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Symeon the Logothete and Theophanes continuatus

ABSTRACT: The chief aim of this paper is to clarify some points relevant to a new edition of the so-called Version B of the Chronicle of Symeon the Logothete. The genealogical relationship between Symeon's chronicle, Version B, and the so-called Theophanes continuatus (the ms. Vat. gr. 167) is analysed, and the different stages in the development of the tradition are described, particularly in terms of how consecutive layers of text are added. Furthermore, contamination between Version B/Theophanes continuatus and the Chronicle of Pseudo-Symeon is discussed.

KEYWORDS: Symeon the Logothete, Logothete Chronicle, Theophanes continuatus, Byzantine Manuscripts, Text Transmission

The medieval world chronicle constitutes a literary genre in which new manuscripts of existing works are produced with little respect for the sources from which they are copied: segments of text are often—but by no means always—added or subtracted, stylistic changes are made, and new versions—indeed, new works—are created. In other words, it is a genre which abounds in what textual critics call *open traditions*.

A typical example of an open tradition is that of the *Chronicle* of Symeon Magistros and Logothetes, a work which tells the history of the world from the Creation down to the summer of AD 948 and ends with the death and burial of Emperor Romanos I Lekapenos¹. About thirty manuscripts transmit this history in a relatively unified form: although they often differ from each other, they have so much in common that, as I endeavoured to do in my edition (see n. 1), their common ancestor can be reconstructed with a fair degree of certainty. This main form of the *Chronicle* has been referred to as Version A².

Other manuscripts contain versions of the text, or continuations past the date of 948. The purpose of this paper is to clarify some points about different varieties of the *Chronicle*, so as to pave the way for future editions. In particular, we will discuss the so-called Version B of the *Chronicle* of the Logothete and how it is related to the so-called Theophanes continuatus, and we will pay some attention to the *Chronicle* of Pseudo-Symeon—texts all dependent upon the main form of the Logothete.

VERSION B OF THE CHRONICLE OF THE LOGOTHETE

This is the name conventionally given to a version of the *Chronicle* of the Logothete, a version edited by Istrin, albeit not in a satisfactory manner: His edition is based on a single manuscript (the Vaticanus gr. 153, the copy of a still existing, although severely mutilated, manuscript) and is generally sloppy and lacking the necessary knowledge of the tradition³.

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¹ Ed. St. WAHLGREN, *Symeonis Magistri et Logothetae Chronicon* [CFHB 44, 1]. Berlin – New York 2006. The reader is referred to this edition for background reading and bibliography.

² A somewhat improper denomination, one might think, since it would seem more logical to reserve the term *version* for a text which is the converted form of another. In German, Version A has been referred to as the *Urtext/ursprüngliche(re) Fassung*.

³ Ed. V. M. ISTRIN, *Prodolženie chroniki Georgia Hamartola po Vatikanskomu spisku 153*. Petrograd 1922. The text will be re-edited by me, and this paper is part of the preparations for this undertaking.

A list of the relevant manuscripts reads as follows⁴:

- Chicago Univ. libr. 47 (Gr. 3), a. 1785 (*Diktyon* 12978) (a copy of parts of Vat. gr. 153)
 Holkhamensis gr. 61, s. XV (*Diktyon* 48129) (a copy of Vindob. hist. gr. 40)
 Parisinus suppl. gr. 665, s. XV (*Diktyon* 53400) (a ms. closely related to Vat. gr. 163)⁵
 Vaticanus gr. 153, s. XIII (*Diktyon* 66784) (this is the ms. used by Istrin; a copy of Vindob. hist. gr. 40)
 Vaticanus gr. 163, s. XIII–XIV (*Diktyon* 66794)
 Vaticanus Palat. gr. 86, s. XVI (*Diktyon* 65819) (a copy of Vat. gr. 163)
 Vindobonensis hist. gr. 40, s. XI (*Diktyon* 70917) (a ms. which is not well preserved: the text ends in the reign of Basil I, while the copies made from it came into being before it was mutilated)

For the period from the year 886 (the inception of the reign of Leo VI), the following should be added:

Vaticanus gr. 167, s. XI⁶ (*Diktyon* 66798)

Vat. gr. 167 is the manuscript published as Theophanes continuatus, for which see further details below.

The text of Istrin, *Prodolženie*, covers the period of time from 842 until 948, that is, from the inception of the reign of Michael III to the burial of Romanos I. The chronological limits are set by the content of the manuscript employed (Vat. gr. 153), a manuscript which, before 842, contains the *Chronicle* of George the Monk.

To clarify some points about the transmission of this Version B and its chief characteristics, I suggest dividing the text into the following main parts:

1. 842–886 (Michael III–Basil I)

Main MSS: Vat. gr. 163; Vindob. hist. gr. 40 (with copies, a.o. Vat. gr. 153, and copies of copies).

This is a text/set of texts, in which the main manuscripts very often diverge from each other and, when this is the case, have to be edited separately⁷.

2. 886–913 (Leo VI–Alexander)

Main MSS: Vat. gr. 163; the copies (such as Vat. gr. 153) of Vindob. hist. gr. 40 (which has been mutilated and does not transmit this part of the work); Vat. gr. 167 (= Theophanes continuatus).

This is a reformulated version of Symeon's *Chronicle*, upon which there are layers of additions.

3. 913–948 (The Regency Council–Romanos I–Constantine VII)

Main MSS: the same as in section 2.

This is, essentially, nothing but Symeon's *Chronicle*, upon which there are layers of additions.

