AN OVERLOOKED EXCERPT OF THE CHRONICLE
OF GEORGE THE MONK IN CODEX PARisinus Suppl. GR. 1238

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The codex Parisinum Suppl. gr. 1238, a composite of various manuscript fragments collected in Greek monastic libraries by Konstantinos Minoides Minas (1788–1859) during the middle of the nineteenth century, is composed mainly of legal, astrological, and grammatical works in the Byzantine Empire.1 The beginning of the codex (fols. 4-20) consists of fragments of a manuscript from the sixteenth century (fols. 4-9 and 13-20) and complements copied from it by the hand of Minas (fols. 10-12). These fragments, with some additional folios in the codex, were originally parts of the codex Patmiacus 447, which Minas cut off at the library of St. John Monastery on the island of Patmos.2 They contain a fragment of theological dialogue (fol. 4r),3 an imperial ordinance of Michael VIII Palaiologos (r. 1259–1282), admonishing state officials for their maladministration (fols. 8r-12v),4 the laws of the Isaurian emperors (fols. 13r-18r),5 and three ecclesiastical formulae (fols. 18r-20v).6 The remaining texts of folios 4v-8r have


They consist of two parts, each of which are located under a heading title: the first (fols. 4v-6v), under the title of ‘The ordinance of the great emperor Constantine’ (Θέσπισμα τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου), is concerned with the precautions to be taken by the judges about the accusers; the second (fols. 6v-8r) describes a similar content, particularly on various conditions of fair judgement, but under an inappropriate title of ‘Against those with all the heresy, how they should be received in the Church’ (Πρὸς τοὺς περὶ πασῶν τῶν αἱρέσεων, καὶ πῶς χρὴ δέχεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ). Astruc and Concasty suspected the author of the first ‘ordinance’ to be Constantine X Doukas (r. 1059–1067), while of the second to be anonymous.7 Burgmann and Magdalino then pointed out that the first text is largely a compilation from the *Apostolic Constitutions*,8 but further attempts to identify them have not been undertaken.

Our investigation revealed that folios 4v-8r are closely related to the Chronicle of George the Monk (Georgios Monachos). The comparison, shown in Figures 1 and 2 below, clearly shows that the two texts of the codex are not separate pieces, but a sequential excerpt from George the Monk, interrupted by the ‘second’ heading title.9 It is from the section of the reign of Constantine I (r. 306–337), in which the Chronicle is concerned with theological matters and impartial judgments of ecclesiastics, citing numerous passages from the *Apostolic Constitutions*, mainly from its Book II.10

Therefore, the text of the folios 4v-8r is an excerpt of George the Monk with the heading of ‘The ordinance of the great emperor Constantine’, that is, Constantine I. Second bizarre heading seems to have been inadvertently incorporated into the excerpt before the scribe of *Patmiacus* 447 copied it. It is difficult to imagine the scribe himself inserted the heading into the text, for he was carefully distinguishing the first characters of the heading and the ‘second’ text by red ink, suggesting that the title was regarded as such by him. Although the scribe may have felt uneasy with the discrepancy between the heading and the following text, he gave priority to copy them exactly as they were.

The reason for incorporating the second heading cannot be answered with certainty. One may think that it was originally a marginal note of an older copy, referring to other parts of the manuscript, that had been incorporated into the

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7 Astruc – Concasty, Bibliothèque nationale (cited n. 1), 417-418.
8 Burgmann – Magdalino, Michael VIII (cited n. 4), 379.
text of the ‘Constantine’s ordinance’ at some stage and has been transmitted without correction. Its title, ‘Against those with all the heresy, how they should be received in the Church,’ presumably implies a content that treats the conversion of heretics to the orthodox Christian faith. This subject was discussed by several ecclesiastics such as Eusebius of Caesarea, who explained the rebaptism of heretics, citing several letters of Dionysius of Alexandria. Similar words are found in the act of the first session of the Second Council of Nicaea (787). Here, the council discussed that the church should receive everyone who repents, citing the Apostolic Canons (number 52), compiled in the Apostolic Constitutions, Book VIII.

