

II. The Manuscripts

MNCH is preserved, in greater or smaller parts, in four manuscripts, referred to by van Dieten as B, S, X and Y. Two of the mss (X and Y) are composite, containing other texts besides MNCH. Two of the mss contain only the text of MNCH (B and S). While there can be no doubt that the original MNCH indeed “translated” the entire *History* of Choniates, it has not survived complete, the combined mss preserving for us approximately 92 per cent of the MNCH text in total.

Our descriptions of the mss inevitably and necessarily draws on van Dieten’s descriptions, though we provide further information and observations on features of note. For the collation, we were fortunate in having high quality digital copies of the mss, while we also had the opportunity to study all of them firsthand.

Throughout our discussion of the manuscripts we use the following initials to simplify our referencing:

NCH	= Niketas Choniates’ original <i>History</i>
N	= for page and line references to van Dieten’s edition of NCH
MNCH	= generally the Metaphrase of Choniates’ <i>History</i>
M	= for page and line references to our edition of MNCH

Our references to the various chapters, or “Books,” of the *History* as rendered by MNCH reflect the divisions and numbering employed in our edition. The division of the *History* into books presents certain variations across the manuscript tradition of NCH;³¹ MNCH shows a degree of alignment with codex V of NCH, but even the explicit numbering of V at N571.55 (i.e. Book 18), which is found also in MNCH (at M364) is not consistent with the actual number of “Books” that has already preceded in the text.

B = Monacensis gr. 450 [Diktyon no. 44898]:³² s. XIV^{2/4}, paper, iii + 242 + iii leaves measuring 275×210 mm.

The sole content of the ms is MNCH, but the original text is not complete as the ms is mutilated at the beginning and end; a few other folios are missing and accordingly there are other gaps. Also, some of the folios have been sewn, at some stage subsequent to the manuscript’s original production, into the wrong position, while a number of folios have also been damaged and subjected to restoration of varying competence. Nevertheless, B is the most complete of the four mss, and the only one

³¹ See van Dieten, “Einleitung,” XIX, where it can be seen that the book/chapter divisions of MNCH from Book 16 onwards follow generally the divisions of codex V, including the explicitly stated Book number of ιη’ (όκτωκαιδέκατος) at M364.

³² See van Dieten, “Einleitung,” XXXIII–XXXIV.

to preserve part of the first chapter of the *History* (on the reign of Ioannes I Komnenos).

The main text is written in black ink, now faded to brown; marginal notes and lemmata in red ink. Chapter/book titles are mixed, usually with the first letter of each word in red, and the rest in black. Rulings are discussed below.

The text begins on f. 1, Ἄρμενιοι δὲ κατὰ τοῦ ῥωμαϊκοῦ στρατοῦ τὰ καὶ τὰς πέτρας ρίπτοντες τὸν ἐκ πλίνθου τεῖχον ἔβλαπτον, i.e. commencing at the point corresponding to N26.79/82. Thereafter the text runs thus: f. 1, 4–5, 2–3, then lost text (N39.45–49.22, including the beginning of Book 2); ff. 8, 6–7, then lost text (N56.28–61.67); ff. 9–37, then lost text (N135.18–137.87); ff. 38–48, 51–114, then lost text (N346.15–31 and 347.47–348.63); ff. 115–165, then lost text (N461.31–464.10); ff. 166–183, then lost text (N503.53–506.16); ff. 184–205, then lost text (N546.67–550.38, including beginning of Book 18); ff. 206–232, then lost text (N605.78–608.60); ff. 233–236, then lost text (N617.80–619.27); ff. 237–242, then lost text (N628.21–632.32); ff. 49–50, the text breaks off at f. 50^v with the words: ὀχυρώματα γὰρ καὶ κάστρα ἐνδύναμα ἔχοντες, μὴ ὑπέκυπτον ἀνθρώποις τροφὴν καὶ πότον (N637.37).

Consequently, the beginnings of Books 1 and 2 are lost. The beginning of Book 3: f. 13; Book 4: f. 23^v; Book 5: f. 34; Book 6: f. 42^v; Book 7: f. 54; Book 8: f. 64; Book 9: f. 72; Book 10: f. 89^v; Book 11: f. 102^v; Book 12: f. 117^v; Book 13: f. 134; Book 14: f. 145^v; Book 15: f. 161^v; Book 16: f. 183; Book 17: f. 199^v; beginning of Book 18 lost; Book 19: f. 213^v; Book 20: 216^v (on f. 219^r a separate title is given for the Lament on the City, i.e. N576.1: τοῦ αὐτοῦ Χωνειάτου θρῆνος τῆς Πόλεως); Book 21 (though apparently deliberately omitting the introductory preamble N583.1–585.49): f. 222^v.

In her close inspection of the manuscript for the new catalogue description, Marina Molin Pradel identified the following watermarks: a) an anvil on ff. 1–48, 51–177, 179/–, 180–183: Piccard Tools & Weapons IV, 1097 – Bologna 1330; b) a pitcher on ff. 49/50, 178/184, 185–230: Mošin–Traljić 6873 (14th C., probably 1325/1335); c) a ram's head on ff. 231–242: almost identical with Piccard Ram III, 169 – Bologna 1328.³³

The original binding has clearly been disturbed, with the result that the current sequence of surviving quires and folios runs thus: 8 + 9 (1 + 8) + 8 + 7 (8-1, after f. 37 a folio has been lost) + 8 + 10 (2 = f. 49/50 + 8) + 13×8 + 7 (8-1, after f. 165) + 8 + 7 (8-1, after f. 183) + 2×8 + 6 (8-2, after f. 205) + 3×8 + 6 (8-1, after f. 232 and -1 after f. 236) + 6 (at the end 2 folios and further quires are lost). The pagination (Arabic numerals) that

³³ We thank Marina Molin Pradel for providing us with her draft description of the manuscript containing a detailed assessment of its codicological and palaeographical features for the forthcoming volume of the Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München. Fortunately her description does not conflict with our conclusions from our own inspection of the manuscript, but valuably provides a host of supplementary data and supporting evidence, especially in the case of her conclusions regarding the watermarks and scribal hands. We are also grateful to Brigitte Mondrain for undertaking to inspect the manuscript for us and providing us with important insights at an earlier stage of our research.

has been added in the top right corner of each leaf (recto) reflects only this post-disruption sequence of folios. Greek numerals in the top corner of the folios at the beginning of each new chapter (whether recto or verso) state the number of folios in the chapter that commences in each case but, again, reflect only the latest state of the binding and folio sequence: f. 13: Φλλ. ια (i.e. 11 folios), f. 23^v: Φλλ. ι (i.e. 10 folios), f. 34^v: Φλλ. θ (i.e. 9 folios), f. 72^v: Φλλ. ιζ (i.e. 17 folios), f. 89^v: Φλλ. ΙΓ (i.e. 13 folios), f. 213^v: Φλλ. Γ (i.e. 3 folios), f. 216^v: Φλλ. Β (i.e. 2 folios), f. 219: Φλλ. δ (i.e. 4 folios: this being just the section titled Θρῆνος τῆς Πόλεως), f. 222^v: Φλλ. κ (i.e. 20 folios). On f. 199^v there is the indication Φλλ. ιδ (i.e. 14); however, this is the number of folios through the following *two* chapters – the error arises because of the two lost folios between 205 and 206, which included the beginning (and respective title) of Book 18 of MNCH.

Close inspection of the ms, however, and examination of the rulings allow us to make two important conclusions regarding the original state of the ms and its subsequent life. First, the rulings: the preparation of the page prior to the scribe's copying involved producing a simple dry-point ruled frame demarcating the area within which the text was to be contained. In other words, a box was created by two vertical lines – one right and one left – and two horizontal lines – one delimiting the lower margin of the written surface of the page, and the other delimiting the top margin of the written surface. Accordingly, the space created for the scribe to write within measures roughly 13.5 × 20 cm. For each gathering, the application of the tool inscribing the ridge-and-furrow ruling was not carried out directly on every folio of the gathering, but as follows: f. 1 recto, f. 4 verso and f. 5 recto (i.e. in the middle of the quire), and f. 8 verso.³⁴ While this method of ruling economized on time, since not all folios and pages needed to be ruled individually, the increased pressure required to make a furrow that would be evident through two folios, rather than just one, meant that sometimes the margins were so severely ruled – or in fact incised – that, with the passing of time, they actually became detached. In other words, this may explain why the margins of some folios (f. 17 is a good example, where a scribe has restored words and letters at the edge of the page) have been lost. Usefully, these dry-point rulings provide an indication as to where quires begin and end, and in addition there are some faint traces of the signature marks, i.e. the old quire numbering (Greek numbering, without the usual *keraia*) noted at the beginning and ending of quires (e.g. at f. 51^r: θ, f. 59^r: ι, f. 66^v: δέκατον, f. 67^r: ια, f. 82^r: ιβ, f. 83^r: ιγ, f. 90^v: ιγ, f. 91^r: ιδ, f. 98^v: ιδ, f. 106^v: traces of ιε, f. 123^r: traces of ιη, f. 130^v: ιη, f. 131^r: traces of ιθ, f. 139^r: κ, f. 147^r: κα, f. 154^v: traces of κα, f. 155^r: κβ, f. 163^r: κγ, f. 178^v: κε, f. 193^r: κζ).

Since the first still visible quire numbering is on f. 51^r ("θ"), we can calculate the exact number of missing folios (taking into consideration that ff. 49–50 are misplaced): $8 \times 8 = 64 - 48 = 16$ folios missing. And given the length of the gaps, we can

³⁴ See Sautel and Leroy, *Répertoire des réglures*, 35 ("system 11, code 1122.1122").

fairly say that 12 lost folios would probably have corresponded to the lost text at the start of the reign of John Komnenos (N1.0–26.79), and another four folios would have corresponded to the lost text dealing with the end of the reign of John Komnenos and the beginning of Book 2, i.e. the beginning of the reign of Manuel Komnenos (N39.44–49.22).

On certain folios the letters on the very inner margin of the recto indicating the rubric to be added at a later stage of the working process can be seen, e.g.: ff. 70^r ἐ, 71^r λ, 73^r γ, 80^r κ, 84^r ἐ, 94^r μ, and others.