The rationale of this division is partly that the textual basis shifts, in terms of manuscripts transmitting the work, and partly that there are some chief characteristics which differ from one part of the

⁴ To the manuscripts listed here should be added: Ed. V. M. ISTRIN, *Knigy vremennyja obraznyja Georgija Mnicha: chronika Georgija Amartola v drevnem slavjanorusskom perevode: tekst, izsledovanie i slovar*, 1–3. Petrograd 1920–1930. Cf. F. SCHOLZ, *Die Chronik des Georgios Hamartolos*. In *altslavischer Übersetzung hrsg. von V. M. ISTRIN, mit einer Einleitung und bibliographischen Hinweisen von F. Scholz*, 1–3. Munich 1972. I shall discuss this Old Slavonic version in a separate paper (see, however, n. 15 below, a preliminary assessment of its stemmatic affiliations). Cf. Symeon (43*–46* WAHLGREN).

⁵ It is not likely that it could contribute to the reconstruction of the B-text, and it is not used in this paper.

⁶ Of which there are apographs, see *Vita Basilii* (17*–31* ŠEVČENKO), and Theophanes continuatus I–IV (5*–9* FEATHERSTONE–SIGNES-CODONER) (for full bibliographical references, see n. 10).

⁷ The part dealing with the reign of Michael III in Vat. gr. 163 has already been edited once, by J. M. FEATHERSTONE, *The Logothete Chronicle in Vat. gr. 163*. *OCP* 64, 2 (1998) 419–434.

text to the others (such as, in part 2, the tendency to reformulate). To illustrate this in detail, we will take a look at preliminary editions of text taken from the different parts.

1. *The Reigns of Michael III and Basil I*

At the beginning of this part, the main manuscripts (the Vat. gr. 163 and the Vindob. hist. gr. 40) differ widely from each other. However, they soon converge—as can be seen if we read on until paragraph three⁸:

Μιχαήλ καὶ Θεοδώρα⁹

§ 1: B (= Vindob. hist. gr. 40) (i.e. *deest vel aliter habet* in C [Vat. gr. 163]): Μετὰ δὲ Θεόφιλον Μιχαήλ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ διίθύνειν καταλιμπάνεται σὺν μητρὶ Θεοδώρα τὰ τῆς βασιλείας σκῆπτρα· καὶ ἐβασίλευσε σὺν τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ ἔτη τέσσαρα· καὶ μόνος ἔτη δέκα· καὶ σὺν Βασιλείῳ ἔτος ἓν καὶ μῆνας τέσσαρας.

οὗ τὰ τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς ὃ τε πατρικίος Θεόκτιστος καὶ Μανουὴλ ὁ πρῶτος μαγίστρων ἠξίωται· καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ· διαφθαρείσης γὰρ αὐτῶν τῆς ὁμονοίας κάτεισι μὲν Μανουὴλ ἐκ τοῦ παλατίου, ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν κινστέρναν χώροις τοῦ Ἄσπαρος τὴν οἰκῆσιν ἔχων, ἀποκαταστήσας τὸν ἑαυτοῦ οἶκον μονασταῖς καταγῶγιον· πλὴν ὡς συγκλητικὸς προήρχετο.

C (i.e. *deest* in B): Μιχαήλ δὲ ὁ τούτου υἱὸς σὺν τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη δεκατέσσαρα. τελευτῶν δὲ ὁ Θεόφιλος κατέλιπε φροντιστὰς καὶ ἐπιτρόπους τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Θεοδώρας τὸν τε Θεόκτιστον εὐνοῦχον καὶ τηνικαῦτα κανίκλειον καὶ λογοθέτην τοῦ δρόμου τυγχάνοντα· καὶ τὸν πατρικίον Βάρδαν τὸν τῆς αὐγούστης ἀδελφόν· καὶ Μανουὴλ μάγιστρον ἐξ Ἀρμενίων καταγόμενον, ὃς καὶ θεῖος τῆς δεσποίνης ἀπὸ πατρὸς ὑπῆρχεν.

(here § 2 follows, omitted in this paper)

§ 3: B et C fere eundem textum exhibent

3 ἀποστέλλει δὲ κατὰ Κρήτης τὸν λογοθέτην Θεόκτιστον· ὃς στόλῳ πολλῶ καὶ στρατῶ βαρεῖ ἐκεῖ κατελθὼν τὰ πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς Ἀγαρηνοὺς κατεπτόησε τῇ τούτου στρατιᾷ μὴ δυναμένους ἀνταγωνίζεσθαι, ἔπειτα δὲ φεύγει αὐτός, μηδενὸς τοῦτον διώκοντος· φήμης γὰρ ἀνά τὸν στρατὸν γεγυίας ὡς Θεοδώρα ἄλλον βασιλέα εἰς τὰ βασιλῆα ἀνεβίβασεν, ἐκπλαγεὶς ἐπὶ τούτῳ γενόμενος πρῦμναν ἐκρούσατο καὶ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἀνεστρέφετο, τὸν στρατὸν ἐν Κρήτῃ καταλιπὼν ἔργον μαχαίρας γενόμενον.

This somewhat odd phenomenon of divergence and then convergence, followed again by divergence, can be observed several times but is more common in the early stages. Later on (still in the part covering the years 842–886) there is more of a common text, recognisable as a somewhat reworked version of the Chronicle of the Logothete.

⁸ Paragraphs are added in accordance with Symeon (WAHLGREN), to the chapter 131 of which the following corresponds. The apparatus is, for the time being, only concerned with similarities between Symeon the Logothete (= SLA), Pseudo-Symeon (= PS), and Theophanes continuatus (= ThCont). For an edition of Pseudo-Symeon see n. 10 and n. 17.

⁹ 3–5 Μιχαήλ – τέσσαρας: cf. PS 647.3–5 6–9 οὗ – προήρχετο ≈ SLA PS 6–9 καὶ sec. – προήρχετο: cf. ThCont IV.18 10 Μιχαήλ – δεκατέσσαρα: cf. PS 647.3–5 11–14 τελευτῶν – ὑπῆρχεν: cf. ThCont IV.1.3–8, ≈ SLA PS § 3: cf. PS 654.12–15 (ad quae cf. SLA 131, § 3–§4, l. 21)

2. *The Reigns of Leo VI and Alexander (886–913):
The Additional Evidence of Vat. gr. 167 (Theophanes continuatus)*

In this part, it should first and foremost be noted that the textual basis is larger, since the Vat. gr. 167 also transmits more or less the same text. The Vat. gr. 167 is the famous manuscript transmitting the *Chronicle* of Theophanes followed by a continuation, commonly referred to as Theophanes continuatus.

