epistle.

¹⁹ The time of the composition of Kallistos' *Epistle* was determined by I. Sykutris, *Peri to schisma tōn Arseniatōn, III, Epistolē Kallistou pros ton Thessalonikēs Manouēl Disypaton* [Περὶ τὸ σχίσμα τῶν Ἀρσενιατῶν, III, Ἐπιστολὴ Καλλίστου πρὸς τὸν Θεσσαλονίκης Μανουὴλ Δισύπατον], "Ellēnika" ["Ἑλληνικά"] 1930, vol. 3, pp. 33–34.

²⁰ Manuel Disypatos served as the metropolitan of Thessalonica in the years 1256/1258–1260. In 1260, he was deposed for having supported the patriarch Arsenios and his refusal to recognize the new patriarch, Nicephoros. He was succeeded by Ioannikios Kydonis, who would serve in that position until 1272 or even until 1283. Manuel was sent away to his place of exile, where he would continue to stay most probably until his death. He was bitterly opposed to establishing union with the Roman Church. He was still alive in the year 1275/1276, when the monk Kallistos addressed his epistle to him; see E. Chatziantoniou, *H mētropolē Thessalonikēs kai oi scheseis me tēn kentrikē politikē kai ekklesiastikē eksousia ton 13o ai. H periptōsē tou Manouēl Disypatou* [Ἡ μητρόπολη Θεσσαλονίκης καὶ οἱ σχέσεις μετὰ τὴν κεντρικὴ πολιτικὴ καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἐξουσία τῶν 13ο αἰ. Ἡ περίπτωση τοῦ Μανουὴλ Δισύπατου], "Egnatia" ["Ἐγνατία"] 2010, vol. 14, pp. 29–41.

²¹ Theodoros Anagnostes, *Kirchengeschichte*, p. xxxiii.

Kallistos, *Epistle* vs. the *Epitome*
(Fragments in bold type indicate the text of the *Epistle* identical
with that of the *Epitome* manuscripts)

Epitome

16 [351] V

Φλαβιανοῦ καθαιρεθέντος καὶ φονευ-
θέντος ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ σπουδὴν ἔθετο
ὁ Διόσκορος Ἀνατόλιον τὸν ἴδιον
ἀποκρισιάριον προβληθῆναι ἐπίσκοπον
Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, νομίζων ἐκ τούτου
κρατύνειν τὰ ἴδια δόγματα· θεὸν δὲ ἔσχε
καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τὰ ἐναντία οἰκονομοῦντα.

Epistle by Kallistos, ed. Sykutris

21, 14–21

16. **Φλαβιανοῦ καθαιρεθέντος** ἀδίκως
καὶ φονευθέντος ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ,
σπουδὴν ἔθετο ὁ Ἀλεξανδρείας
Διόσκορος Ἀνατόλιον τὸν ἴδιον
ἀποκρισιάριον προβληθῆναι ἐπίσκοπον
Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, νομίζων ἐκ
τούτου κρατύνειν τὰ ἴδια δόγματα,
κατὰ τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας λυτήσας, καττύσας
δόλους ὁ δόλιος.¹ **Θεὸν δὲ ἔσχε καὶ ἐν**
τούτῳ τὰ ἐναντία οἰκονομοῦντα· ὁ γὰρ
Ἀνατόλιος ὀρθοδοξότατος γέγονεν καὶ
πατριάρχης ἀληθῶς ἅγιος τοῖς πᾶσιν
γνωρίζεται, καίτοι γε ζῶντος ἔτι τοῦ
θαυμαστοῦ Φλαβιανοῦ προχειρισθεῖς
συνδρομῇ τοῦ αἰρετικοῦ Διοσκόρου.

Epitome 108 [455] (V)B;

Epitome 110 [458] VB

108 [455] <B: Ἀναστάσιος ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰς
ἐπιβουλὰς τῶν Ἰσαύρων ἐπιγράψας τῷ
Εὐφήμιῳ καὶ ὡς γράμματα πεπομόφτος τοῖς
τυράννοις συνήγαγεν τοὺς ἐνδημοῦντας
ἐπισκόπους· οἵτινες βασιλεῖ χαρίζομε-
νοι ἀκοινωνησίᾳ καὶ καθαιρέσει τὸν
ἄνδρα ἡμίψαντο>. Προχειρίζεται δὲ <B:
ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς ἐπίσκοπον> Μακεδόνιον
<B: τινα> τῆς ἐκκλησίας πρεσβύτερον καὶ

21, 22–28

17. Ὡσαύτως δὲ **Ἀναστάσιος ὁ βασιλεὺς**
τὸν πατριάρχην Κωνσταντινουπόλεως
Εὐφήμιον ἀδίκως ἐξώρισε, διὰ τὸ
μὴ θέλειν αὐτὸν τοῖς αὐτοῦ δόγμασι
συμμίανασθαι, **προχειρίσατο δὲ εἰς**
ἐπίσκοπον Μακεδόνιον πρεσβύτερον
τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ σκευοφύλακα,