In van Dieten's view, the manuscript was written by a single scribe, whose style is sometimes more careful and regular, at other times hasty and clumsy. However, in Molin Pradel's view, the manuscript is the product of two main hands, with another four participating in shorter sections. Hand *a* can be seen, for example, on ff. 1^r, 2^v, 3^v–4^r, 5^v, 7^r–^v, 8^v, 23^r, 26^r–^v, 31^r–^v, 32^v–33^r, 34^r–39^v, 40^r line 17–44^r, 45^r–47^r, 49^r, 50^v–51^v, 52^v line 12–53^r, 54^r lines 1–2; 54^v, 56^r lines 1–16; 56^v lines 1–11 (?); 57^v–58^r, 59^r, 61^r–62^r line 8; 62^v–63^r line 9; 65^v, 67^v–68^r, 69^v, 76^v, 78^r–^v, 81^r–91^r, 92^r–96^r, 97^r, 97^v line 22–109^r, 110^r–112^r, 113^r–114^r, 116^v–120^v, 121^v–123^r, 124^r–128^v, 129^v–131^v line 2, and so on. In Molin Pradel's words, the script is fairly upright, the casual “utility hand” that of a practiced scribe; it shows features of the Fettaugenmode style (large rounded omicron, sigma, phi, omega). On some folios the copyist has rows of consecutive lines beginning with the same letter (“κ”), notably ff. 179^v and 222^r. These “Kappa” pages present a remarkable and entertaining visual phenomenon, which could perhaps point to a more accurate date and identity of scribe at some time in the future if similar pages are found in other, dated or signed mss. Elsewhere throughout the text, the *a*-hand generally writes large, flamboyant kappas. Inmaculada Pérez Martín describes the hand as that of an “unprofessional copyist who tries to write as patriarchal or imperial officials did at the time.” This “unprofessional” appearance of the *a*-hand could perhaps be explained as reflecting the purpose for which the manuscript was copied: overall it has a slightly untidy look, suggesting that it may have been destined for personal use or some other rather utilitarian function, and was probably not a commissioned copy.

The second main hand, hand *b*, is seen, for example, on ff. 1^v, 2^r, 3^r, 4^v–5^r, 6^r–^v, 8^r, 9^r–18^r line 2, 18^v–22^v, 23^v–24^v, 25^v, 27^r–30^v, 32^r, 44^v, 47^v–48^v, 49^v–50^r, 52^r–52^v line 11; 53^v, 54^r line 3–last line; 55^r–^v, 56^r line 16–last line; 56^v line 12–57^r, 62^r line 9–last line; 63^r line 9–65^r, 66^r–67^r, 68^v–69^r, 70^r–76^r, 77^r–^v, 79^r–80^v, 91^v, 96^v, 97^v lines 1–21; 109^v, 112^v, 114^v–116^r, 121^r, 123^v, 129^r, 131^v line 3–132^r, and so on. A characteristic feature of the *b*-hand is its small, cramped epsilon. This K-ε stylistic difference between the *a*- and *b*-hands is compounded by spelling variants or preferences that appear to be discrete for each style. For example, Ἀνδριανούπολις (vs Ἀδριανούπολις): Ἀνδριανούπολις is the standard form in mss SXY, but appears occasionally in B too, always in the *b*-hand: e.g. M236.14 SX; M237.21 S; M325.10 X; M352.29 Y; M381.17 Y (but Ἀδρ. M382.3 Y); M390.7/14 BY (the *b*-hand of ms B); M391.9/13 Y (ms B Ἀδρ. *a*-hand); M396.23 Y (ms B Ἀδρ. *a*-hand); M402.20 Ἀνδρ./7 Ἀδρ. (δ ex v) *b*-hand. Also, Καϊσχορόης (vs Καϊχορόης) (appearing also in NCH mss VWF, e.g. N494.10, M310.1) is the preferred

spelling of the *b*-hand; see: M308.32 Καϊσχορόης *b*-hand, then M309.3 -χοσρόης *a*-hand; M310.25 -χοσρόης *a*-hand; M328.9/13 Καϊσχορόην/Καϊσχορόης *b*-hand; M400.5 Καϊσχορόην *b*-hand. Also perhaps Σηλυβρία (vs Σηλυμβρία N): e.g. M377.25 Σηλυβρίαν Υ, M378.2 Σηλυβρίας Υ = Σηλυμβρ- *a*-hand of ms B; M393.6 Σηλυβρία Υ; M402.19 Σηλυβρίαν *b*-hand of ms B. Also, the inf. aor. ending presents the variation -άσαι vs -ᾶσαι: M72.27 περάσαι *a*-hand; M383.17 διαπερᾶσαι *b*-hand/ M383.20 περάσαι *a*-hand; M76.17 δοκιμάσαι *a*-hand; M383.17 δοκιμᾶσαι *b*-hand; M384.9 δοκιμάσαι *a*-hand. Another peculiarity of an almost dyslexic nature (though perhaps a deliberate hallmark “error” of the scribe?) is observed specifically in the case of τάττω, which the *a*-hand frequently writes as -ττάτω in various forms of the verb and its compounds, e.g. *b*-hand συνέταττε M277.4 (f. 160^v) / *a*-hand συνέττατε M113.11/17 (f. 68) and M382.5 (f. 229^v), *b*-hand ὑπετάττοντο M109.5 (f. 66) / *a*-hand ὑποτάττουσα M275.5 (f. 159^v), and ἔττατε M300.8 (f. 174), ἐπέττατε M267.23 (f. 154^v), but *b*-hand once προσέττατε M158.16 (f. 91^v).

Four other hands can be seen at work in various shorter sections of the ms, i.e. hand *c* on ff. 18^r line 3 to end of page; 25^r, 149^r, 151^v–153^v, 160^v; hand *d* on ff. 33^v, 149^v, 157^v, 164^r, 173^v, 180^r, 192^v, 218^v; hand *e* on ff. 40^r, lines 1–16; and hand *f* on ff. 162^v, line 15 to end of page; 211^r–211^v line 2.

It is notable also that there is frequent variation in the number of lines of text on the pages: for example, many pages of the ms have around 29 lines of text, but some have more (e.g. f. 18: 31 lines, f. 59^v: 36 lines, f. 63^v: 37 lines, f. 65: 38 lines), some have fewer (f. 47^v: 26 lines), especially towards the end of the ms where the script becomes much more rushed (f. 192^v: 21 lines, f. 197^v: 20 lines), while the text on 198^v is written in such large characters that it contains the smallest number of words of all the folios of the ms. Overall, therefore, the ms does not display consistent or careful arrangement of the text on its pages, again suggesting that it may not have been a commissioned copy, but rather a working copy, perhaps for practical use or consultation.

Lemmata are contained on many of the leaves, usually in the lower margin, though also in the margin beside the text and (less commonly) above the text, of the type ὅτι/οἴος/περὶ... etc., which, because in many cases they had become badly faded, appear to have been traced over with ink by a later hand. Molin Pradel suggests that all these original lemmata are roughly contemporary with the production of the main text. Many, which were not traced over with ink by the later hand, are badly faded and illegible. Brief glosses and emotional responses regarding the text that are occasionally found on the pages of the ms are probably slightly later in date, including, for example, the comment on f. 21, referring to the place name Zeugminon in the text at M34.7: ὅπερ νῦν λέγεται Σίρμιον; and f. 75^v, referring to the text at M127.22–23 (τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ... κακότροποι), though parts of it today are illegible:

[Φ]λυαρεῖς καὶ ψεύδεσαι [κα]τηγορῶν τοὺς πολίτας, [τ]ὰ γὰρ πολλὰ ἄτοπα καὶ [αἱ] παράλογοι πράξεις τῶν [?κατὰ?] καιροὺς βασιλευσάντων,[?έθέ?]λειν ἄγειν αὐτοὺς, [?ώσ?]περ

ἀνδράποδα, ποιεῖ [?αύ?]τοὺς εὐχωρῶσι μόλ[ις? δὲ?] καὶ εἰς στάσεις οὐ [μόνον?] [προαιρ?]έσεως [ἢ?]μᾶς σὺ κατηγορεῖς, ἀλλ’ ἐξ ἀνάγκης καὶ [...]λλης εἰ[?] γὰρ ἦν ἡ βασιλ[...] Θ]εσσαλονίκη[ν?] ἐκ πί[σσας?] ποιεῖ τοῖς πολίταις, [...]ξομαι ὅτι καθ’ ἔκαστον [τινὰ?/ἴνα?] ἔτερον βασιλείον ἐμελλον [ποι?]εῖν ... [.....] ὅτι ἀληθεύεις [...] ὁ δ’ αὐτὸς ὁ δ’ αὐτὸς λῆρός [έ?]στι καὶ ὑβριστής κατηγορῶν τοὺς πολίτας.³⁵

The phrase that opens this comment, Φλυαρεῖς καὶ ψεύδεσαι, was presumably a common idiomatic twinning, as it appears also in Michael Glykas's *Verses from Prison*.³⁶ The word [ἢ?]μᾶς suggests that the reader (and commentator at this point) of the text was a Constantinopolitan, presumably of the Byzantine era. The note also appears to make an obscure (due to its illegibility) reference to Thessalonike. One wonders if this may be alluding in some way to the phenomenon of the Zealots in Thessalonike.³⁷ In any case, this marginal note allows us to assume that the manuscript was indeed located in the Byzantine capital and copied there. Three deleted words towards the end of the comment (ἐ δ’ αὐτὸς) hint at the possibility that the comment itself has been copied from elsewhere.

On f. 121 (the central folio of the ms), there is a note in tiny handwriting, at right-angles to the main text, by Martin Crusius along the length of the left margin: Διανέγνων ἐγώ Μαρτίνος ὁ Κρούσιος εἰς Τύβιττυγάν μοι ὑπὸ κ〈νρίο〉υ ἰω〈άννου〉 βαπτ〈ιστοῦ〉 αίντζελίου ἐξ αὐγούστης πεμφθέν, αφπ’ μησὶν ίουνίω καὶ ίουλίω. In other words, the manuscript, sent to Crusius by Johann Baptist Haintzel,³⁸ was read by Martin Crusius in Tübingen in June and July 1580. On f. 149, the word διαμένει (=M259.23) has been supplied in the margin, by a hand that is remarkably similar to Crusius's hand.³⁹

While the watermarks, as discussed above, require us to assume a date for the ms somewhere in the second quarter of the fourteenth century – perhaps the 1330s, maybe the early 1340s – the script also shows considerable resemblance to other mss of this period.⁴⁰ Accordingly, B is the oldest of the four MNCH mss. Nevertheless, B appears to have been copying a text that was already in place before him: this is

³⁵ The first lines of this note (i.e. [Φ]λυαρεῖς καὶ ψεύδεσαι [κα]τηγορῶν τοὺς πολίτας, / [τ]ὰ γὰρ πολλὰ ἄτοπα καὶ [αἱ] παράλογοι πράξεις) look almost as if the commentator is attempting political (fifteen-syllable) verse.