The continuation of Theophanes is divided into larger sections, covering the time from 813 until 962. In recent times, the first of these sections, or books I–IV, have been edited by Featherstone–Signes-Codoñer, whereas book V, the biography of Emperor Basil I commonly referred to as the *Vita Basilii*, has been edited by Ševčenko¹⁰. Book VI, starting with the reign of Leo VI, is the section of interest to us, since it is part of the tradition of the *Chronicle* of the Logothete.

To return to Version B: from the beginning of the reign of Leo VI there is, more or less, one text only, transmitted by the same manuscripts (as for the years 842–886) plus Vat. gr. 167¹¹. It is a text without the divergence and convergence that we observed above. Instead, it has two other, chief characteristics.

One is the tendency to add sentences or even larger segments. Since this tendency is also present in section three (dealing with the years 913–948), it will be discussed below.

The other tendency is to reformulate in a way which, probably, is typical of the times (this is, after all, the age of Symeon the Metaphrast)¹². In order to illustrate how this works, we may look at the following, taken from the reign of Emperor Alexander:

¹⁰ Books I–IV: edition: *Chronographiae quae Theophanis Continuati nomine fertur Libri I–IV*, rec., anglise vert., indicibus instr. M. FEATHERSTONE et J. SIGNES-CODOÑER (*CFHB* 53). Berlin – New York 2015. Book V: edition: *Chronographiae quae Theophanis Continuati nomine fertur Liber quo Vita Basilii Imperatoris amplectitur*, rec., anglise vert., indicibus instr. I. ŠEVČENKO (*CFHB* 42). Berlin – New York 2011. An edition of book VI is in preparation by Featherstone and Signes-Codoñer. For an older, complete, edition see: *Theophanes continuatus, Ioannes cameniata, Symeon magister, Georgius monachus*, ed. I. BEKKER (*CSHB* 33). Bonn 1838, 3–481.

¹¹ It should be noted that this is past the ending of the (now) mutilated Vindob. hist. gr. 40, and that this branch of the tradition is represented by its apographs, Vat. gr. 153 and Holkh. gr. 61.

¹² It has been claimed that Symeon the Chronicler and Symeon the Metaphrast were one and the same person (for references and a discussion, leaning towards a conclusion in the negative, see Symeon (3*–4* WAHLGREN). Also, it has been claimed that Symeon the Chronicler wrote not only the more original chronicle but also Version B (so W. TREADGOLD, *The Middle Byzantine Historians*. Basingstoke – New York 2013). I do not want to open these discussions again, since I consider the whole matter too speculative and therefore unprofitable.

A-Text, Ch. 134: 2 ἀποστείλας δὲ ἤγαγε Νικόλαον ἐκ Γαλακρηνῶν, καταγαγὼν Εὐθύμιον πατριάρχην, καὶ ἐνεθρόνισε τὸ δεύτερον αὐτοῦ Νικόλαον. ἐποίησε δὲ σελέντιον καὶ σύνοδον Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν τῇ Μαναύρα, ἀγαγὼν Εὐθύμιον ἐκ τοῦ Στενοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀγαθοῦ καὶ συγκαθίσας ἅμα Νικολάῳ πατριάρχῃ ἐποίησαντο τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ καθαίρεσιν, ἀτίμως ἀποτίλλοντες τοῦ ἱεροπρεποῦς καὶ ἀξιαγᾶστου ἀνδρὸς τὴν τιμίαν γενειάδα καὶ ἄλλας τινὰς ὕβρεις καὶ ποινὰς αὐτῶ ἐπιφέροντες,

καὶ πρῶως ὑπέμεινεν ὁ τίμιος καὶ ἱερὸς ἀνὴρ. καὶ ὑπεωρίσθη πάλιν εἰς τὰ Ἀγαθοῦ, ἔνθα τελευτήσας κατατίθεται ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ μονῇ, ἐν τῇ πόλει, τῶν Ψαμαθίου.

3 οὗτος Ἀλέξανδρος διὰ τὰς ὑπονοίας, ἃς ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Λέων ἔτι ζῶν εἶχε κατ' αὐτοῦ, αἰετοῖς κυνηγεσίαις καὶ τοῖς ἔξω παλατίαις ἐσχόλαζε, μηδὲν βασιλέως ἔργον διαπραττόμενος, ἀλλὰ διάγων ἐν τρυφαῖς καὶ ἀσελγείαις καὶ μέθαις καὶ περὶ ταῦτα αἰετὸν διακείμενος. ὅθεν ἄρξας αὐτὸς οὐδὲν γενναῖον εἰργάσατο, ἀλλὰ παρευθὺ Ἰωάννην παπᾶν, τὸ ἐπίκλην Λαζάρην, ραίκτορα πεποίηκεν, ὃς καὶ κακῶς τὸ ζῆν ἀπέρρηξε μετὰ θάνατον Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐν τῷ Ἐβδόμῳ σφαιρίζων.