<**B**: σκευοφύλακα/**V**: σκευοφύλαξ>. <**V**: ὃς τὸ Ἐνωτικὸν Ζήνωνος καθυπέγραψεν. Ὁ δὲ Εὐφήμιος εἰς Εὐχάιτα περιορισθῆναι ὁ βασιλεὺς προσέταξεν.> <**B**: ὁ μέντοι λαὸς δι' Εὐφήμιον ἐστασίαζον· ἐν οἷς εἰς τὸ ἵπποδρόμιον ἔδραμον λιτανεύοντες· ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ὄνησαν· τοῦ γὰρ βασιλέως ἐνίκα ἢ ἔνστασις>.

110 [458] <**B**: Οὗτος ὁ> Μακεδόνιος ἀσκητικὸς ἦν καὶ ἱερός ὡς ὑπὸ Γενναδίου τραφεῖς, οὗ καὶ ἀδελφιδοῦς, ὡς λόγος, ὑπῆρχεν.

Epitome 134 [488] **M**

Μαθὼν Μακεδόνιος ὡς οἱ ζηλωταὶ τῆς πίστεως εἰς αὐτὸν σκανδαλίζονται, ἐξελθὼν εἰς τὴν Δαλμάτου μονὴν καὶ τοὺς μοναχοὺς πάντας συναγαγὼν διὰ προσφωνητικοῦ πληροφορησαὶ ἐσπούδασεν, ὡς οὐδὲν ὑπεναντίον τῆς ἐν Χαλκηδόνι συνόδου ἀνέχεται δέξασθαι. Οἱ δὲ τῶν μοναστηρίων καταλλαγέντες τούτῳ συνελειτούργησαν.

Epitome 145 [507] **B**

Τοῦ ἡγουμένου τῆς μονῆς τῶν Στουδίου τελευτήσαντος ἀπῆλθε Τιμόθεος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον προβαλέσθαι ἡγούμενον. ὁ δὲ μέλλων χειροτονεῖσθαι εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὡς οὐκ ἀνέξεται δέξασθαι χειροτονίαν ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς τὴν ἐν Χαλκηδόνι ἀναθεματίζοντος σύνοδον. Τιμόθεος δὲ ἔφησεν πρὸς αὐτόν· «Ἀνάθεμα

ἀσκητικὸν ἄνδρα καὶ ἱερόν ἄρτω γὰρ καὶ ὕδατι καθ' ἐσπέραν ἐτρέφετο, τήκων τὴν σάρκα καὶ ὑποτάπτων τῷ πνεύματι. Πάντες δ' αὐτῷ κεκοινωνήκασιν καὶ μεγάλως ἠσπάσαντο.

21, 28–22, 3

Μαθὼν Μακεδόνιος, ὡς οἱ ζηλωταὶ τῆς πίστεως εἰς αὐτὸν σκανδαλίζονται, ἐξελθὼν εἰς τὴν Δαλμάτου μονὴν καὶ τοὺς μοναχοὺς πάντας συναγαγὼν διὰ προσφωνητικοῦ πληροφορησαὶ ἐσπούδασεν, ὡς οὐχ ὑπεναντίον τῆς ἐν Χαλκηδόνι συνόδου ἀνέχεται δέξασθαι. Οἱ δὲ τῶν μοναστηρίων καταλλαγέντες τούτῳ συνελειτούργησαν.

22, 26–23, 8

20. Γέραπται δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα, ὡς τοῦ ἡγουμένου τῆς μονῆς τῶν Στουδίου τελευτήσαντος, ἀπῆλθε Τιμόθεος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον προβαλέσθαι ἡγούμενον. Ὁ δὲ μέλλων χειροτονεῖσθαι εἶπεν αὐτῷ, ὡς οὐκ ἀνέξεται δέξασθαι χειροτονίαν ἀνδρὸς τὴν ἐν Χαλκηδόνι ἀναθεματίζοντος

παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ ἀποστρεφομένῳ ἢ ἀναθεματίζοντι τὴν ἐν Χαλκηδόνι σύνοδον.» Οὕτως οὖν ὁ μέλλων χειροτονεῖσθαι κατεδέξατο. Ἰωάννης δὲ τις ἀρχιδιάκονος Μανιχαῖος ὑπάρχων ὕβρεσι τὸν Τιμόθεον βάλλων δραμῶν ταῦτα τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐμήνυσεν. Ὁ δὲ μετάπεμπτον ποιησάμενος τὸν Τιμόθεον χαλεπῶς αὐτὸν ἠτίμασεν. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἠρνήσατο εἰπὼν· «Ἀνάθεμα παντι ἀνθρώπῳ τὴν ἐν Χαλκηδόνι δεχομένῳ σύνοδον.»