³⁶ See Michael Glykas, *Verses from Prison*, 133: Εἴ τις ἀν λέγη: ψεύδεται, φλυαρεῖ, μὴ τὸν πιστεύῃς!

³⁷ The Zealots were in control of Thessalonike from 1342 to 1350, when John Kantakouzenos managed to impose central control from Constantinople again. See Nicol, *The Last Centuries*, 195.

³⁸ On the Haintzel family, and Johann Baptist in particular, see the online *Stadtlexikon Augsburg* under the family name “Hainzel”, and also Reinhard (ed.), *Augsburger Eliten des 16. Jahrhunderts*, 1996, 222-224.

³⁹ In his *Turcograeciae libri octo* etc., p. 44, Crusius also mentions the fact that he had the opportunity to read the ms: see van Dieten, “Einleitung,” XXXIV.

⁴⁰ See esp. Turyn, *Dated Greek manuscripts*, vol. 2, Plates 111, 113–116, 181 and 182, and the relevant discussion in vol. 1, 137–141 and 222–229. The mss described by Turyn date from the period 1321 to 1359. A curious feature of some of these mss is that they appear to have been copied in Thessalonike.

evident, for example, from a correction (deletion) that the scribe makes at M287.23–24: ~~κρατοῦσι δὲ καὶ τὸν εἰς κεφαλὴν εὐρισκόμενον τοῦ στρατεύματος πολλὰ τῶν καστελλίων~~, as he realized that he was repeating text already copied in the previous line, thereafter continuing with the correct text. The text in B at M112.26, where SX app indicates a possible homoteleuton omission in B, may point also to the same conclusion.

Other notable features of the script include: frequent double grave on μὲν / δὲ (when they form clusters with the article, and when these clusters have pronominal status), ἐπεὶ, certain instances of μὴ, μηδὲ; only very few occurrences of final acute accent before punctuation, e.g. ποδός (M29.21), ἀκοή (M30.7), φοβερόν (M259.30), ζυγόν (M260.4),⁴¹ and only one occurrence of iota subscript τῷ βασιλεῖ (M29.28), but both these phenomena occur on pages copied by the minor, alternative hands (here we “normalized” our edition in line with the practice of the two main hands of B); frequent, though with one or two exceptions, preference for Ἀλαμανὸς (accented on last syllable) rather than Ἀλαμάνος, which is the preferred form of the other mss; general, but not total, preference for acute accent on Λατίνοι, instead of Λατῖνοι; admixture of genitive plural Τούρκων / Τουρκῶν; treatment of enclitics and certain other aspects of accentuation (see chapter on the Language of MNCH below); unsystematic orthography of certain word clusters, such as ἐπιπλέον / ἐπὶ πλέον, καταπολὺ / κατὰ πολὺ, διαμέσον / διὰ μέσον, διατοῦτο / διὰ τοῦτο; letter clusters such as conventional -γκ- often, but not always, appear as -γγ- (e.g. ἀνάγγη, ὄγγος and their derivatives); frequent preference for particular (erroneous, according to conventional norms) spelling in the case of particular words, e.g. ἐμφίλιος (rather than ἐμφύλιος), πολυορκία (rather than πολιορκία); οὐχ' is invariably written with an apostrophe, as also in the other mss.

The documented history of the ms begins in 1544, when Antonios Eparchos (b. c. 1491 – d. c. 1568) sold it, together with a number of other mss, for 800 guilders to the Senate of Augsburg.⁴² Thirteen years later Hieronymus Wolf consulted the ms in preparing the *editio princeps* of NCH.⁴³ Some years later, in 1580, as already noted, B was read by Martin Crusius in Tübingen. In 1806, following the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire and the annexation of Augsburg to the Kingdom of Bavaria, the Augsburg library was transferred to the Court Library in Munich, where the ms was given its present day catalogue number.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Noret, “L’accentuation Byzantine,” 96–146, esp. 111–112.

⁴² Weinberger, *Die griechischen Handschriften des Antonios Eparchos*, 303, 311. The catalogue describing the mss that Eparchos was offering for sale is in ms Vindobonensis gr. 9734; a more recent discussion of the catalogue is provided by Mondrain, “Antoine Eparque et Augsbourg,” 227–243; see also Dorez, “Antoine Eparque,” 281–364; a wide-ranging study of Eparchos’ life and career is provided by Giotopoulou-Sililianou, *Ἀντώνιος ὁ Ἐπαρχος*.

⁴³ Wolf, *Nicetae Acominati Choniatae*.

⁴⁴ Hardt, *Catalogus*, sub num.; van Dieten, “Noch Einmal,” esp. 323.

It was via Wolf's edition that, in later years, certain variants in B were recorded in the apparatus of the editions of Simon Goulart (1593) and Charles Fabrot (1647). Bekker consulted B for his edition for the Bonn Corpus.⁴⁵ (Other editions of NCH, such as that prepared for the Corpus Venetum, 1729, and later those of Migne⁴⁶ and Emmanuel Miller,⁴⁷ basically reproduce the texts of the immediately preceding editions.) To conclude, ms Monacensis gr. 450 has been ever-present in the post-Byzantine editorial history of NCH, appearing mostly only in the apparatus, though occasionally individual readings were elevated to the actual text.⁴⁸ B has also long been familiar to students of Byzantine language and literature from its citations in the *Glossarium* of Du Cange as well as the variants recorded in Bekker's edition. Extending the chain to the present day, these two latter works provided MNCH material for both the *Λεξικό μεσαιωνικής δημάδους γραμματείας* of Emmanuel Kriaras and, more recently, the *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität* ("LBG") of Erich Trapp.⁴⁹

S = Scorialensis Ψ-IV-17 [Diktyon no. 15262]:⁵⁰ s. XV^{4/4}/XVI^{1/4}, paper, 230 leaves, 187×140 mm. Written in black ink, at places faded to brown, with red-ink headings, capitals and occasional, though somewhat crude, decorative features.

The sole content of the ms is MNCH, from the reign of Manuel I Komnenos to Isaakios II Angelos, where the ms breaks off. The surviving paper folios and quires are arranged thus: 7 + 7×8 (56) + 7 + 20×8 (160) = 230. From f. 45 the lower right corner of the page has been torn off and hence some text is lost. The numbering of the quires is still in place, but the codex has been newly bound. Thus we see on f. 8, bottom right corner, the indication B^{ον}, f. 24: δ^{ον}, f. 32: ε^{ον}, f. 40: ζ^{ον}, f. 48: η^{ον}, f. 64: θ^{ον}, f. 71: ι^{ον}, f. 79: ια^{ον}, f. 87: ιβ^{ον}, f. 95: ιΓ^{ον}, f. 103: ιδ^{ον}, f. 111: ιε^{ον}, f. 119: ιζ^{ον}, f. 127: ιζ^{ον}, f. 135: ιΗ^{ον}, f. 143: ιθ^{ον}, f. 151: κ^{ον}, and thereafter no further numbering is visible/legible. Ruling marks are visible on many of the folios.

45 Besides the editions of Wolf and Fabrot, Bekker consulted ms Monacensis gr. 93 (16th C.) and B, which appears frequently in the apparatus (see van Dieten, "Einleitung," CVI).

46 PG 139, Paris 1865, 287/8–1037/8.

47 Miller, *Recueil*, 342–482, presents a large section of MNCH (being a collation of B and Y, see also discussion of Y below) in the first apparatus below his text of NCH.

48 Examples of such "elevations" are recorded in van Dieten's app. crit.: e.g. N77.34, 78.42, 88.33, 88.47, 102.85 etc.

49 LBG has expunged certain ghost words appearing in Bekker's apparatus that had resulted from misreadings of the ligature ρι in the manuscript, e.g. φαρήν was a misreading of φαρίν (M222.6), and δαμονιακούς a misreading of δαμονιαρίους (M225.8). For other ghost words (marked with #) see the Index.

50 See van Dieten, "Einleitung," XLVI; also de Andrés, *Catálogo*, vol. 3, 102–103. We owe a debt of gratitude to Dr Inmaculada Pérez Martín for generously undertaking to examine and assess the ms. We reproduce here her account of the watermarks, dating and likely presence of four scribes in the original production of the ms. We had the opportunity to examine the ms in 2016; our thanks also to the Escorial Library for supplying us with an excellent digital reproduction of the manuscript.

The watermarks (which are generally in the spine and thus split across two folios within the quires) in the first batch of 9 quires, through to f. 70, present scales within a circle topped by a six-pointed star, similar to Briquet 2584 (date: 1501) or Piccard 117286 (date: 1503). The similarity allows us to make only an approximate identification. Quire 10 (ff. 71–78) contains a watermark whose design is a bull's head with a flower, similar to Briquet 14766 (date: 1477), recurring also in the quires containing ff. 135–174, 183–190 and 199–222. Quires 11–17 (ff. 79–134) contain a third watermark: a bull's head of distinctive design, as in Piccard 65940 (date: 1475), recurring also in later folios, 175–182 and 191–198. This latter watermark is a very specific type, and serves as a strong indicator for a general dating of the volume.

The first pages of each chapter/book, some of which are not supplied with titles, are as follows: Book 2: f. 1 (Τόμος α'. βασιλεία Μανουὴλ τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ ἔτη λη'. Νικήτα τοῦ Χωνιάτου ιστορία, i.e. N48), Book 3: f. 13^v (no heading), Book 4: f. 29 (decorative pattern, no heading), Book 5: f. 47 (Τόμος τέταρτος...), Book 6: f. 64^v (Τόμος πέμπτος...), Book 7: f. 79^v (Τόμος ἔκτος [sic]...), Book 8: f. 95^v (Τόμος ἔβδομος [sic]...), Book 9: f. 108^v (Τόμος ἔβδοος [sic]...), Book 10: f. 137^v (Βασιλεία Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ ἐν τόποις [sic] δυσί), Book 11: f. 162^v (no heading), Book 12: f. 181 (no heading), Book 13: f. 206^v (although the copyist has placed the chapter division, marked by a decorative ribbon, on f. 193^v, before N372.37), Book 14: f. 225^v. The text breaks off on f. 230^v with the words ὅμως οὐκ ἐστέναξε βαρέως (M259.20, N426.9).

The scribal hands are four. Hands *a*, *c* and *d* are late variants of the Hodegon-style, while hand *b* is more stylish. It is noteworthy that hand *b* adds to the title on f. 1, Νικήτα τοῦ Χωνιάτου ιστορία, and corrects the text on ff. 24^v, 33, 43^v; furthermore, hand *b* collaborates with the other scribes. These facts indicate that he probably had a supervisory role in the production of the text.