B-Text: 2 ἀποστείλας δὲ ἤγαγε Νικόλαον ἐκ Γαλακρηνῶν, καταγαγὼν τοῦ πατριαρχείου Εὐθύμιον, καὶ ἐνεθρόνιασε τὸν αὐτὸν Νικόλαον τὸ δεύτερον. ποιήσας δὲ σελέντιον ἐν τῇ Μαναύρα Ἀλέξανδρος κατήγαγεν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀγαθοῦ τὸν Εὐθύμιον· καὶ ἅμα Νικολάῳ καθεσθεὶς τὴν αὐτοῦ καθαίρεσιν ἐποίησαντο. εὐθὺς δὲ ὥσπερ ἀνήμεροι θῆρες ἐμπεπηδηκότες τοῦ ἱεροπρεποῦς ἀνδρὸς τὴν σεβασμίαν γενειάδα ἀπέτιλλον καὶ ἐπιτράχηλον ὄθουν καὶ ἄλλας ἀνυποίστους ποινὰς τούτῳ ἐπέφερον, ἐπιβάτην ἀποκαλοῦντες καὶ μοιχόν, καὶ ἄλλοτρία ἐπιπηδήσαντα γυναικί. ὁ δὲ ἱερὸς ἐκεῖνος ἀνὴρ καὶ αἰδέσιμος πρῶως πάντα καὶ ἡσύχως ὑπέφερεν. ὑπερόριος οὖν ἐν τοῖς Ἀγαθοῦ ἀποσταλεῖς καὶ τέλει τοῦ βίου χρησάμενος ἐν τῇ πόλει θάπτεται εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ μονὴν τὴν ἐν τῷ Ψαμαθία ὑπάρχουσαν.

3 ὁ οὖν Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ πάλαι τοῦτο ἔργον ἔχων τὸ ἀβροδίαιτος εἶναι καὶ τοῖς κυνηγεσίαις προσέχειν διὰ τὰς ὑπονοίας τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ Λέοντος, καὶ μηδὲν βασιλέως ἔργον διαπραττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὸ τρυφᾶν καὶ ἀσελγείαις σχολάζειν ἠγαπηκῶς, μονώτατος ἄρξας οὐδὲν γενναῖον ἢ λόγου ἄξιον κατεπράξατο· ἅμα γὰρ τῷ μονοκράτῳ γενέσθαι Ἰωάννην παπᾶν (Λαζάρης τούτῳ ἐπώνυμον) ραίκτορα πεποίηκεν· ὃς καὶ κακῶς τὸ ζῆν ἀπέρρηξε μετὰ θάνατον Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐν τῷ Ἐβδόμῳ σφαιρίζων.

The left column reproduces the text of Symeon (WAHLGREN). On the right is the text as present in the manuscripts of Version B¹³. As we can see, the texts are parallel and tell the same story, sentence for sentence, with no major additions or subtractions. As far as language is concerned, there are several points in this text where I would like to suggest that the B-text is evidence of a slightly higher register than the A-text, e.g.:

καταγαγὼν τοῦ πατριαρχείου Εὐθύμιον: this is instead of the A-text's καταγαγὼν Εὐθύμιον πατριάρχην. Added is a separative genitive, a well-known stylistic shibboleth.

ὑπερόριος οὖν ἐν τοῖς Ἀγαθοῦ ἀποσταλεῖς: this is instead of the A-text's simple ὑπεωρίσθη.

τέλει τοῦ βίου χρησάμενος: this is instead of the A-text's simple τελευτήσας.

ἠγαπηκῶς: in general, perfect forms are rarer in the A-text than in the B-text.

¹³ Here I have ignored deviations between the manuscripts, since they are of no significance to my argument; the reader may be interested to know that, at the end of § 2, there is a major addition in Vat. gr. 167; this is cited in the discussion of Pseudo-Symeon below.

Furthermore, there are short additions, arguably of a poetic kind, in the B-text. An example is the phrase ὡςπερ ἀνήμεροι θῆρες ἐμπεπηδηκότες, referring to a moment during the interrogation, in AD 912, of Patriarch Euthymius, characterizing the people as well as their action.

Of a similar kind is the phrase ἀλλοτρία ἐπιτηδήσαντα γυναικί, viz. the obviously preposterous accusation, directed against Euthymius, that he had been sleeping with another man's wife.

In sum we can see that, on the way from A to B, there is a slight reworking which, so I would suggest, goes in the direction of introducing a higher style. On occasion new information, perhaps with a poetic touch to it, is added.

3. From the Regency Council to the Death of Romanos I (913–948)

In this section of the text, covering the years 913–948, the tendency to reformulate is no longer observable. The following passage may serve as an example of what the text is like. It is taken from the section describing the rule of Constantine VII after the dethronement of Romanos Lekapenos, cf. Symeon 137 (340–342 WAHLGREN), and is, as above, presented with an apparatus reduced to a minimum:

Αὐτοκρατορία Κωνσταντίνου¹⁴

Ὑπελείφθη οὖν αὐτοκράτωρ Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ τούτου γαμβρὸς μηνὶ Δεκεμβρίῳ κ', ἰνδικτιῶνος γ', ἐν ἔτει ςυυδ'. 2 ὃς παρατύκα Βάρδαν τὸν τοῦ Φωκᾶ τῆ τοῦ μαγίστρου ἀξία τιμήσας ὡς χρόνῳ πολλῷ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀνδραγαθίαν πολλάκις ἐπιδειξάμενον, δομέστικον τῶν σχολῶν προχειρίζεται· καὶ Κωνσταντῖνον τὸν Γογγύλην ναυμαχίας ἠγήτορα, καὶ στρατιάρχας τινὰς τῶν εὐχρηστών· εἶτα Βασίλειον ᾧ ἐπίκλην Πετεινὸς πατρίκιον καὶ μέγαν ἐταιρειάρχην· τὸν δὲ τοῦ γένους τῶν Ἀργυρῶν Μαρριανὸν τὰ μοναχικὰ ἀποδύσας πατρίκιον καὶ κόμητα τοῦ σταύλου πεποίηκεν· ὡσαύτως καὶ Μανουήλ, τὸν ἐπιλεγόμενον Κουρτίκιον, πατρίκιον καὶ δρουγγάριον τῆς βίγλας. (here §§ 3–4 follow, omitted in this paper) 5 μετ' ὀλίγον οὖν οὗτοι αἰτησάμενοι τὸν ἴδιον πατέρα θεάσασθαι, ἐν τῇ Πρώτῃ νήσῳ παρεγένοντο· καὶ τοῦτον ἐν τῷ μοναχικῷ σχήματι θεασάμενοι πένθει κατεσχέθησαν ἀφορήτῳ· οἷς ἐπιδακρύσας ὁ πατήρ ἔφη· υἱοὺς ἐγέννησα καὶ ὕψωσα, αὐτοὶ δὲ με ἠθέτησαν· εἶθ' οὕτως ἐξωρίσθησαν· ὁ μὲν Στέφανος εἰς Προικόννησον· ἦντινα Νεβρίαν ὀνόμασμένην κατὰ χρησμὸν δεδομένον ἀποίκους Σαμίων· οἷς ἀφικομένοις πρὸς νῆσον καὶ τῷ θεῷ ἰλασκομένοις ἀριστοποιουμένοις τε ἄωρία ἐτύγχανεν ὀπόθεν ὕδωρ κομίσουσιντο. γυνὴ δὲ τις ἔφη αὐτοῖς, εἰ ἔχετε πρόχοον, δώσω ὑμῖν ὕδωρ. ὅπερ λαβόντες, ὡς ὁ χρησμὸς, καὶ γῆν ἐζήτησαντο. τῆς δὲ καὶ ταύτην δεδοκυίας Πρόχοον τὴν νῆσον ὀνόμασαν καὶ τοῖς ἀργυροῖς νομίμασι πρόχοον εἰκόνιζον· ἀπὸ δὲ Προικοννήσου εἰς Ῥόδον, ἀπὸ δὲ Ῥόδου εἰς Μιτυλήνην· ὁ δὲ Κωνσταντῖνος εἰς Τένεδον, ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Σαμοθράκην, ἐν ἧ καὶ ἀνταρσίαν μελετήσας καὶ τὸν ἐκ βασιλικῆς κελεύσεως τὴν αὐτοῦ φυλακὴν πεπιστευμένον Νικήταν πρωτοσπαθᾶριον ἀναιρήσας καὶ αὐτὸς παρὰ τῶν αὐτὸν φυλασσόντων ἐσφάγη. οὗ τὸ σῶμα παρακομισθὲν ταφῇ παραδίδεται μεγαλοτίμως, ἐν ἧ περι τοῦτω ἡ πρώτη αὐτοῦ κεκήδευται σύμβιος Ἐλένη τοῦνομα. Μιχαὴλ δὲ τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως Χριστοφόρου υἱὸν τὰ βασιλικὰ πέδιλα Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ Πορφυρογέννητος ἀφελόμενος κληρικὸν καὶ μάγιστρον καὶ ραϊκῶρα πεποίηκεν. ὅσοι δὲ ἐπέβαλον χεῖρας ἐπὶ τῇ καταβάσει Ῥωμανοῦ βασιλέως, ταῦτα πεπόνθησιν κτλ.

¹⁴ C = Vat. gr. 163; V = Vat. gr. 153; Y = Vat. gr. 167; 2–3 μηνὶ – ςυυδ' add. V Y (i.e., hic et infra, non exhib. C neque Symeo A) 5–6 καὶ pr. – εὐχρηστών add. V Y (τὸν Γογγύλην exhib. Y, non exhib. V, de C non constat) 7 scripsi: Μαρριανὸς C V Y § 5, 5–9 ἦντινα – εἰκόνιζον add. V Y 10–12 καὶ sec. – αὐτὸς add. V Y 12–13 οὗ – τοῦνομα add. V Y 15 κληρικὸν C, κληρικὸν καὶ ραϊκῶρα V, κληρικὸν καὶ μάγιστρον καὶ ραϊκῶρα Y 15–16 ὅσοι etc. add. Y, cf. continuationem post 948 in C

As can be seen, I have introduced some distinctions into the text, dividing it up so that every word or phrase belongs to one of three categories, representing different layers. Default text (without italics or bold) is that common to all manuscripts. In italics are additions common to the mss. Vat. gr. 153 and Vat. gr. 167, but lacking in Vat. gr. 163. In bold are additions found in Vat. gr. 167 only. In other words, Vat. gr. 163 contains nothing but the default text (non-italics/non-bold); Vat. gr. 153 and Vat. gr. 167 contain the same text as well as the one in italics; Vat. gr. 167 contains the first-mentioned text, the one in italics, and the one in bold.

The text common to all manuscripts is almost identical with the text published in Symeon (WAHLGREN) (deviations from this are mostly errors attributable to accident rather than intention).

It should be clear to the reader what all this means: it is a case of a more original text, upon which consecutive layers of additions have been placed. What it means in terms of the genealogical relationship of the manuscripts thus analysed will be spelt out below, where a stemma is also drawn.

MORE ABOUT THE ADDITIONS: NUMBER OF LAYERS, AMOUNT OF ADDED MATERIAL

Although there is little doubt that there are layers of additions and although distinguishing main layers is justified, it is worth stressing that we do not know what additions were made by one person and at one time.

First of all, the additions are of differing degrees of appropriateness. In some cases, only the date of an event has been added, as in the first paragraph of the last piece of text edited above, with *μηνὶ Δεκεμβρίῳ κ', ἰνδικτιῶνος γ', ἐν ἔτει ςυνδ'*, referring to 20 December 944, when Romanos I Lekapenos was removed from power.

Also by no means inappropriate (at least if the new information is correct) are additions such as the following (also from the text immediately above):

137, 5 ἀνταρσίαν μελετήσας καὶ τὸν ἐκ βασιλικῆς κελεύσεως τὴν αὐτοῦ φυλακὴν πεπιστευμένον Νικήταν πρωτοσπαθᾶριον ἀναιρήσας καὶ αὐτὸς παρὰ τῶν αὐτὸν φυλασσόντων ἐσφάγη.