σύνοδον. Τιμόθεος δὲ ἔφησε πρὸς αὐτόν· «Ἀνάθεμα παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ ἀποστρεφομένῳ ἢ ἀναθεματίζοντι τὴν ἐν Χαλκηδόνι σύνοδον.» Οὕτως οὖν ὁ μέλλων χειροτονεῖσθαι τὴν χειροτονίαν κατεδέξατο. Ἰωάννης δὲ ὁ ἀρχιδιάκονος, Μανιχαῖος ὑπάρχων, ὕβρεσι τὸν Τιμόθεον βάλων, δραμῶν ταῦτα τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐμήνυσεν. Ὁ δὲ μετάπεμπτον ποιησάμενος τὸν Τιμόθεον χαλεπῶς αὐτὸν ἠτίμασεν· αὐτὸς δὲ ἠρνήσατο εἰπὼν· «Ἀνάθεμα παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ τὴν ἐν Χαλκηδόνι σύνοδον δεχομένῳ.»

Epitome 148 [515] **B**

22, 9–15

Μακεδονίου τελευτῶντος τοῦ ἐπισκόπου φοβερὸν τι συμβῆναί φησιν. Νεκρὸν γὰρ ὄντα σφραγίσασθαι τῷ τάφῳ. Θεόδωρος δὲ τις τῶν συνόντων αὐτῷ, ὄναρ ἰδεῖν ἐπωμόσατο αὐτὸν Μακεδόνιον αὐτῷ λέγοντα· «Ἐκλαβε καὶ ἄπελθε, ἃ λέγω Ἀναστασίῳ ἀνάγνωθι. Ἐγὼ μὲν ἀπέρχομαι πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας μου, ὧν καὶ τὴν πίστιν τετήρηκα· οὐ παύσομαι δὲ ὀχλῶν τῷ Δεσπότῃ, ἄχρις οὗ ἔλθῃς καὶ τὴν δίκην εἰσέλθωμεν.»

18. Ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐξορίᾳ· τελευτῶντος τοῦ Μακεδονίου φοβερὸν τι συμβῆναί φησιν ὁ ἱστορῶν· νεκρὸν γὰρ ὄντα σφραγίσασθαι τῷ σταυρῷ. Θεόδωρος δὲ τις τῶν συνόντων αὐτῷ ὄναρ ἰδεῖν ἐπωμόσατο αὐτὸν Μακεδόνιον αὐτῷ λέγοντα· «Ἐκβαλε καὶ ἀπελθὼν, ἃ λέγω, Ἀναστασίῳ ἀνάγνωθι. Ἐγὼ μὲν ἀπέρχομαι πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας μου, ὧν καὶ τὴν πίστιν τετήρηκα, οὐ παύσομαι δὲ ἐνοχλῶν τῷ Δεσπότῃ, ἄχρις οὗ ἔλθῃς καὶ τὴν δίκην εἰσέλθωμεν.»

Epitome 150 [517] **P**

22, 18–22

150 [517] Ὁ βασιλεὺς προσέταξεν Ἀναστάσιος Ἡλίαν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπίσκοπον ἢ κοινωνῆσαι Σευήρῳ ἢ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐκβληθῆναι. Οἱ δὲ τῶν μοναστηρίων συναχθέντες τοῦτον ὠχύρωσαν καὶ διεμαρτύραντο. Ὁ δὲ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς μᾶλλον ἐκβληθῆναι προετίμησεν ἢ κοινωνῆσαι Σευήρῳ.

19. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων Ἡλίαν οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐξέβαλεν μὴ βουλευθέντα **κοινωνῆσαι Σευήρῳ**, Ἰωάννην δὲ γενόμενον Ἱεροσολύμων τὸν ἀπὸ σταυροφυλάκων οἱ τῆς ἐρήμου πατέρες ἅπαντες προσεδέξαντο καὶ ἐκοινώνησαν αὐτῷ, ὧν ἐξῆρχον Θεοδόσιος ὁ κοινοβιάρχης καὶ Σάββας ὁ μέγιστος.

* *Emendation proposed by Vitalien Laurent* (“*Échos d’Orient*” 1930, vol. 29, p. 498, note 1). *I. Sykutris, Peri to schisma tōn Arseniatōn* [Περὶ τὸ σχίσμα τῶν Ἀρσενιατῶν], s. 21, 17–18 rendered this phrase as: κρατήσας δόλοις ὁ δόλιος. In the manuscript: κατήσας δόλ[ους] ὁ δόλιος.