The hands change often, each one writing some lines and then passing the baton to their colleague. As was pointed out to us by Inmaculada Pérez Martín, this is a common phenomenon when the copyists are in a hurry because the model is only temporarily available for copying. Interestingly while the hands change, the ink does not, pointing to very close collaboration. In the first part of the ms, hands *a* and *b* collaborate (while hand *c* only writes a few lines at a time), but from f. 134^v l. 17 onwards, hand *a* gives up and the collaboration is now between hands *b* and *d*. Examples of these alternating participations of scribes are frequent in the manuscript, e.g. hand *b*: f. 16 ll. 13–17, while ll. 18–20 of the same folio revert to hand *a*, as in the first 13 lines higher up the page. Other examples of such shifts in hand can be seen on: f. 34–35^v, hand *b*: f. 36^v–37^t, hand *b*: f. 49^v–50^t.1, hand *b*, et al. There is a tendency for the text of hand *b* to be more accurate and error-free (accentuation, breathings and spelling) than the text of hand *a*, suggesting again the supervision role of hand *b*.

Such a role was a feature of professional workshops of copyists, as for instance in the case of the workshop run by Antonios Eparchos.⁵¹

The few lemmata appear in the first 40 folios of the ms, but thereafter cease (all of these are recorded in our apparatus). Small additions or corrections, usually marked by a cross or insert symbol are found on f. 33, insertion in bottom margin: ταῦτα οἱ πάντες τὸν φυγάδα ἔζήτουν Ἀνδρόνικον· οὐδὲ αἱ ρύμαι τῆς Πόλεως (=M42.24–25); f. 43^v, insertion in bottom margin: ταῦτα οἱ συλτάνοι εἰσελθών δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν αὐτῷ ἔχων καὶ τὸν συλτάνον μετ' αὐτοῦ ἡρώτησεν αὐτὸν, εἰ θέλει δωρήσασθαι ταῦτα (M51.19–20: notably this corresponds to exactly two lines of B, f. 32.2–4, where ταῦτα is the last word of line 2 and line 4); f. 96, insertion in right margin, supplying an omission due to the repetition of the immediately preceding word Ἀλαμανίας: Φερδερίγου· ὁ μὲν γάρ τῆς Ἀλαμανίας (M105.23); f. 101, insertion in the right margin, supplying text after the words ὕστερον φοβηθείς: μήποτε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν μέσῳ (sic) κρατηθείς (M111.7); and f. 172, insertion in lower right margin. The ακομινατι χονιατ on the upper edge of f. 175 has been added by a later hand.⁵²

Blank pages occur at: 157^v, 207^v, 217^v, 220^v.

Most of the manuscript's pages contain 22 lines of text. Folios 34^{r–v}, 92^{r–v} contain 21; from f. 175 to 182^v line numbers increase to 25 per page, then on f. 183 return to 22 lines per page. Folios 223–225: 23 lines per page.

Many of the errors in S are probably due to the particular scribe rather than his exemplar. He appears to have scant orthographical respect for the geographical, cultural and political reality of Byzantium. Words such as χρηστὸν (M213.28), ἀγίας σωφίας (M223.6), βιζάντιον (M234.8), ἀλλάδος (M14.30), πελοπονήσου (M14.30), χάρ τουλλάριος (M40.4), and others, serve to reinforce this impression.

Besides these errors, there are many other cases where the spelling is incompetent. In just a few folios the examples are many and characteristic of the general quality of the text in this ms.⁵³ Some examples follow:

Problems with accentuation, either with accent on the wrong syllable, or the wrong accent on the right syllable, or no accent at all: Κωνσταντινουπόλιν (M11.21), ἀποβᾶς (M14.17), εὐγενοὺς (M14.29), χωρης (i.e. χωρίς M16.12), ιέρων (M17.22), ἐλεοῦντας (M18.29), μὴ κετι (M18.31), πράγματων (M19.2), οῦτος (M19.12), ὀλέθριόν (M20.9), πᾶντες εῖς (M20.29), again χάρ τουλλάριος (M40.4), et al.

Problems with aspiration marks: διάκοσίας (M10.2), ἐτιμασμένη (i.e. ἐτοιμασμένη M14.9), εύρεῖν (M14.27), ἀπάστης (M15.11), ἀπαντες (M15.11), ὕππον (M17.26), ὄρκον (M16.11), ισὶ (i.e. εἰσὶ M16.16), ἥνοιγον (M18.25), οἴτινες (M18.28), οῦτος (M19.12), διάβολᾶς / διάβολαὶ (M42.6 / M42.7), et al.

51 See Giotopoulou-Sisilianou, Ἀντώνιος ὁ Ἐπαρχος, 93.

52 On the life of this version (“Acominatus”) of Choniates’ name, and its presence on this folio of S, see van Dieten, *Erläuterungen*, 7.

53 We have not burdened the critical apparatus with these kinds of variants.

Itacisms of every kind, and *ο/ω* and *ε/αι* confusion: πάσχον (i.e. πάσχων, M9.14), ἄνθροποι (M9.15), τῶν παλατίον (M9.20), τὸν Πολιτῶν (M9.21), δοθήσαιται (M9.25), ὑπόνην (M9.25), οἱ Πολείται (M10.1), Ἀντιόχιαν (M10.5), λαμπρός (i.e. λαμπρῶς, M10.18), ἀγαπόμενος (M10.20), τοῖς κοσμικῆς πράγμασιν (M10.21), θεορία (M10.25), εύνοηκῶς (i.e. εύνοϊκῶς M11.12), ἐπανέρχαιται (M11.20), τῶν πρίγγιπα (M11.22), μαθῶν (M11.22), αὐτοῖς (i.e. αὐτῆς, M12.13), καθησάντων (M12.17), γινεκῶν (M12.23), γινέκας (M15.32), ὑποκήπτον (M12.25), μολισμός (M12.30), γραφομένον (i.e. γραφομένων, M13.7), Στυπηώτην Θεόδορον (M11.21), τῶν οίκειον ὑποθέσεων (M13.14), ὁόποτε (M13.5), ἀείποται (M13.22), πενίτων (M13.14), ἐτιμασένη (i.e. ἐτιμασμένη, M14.9), ἡπηρετοῦντος (M14.7), Ἀγιοθεοδορίτης (M14.23), βασιλέος (M14.23), σηντρέχων (M14.24), ἐφθόνισε (M14.26), γεναίσθαι (M14.28), καθεκάστιν (M15.1), κανηκλείου (M15.2), μεταγγυζόμενα (M15.13), οἱ (i.e. εἱ M16.11), δύσεος (M15.31), κοινήσεως (M15.37), ἀνδρικός (M15.33), ἀποκρυσιαρίους (M16.4), βρόσιν (M16.5), πόσημα (M16.10), προβάτον (i.e. προβάτων, M16.16), δήναμιν (M16.25), πολῆς (i.e. πολὺς M17.1), τὸν ... θυμῶν (M42.8), κατὰ τῶν Τούρκον (M54.10), νικτὸς (M54.5), Νικομιδίας (M212.17), et al.

Problems of double and single consonants: θαλάση (M10.5), ἵπου (M10.29), ιωάνης (M11.15), ὑποτασόμενος (M12.29), πελοπονήσου (M14.30), μελισῶν (M15.10), πολά (M15.26), ἀλόφυλοι (M20.10), et al.

Meaningless conflation of two words or syllables into one: κατάξεως (i.e. καὶ τάξεως M12.26), καλύσαι (i.e. καὶ λῦσαι M14.32), οκᾶλος (i.e. οὐκ ἄλλως, M20.26), ἐλθόμενοι (i.e. ἐλθόν μοι, M20.27), ἐτὸν (i.e. ἐκατὸν M212.22), βαλεὺς (i.e. βασιλεὺς M229.8), et al. And meaningless separation of one word into two or more words: τρίτων γύρι (i.e. περιτριγυρισμάτων M11.2–3), καὶ νομοτομεῖσθαι (i.e. κενοτομεῖσθαι M13.23), καὶ ρῶ (M14.5), δι' ἡμερεύσας (M14.5), καὶ ρὸν (M14.27), εἴ δὲ (i.e. εἴδε M17.27), κατὰ πράοιναι (i.e. κατεπράύνε M17.28), ἀνακὰ νίζεῖ (i.e. ἀνακαινίζει M16.25), πλέον ἐκ τὰς (i.e. πλεονέκτας M18.28), et al.

Other errors that generate nonsense: δικαιόσυνον (i.e. δικαιότερον M9.26), πρης (i.e. πατήρ M11.15), πέρη (i.e. μέρη M11.18), τὴν βασιλεύουσαν πόλεσιν (M12.19), διδόμεναν (i.e. διδόμενα M13.20), τὰ ἐν βλαχέρναις παλάτιαν (M14.5), ἀλλάδος (i.e. Ἐλλάδος M14.30), καπράνυε (i.e. κατεπράύνε M17.3), εἰρήσευσε (i.e. εἰρήνευσε M17.28), παραίώσιν (i.e. περαίώσιν M17.31), ἄρματος (i.e. ἄρτος M18.27), διήγησαν (i.e. διήγησιν M54.12), πρὸς κατερήση (i.e. προσκαρτερήση M55.21), κρύττει (i.e. κηρύττει M56.21), μμίξαι (i.e. συμμίξαι, M208.25), Βασιλείᾳ Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ ἐν τόποις [i.e. τόποις] δυσί (M154 tit.), et al.

Many of these errors are so gross that it is doubtful sometimes if the scribe was making any real attempt to follow the meaning of the text that he was copying. This is glaringly apparent, for example, in the case of the omission at M13.24–14.4 (NCH 55.15–56.60) where the text continues unbroken in the ms as if nothing is amiss.