This is skilfully done: the more original text runs ἀνταρσίαν μελετήσας παρὰ τῶν αὐτὸν φυλασσόντων ἐσφάγη, into which, without any disturbance or infringement of the overall syntactic structure, is added an explanation as to why, ultimately, Stephen Lekapenos was put to death.

At the other end of the scale we have additions which are neither relevant nor skilfully integrated into the whole. Downright obnoxious—interrupting, as it does, the flow of the text—is the excursus on the etymology of Proeconnesus:

137, 5 ἐξωρίσθησαν· ὁ μὲν Στέφανος εἰς Προικόννησον· ἦντινα Νεβρίαν ὀνομασμένην κατὰ χρησμὸν δεδομένον ἀποίκους Σαμίων· οἷς ἀφικομένοις πρὸς νῆσον καὶ τῷ θεῷ ἰλασκομένοις ἀριστοποιουμένοις τε ἄωρία ἐτύγγανεν ὁπόθεν ὕδωρ κομίσσονται. γυνὴ δέ τις ἔφη αὐτοῖς, εἰ ἔχετε πρόχοον, δώσω ὑμῖν ὕδωρ. ὅπερ λαβόντες, ὡς ὁ χρησμὸς, καὶ γῆν ἐξήτησαντο. τῆς δὲ καὶ ταύτην δεδωκυίας Πρόχοον τὴν νῆσον ὀνόμασαν καὶ τοῖς ἀργυροῖς νομίσμασι πρόχοον εἰκόνιζον· ἀπὸ δὲ Προικοννήσου κτλ.

This is a typical gloss, which seems to have entered the main text by accident.

In sum, the additions are very different as regards their type and pertinence. They rather suggest that different minds have worked on the text, some with more, some with less skill. To round off the discussion about the additions, see the following overview:

NUMBER OF ADDED WORDS: PERCENTAGE ACCRETION OF TEXT AS COMPARED TO IMMEDIATELY PRECEDING VERSION

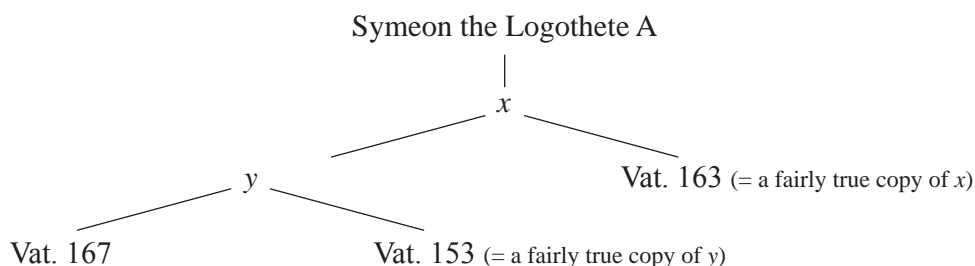
	Layer 0	Layer 1 (Vat. gr. 153/Vat. gr 167)	Layer 2 (Vat. gr. 167)
Leo VI (= Symeon 133 (WAHLGREN))	4250	460 (10.8%)	160 (3.4%)
Alexander (Ch. 134)	520	7 (1.3%)	60 (11.4%)
Regency (Ch. 135)	2340	180 (7.7%)	0
Romanos I (Ch. 136)	6200	340 (5.5%)	1220 (18.7%)
Constantine VII (Ch. 137)	460	110 (23.9%)	430 75.4%)

By “Layer 0” the text common to all manuscripts is meant (whether reformulated or not as compared to Symeon’s *Chronicle*). Layer 1 comprises the additions made in Vat. gr. 153 and Vat. gr. 167 but lacking in Vat. gr. 163¹⁵. Layer 2 encompasses the additions made in Vat. gr. 167 only, but lacking in the other manuscripts. With reference to the discussion above about the varying appropriateness of the additions, it must be stressed that talking about layers here is only a matter of convenience: there is no guarantee that all additions attributed to, say, Layer 2, were indeed added at one time and by one person.

As can be seen, there are great variations between the different chapters as to how much is added. In the (admittedly short) chapter on Emperor Alexander, Layer 1 adds just the following: *μηνὶ ἰουλίῳ ς' (ἐν) ἡμέρᾳ κυριακῇ ἰνδικτιῶνος πρώτης* (the precise date of the emperor’s death). In the subsequent chapter, which deals with the period of the regency council, 913–919, Layer 2 does not add a single word. It is hard to say why this is so; perhaps some epochs and historical processes are more engaging than others to the Byzantine copyist or author.

INTERIM SUMMARY: A STEMMA APPLICABLE TO VERSION B OF SYMEON THE LOGOTHETE AND THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS COVERING THE YEARS 886–948

To summarize, we may draw the following stemma:



The manuscripts mentioned here are those cited in the editions of main parts 2 and 3 above¹⁶.

In sum, the stage in the tradition represented by *x* is, for the years 886–913, a reformulated version of Symeon’s *Chronicle*. Of this, Vat. gr. 163 seems to be a fairly true copy, whereas *y* contains a layer of additions (Layer 1, above).

Furthermore, Vat. gr. 153 seems to be a fairly true copy of *y*, whereas Vat. gr. 167, known as Theophanes continuatus, in addition to Layer 1 exhibits its own, unique, set of additions (Layer 2).

¹⁵ It may be noted that the Old Slavonic version has the Layer 1 additions but not those of Layer 2 (cf. above, n. 4).

¹⁶ As far as the main Part 1 (see above), covering the years 842–886, is concerned, the stemma is, in principle, also valid. However, as we have seen, the texts of the manuscripts sometimes diverge so widely that a common stemma is meaningless.