In any case, the excerpt had been organised to promote the goodness of fair justice in the name of Constantine the Great. Considering that the folios were a part of Patmiacus 447, a compilation of various imperial and ecclesiastical legislation in general, and were followed by another ordinance on similar content (Michael VIII’s prostagma on maladministration) in the manuscript, the excerpt probably circulated as a source of law rather than a part of the Chronicle in the late and post-Byzantine periods.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chronicle of George the Monk (de Boor 510.19-23)</th>
<th>Parisinus suppl. gr. 1238, fol. 4v, 1-4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>... τοῦτον παρέβλαψε καὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἀποστερήσας τῷ οἰκέτῃ προσαπε-κλήρωσεν. Ὅθεν χρὴ μετὰ πολλῆς ἀκριβείας τε καὶ σκέψεως ἔρευναν τὰς κατηγορίας καὶ μὴ ὡς ἔτυχε τοῖς κατηγοροῦσι πιστεύειν, κἂν ἄγαν ὡσιν ἀξιόχρεοι ...</td>
<td>+ θέσπισμα τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου Ὅτι χρὴ μετὰ πολλῆς ἀκριβείας τε καὶ σκέψευς ἔρευναν τὰς κατηγορίας καὶ μὴ ὡς ἔτυχε τοῖς κατηγοροῦσιν πιστεύειν, κἂν ἄγαν ὡσιν ἀξιώχρεοι ...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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14 Metzger (ed.), Constitutions apostoliques (cited n. 10), 3, VIII.47.52 (p. 296).
15 Burgmann – Fögen – Schminck – Simon, Repertorium (cited n. 2) 246-252.
κάκείνου συγκαταστηθεμένου καὶ όμολογούντος οὐκ εὐθέως ἐπὶ τὴν κόλασιν αὐτὸν ἐκπέμπουσιν, ἀλλὰ πλείοσιν ἡμέρας τὴν ἐξέτασιν αὐτοῦ ποιοῦνται μετὰ συμβουλίας καὶ σκέψεως πολλῆς καὶ ζητήσεως, καὶ οὕτω τελευταίον ὄρον καὶ ψήφον θανάτου ὁ μέλλων ἐκφέρειν κατ’ αὐτοῦ πρός

tὸν ἴλιον ἑπάρας τὰς χεῖρας ἐπὶ πάντων διαμαρτύρεται ἄθως υπάρχειν τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, καίτοι ὄντες ἐθνικοὶ καὶ ἄθεοι καὶ μόνην τὴν φύσιν ἔχοντες διδάσκαλον …

Figure 2: The end of the ‘first’ and the beginning of the ‘second’ text
(variants are highlighted with bold face on the right column)

Place of the excerpt in the manuscript tradition of the Chronicle
The reconstruction of the stemma codicum of George’s Chronicle is a matter of scholarly debate. There are two major versions of the Chronicle, as indicated by Carl de Boor in his first scholarly edition in 1904: the primitive version represented by Coislinianus 305 (P) and the so-called Vulgate version.¹⁶ The most comprehensive survey of the manuscript transmission since de Boor’s edition is the doctoral thesis of Marie-Aude Monégier du Sorbier,¹⁷ which preferred the priority of the Vulgate to P. However, Dimitri Afinogenov persuasively rejected her argument.¹⁸ According to Afinogenov, the first and original version was compiled by George himself shortly after 843 (probably in 846/847) and has been transmit-

¹⁶ DE BOOR – WIRTH, Georgii Monachi Chronicon (cited n. 9), 1, v-lxxxiii.
ted through very few manuscripts (P and a fragment Q) and a Slavonic translation called Lětovnik; the second is the so-called Vulgate version, dated to the last quarter of the ninth century and widely circulated in Byzantium and beyond.\textsuperscript{19}

Our excerpt belongs to the Vulgate version.\textsuperscript{20} This is not a faithful copy of the Chronicle, as there are more than 50 variant readings in an excerpt of about 1,600 words. Most of them are singular and thus do not appear in the critical apparatus of de Boor’s edition, suggesting that the text of folios 4v-8r of Parisinus Suppl. gr. 1238 was the result of repeated copies of the excerpt since its extraction from the Chronicle. A collation against de Boor’s edition shows the following result (omitting the singular readings: see Appendix below).

\begin{verbatim}
511.22 ψευδῆ κατηγορίαν 1238 Const.: ψευδηγορίαν P dB: κατηγορίαν A B
512.1 γὰρ καὶ 1238 B R: γάρ, φησίν, καὶ dB: γάρ φησί καὶ P: καὶ om. V
512.8 τὸ πονηρὸν 1238 B C E: τὸν πονηρὸν P dB
512.15 ἡ ἀναστροφὴ αὐτοῦ 1238 dB: αὐτοῦ ἡ ἀναστροφὴ A B: ἀνατροφὴ C M
512.23 Ναβουθαί 1238 P B: Ναβουθὲ dB
513.15 λέγει 1238 C E F N: λέξει A B P V dB: δὸ λέγεται recc. quidam: ὁ λέ-
γων recc. alii
514.5 ἔχει 1238 Const.: ἔχοι A C D P V dB
514.5 συγκαταθεμένου 1238 C R Const.: συγκατατιθεμένου dB: συγκατιθε-
μένου P
515.13 κατὰ 1238 B P R dB: καὶ κατὰ rell.
515.19 εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἕτεροι 1238 A B F: εἰσίν P: εἰσὶ δὲ ἕτεροι dB
\end{verbatim}