Although S is the latest of the MNCH mss, and although the quality of the text is extremely uneven, it nevertheless provides an important tool for controlling significant sections of the text: the only ms that preserve the first five chapters of MNCH

are B and S, and at some points, such as M9.1–13, 14.4–16.5, 60.27–62.7, S supplies text that has been lost in B. The omissions of the homoteleuton type in S are many, and are again indicative of the scant attention that the copyist seems to have given to the content and meaning of the work he was copying.⁵⁴

The codex was once owned by Diego Hurtado de Mendoza; at the bottom of f. 1 we read: “hic liber est Jacobi Hurtadi Mendosae Granatensis / D.Di de Ma.” According to E. Miller,⁵⁵ Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (1503–1575) may have acquired this codex, along with others, from Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent in the East during his time on diplomatic service when based in Venice in the 1540s. However, Mendoza is also believed to have acquired mss from Antonios Eparchos.⁵⁶ Certain features of the text give rise to suspicions that it may be a copy produced in the West. First, on the basis of the watermarks the ms can only have come into existence in the final decades of the 15th C., perhaps even the first years of the 16th C. Second, the quality of the copying is poor, and frequently suggests that the copyist was unable to follow the meaning of the text, and had little knowledge of the recently eclipsed Byzantine world or the events and matter contained in the text. If Eparchos or some other merchant in the same line of business had anything to do with the procurement of the text, perhaps it was produced by a team of copyists in the West. The ms has an aura of fraudulency: the decorative piece on the first page is cheap and crude; red-ink capitals scattered around the text are similarly second-rate, and often just inked over already existing capitals; marginal headings appear fairly frequently in the first folios of the ms, but later become much less frequent, as if to deceive the casual buyer into thinking that the text will contain the usual paraphernalia, although in fact it does not. In short, it seems to be posing as something it is not.

X = *Vindobonensis Suppl. gr. 166* (formerly Nikolsburg I. 40)⁵⁷ [**Diktyon no. 71630**]: s. XIV^{2/2} and XV^{1/2}, paper, i + 345 leaves measuring 177×129 mm. Written in brown ink, and red ink for the chapter headings. No lemmata or other marginalia.

Content: ff. 1–245^v and 330–345^v: MNCH; ff. 246–329v: a fragment of the *History* of Nikephoros Gregoras (ed. Bonn. I.3–120.5).

⁵⁴ See, for example, the app. crit. at M13.24–14.4 where S has omitted to copy an entire folio. Also: M13.17 οὐδὲ—δὲ om. (homoteleuton), M17.8 τῶν ὅπισθεν Ἀλαμάνων εὐρόντες τινάς repetition of the same phrase due to the recurrence of the same word, M17.10 καὶ ἔτεροι πάλιν ἀπό τῶν Ἀλαμάνων om. (homoteleuton), M17.35–18.21 where again a large chunk of text is omitted (perhaps an entire folio, cf. N64.65–66.13), M19.13 καὶ τὸν μὲν ὄλον χρόνον ἀτέρατος om. (homoteleuton), M19.14 εἰς τὰς ὄχθας καὶ περιστρεφόμενος om. (homoteleuton), M25.4–29 where again a large chunk of text is omitted (perhaps an entire folio, cf. N77.34–79.74), M25.29–30 ἡ ἀέροις πτηνοῖς φθάσαι διώκοντες om. (homoteleuton), et al.

⁵⁵ Miller, *Catalogue*, pp. III–IX, and Graux, *Essai*, 229 f.

⁵⁶ On Eparchos, see notes 42 and 51 above.

⁵⁷ See also van Dieten, “Einleitung,” XXXIX–XLI; Hunger, *Katalog*, 103; Hunger & Hannick, *Katalog*.

The beginning and end of MNCH are lost, and various other folios are missing, while the order of the first 16 surviving folios has been severely disrupted. MNCH begins on f. 345^v: ὅθεν καὶ τὴν ζωὴν αὐτῆς (M66.24, N145.11) and thereafter runs as follows: f. 345, 338, 339, 343, 342, 340, 341, 344^{v-r}, 337, 331–336, 330, 1–137^v (f. 31 is new and contains the text of M113.22–114.22, N210.87–212.34), then the text corresponding to N372.53–374.90 is lost; ff. 138–141, then the text corresponding to N381.37–382.74 is lost; ff. 142–200, then the text corresponding to N468.18/9–470.59 is lost; ff. 201–202; 203 is blank, and N473.45–474.89 is lost; ff. 204–232 (232 is new and contains N520.59–522.19, but a couple of lines have been left blank and accordingly N521.78–83 is lost), ff. 233–235 (235 is new; the recto contains N527.60–528.83; the verso is blank, so N528.83–529.7 is lost), ff. 236–240; ff. 241 and 242 are blank, and accordingly N536.26–543.90 is lost; ff. 243–245. The text breaks off at M347.13 with the words ἐὰν δὲ καὶ πρὸς βασιλέα μέγα ἐστί καὶ πολὺ τὸ μὲν τοὺς (N548.3). The books, or chapters, of MNCH begin on the following folios: Book 6: f. 343^v, Book 7: f. 4, Book 8: f. 22, Book 9: f. 38^v, Book 10: f. 71^v, Book 11: f. 95^v, Book 12: f. 124, Book 13: f. 150^v, Book 14: f. 169^v, Book 15: f. 191, Book 16: f. 221^v, Book 17: f. 240.

The manuscript contains three types of paper: i) ff. 1–30, 32–166, 330–345, ii) ff. 31, 167–245, excepting ff. 232 and 235 which were gathered into the manuscript at a later stage, and iii) ff. 246–329. Van Dieten identified watermarks forming a capital B with a cross topping the upright on ff. 154, 155, cf. Briquet 7971 and 7972 – Palermo 1364/79, and Moutiers 1354 respectively, though less elegant; a key with three large indents on the main key-piece on ff. 334, 335, cf. Briquet 3777 – Bologna 1312; a tower on ff. 170, 171, cf. Briquet 15864–6, Italian type c. 1415–1430; scissors on ff. 191–198, cf. Briquet 3658 – Aix en Provence 1426; a bell on ff. 232–235, cf. Briquet 3981 – Italy 1419. In other words, the folios comprised of paper of type I (ff. 1–30, 32–166, 330–345), as above, contain watermarks that point to a date in the late 1360s or 1370s, while the watermarks contained in the paper of type II (ff. 31, 167–245) point to a date in the first quarter of the 15th C. In the first part of the manuscript many leaves were so curtailed by the bookbinder that the last line is missing in whole or in part, e.g. ff. 6^v, 9, 14 et al. From ff. 129, 190, 339–345 large parts of the pages are missing and so text has been lost. The numbering of the quires has also fallen victim to the bookbinder's knife. The gatherings are as follows: 3×8 + 8 (f. 31 is new) + 13×8 + 6 (one leaf has been lost before f. 138 and one after f. 141) + 7 (f. 150 has no counter folio, though 144 has nothing missing from the text) + 2×8 (166 ends at the point the older part of the MNCH text ends and the newer part begins, including the Gregoras section, ff. 167–329) + 4×8 + 7 (ff. 199–205, 200–204, x–203, new but blank, 201–202) + 3×8 + 8 (ff. 232 and 235 are new) + 8 (ff. 241 and 242 are new, but blank; f. 246 Gregoras begins) + 9×8 + 7 (f. 329^v the Gregoras text ends together with the newer part of the ms) + 2×8 (ff. 345–344, 338–341, 339–340, 343–342 and 337–330, 331–336, 332–335, 333–334).

The script is in four hands: *a*) ff. 1–30, 32–166, 330–345, *b*) ff. 31, 167–231, 233–234, 236–245, *c*) ff. 232 and 235, *d*) ff. 246–329 (the section with the *History of Gregoras*). The first copyist wrote in the 14th C., the others in the 15th C. The script in

the case of (i) is arranged in 24–27 lines per page, ii) consistently covers 26 lines per page, while in the case of iii) the text does not cover the entire space of the page reserved for text.

As regards scribal practice, accentuation in this ms shows frequent though not consistent acute accent before punctuation, e.g. ἐμποδίζειν αὐτόν M78.9, συλλογήν 78.11, ἀναλαβεῖν αὐτόν 78.13, μήν 78.16, ἐνός 92.13, ιδών 95.2, βουλήν 96.15, αὐτήν 149.29, καὶ χεῖρον κακόν 232.28, πρὸς αὐτόν 240.7, ἀποκλείσας αυτόν 240.10, Βαλσαμών 244.21, πρὸς αὐτόν 247.4, καθ' ὁδόν 248.1, τῷ ρηγί 248.11, et al. Also, as in ms B, X employs double grave on occasions, mainly with the word ἐπει.

As van Dieten explains, the history of the ms prior to its ownership by the Library of Alexander Fürst Dietrichstein von Nikolsburg is not known. This library was sold by auction in November 1933 and June 1934. In the auction catalogue, the ms (under number 416) is valued at 500 Swiss francs. Thanks to the services of the antiquarian Fritz Brecher, of Brno, in March 1935 the ms came into the possession of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

The origin and status of this manuscript thus remain something of a mystery. It is interesting that the text of MNCH is contained in two main sections of the ms (excluding ff. 232 and 235, which were added later, perhaps as repairs, and the Gregoras section on ff. 246–329) that appear to be separated in time by many decades (1360/70s? – 1420s/1430s?) on the basis of script and type of paper. (The watermark, identified by van Dieten, of a key on ff. 334, 335, cf. Briquet 3777 – Bologna 1312, tends to confuse the picture, but should not perhaps distract us from the 1370s as most probably the period when the first part of the ms was copied, since the rest of the folios written in this hand seem to date from this period.) One wonders if the creation of the ms as we have it today was the product of a decision in the third decade of the 15th C. to restore an already damaged ms (corresponding roughly to the surviving ff. 1–30, 32–166, 330–345), and to supplement it with some further historical material by Gregoras. This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that f. 31, written by the same copyist who wrote ff. 167–245 (excluding 232 and 235, which comprise further restorations), was inserted so that the text is fully integrated without interruption between the older, preceding f. 30 and the following f. 32. Likewise, the uninterrupted continuation of the text from f. 166v (marking the end of the work of the first copyist of the 14th C.) to f. 167 (the work of the 15th-C. copyist, on paper of the 1420s) supports the same hypothesis. However, neither of the two texts, of Choniates and Gregoras, has survived fully intact, so it seems reasonable to assume that the ms suffered further damage or alteration after the first half of the 15th C. One can only speculate.

Y = Parisinus gr. 3041, ff. 247–283^{v58} [Diktyon no. 52686]: s. XIV^{3/4}, paper, 294×215 mm. The manuscript is composite, and contains 1) letters and other rhetorical works of Manuel II Palaiologos, plus one or two other items, possibly in the hand of the emperor himself (ff. 1–136^v),⁵⁹ 2) an abridged version of NCH (ff. 137–246) interspersed with some gatherings and folios (ff. 152–187 and 191–193) containing part of the historical work of Georgios Akropolites,⁶⁰ and 3) MNCH on ff. 247–283^v.