Put in the language of the textual critic: the additions of Layer 2 are separative errors proving that Vat. gr. 167 cannot be the ancestor of the other manuscripts. On the other hand, because of the fact that it is a more recent manuscript, Vat. gr. 153 cannot be the ancestor of Vat. gr. 167 (Vat. gr. 153 also has errors of its own, a matter on which, for the time being, the reader has to take my word).

Furthermore, the existence of *y* is proven by Layer 1, representing additions which are conjunctive errors uniting Vat. gr. 153 and Vat. gr. 167. The same conjunctive errors are also separative errors, proving that *y* is not the ancestor of Vat. gr. 163. On the other hand, because of the fact that it is a more recent manuscript, Vat. gr. 163 cannot be the ancestor of *y*, since *y* must be older than Vat. gr. 167, which is older than Vat. gr. 163 (Vat. gr. 163 also has errors of its own, a matter on which, for the time being, the reader has to take my word).

Finally, the existence of *x* is proven by a great number of secondary features shared by all the manuscripts mentioned in the stemma, a case in point being the tendency to reformulate, as discussed above with regard to part 2.

In actual fact, all this is not in contradiction with Theophanes continuatus (28* FEATHERSTONE-SIGNES-CODOÑER), where what is essentially the same stemma is drawn. However, the ways by which we arrive at this conclusion differ.

PSEUDO-SYMEON

Having come this far, we will turn briefly to the so-called *Chronicle* of Pseudo-Symeon. In essence, this is what is contained in the ms. Parisinus gr. 1712, a partial edition of which is available in the Bonner corpus¹⁷. An analysis of the sources of Pseudo-Symeon has been provided by Markopoulos, whereas a complete edition, up to modern standards, remains a desideratum¹⁸.

From the year 813 the main source of Pseudo-Symeon is Symeon the Logothete, and Pseudo-Symeon can be said to be a version of the Logothete with additions and, to some extent, reformulated passages (although not quite the kind of reworking described above) and, not least, shortenings and subtractions.

To state only what is pertinent to my planned edition of Version B of the Logothete: Pseudo-Symeon, although belonging to the wider Logothete tradition, does not belong to the smaller circle of Version B/Theophanes continuatus as described above. It is neither the source of Version B/Theophanes continuatus nor derived from it, and it is not possible to locate the Parisinus gr. 1712 within our proposed stemma¹⁹.

However, there are readings in Pseudo-Symeon which are clearly related to the tradition of Version B/Theophanes continuatus.

Sometimes, but far from always, the additions of the Layer 1 identified above (readings common to Vat. gr. 153 and Vat. gr. 167) are found, in more or less the same form, in Pseudo-Symeon, such as the following (describing the subsequent fate of the cleric who gave his blessing to the marriage of Leo VI and Zoe Zaoutzina in 898 AD)²⁰:

133, 23 (καὶ εὐλογεῖται μετ' αὐτῆς) παρὰ κληρικοῦ τοῦ παλατίου, ᾧ ἐπὶ κλην Σινάπης. ὁ μὲν οὖν εὐλογήσας καθηρέθη

Cf. Pseudo-Symeon (Theophanes continuatus ... Symeon magister [703, 1–2 BEKKER]): παρὰ τινος κληρικοῦ τοῦ ἐπὶ κλην Σινάπης. καὶ ὁ μὲν εὐλογήσας καθηρέθη

¹⁷ See Theophanes continuatus ... Symeon magister (603–760 BEKKER) (see n. 10).

¹⁸ A. MARKOPOULOS, Ἡ χρονογραφία τοῦ Ψευδοσυμεών καὶ οἱ πηγές της. Ioannina 1978.

¹⁹ See also Symeon (87*–89* WAHLGREN).

²⁰ Chapters and paragraphs are, as above, in accordance with Symeon (WAHLGREN).

Furthermore, we may take a look at the beginning of the chapter on the rule of Constantine VII, also cited above:

137, 1 Ὑπελείφθη οὖν αὐτοκράτωρ Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ τούτου γαμβρὸς μηνὶ Δεκεμβρίῳ κ', ἰνδικτιῶνος γ', ἐν ἔτει ζυνοδ'. **2** ὃς παρατύκα Βάρδαν τὸν τοῦ Φωκᾶ τῆ τοῦ μαγίστρου ἀξία τιμήσας ὡς χρόνῳ πολλῷ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀνδραγαθίαν πολλακίς ἐπιδειξάμενον, δομέστικον τῶν σχολῶν προχειρίζεται· καὶ Κωνσταντῖνον τὸν Γογγύλην ναυμαχίας ἡγήτορα, καὶ στρατιάρχα τινὰς τῶν εὐχρήστων·

Both of the additions, that in paragraph 1 as well as that in 2, are present in Pseudo-Symeon²¹. In paragraph 2 the Layer 2 addition (i.e. a reading found in Vat. gr. 167) τὸν Γογγύλην is not present in Pseudo-Symeon. It can thus be observed that the majority of the additions paralleled in Pseudo-Symeon belong to Layer 1. This could lead us to believe that the connection between Version B/Theophanes continuatus and Pseudo-Symeon has something to do with Layer 1. However, there are cases suggesting rather a connection with Layer 2, e.g. the following, taken from the chapter on Emperor Alexander's reign, referring to the subsequent fate of a man who took part in the interrogation of Patriarch Euthymius already referred to above in our discussion on style:

134, 2 ὁ δὲ τοῦ πατριάρχου κληρικὸς ὁ τὰς πολιὰς αὐτοῦ τίλας εἰς τὴν Μαγναύραν ἐν τῷ ἐξορίζεσθαι αὐτόν, τὴν αὐτὴν ὥραν ὁ οἶκος αὐτοῦ πυρκαϊᾷ παρεδόθη ἀοράτῳ. εὔρε δὲ καὶ τὴν θυγατέραν αὐτοῦ ἐπειλειμμένην καὶ κρατηθεῖσαν τὰς τε χεῖρας καὶ τὸ στόμα καὶ τὴν λαλίαν· ἥτις καὶ κληήρης οὖσα διήρκεσε τὴν ἐφήμερον τροφήν ζητοῦσα μέχρι Νικηφόρου βασιλέως Νικητοῦ.