Considering the faithfulness with which Kallistos quotes the individual passages of the *Epitome*, it appears that at par. 16 of the *Epistle*, where he draws from *Epitome* 16 [351], the author presents a fuller text of this passage than the manuscript **V**, the author of which would tend to shorten the text being copied.²² Likewise, par. 17, which represents in a coherent manner the details referring to Macedonius, as known from *Epitome* 108–109 [455–456] and 110 [458], may have been entirely a citation from the *Epitome* manuscript at Kallistos’ disposal. Finally, par. 19 elaborates on the information known only from the code **P** *Epitome* 150 [517], while a part of the same paragraph was already recognized by Hansen as an excerpt from the original text of the epitome of Theodore Lector’s *Church history*.²³

²² Cf. *The Church histories of Theodore Lector and John Diakrinomenos*, p. 143.

²³ According to the German publisher, this passage, despite some considerable textual discrepancies in relation to the manuscript **P**, comes from the *Epitome* as well; cf. Theodoros Anagnostes, *Kirchengeschichte*, p. 149, apparatus; *The Church histories of Theodore Lector and John Diakrinomenos*, p. 587.

As the above comparison makes it possible to observe that Kallistos provides almost literal citations of the passages preserved only in the manuscripts **M** and **B**, while those known from **V** and **P** are quoted with more latitude. This means that the author of the *Epistle* would not have made use of a copy of just one branch of the *Epitome* manuscripts, but he might have used a manuscript which contained elements from all the previously mentioned branches and possibly a copy of the full text of the *Epitome*. This hypothesis seems to be confirmed by the fact that the passages in Kallistos' *Epistle*, corresponding to the manuscripts **V** and **P**, are more extensive, which makes it possible to assume that they contain the text close to the original version, subsequently abridged by the copyists of those manuscripts. If this should have been the case, however, it would bring the theory according to which the manuscript **P** was a copy of the **M** (Hansen) in question or that both manuscripts were derivatives of the common source, close to the original of the epitome (Nautin). Unfortunately, the passage from Kallistos' *Epistle* corresponding to the manuscript **P** is so brief that it could not be taken as the basis for formulating any far-reaching hypotheses dealing with the latter.

It should be noted that in some of the passages Kallistos' version is shorter than that preserved in the *Epitome* manuscripts; such a situation can be found in the text corresponding to *Epitome* 108 [455] (manuscript **B**). Most likely, this is due to the intentional abridgment of the *Epitome* narrative by the author of the *Epistle*, since he wished to cite those passages which would best correspond with the message being promoted, according to which even the bishops appointed by heretical figures such as Dioskoros (Patriarch Anatolios of Constantinople) and the Emperor Anastasius (Patriarch Macedonius of Constantinople, Patriarch John of Jerusalem) may prove to be worthy of holiness and the office they attained. It is no surprise then that he omitted, from *Epitome* 16 [351] and 150 [517], the details concerning the deposition and banishment of Euphemios from Constantinople and Elias from Jerusalem, which were insignificant from the perspective of the narrative of the *Epistle*.

Yet, even if the manuscript used by Kallistos was not a complete copy of the *Epitome*, the existence of a fuller version of this abridgement, containing elements of many branches of the manuscript tradition of this epitome

in the second half of the 13th century, would lead us to question Hansen's proposed reconstruction of the *stemma codicum* of the *Epitome*.

In our consideration of how to determine the version of the *Epitome* used by Kallistos, it is worth taking note of the incorrect variant of τάρω in the manuscript **B**, *Epitome* 148 [515], while Kallistos provides the correct one, σταυρῶ, which is also given by Theophanes, another author to have used the *Epitome* (Νεκρὸν γὰρ ὄντα σφραγίσασθαι τῷ σταυρῷ / *being dead, he made the sign of the cross*). This error seems to be obvious, especially as the sentence refers to a dead person, which the copyist may have associated with a grave (Greek: τάφος). This particular example shows that the manuscript of the *Epitome* at the monk Kallistos' disposal is not only different from the manuscript **B**, but also closer to the original.

Let us also have a look at the only passage in Kallistos' *Epistle*, which corresponds with the manuscript **M**, recognized by Hansen and Nautin to be a copy of the original version of the *Epitome*, in an attempt to answer the question as to whether it could have been present in the tradition from which the manuscript **B** is derived? Theophanes AM 6004 (ed. de Boor, p. 155, 1–5) had known this transmission and paraphrased it.

Epitome 134 [488] in the version known from the manuscript **M**
and Kallistos, *Epistle* vs. Theophanes, *Chronography*
(Corresponding fragments in bold type)

Epitome 134 [488] **M**/Kallistos, p. 21,
28–22, 3

Μαθῶν Μακεδόنيος ὡς οἱ ζηλωταὶ
τῆς πίστεως εἰς αὐτὸν σκανδαλίζονται,
ἐξελθὼν εἰς τὴν Δαλμάτου μονὴν καὶ
τοὺς μοναχοὺς πάντας συναγαγὼν
διὰ προσφωνητικοῦ πληροφορησαὶ
ἐσπούδασεν, ὡς <**M**: οὐδὲν/**Kalikst**: οὐχ>
ὑπεναντίον τῆς ἐν Χαλκηδόνι συνόδου
ἀνέχεται δέξασθαι. Οἱ δὲ τῶν μοναστηρίων
καταλλαγέντες τούτῳ συνελειτούργησαν.