Accordingly, the designation Y by van Dieten refers to the relatively small part of ms Parisinus gr. 3041 (ff. 247–283^v) containing an extensive fragment of MNCH. The leaves, measuring 294×215 mm, are the largest of the four manuscripts, while the written surface covers not quite two thirds of the page (approx. 200×140 mm), leaving generous margins at the top, left and right, and very large at the bottom of the page. Each page has 27 lines of elegantly arranged text. The main text is written in black ink, while chapter headings are in red, as well as the paragraph initials, which extend into the margin space. Red ink was also used for the lemmata. Overall, Y is an elegant and generously formatted copy of MNCH. The main text and marginal lemmata are clearly written by a single individual.

Watermarks: on f. 247 et al., two circles separated from each other by a tall vertical line, which ends top and bottom with a diagonal cross (“star”), cf. Briquet 3230 – Verona 1367; and on f. 263 et al., a circle from which ascends a vertical line topped by a diagonal cross (“star”), cf. Briquet 3054 – Frankfurt am Main 1354.

The surviving text of MNCH begins on f. 247 (M341.31, N539.15/6) mid-sentence with the words αὐτὸν οὐ μόνον νέον ὄντα κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν. Thereafter the chapters, or books, of the *History* begin on the following folios: Book 18: f. 250^v; Book 19: f. 258^v; Book 20 (with the heading τοῦ αὐτοῦ Χωνειάτου τόμος ὀκτωκαιδέκατος· φιλονεικία τοῦ Δούκα καὶ τοῦ Λάσκαρι περὶ τῆς βασιλείας): f. 261; a heading at M367.29: Θρῆνος τῆς Πόλεως· τοῦ αὐτοῦ Χωνειάτου: f. 263; Book 21: f. 266. The text breaks off on f. 283^v mid-sentence with the words οὐχ οὗτοι δὲ μόνον ὑπὸ (M398.18, N624.85).

Lemmata are contained on many of the pages, the majority summarizing the theme of the adjacent text, some underscoring good gnomic advice. They are written most frequently in the lower margin of the page, sometimes in the left or right margin, never in the top margin, e.g. f. 247 (cf. M342.10–19): ὅρα τὴν ἀμέλειαν καὶ τὴν ἀνοικοκυρίαν τοῦ βασιλέως; f. 247^v (cf. M343.7–10): ὅπως ἀπὸ τὸ Δαματρήν

⁵⁸ See van Dieten, “Einleitung,” XXXVI for a description of the composite ms as a whole (dubbed “K” by van Dieten); see van Dieten, “Einleitung,” XLI for a description of the fragment of the ms (i.e. ff. 247–283^v) containing MNCH.

⁵⁹ For a detailed description of the contents of the first part of the ms containing the works of Manuel Palaiologos, see Dennis, *The Letters*, xxi-xxiv; Angelou, *Dialogue on Marriage*, esp. 13–17 for a reconstruction of how Manuel’s works, as preserved in Par. gr. 3041, were arranged, published and edited during the course of his lifetime; also the doctoral dissertation of Dendrinos, *An annotated critical edition*, esp. 430–447.

⁶⁰ Heisenberg, *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, 3–182.10.

έξελθόντες οἱ Ἀρμαῖοι ἐδίωκον καὶ ἔκοπτον τὰς ὄρμὰς τῶν καβαλαρίων Φράγγων, and so on (all examples are recorded in the relevant apparatus).

The ms belonged to the palace library at Fontainebleau and was bound in its present form in the time of Henri II (1547–1559),⁶¹ presumably from a group of similar-size Greek manuscripts. It is notable, however, that the first part of the ms is associated with the person of the Byzantine emperor Manuel II Palaiologos, and it is tempting to wonder whether the other component sections of the ms may perhaps have been associated with the Byzantine emperor or imperial library.

The ms was used by Miller (he used the siglum “R”(egius) for Y), as well as B, for his collation of MNCH in his monumental edition of the historians of the Crusades.⁶² Miller drew on both B and Y, generally adopting the readings of one or the other in line with his own stylistic preferences.

Summary comparison of the mss

Before moving on to a discussion of the relationship between the four mss, it may be useful to give a summary comparison of the main distinguishing characteristics of the four surviving mss.

Firstly, B is the oldest of the four mss. As already noted, the handwriting indicates two main scribes at work. The size of the script and the number of lines per page vary enormously throughout the ms. Many of the pages’ margins contain lemmata, probably written at the time of the original copy (though not necessarily by the same scribe), as well as some notes and other comments entered at a later stage. So while this is the most complete of the four mss in terms of the quantity of text it preserves (the surviving folios preserve approximately 88 percent of the MNCH, as the original ms perhaps contained some 30 folios more than those left today), the somewhat inelegant flow and appearance of the script gives the impression that it was intended for personal use, rather than answering the more demanding needs, at least in terms of appearance, of commissioned work. Of the four mss, for a number of overriding reasons, it is the best witness to MNCH.⁶³

The surviving folios of S preserve roughly 58 percent of the hypothetical complete MNCH, thus being very similar in extent to X (see below), though not covering exactly the same material. Interestingly the ms contains a decorated heading on its first page (beginning, here, not with the reign of Ioannes I Komnenos, but with the reign of Manuel I Komnenos), as well as several red-ink capitals at the beginning of various paragraphs scattered throughout the text. However, they are decorative features of

⁶¹ See also Omont, *Inventaire*, under No. 3041; idem, *Catalogues*, under No. 185.

⁶² Miller, *Recueil*, 342–482.

⁶³ Van Dieten reiterated this point in the posthumously published note on the manuscript tradition of NCH, in *Grandezza I* (2nd edn.), LXII.

second-rate quality. The script presents two main styles – perhaps the hands of the main scribe and his supervisor – with occasional participation by two further hands. The impression overall is that while the text has a number of frills that seek to give it a degree of respectability, it nevertheless betrays hurried production and numerous cases of serious carelessness and incompetence.

With its two (apparently) chronologically separate phases X displays much greater uniformity in the arrangement and flow of text on the page. It contains no lemmata. Perhaps it was a commissioned copy. As noted above, there is little else that can guide us to an estimation of the origins of the ms. The surviving text corresponds to approximately 59 percent of the hypothetical complete MNCH.

Y is the largest of the four manuscripts. The 36 folios containing a section of MNCH correspond to approximately 13 percent of the complete MNCH. It is bound into a composite ms whose other sections include, *inter alia*, works by, and perhaps in the hand of, Manuel II Palaiologos. The text has an elegant and regular appearance (the number of lines on each page remaining constant), it contains chapter headings and lemmata in red ink, and the script is clearly legible and is similar to other hands that have been dated to the third quarter of the 14th C. Despite the orderly appearance of the script, however, the actual text contains numerous orthographical errors. That said, the wide margins and tidily written surface suggest that this was a commissioned copy, aiming at slightly higher quality than the other three manuscripts. Given the fact that this copy of MNCH is bound up with other imperial texts, one wonders if it belonged, at some stage, in the imperial library, though of course its inclusion in this ms may just be coincidence at the time of the new binding in France in the mid-16th C.

In 1964, while already preparing his edition of NCH, van Dieten published the section of MNCH which is preserved in B, X and Y (some few pages: M342.4–347.18) in his article “Noch einmal”.⁶⁴ On the basis of this passage, van Dieten expressed the opinion that “B is the best ms of MNCH, followed by Y, then X ... while S occupies the last place”.⁶⁵

The relationship between the manuscripts

The relationship between the four mss is not straightforward. To anticipate the conclusions of the more detailed discussion below, it is useful to bear in mind three broad facts that quickly become clear when reading and collating the mss. First, and very generally, all the mss are useful for the purpose of producing an edition of the text,

⁶⁴ Van Dieten, “Noch einmal,” esp. 323–328, published again later (with two other short sections) in “Bemerkungen,” 37–77.

⁶⁵ Van Dieten, “Noch einmal,” 323.

since they cover, at various places, the omissions or lost folios of their siblings. Second, as regards the text they preserve, they can be divided, on the basis of omissions and variants, into two main groups, with B on the one hand, and S, X, and Y on the other (the reader will become instantly aware of this when consulting the apparatus criticus). Third, their relationship is complicated by the fact that there are certainly missing links in the chain of transmission. Beyond the story of MNCH, of course, lies the story of the likely text the Metaphrast(s) used as the source for the Metaphrase, i.e. the relationship of MNCH with the manuscript tradition of NCH (see the next section). We believe there is no reason to challenge van Dieten's carefully documented opinion that MNCH is most likely related to a lost, hybrid version of NCH⁶⁶ – a matter that we return to further below.

Our text begins with a large fragment of the first section of the *History*, on the reign of Ioannes I Komnenos, for which the sole witness is B. B, however, does not preserve the opening and closing folios of this section. Book 2 (i.e. the first book ("tomas") of the reign of Manuel I Komnenos) begins with the sole witness (at this point) S, but is soon joined by B (at N49.22), from which point we have the two mss B and S (barring one significant loss of text in both mss at N56.28–57.51) through to N145.11, from which point they are joined by the third ms, X. The three mss continue in parallel, with the occasional gap here and there, through to N426.9 where S breaks off. From this point through to N539.15/16 the mss are reduced to B and X (again, with the occasional gaps and lost folios in one or other of the two). Then, for a few pages (N539.15/16–548.3), B and X are joined by Y, giving us three parallel witnesses to the text again. X then breaks off at N548.3 from which point the text is covered by just B and Y, through to N624.85 where Y breaks off. A few more pages of the Metaphrase through to N637.37 are preserved, with a gap at N628.21–632.32 corresponding to two lost folios in B. In other words, altogether the four mss between them preserve approximately 92 per cent of the original MNCH. Tantalizingly, one ms – S – preserves its first pages, with the title intact (Τόμος α' Βασιλεία Μανουὴλ τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ· ἔτη λη· Νικήτα του Χωνιάτου ιστορία), but that is all, and, to confuse matters, this is not the starting point of Choniates' original *History*, which, after a prologue, begins with the reign of the previous emperor, Ioannes (part of which, as we noted above, is preserved in B). Frustratingly, therefore, we have no statements in the mss by scribe or Metaphrast telling us about the genesis of this large metaphrastic undertaking.

While ms S is much later in date than B, it quickly becomes apparent that it does not descend directly from B, or at least from B alone. As discussed in the section on the individual ms, S presents numerous scribal errors – omissions (often of the homoteleuton type), misspellings, misinterpretations, and sometimes even plain nonsense. However, the text is certainly the result of copying a text that differs in certain fundamental ways from B.

⁶⁶ Van Dieten, "Einleitung," LXXXVI–LXXXVIII.