Cf. Pseudo-Symeon (Theophanes continuatus ... Symeon magister [716, 8–14 BEKKER]): τῷ δὲ κληρικῷ τῷ τίλαντι τὰς τρίχας τοῦ πατριάρχου συνέβη εὐθὺς ἐν τῷ ἐξορίζεσθαι τὸν ἅγιον, αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ, πυρίκαυστον γενέσθαι τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ ἐξ ἀοράτου πυρός, ἢ δὲ θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ παντελεῖ ἐπιληψία ἐκρατήθη, μὴ δυναμένη στόμα ἢ χεῖρα ἢ ἄλλο τὸ οἰονοῦν μέρος κινεῖν ἢ φωνὴν ἀφιέναι· ἥτις καὶ κληήρης οὖσα καὶ προσαιτὶς διήρκεσεν μέχρι Νικηφόρου βασιλέως τοῦ Νικητοῦ.

A provisional impression: parallels with Layer 1 seem to be more exact than those with Layer 2. However, this is not always the case.

Cautiously summarized, I see it as the most plausible explanation of the situation at hand that cross-contamination has taken place between the different members of the wider Logothete family. How, and in what direction, we do not know. Suffice it to say that Pseudo-Symeon is not part of the primary evidence relevant to the editor of Version B of the Logothete/Theophanes continuatus, yet interesting as a subsidiary source²².

THE CONTINUATION PAST 948

Finally, some words on the continuation past the year 948 (ending, in different manuscripts, at different points in the early 960s, shortly before the usurpation of power by Nikephoros II Phokas in AD 963). This continuation is, in differing forms, met with in Vat. gr. 163, Vat. gr. 167 (Theophanes continuatus) as well as in Par. gr. 1712 (Pseudo-Symeon). Of these, Theophanes continuatus and

²¹ See Theophanes continuatus ... Symeon magister (753 BEKKER) (lines 2 and 4–5 respectively) (see n. 10).

²² For a recent discussion of the complex to which Pseudo-Symeon and its sources belong, together with an up-to-date bibliography, see C. ZUCKERMAN, Emperor Theophilos and Theophobos in Three Tenth-Century Chronicles: discovering the “Common Source”. *REB* 75 (2017) 101–150.

Pseudo-Symeon were edited by Bekker (cf. n. 10), whereas the continuation contained in Vat. gr. 163 was edited much more recently, by Markopoulos²³.

As to its quantity, the text transmitted in the Vat. gr. 163 amounts to about 3000 words, that in Vat. gr. 167 to 6000 words, and that in Par. gr. 1712 to 1500 words.

It seems to be the case that the discrepancy between Vat. gr. 163 and Vat. gr. 167 is here larger than in earlier parts. Nonetheless, a preliminary evaluation indicates that the same relationship between the manuscripts is valid as before. This means that in Vat. gr. 163 we probably have a fairly true, although mutilated, copy of a work conceived as a continuation of Symeon's chronicle. In Vat. gr. 167 we have an expanded version of the same²⁴. In Par. gr. 1712 we have a third version of the same, exhibiting what is characteristic of Pseudo-Symeon: abbreviation (often, we may think, not done so as to yield a successful result).

CONCLUSION

The most important aim of this paper has been to show how the *Chronicle* of Symeon the Logothete, the so-called Version B of the same and Theophanes continuatus relate to each other and that, despite variation, their genealogical relationship can be described in precise terms.

Inevitably, the question arises as to how to deal with all this in an edition. Does it make sense to proceed with separate editions of Version B and Theophanes continuatus, or is it more meaningful to edit them together?

For the time being, I would like to suspend my judgement on the matter. In any event, we have to ensure that a future edition highlights how closely related to each other—indeed, often identical—these works are.

To illustrate how a more original text is added to, layer after layer, an electronic edition would, if having no other advantage, probably be more effective and look tidier than a paper edition made according to the principles outlined above.

For the period from 886 it seems doubtful whether it makes much sense to talk about Theophanes continuatus at all. It is part of the Logothete tradition—often page for page, word for word, the very same text—and, as transmitted in the Vat. gr. 167, without any doubt at all the product of accumulated work in several stages. It is true that, because of the additions, a different text comes out at times. But to look for one intention, one authorial voice, in this product is a questionable approach.

This, finally, takes us to what may seem like a shortcoming of this paper: the lack of historical reference. What about Constantine VII, Theodore Daphnopates and Basil the Nothos—to name some of the personages who have been thought instrumental in the ongoing rewriting of history to which our manuscripts bear testimony? Most scholarship concerning these texts has been guided by an historical interest, and has often arrived at surprisingly precise conclusions about sponsorship, censorship and authorship²⁵. Without denying the legitimacy of this interest, it is my belief that philological spadework must come first.

²³ A. MARKOPOULOS, Le témoignage du Vaticanus gr. 163 pour la période entre 945–963. *Symm* 3 (1979) 83–119.

²⁴ In this conclusion I beg to differ from Markopoulos, *Témoignage*, who claims that Vat. gr. 163 is an abbreviated version of Theophanes continuatus. However, while it is fairly easy to expand a text, I would argue that, at least in the case of chronicles, it is difficult to abbreviate sensibly (which would have to be the case if the shorter text, Vat. gr. 163, were to be dependent on the longer).

²⁵ As an instance one might mention the discussion about Basil the Nothos, summarized in Theophanes Continuatus I–IV (14*–19* FEATHERSTONE–SIGNES-CODOÑER). However attractive these assumptions may be, it is necessary to remember that what we meet with in the manuscripts is the accumulated work of the many.