Theophanes AM 6004
(ed. de Boor, p. 155, 1–5)

ὁ δὲ **Μακεδόنيος** ἀπελθὼν εἰς τὴν
Δαλμάτου μονὴν τοῖς μοναχοῖς καὶ
κληρικοῖς ζηλωταῖς σκανδαλισθεῖσιν εἰς
αὐτὸν ἀπελογήσατο διὰ προσφωνητικοῦ,
ὅτι δέχεται τὴν ἀγίαν ἐν **Χαλκηδόνι**
σύνοδον καὶ τοὺς μὴ δεχομένους αὐτὴν
αἰρετικοὺς ἔχει καὶ **συνελειτούργησαν**
αὐτῷ.

This juxtaposition shows that Theophanes transforms the text of the *Epitome* stylistically, but without changing the essence of the content at all. Therefore, in the version of the *Epitome* at his disposal, this passage must have been there. In Hansen's opinion, Theophanes made use of the branch **B** of the *Epitome* manuscript, but this particular passage cannot be found in the manuscript **B**. It might have been removed in the later process of transmission or Theophanes would have known the *Epitome* in a version closer to the **M**, not **B**. This could mean that the tradition **B** departed from the main trunk of the *Epitome* manuscripts later than in the 8th century, and Theophanes may have still utilized the full version, especially as he makes use of the subsequent passages which are known only from the manuscript **M**, until the text of this manuscript is cut short at *Epitome* 142 [496] on page 27^v. The successive passages in the critical edition (*Epitome* 497–498; 500; 502–506; 508–511; 514; 518; 520) have been reconstructed out of the text of Theophanes' *Chronography*, and then, with *Epitome* 520, they return to the manuscript **M** with the beginning of the extant 28^r. Hansen is correct in assuming that also for those passages, the chronographer must have relied on the transmission of Theodore Lector's epitome. If this is the case, the family of manuscripts from which the **B** stems from would have separated off the main trunk later than the German scholar has suggested.

On the other hand, the details in George the Monk's *Chronicle* do not show any convergence with the **M**, but George must have certainly drawn on the manuscripts of the family **B**, which would put the dating for the separation of this branch of the *Epitome* sometime around the mid-9th century. In the *stemma codicum*, then, Theophanes' *Chronography* should be assigned to the mainstream of the *Epitome*, i.e., **M**. Of course, we cannot be sure if the passages reconstructed on the basis of *Chronography* by Hansen were really there on the missing pages in the manuscript **M**, but it is correct that both the last record from his page 27^v (*Epitome* 142 [496]) and the first one from page 28^r (*Epitome* 151 [520]) overlap with the *Chronography* (respectively, p. 156, 7 and 162, 13 in the de Boor edition), which would, in turn, confirm the theory that this manuscript might have existed as a complete copy of the *Epitome*, as Hansen and Nautin have suggested.

The eight passages which can be found in the manuscript **M** are also present in the **B** (*Epitome* 129 [483], 130 [484], 131 [485], 132 [486], 138 [492] 139 [493], 140 [494], 155 [524]). A comparison should allow us to find that the differences between these manuscripts are quite small and may have been produced by the copyist of the manuscript **B**. For this reason, it would not seem that the latter branch displayed some noticeable tendency to abridge or transform the passages (as evident in the case of the manuscript **V**). It is more likely that a smaller number of passages in this version could be linked with the process of their selection by one of the copyists.

Differences in the text of *Epitome* 129 [483]–132 [486], 138 [492]–140 [494] and 155 [524] in the manuscripts **M** and **B**
(Corresponding fragments in bold type)

M

129 [483]

Πολλοὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς κατὰ Μακεδονίου τρόπους ἐπενόει. Οἱ δὲ ἀποσχισταὶ ὄχλον μισθωτῶν συναθροίσαντες ἐν κυριακῇ εἰσηλθόντες εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ, καὶ τῶν ψαλτῶν τὸ Τρισάγιον λεγόντων αὐτοὶ μετὰ τῆς προσθήκης τοῦ «ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς» ἔλεγον καὶ ἔψαλλον. Τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ κυριακῇ τὰ ὅμοια ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐποίησαν μετὰ βάλκων εἰσελθόντες. Ὁ δὲ λαὸς ζηλώσας τὰ μὲν προφωναῖς ἀντέκραζον κρᾶζουσιν καὶ ὑβρίζοντας ὑβρίζον, ὕστερον δὲ μετὰ πολλῶν πληγῶν τούτους ἐξέβαλον.