In an examination of the ways in which S differs from B in its rendering of NCH, it was found that more than two thirds of examples appear to be closer to the actual wording of NCH, i.e. S manifests less radical recasting.⁶⁷ In roughly one quarter of the cases B, rather than S, appears to have undergone less transformation vis-à-vis Choniates' original. A smaller number of particularly interesting cases present different but roughly equivalent lexical preferences on the part of both B and S, e.g. at N86.77 ἐπιφέροντες; B (M30.21) ἐποιήσαντο; N128.25 ὁσίας; B (M56.19) ταφῆς; S κηδείας; N131.11 δημοσίᾳ; B (M58.15) τοῦ φόρου; S τῆς ἀγορᾶς; N133.51 μετ' ἐκβοήσεως; B (M59.13) μετὰ μεγάλης φωνῆς; S μετακραυγῆς, and so on.

Again, in the first section of the text preserved only in B and S (i.e. M9–66.24), there are two interesting examples where B and S diverge but show different admixtures of elements from the original, B being somewhat more radical: i.e. 1) N135.15 τὸ ἥμαρ ἔλιπε τὸ εὐφρόσυνον: B (M60.24–25) γλυκὺ φῶς τῆς ἡμέρας ἔξελιπε: S φῶς ἔξελιπε τὸ εὐφρόσυνον, and 2) N141.3 τοῦ φάους στερῆσαι τῶν ὄφθαλμῶν: B (M64.18) τυφλώσωσιν αὐτὸν: S τοὺς ὄφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ ἔξορύσωσι.

These general tendencies emerge consistently in B and S.

From M66.24 (N145.11) onwards we can observe the relationship of the three mss B, S and X. It becomes immediately apparent that B stands on one side and SX on the other, and this pattern remains the case throughout their pages. Notably, two lengthy passages (M123.29–126.5 and 136.9–139.10) in the chapter on the hapless boy-emperor Alexios Komnenos present us with extended alternative renderings in the two variants. There could be several explanations for how this situation arose.

It is reasonable to ask at this point whether S is perhaps dependent on X, given the fact that S was clearly produced long after X. S, however, preserves text at certain points where there are omissions in X, implying that the line of transmission does not pass from X to S, although they may have a common precursor of course. Examples of these omissions in X not shared by S are at M71.15–18, 81.11–12, 89.1–3, 92.15–16, 108.19–20 and elsewhere. Furthermore, on many occasions X makes various small innovations, while S coincides more with B, e.g. M67.5 πρὸς BS : εἰς X, M67.17 ἡρύθη BS: εὐρέθη X, M67.22 τούτοις BS: τοῦτο X, M69.4 σκεύη μου πάντα BS: πάντα μου σκεύη X, M72.15 κατὰ στόμα μετὰ τοῦ ἀλόγου αὐτοῦ BS : μετὰ τοῦ ἀλόγου αὐτοῦ κατὰ στόμα X, M76.21 τῷ βασιλεῖ BS : τὸν βασιλέα X, M76.26 ἀπὸ BS : ἐκ X, M80.1 ὄβολὸν BS : ὄβολοὺς X, M80.3 ἐργασίαν ἀποβλέψαι BS : ἀποβλέψαι ἐργασίαν X, M82.25 ἐν τῇ Κωνσταντινουπόλει B: ἐν τῇ τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου πόλει S: εἰς τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν X, M84.17 εἶχε πρὸς τούτους ὁ βασιλεὺς BS : εἶχεν ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τούτους X, M84.18 κατὰ BS : περὶ X, M90.3 μαργάρων BS : μαργαριτάρων X, M104.1–2 τοῦ ὕδατος τρέχοντος BS : τῆς βροχῆς τρεχούσης X, M113.27 θεουπόλεως BS : θεοσώστου πόλεως X, and so on. In all these cases, however, it is probably safe to assume that X himself

⁶⁷ Davis, *H Μετάφραση*, pt. 1, 24–28; idem, “A Passage,” 127–142.

has generated these fairly trivial variants, and accordingly still remains closely related to S through a shared predecessor.

The last section of MNCH is covered, besides B, by the fourth ms, Y. Moreover, for a few pages (71 lines of text, or seven and a half paragraphs), B and Y are accompanied also by the final folios of X (M344.1–347.13), thus supplying another yardstick for comparing the two groups of mss. Again, barring trivial variations between X and Y, they clearly represent a common, slightly differing branch of MNCH vis-a-vis B. This latter, small section of the Metaphrase was one of the three passages of MNCH published by van Dieten in “Bemerkungen.”⁶⁸ There, van Dieten’s collation of B, X and Y already showed the close relationship of X and Y, the differences between them being only of a trivial nature. Unfortunately, since the amount of text enabling us to compare the two mss is rather short, it is difficult to form a precise picture of the relationship between X and Y; however, it is safe to say that the Y text is not a descendent of the X text, as X has omissions that are not shared by Y (e.g. καὶ κριὸν—χαλῶντα M345.8), while Y has no omissions that are not also shared by X.

Certain omissions in codices S, X and Y suggest a likely descent – at some point – from B, while the collation of their texts indicates clearly descent from a lost version of MNCH, thus complicating the stemma of the Metaphrase. There appears to be a missing link or links between B, SXY and a draft or earlier version of the Metaphrase. Two significant omissions in X may link X with B: M265.8–9 περὶ—ἔφευγον, corresponding to exactly one full line of B (f. 153, l. 8), and M269.13–14 τὸ ζήτημα – χρυσίουν, corresponding almost exactly to a full line of B (f. 156, ll. 7–8). We see eight such omissions in the case of Y: M349.22 οὐδὲ¹—τοῦτο, M351.20 καὶ—κατέκαυσε, M356.6–7 συνάψαντα—Πόλεως, M357.14–15 κλαίοντες—διηρεύνων, M361.1–2 καὶ²— ὑπελάμβανον, M368.14–15 καὶ²—κρούοντας, M369.17–19 τὰ—ζώαν, M376.27–28 ὑπὸ—ἔξαιρουμένων. S and X, at M97.27–28, present another omission corresponding almost precisely to a full line of B. Another significant homoteleuton omission by S, at M96.25–26, provides evidence for the conjecture that S was not copying either B or X, but another text, since the missing line of text concerns the first line of the page on both B and X: it is surely very unlikely that the scribe would omit to copy the first line of a new page open before him (B f. 59^v|60: πρὸς βασιλέα | ἥρχοντο, X f. 13^v|14: πέμψας | ἀποκρισταρίους). In other words, there is evidence suggesting that B lies behind the other mss at some point, but there is clearly another layer of transmission intervening, with independent access to NCH and/or a draft Metaphrase that included certain variants that are equally valid when compared with NCH.

Besides these omissions, there is also an interesting error by the scribe of Y, which may well be due to the handwriting style of B. In the placename Δεύτερον in B (M345.26), the ligature of -εν- looks very much like an -α-, and this may be why in Y we read Δάτερον). These facts compel us to consider the possibility that B lies, directly

68 Van Dieten, “Bemerkungen,” 62–63.

or indirectly, behind Y, and probably also the other two mss S and X, but, of course, that it was not the sole source of the texts preserved in these other mss.

To sum up, an explanation for this state of affairs may be the following: there was a manuscript, which we can term β , which was for the most part a copy of B and contained the omissions described above, but which also incorporated corrections and changes that were based on an earlier (draft?) version of MNCH. Some of the corrections that were inserted in B coincide with the text as in S, X and Y.⁶⁹ if these are not to be attributed to early modern editorial vandalism but to the earlier Byzantine phase in the life of the manuscript, one wonders if they might be by the same scribe who undertook the production of the second phase of MNCH. The scribe of this hypothetical codex β , in the process of copying B (and at the same time, making various omissions), introduced certain minor changes to the text, such as we see in the apparatus of our edition, and the resulting text was the exemplar that the copyist of Y had before him.

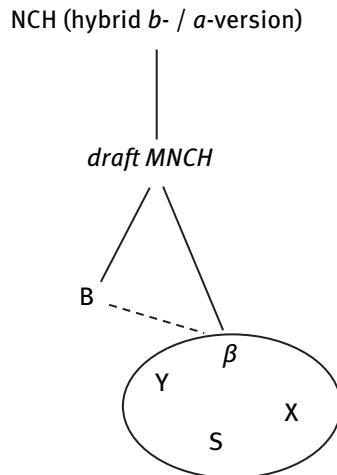
In X and S we observe various shared omissions. Most of these, as recorded in the apparatus criticus, are of the homoteleuton type; one, as noted above, concerns, as in the eight cases in Y described above, the omission of an entire line of B (M97.27–28). While there is the risk of resorting to argumentum ex nihilo, it is legitimate to ask why there are so many omissions in Y, in the few folios 251–269, and not (at least at the same frequency) throughout the entire texts of S and X. If it is not a mere case of chance, over a relatively limited number of quires, it could perhaps be due to the participation of more than one individual in the production of β ; in other words, a team of people was involved in drafting MNCH, which is the product of collective effort, and perhaps for this reason appears at times to be uneven in its rendering of the original NCH and the quality of the copying (and retouching) of the draft MNCH.

To extend (and close) the hypothesizing regarding the formation of the MNCH text as preserved for us, it may have been the case that the initial draft MNCH was in the form of notes, perhaps marginal or interlinear,⁷⁰ on a codex containing Choniates' original. Even if the first version of MNCH was an independent text, contained in an independent codex, it still may have been the case that it was relatively unfinished and unpolished. In addition, if ms B did indeed form a kind of base text (in combination with a preliminary draft or interlinear text) for further refinement (as preserved in S, X and Y), it follows that B was probably not far removed in time from the first metaphorastic rendering of NCH.

⁶⁹ E.g. M34.6 and apparatus, where B deletes and corrects ἐκτισμένον ἦν; M36.15 and apparatus, where B deletes the word κατέργων; M55.27 and apparatus, where B adds ἀπ- to ἐπεμψεν (as in S ἀπέπεμψεν).

⁷⁰ See also our discussion of psychagogiai in vol. 2, in the chapter on the Metaphrast's Method.

Proposed stemma



We postulate a possible missing link, β , which connects the SXY family with B as well as with another, lost (*draft?*) MNCH, in whatever form that may have taken (interlinear, marginal, independent text?), which perhaps was also a precursor for B. β may have introduced certain omissions (particularly those mentioned earlier, of the homoteleuton type) when copying B, while also embodying various readings that differ from B but derive from a text still closely connected with NCH. If we ignore the broken line joining B with β , we must assume that the omissions in X and Y corresponding to entire lines of B are purely coincidental, which, considering the substantial length of MNCH, is not improbable.