Sigla

1238 Parisinus Suppl. gr. 1238, fols. 4v-8r (originally Patmiacus 447)

Const. Apostolic Constitutions
dB Edition of de Boor; for other sigla, see de Boor’s edition

These readings suggest that our excerpt is located within the same family as B, that is, Parisinus gr. 1705, supposedly composed in the thirteenth–fourteenth


century and was housed on the island of Cyprus before arriving at the library of Colbert in Paris in 1676. According to Monégier du Sorbier, $B$ belongs to the $\alpha^3$ tradition from which $B$ and $S$ descend, and I follow her opinion regarding this substemma. In terms of the relationship between $B$ and 1238, both have a common ancestor, while 1238 does not descend from $B$, as shown by the above and following variant readings.

511.11 ἐκζητήσεως 1238 dB: ζητήσεως B E R  
511.23-24 τὰ τοιαῦτα μὴ προχείρως 1238 dB: μὴ προχείρως τὰ τοιαῦτα A B V  
513.14 παρὰ θεῷ 1238 dB: παρὰ τῷ θεῷ B et recc. quidam  
515.9 τοῦ γὰρ κυρίου ἡ κρίσις 1238 dB: τοῦτο γὰρ θείας B: τοῦ γὰρ κρίσις R  
515.10 καὶ τῶν λεγομένων πιθανότητα 1238 dB: om. B: τὴν om. A P: πειθανότητα A C D F

$S$ seems to be dated to the tenth century and has been transmitted as the front guard sheets of another eleventh-century manuscript at the monastery of Lavra (Coislinianus 28) and now consists of five folios and contains only from 225.22 to 234.22 and from 243.8 to 256.10 of the Chronicle. Therefore, the relationship between $S$ and 1238 could not be determined.

On the contrary, the variants at 511.22 and 514.5 suggest that 1238 was affected by contamination outside the entire manuscript transmission of the Chronicle. Our text was partially emended by a text of the Apostolic Constitutions, on which the section of the Chronicle relied heavily.

Possible solutions are indicated in Figure 3 below.

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22 Monégier du Sorbier, Recherches (cited n. 17), 469-509, esp. 504-508.

23 R. Devreesse, Catalogue des manuscrits grecs. Tome II: Le fonds Coislin. Paris 1945, 23-24; Monégier du Sorbier, Recherches (cited n. 17), 258-260 dates $S$ to the twelfth century, though no discussion is provided.
Although these assumptions are not conclusive due to the briefness, our excerpt seems to have become independent from George's Chronicle at an early period considering its text and context. The numerous variants in the text of 1238 reflect repeated copying practices during its transmission until the sixteenth century.

The Chronicle of George was sometimes extracted because of its attractiveness as a storytelling narrative.24 Here, we have found another example, which might not be useful for the prospective critical edition of the original version of the Chronicle but illustrates its characteristic as a fruitful source, not only for short stories but also for legal practices in Byzantium.

Appendix: Variant readings of the excerpt

510.21 ὅθεν] ὅτι 1238 sub titolo + θέσπισμα τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως Κων- 
510.22 κατηγορούσι] κατηγορούσιν 1238 
510.23 άξιόχρεοι] άξιόχρεοι 1238 
511.2 τι ποιεῖ] τίς εἶ 1238 
511.15 κολακεύουντα] κολακεύοντα 1238 
511.15 post προσήκον, προσιέμενος 1238 
511.16 φησίν] φησί 1238 
511.18 διώκεται] διόκεται 123825 
511.22 ψευδηγορίαν] ψευδή κατηγορίαν 1238 Const.; κατηγορίαν A B 
511.23 ἀξιώχρεοι] ἀξιωχρέων 1238 
512.1 γάρ, φησίν, καί] γάρ καὶ 1238 B R; γάρ καὶ δίκαιον φησίν C; γάρ φησί 
512.22 ψευδηγορίαν] ψευδῆ κατηγορίαν 1238 Const.; κατηγορίαν A B 
512.3-4 λυμαίνονται ῥήματα δίκαια] δίκαια om. F N; λυμαίνουσι τὰ κρίματα 
512.7 καθ’ ὁν τρόπον] καθὸ 1238 
512.8 τὸν πονηρόν] τὸ πονηρόν 1238 B C E 
512.17 μάρτυρας εὐλαβεῖς] εὐλαβεῖς μάρτυρας 1238 
512.18 ἀξιωχρέων] ἀξιωχρέων 1238 
512.20 ἔγχωρει καὶ] καὶ om. 1238 
512.21 κακῷ] κακῷ 1238 
512.23 νιόν] νιῶν 1238 
512.23 Ναβουθε] Ναβουθαῖ 1238 B P (not noticed by dB) 
513.4 παραδέχεσθαι] παραδέχεσθαι 1238 
513.5 εἰ οὖν …] εἰ οὖν₂⁶ ἐκκλίναι 1238 
513.6 οὐ παραδέχεται] οὐδὲ παραδέχεται 1238; οὐ γάρ δέξῃ 1238 
513.7 καὶ εἰ ἔστω δὲ ὁ κριτὴς … τὸ δίκαιον διώκεται’ is a citation from Const. II, 5, not from 
513.7 καὶ εἰ ἔστω δὲ ὁ κριτὴς … τὸ δίκαιον διώκεται’ is a citation from Const. II, 5, not from 
II, 41 as de Boor noted. 
513.8 αὐτῆς] αὐτῆς 1238 
513.9 οὐ παραδεχόμενος] οὐ συμμορφώσατο 1238; οὐ γάρ δέξῃ 1238 
513.10 εἰ ὅσιος] οὕτως 1238 