B

129 [483]

Πολλοὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς κατὰ Μακεδονίου τρόπους ἐπενόει. Οἱ δὲ ἀποσχιστοὶ ὄχλον μισθωτῶν συναθροίσαντες ἐν κυριακῇ εἰσηλθόντες εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου τοῦ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ, καὶ τῶν ψαλτῶν τὸ Τρισάγιον λεγόντων οὗτοι μετὰ τῆς προσθήκης τοῦ «ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς» ἀποκρινόμενοι ἔψαλλον. Τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ κυριακῇ τὰ ὅμοια ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐποίησαν μετὰ βάλκων εἰσελθόντες. Ὁ δὲ λαὸς ζηλώσας τὰ μὲν πρῶτα φωναῖς ἀντέκραζον κρᾶζουσιν καὶ ὑβρίζουσιν ἀνθύβριζον, ὕστερον δὲ μετὰ πολλῶν.

130 [484]

Ὁ βασιλεὺς λοιπὸν ἀπαρακαλύπτως κατὰ Μακεδονίου κινούμενος ποτὲ μὲν τοὺς μοναχοὺς τοὺς ἀποσχιστάς, ποτὲ δὲ τοὺς ἄρχοντας παρεσκεύαζεν ὕβρεσιν ἀσέμνοις μετὰ κραυγῶν βάλλειν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον· μεθ' ὧν ἦν καὶ Ἰουλιανὸς ἐπίσκοπος Ἀλικαρνασοῦ τῆς Καρίας καὶ Σευῆρος ὁ μοναχὸς οἱ καὶ τῆς πίστεως καὶ ἑαυτῶν γεγενημένοι πολέμιοι.

131 [485]

Ὁ λαὸς σὺν γυναίξιν καὶ τέκνοις πλῆθος ὑπάρχων ἄπειρον σὺν τοῖς ἡγουμένοις τῶν μοναχῶν συναθροισθεὶς διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἔκραζον· «Καιρὸς, Χριστιανοί, μαρτυρίου· τὸν πατέρα μηδεὶς καταλίπη.» Ὑβρίζον δὲ τὸν βασιλέα Μανιχαῖον καλοῦντες καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἀνάξιον· ἐν οἷς ὁ βασιλεὺς φοβηθεὶς τὰς πύλας τοῦ παλατίου πανταχόθεν ἀπέκλεισαν καὶ πλοῖα εἰς τὸ φυγεῖν τῷ παλατίῳ παρέστησεν.

132 [486]

Ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ πρόην ὁμόσας μὴ ἰδεῖν Μακεδονίου πρόσωπον ἔτι πέμψας παρεκάλει τοῦτον ἄσπασασθαι. Ὁ δὲ λαὸς εἰσερχομένου τοὺς τῶν μοναστηρίων διεμαρτύρατο· «τὸν πατέρα πρὸς ὑμᾶς

130 [484]

Ὁ βασιλεὺς λοιπὸν ἀπαρακαλύπτως κατὰ Μακεδονίου κείμενος ποτὲ μὲν τοὺς μοναχοὺς τοὺς ἀποσχιστάς, ποτὲ δὲ τοὺς ἄρχοντας παρεσκεύαζεν ὕβρεσιν ἀσέμνοις μετὰ κραυγῶν βάλλειν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον· μεθ' ὧν ἦν καὶ Ἰουλιανὸς ἐπίσκοπος Ἀλικαρνασοῦ τῆς Καρίας καὶ Σευῆρος ὁ μοναχὸς οἱ καὶ τῆς πίστεως καὶ ἑαυτῶν γεγενημένοι πολέμιοι.

131 [485]

Ὁ λαὸς σὺν γυναίξιν καὶ τέκνοις πλῆθος ἄπειρον τοῖς ἡγουμένοις τῶν μοναχῶν συναθροισθεὶς διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἔκραζον· «Καιρὸς, Χριστιανοί, μαρτυρίου· τὸν πατέρα μηδεὶς καταλίπη.» Ὑβρίζον δὲ τὸν βασιλέα Μανιχαῖον καλοῦντες καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἀνάξιον· ἐν οἷς ὁ βασιλεὺς φοβηθεὶς τὰς πύλας τοῦ παλατίου πανταχόθεν ἀπέκλεισεν καὶ πλοῖα εἰς τὸ φυγεῖν τῷ παλατίῳ παρέστησεν.

132 [486]

Ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ πρόην ὁμόσας μὴ ἰδεῖν Μακεδονίου ἔτι τῷ πρόσωπῳ πέμψας παρεκάλει τοῦτον ἄσπασασθαι. Ὁ δὲ λαὸς εἰσερχομένου τοὺς τῶν μοναστηρίων διεμαρτύρατο· «τὸν

ἔχομεν.» Καὶ οἱ τῶν σχολῶν δι' ὧσων διήλθεν εὐφημοῦντες ἐδέχοντο· καὶ εἰσελθὼν ἤλεγξεν Ἀναστάσιον ὡς τῆς ἐκκλησίας πολέμιον. Ὁ δὲ μετὰ ὑποκρίσεως ἔδοξεν ἐνοῦσθαι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ.

138 [492]

Ἐπολαβὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅτι, εἴπερ κριθεὶς ὁ Μακεδόνιος, ὁ λαὸς ὡς ἀθῶου ἀντιλήψεται, νυκτὸς αὐτὸν μετὰ βίας ἐπὶ τὴν Χαλκηδὼνα ἐξέπεμψεν, κάκειθεν παραπεμφθῆναι ἐν Εὐχαῖτοις προσέταξεν. Τῇ δὲ ἐξῆς προεβάλετο εἰς ἐπίσκοπον Τιμόθεόν τινα πρεσβύτερον τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ σκευοφύλακα, ὃν ἐκάλουν Λιτροβούλβην καὶ Κίλωνα διὰ τινὰ ἔργα τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀρμόδια.

139 [493]

Ὅπου δὴποτε ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ εἰσῆλθε Τιμόθεος, εἰ μὴ πρότερον τὰς εἰκόνας Μακεδονίου κατέσπασεν, οὐκ ἤρχετο τῆς λειτουργίας.

140 [494]

Τὰς κατὰ παρασκευὴν λιτὰς ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς θεοτόκου ἐν τοῖς Χαλκοπρατείοις Τιμόθεος ἐποίησε γίνεσθαι.

πατέρα πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔχομεν.» Καὶ οἱ τῶν σχολῶν δι' ὧσων ἦλθεν εὐφημοῦντες ἐδέχοντο· καὶ εἰσελθὼν ἤλεγξεν Ἀναστάσιον ὡς τῆς ἐκκλησίας πολέμιον. Ὁ δὲ μετὰ ὑποκρίσεως ἔδοξεν ἐνοῦσθαι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ.

138 [492]

Ἐπολαβὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅτι, εἴπερ κριθεὶς ὁ Μακεδόνιος, ὁ λαὸς ὡς ἀθῶου ἀντιλήψεται, νυκτὸς αὐτὸν μετὰ βίας ἐπὶ τὴν Χαλκηδὼνα ἐξέπεμψεν, κάκειθεν παραπεμφθῆναι ἐν Εὐχαῖτοις προσέταξεν. Τῇ δὲ ἐξῆς προεβάλετο εἰς ἐπίσκοπον Τιμόθεόν τινα πρεσβύτερον τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ σκευοφύλακα, ὃν ἐκάλουν Λιτροβούλβην καὶ Κίλωνα διὰ τινὰ ἔργα τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀρμόδια.

139 [493]

Ὅπου δ' ἂν ποτε εἰσῆλθεν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ Τιμόθεος, εἰ μὴ πρότερον τὰς εἰκόνας Μακεδονίου κατέσπασεν, τῆς λειτουργίας οὐκ ἤρχετο.

140 [494]

Τὰς κατὰ παρασκευὴν λιτὰς ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς θεοτόκου ἐν τοῖς Χαλκοπρατείοις Τιμόθεος ἐπενόησε γίνεσθαι.

155 [524]

Αναστάσιος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐτελεύτησεν ἄφνω, ζήσας ἔτη πη΄, βασιλεύσας δὲ ἔτη κζ΄καὶ μήνας γ΄. Προήχθη δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστίνος, ἀνὴρ πρεσβύτης ἀπὸ στρατιωτῶν ἀρξάμενος καὶ μέχρι τῆς συγκλήτου προκόψας καὶ διὰ πάντων ἄριστος φανείς, τῆς δὲ ὀρθῆς πίστεως ἔμπυρος ζηλωτής, γένος Ἰλλυριός, σύμβιον ἔχων ὀνόματι Λουπικίαν, ἣν γενομένην Αὐγούσταν Εὐφημίαν οἱ δημόται ὠνόμασαν.

155 [524]

Αναστάσιος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐτελεύτησεν ἄφνω, ζήσας ἔτη πη΄, βασιλεύσας δὲ ἔτη κζ΄καὶ μήνας γ΄. Προήχθη δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστίνος, ἀνὴρπρεσβύτερος ἀπὸ στρατιωτῶν ἀρξάμενος καὶ μέχρι τῆς συγκλήτου προκόψας καὶ διὰ πάντων ἄριστος φανείς, τῆς δὲ ὀρθῆς πίστεως ἔμπυρος ζηλωτής, γενόμενος Ἰλλυριός ὦν, καὶσύμβιον ἔχων ὀνόματι Λουπικίαν, ἣν γενομένην Αὐγούσταν Εὐφημίαν οἱ δημόται ὠνόμασαν.