25 Here, 'ἔστω δὲ ὁ κριτὴς … τὸ δίκαιον διώκεται’ is a citation from Const. II, 5, not from 
II, 41 as de Boor noted.
26 Before the next sentence, 'εἰ οὖν …; P has a long passage that de Boor did not notice (P 
229v, l. 14 – 230r, l. 7).
513.11 ψεύδους | ψεύδευς 1238
513.15 ψεύσματι | ψεύματι 1238
513.15 λέξει | A B P V; λέγει 1238 C E F N; ο λέγεται recc. quidam; ο λέγων recc. alii
514.5 ἔχοι | A C D P V; ἔχει 1238 et rell. Const.
514.5 συγκατατιθεμένου | συγκαταθεμένου P; συγκαταθεμένου 1238 C R Const.
514.6 αὐτῶν | αὐτῶν 1238
514.9 ἔχοι | έχει 1238 et rell. Const.
514.9-10 κατ’ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον ἐπάρας …] κατ’ αὐτοῦ. Πρὸς τοὺς περὶ πασῶν τῶν αἱρεσιῶν, καὶ πῶς χρὴ δέχεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. ἥλιον ἐπάρας … 1238
514.17 δὴ | δὲ 1238
514.18 διαρρήδην | om. 1238
514.19 οἱ κατοικοῦντες | οἱ καταβαίνοντες καὶ κρατοῦντες 1238
514.23 τοῦ θεοῦ | τοῦτον 1238
514.24 – 515.1 έρευνα, οτι κρίσις ἀπότομος … γίνεται] έρευναν, ὅταν κρίσεις ἀπότομοι … γίνονται 1238
515.1 ο γὰρ ἐλάχιστος | καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἐλάχιστος 1238
515.2 ἐστίν ἐλέους | ἐστὶ καὶ ἐλέους ἄξιος 1238
515.4-5 par’ αὐτοῦ, ὁ δὲ πολὺ δοθῆται, πολὺ καὶ ἀπαιτήσουσι παρ’ αὐτοῦ] παρὰ αὐτοῦ 1238
515.9 τοῦ | τοῦτον 1238
515.10 πιθανότητα | πιθαρότητα 1238
515.11-12 χωρῆσαι δυνηθεῖν] ἐλθοῖν 1238
515.12 μὴ] οὐ 1238
515.13 κατὰ] 1238 B P R; καὶ κατὰ rell.
515.16 ἐφικνοῦνται | ἠφικνοῦνται 1238
515.17 κατηλεύονται | κατηλεύονται 1238
515.17 προπίνοντες | προπίνουσι 1238
515.19 εἰσὶ δὲ ἐτεροῖ | εἰσίν P; εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἐτεροὶ 1238 A B F
516.5 κρίνειν | κρίνειν ἀνεξετάστως 1238
516.5 γοῦν | γὰρ 1238
516.6 ὅταν] οὐ 1238
516.6 ἡ κρίσις | ἡ δικαία κρίσις ἔπεται 1238

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This article identifies two hitherto unidentified texts on fols. 4v-8r of the codex Parisinus Suppl. gr. 1238 that are, in fact, a sequential excerpt from the Vulgate version of the Chronicle of George the Monk. The excerpt, which had become independent presumably at an early stage of the Chronicle’s textual transmission, offers an example indicating the Chronicle was used as a source of Byzantine legal practices.