Minor differences between Kallistos' *Epistle* and the manuscript **B**, regarding *Epitome* 145 [507] and 148 [515], suggest that Kallistos' version is, in these instances, closer to the original version of the *Epitome*. It should be noted that only in the manuscript **B** can we see the later interpolations which are absent in the other *Epitome* manuscripts. A case in point is *Epitome* 18 [353], referring to the Empress Eudokia sending from Jerusalem an image of the Virgin Mary, painted by Luke the Evangelist to Empress Pulcheria, which is missing in the manuscripts **V** and **P**.²⁴ Likewise, the information at *Epitome* 28 [363], on the Empress Pulcheria founding the churches at the Blachernae, Chalkopratea, and Hodegon, can be found in the manuscript **B** only. It is not only absent in the manuscript **V** (which is not a sufficient argument by itself as the author of that manuscript would abridge the passages being copied), but also from Theophanes' *Chronography* (at the place where he draws on *Epitome* 28 [363]) and George the

²⁴ Cf. R. L. Wolff, *A footnote to an incident of the Latin occupation of Constantinople. The church and the Icon of the Hodegetria*, "Traditio" 1948, vol. 6, pp. 322–323; B. V. Pentcheva, *Icons and power. The Mother of God in Byzantium*, Pennsylvania 2006, pp. 120, 228, note 27.

Monk's *Chronicle*, which would draw their transmission exactly from the tradition out of which the manuscript **B** originated.²⁵

Finally, let us turn to the question of the manuscript **V**. Hansen is correct in observing that the copyist of this particular manuscript would tend to abridge the *Epitome*, also apparently becoming tired of the copying process and breaking off his work at a certain point.²⁶ This may be the evidence of the fact that the manuscript **V** is not a copy of some larger *Epitome* family, just a sole piece of it, and the author of that branch would have been the copyist of that manuscript. Therefore, it would have taken form only during the 13th century. One way or another, Kallistos would not have drawn on the manuscript **V** as the two transmissions are too different. As based on a comparison between the two texts, it is fair to say that the hypothesis on the frequent abridgement of the passages by the **V** manuscript copyist would gain more validation. Yet, if we follow Hansen in assuming that the manuscript **P** is a copy of the **M**, it may be suggested that the original of the *Epitome* should have survived until the 13th century. Then, the manuscript **M** and Kallistos' *Epistle* represent the original version of the epitome (the manuscript **P**, containing a selection of passages, would have been derived from it), from which a side branch derives, leading up to the manuscript **B**. Originated in the 9th century, this stem is a source for George the Monk's *Chronicle* and the *Synodicon Vetus*, while the other one, created in an indeterminate period (perhaps only in the 13th century),

²⁵ Cf. Theophanes AM 5945 (ed. de Boor, p. 106, 25–29); George the Monk (ed. de Boor), p. 610, 18–22. Theophanes AM 5943 (ed. de Boor, p. 105, 13–16) refers to Pulcheria's church foundation at the Blachernae based on a source other than the *Epitome*, while AM 5942 (ed. de Boor, p. 102, 10–12) – to her founding of the church at Chalkopratea. On Chalkopratea, see C. Mango, *The origins of the Blachernae Shrine at Constantinople*, in: *Acta XIII Congressus Internationalis Archaeologiae Christianae: Split-Porč (25.9–1.10.1994)*, vol. 2, eds. N. Cambi, E. Marin, Vatican City 1998, pp. 61–76 (esp. 65–66, with a discussion of a record from Theophanes' *Chronography*, which restates the information on the founding of the Blachernae shrine by Pulcheria); K. Twardowska, *The Church foundations of Empress Pulcheria in Constantinople according to Theodore Lector's Church history and other contemporary sources*, "Res Gestae. Czasopismo Historyczne" 2017, vol. 5, pp. 85–91.

²⁶ Theodoros Anagnostes, *Kirchengeschichte*, p. 107; *The Church histories of Theodore Lector and John Diakrinomenos*, p. 143.

forms the body of the manuscript **V**. In any event, it appears that the last attested witness of the completely preserved *Epitome* is the monk Kallistos, who composed his epistle c. 1276. We have no evidence referring to the existence of the entirety of this work in a later period.

To sum up, the 13th century was crucial for the manuscript tradition of the *Epitome*. The abridged copy of the **V** was produced at that time as well as the manuscript **P**, which was based upon the main line of the *Epitome* tradition. From the same century, the *Epistle* composed by Kallistos offers the last piece of evidence for the existence of the *Epitome*'s full version. Only the tradition leading up to the manuscript **B** provides a selection of passages from the *Epitome*, possibly dating back to the 9th century. Thus, formulated correlations among the particular manuscripts are illustrated in the following *stemma codicum* (θ = Theophanes' *Chronography*; SV = *Synodicon Vetus*):