The exemplar of the *History* from which the Metaphrast worked

Van Dieten gives a carefully documented exposition of the complex textual evolution of NCH, as well as the situation regarding the likely version of NCH lying behind MNCH, supported by his collation of all the mss of the *History*.⁷¹ Other scholars, notably Maisano and Simpson, in their discussions of the transmission of the *History* offer further refinements and supporting evidence to van Dieten's assessment regarding

⁷¹ See van Dieten, "Einleitung," XIX–CI, and esp. LXXI–LXXII for a discussion of mss W and P (and the hypothetical lost ms χ postulated by van Dieten), LXXXVI–LXXXVIII for the Metaphrase, and C–CI on the circumstances of the final copy of the *History* in the hands of Niketas; van Dieten, "Noch einmal"; also Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur*, vol. 1, 432–433.

the reasons behind the complexity of the textual tradition.⁷² The final stemma proposed by van Dieten reflects the complexity of this story.⁷³

To sum up these discussions briefly: Within Niketas' lifetime, at least two differentiated versions of the *History* appear to have been in circulation: first, a shorter version, dubbed *b(revier)* by van Dieten, which deals with events up to February/March 1205 and is preserved notably in mss D (i.e. Vat. gr. 168) and R (i.e. Vat. gr. 169), F (i.e. Vindob. Hist. gr. 53), and M (i.e. Marc. gr. 403); second, a longer version, dubbed *a(uctior)* by van Dieten, dealing with events up to November 1206 and preserved in mss V (i.e. Vat. gr. 163), A (i.e. Vat. gr. 1623), P-after-revision (i.e. Par. gr. 1778), and sections of W (i.e. Vindob. Hist. gr. 105). Besides, the *b*- and *a*-texts, there are various other mss that appear to occupy midway or supplementary positions in the transmission of the *History*: two mss, L (i.e. Laurent. IX 24) and O (i.e. Oxon. Bodl. Roe 22), transmit an addendum (or additional section) to the *History*, (as well as Niketas' theological treatise, *Dogmatike Panoplia*), covering events from July 1203 to c. 1210/11; and mss P-prior-to-revision and the greater part of W, which present an intermediary position between the *b*- and *a*-texts. Last, there is an abridged version of the *History* that stems from the *b*-text (preserved in three mss); and the Metaphrase.

After dismissing the old view (propounded from the 16th C. by Hieronymus Wolf through to the early 20th C. by Franz Dölger) that MNCH was produced by Niketas himself, van Dieten suggests that the Metaphrast had before him either two exemplars, a *b*- and *a*-text, or a contaminated/hybrid text combining within its pages features of both *b* and *a*, by far the more likely case. At times, for instance, there is clearly a close affinity of MNCH with V. It has the two major additions of N57.53–58.82 and N374.2–376.26, and elsewhere very often shows a closer affinity to V than all the other mss, e.g.: N54.70/4, 142.39, 225.44, 295.48, 387.20, 399.48/9, 400.88, 498.20. Errors that MNCH shares with V include, for example, N194.11 Ἀλανῶν: Ἀλαμανῶν VB; N257.79 ὥλον: ὥλιγον VB; N539.90 Δολούικος: Δολούικρος VB. However, MNCH does not share all the errors of V, e.g. N155.83/90 χρεών—έστι om. V: hab. B; N434.29/32 ἐνέκλιναν—ποταμὸν idem (homotel.). It would thus be possible to assume a common exemplar for V and the Metaphrase if, at the points where MNCH offers a better text than V, the Metaphrast (or his simplifying forerunner) could be shown to not be using also a second exemplar. In this respect, however, B evidently presents a contamination of V with the *b*-text: N444.94/5 τὸν δὲ σκοπὸν APW b: τὸν δὲ τρόπον V: τὸν ἔκείνου δὲ σκοπὸν καὶ τὸν τρόπον B; N502.12 (in WbB) states regarding Chrysos, Βλάχος ὁν τὸ γένος καὶ αὐτός, when in the *a*-text this information has already been given to us at N487.61 (M304.6), part of an entire passage not included in the *b*-text but nonetheless in W and B. At N515.59ff. and 517.89ff. MNCH shares with *b* the more

⁷² Maisano, “Varianti d’autore,” 63–80; Simpson, *Niketas Choniates: A Historiographical Study*, 68–127, esp. 79–80, 108–109, 119–123.

⁷³ Van Dieten, “Einleitung,” Cl.

extensive treatment of theological matter, which Niketas chose to limit somewhat in the *a*-text; similarly, at N339.6/9, 453.3/5, 557.11/2. Besides its affinities with V, MNCH also has a special relationship with W (and, through W, with A and/or P where W no longer survives), for example: N120.69 ψυχάς: ὄψεις W: ὄφθαλμούς B; N121.28 συνθηκῶν: θησαυρῶν WB; N127.71 μεταβαίη: διαβαίη W: διαβαίνει B; N230.84 Ἀρχιλόχου: Ἀρχιλόγου WB; N387.27 πτοηθείς: φοβηθείς WB; N112.55 ἦν: ἦν ἀθέατος APW: ἦν ἀθεώρητος B; N237.66 ἀψίσιν: ἀψίσιν (ἀψίδι) τοῦ Μιλίου APWB; N241.70 τὸν καίσαρα A^s: τὴν καισάρισσαν AWB; N279.11 τοῦδε PRMKN: τούτου DFU: τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου V: τοῦ Λαπαρδᾶ AWB; N312.1, where the addition in B=PW; N528.77/8 B (M332.17)=P (the W text does not survive here); N456.68 ὀρχῆ VAP: βασιλεία Wb: βασιλείων B. But not all places where the Metaphrase has a better reading than V, or a reading preserved in other manuscripts than V, can be attributed to W. The apparent incoherence of these relationships, as evidenced by the surviving mss, is resolved, if, as van Dieten proposes at this point, we assume the existence of a shared source text (no longer surviving), which he terms χ , that gave rise to the hybrid readings of W and MNCH. As van Dieten notes, the margin of freedom in rendering the text into simpler language, and the loss of χ , mean that we can no longer determine whether the Metaphrast (or his predecessor) used, besides χ , Codex V or – more likely – V's predecessor as his exemplar(s). There are however four places where only MNCH appears to preserve the correct reading (see N489.29; 494.87; 513.11; 529.12); but the fact that these passages are missing in W and, consequently, the scribe of A was not making use of χ , does not allow us to rule out the possibility that MNCH is based here on χ . There are other places where MNCH preserves a few words more than the other tradition, which could possibly originate from the text of Niketas himself, see N443.66. 484.64; 499.51; 511.59; 522.31; the older part of W has only the first of these five examples, but it nevertheless lacks the addition of the Metaphrase. Of course, in these cases one can not rule out innovation on the part of the Metaphrast or even the copyist.

Suffice to say, the Metaphrast appears to have executed his work on the basis of a text that stood somewhere between the two main redactions – the *b*(*revior*) and *a*(*uctior*) versions – of the *History*. The two redactions were probably in circulation during Choniates' lifetime, separated by the defining event of the sack of Constantinople in 1204 and the changes that this inevitably brought about in the circumstances of Niketas' life and attitudes, as well as his subsequent distance from the Angeloi dynasty on the throne in the years immediately preceding the Fourth Crusade. These two versions, however, at an early stage were blended into hybrid or cross-contaminated versions, one of which, no longer surviving,⁷⁴ was presumably the work (or the descendent of this work) that served as the source text for MNCH. Indeed, van Dieten suggests that the progenitor of this hybrid text may have been Niketas' personal

74 The hypothetical codex χ .

working copy, or something very close to such a copy, that would have been replete with revisions, corrections and supplementary material. The evidence seems to point in this direction, but it necessarily remains a matter of conjecture.

Marginalia in Ms Vindobonensis Hist. gr. 105: a likely, but obscure, witness to MNCH

One of the key NCH manuscripts, Vindobonensis Hist. gr. 105 (Diktyon no. 70982), designated W by van Dieten,⁷⁵ contains a large part of the (b)revior version of the *History*. On the basis of its watermarks, the ms dates from the very last years of the 14th C. or early years of the 15th C. In its margins is a significant quantity of para-texts.⁷⁶ Besides metrical notes and scholia by Ephraim of Ainos, and various notes that refer to NCH, including marginal titles similar to those found in MNCH, plus small additions and occasional glosses to NCH, we read in the bottom margin (less frequently in the top or left/right margins) longer notes in a cramped and rather untidy hand (faded in many parts) that summarize the content of the *History* in a linguistically simpler form. These notes seem to be closely related to MNCH. In most of them, the wording has close parallels in MNCH, and occasionally entire phrases are identical. Yet there are also significant differences: in comparison with MNCH, the text of the notes is often highly compressed. Usually, a specific note focuses on a certain episode of NCH, introducing it with words taken from the immediately preceding material. While the vocabulary used is very similar, the notes show a few peculiarities that are quite foreign to MNCH. One striking vocabulary feature is the fact that Andronikos I and Alexios III are regularly assigned the derisive epithets ἀπτηνής “brutal” and βαμβακοράβδης “with a cotton rod/stick.” As van Dieten observed, these notes must have been copied from another manuscript, because certain passages have been crossed out (since words had been skipped), and others are misplaced, i.e. they do not correspond with the content of the adjacent text.⁷⁷ As for the context, the main difference versus all four of the MNCH mss lies in the fact that these notes/fragments are only a marginal accompaniment to the original text of Choniates’ *History* whereas mss B, S, X and Y stand as independent texts, replacing the original.

The source of these notes may perhaps have been a version of MNCH, or an earlier draft of some kind, yet with a pointedly different attitude. Linguistically speaking, this version appears to be slightly more classicizing. In the few cases where these notes in W shed some light on MNCH, particularly where B (as well as S, X and Y) is deficient or has a lacuna, we refer to them in the commentary.

75 See van Dieten, “Einleitung,” XLI–XLIV.

76 See Bértola, “Ephraim of Ainos at work,” esp. 950–953.

77 Van Dieten, “Einleitung,” XLIII.

One of several examples where the text of the notes is remarkably close to MNCH is found at M41.10–14 (N104.79–86):

καὶ τοῖς τὸν Ἀνδρόνικον κατακρίνουσι διὰ τὸ τῆς συνουσίας παράλογον, ἀπελογεῖτο μετριάζων, καὶ ἔλεγεν « ἀγαπᾶ ὁ δοῦλος εὐρίσκεσθαι ως τὸν αὐθέντην αὐτοῦ », ὀνειδίζων ταῦτα καὶ λέγων διὰ τὸ τὸν βασιλέα Μανουὴλ ὁμοιοπαθῆ ὄντα καὶ χείρωνα τούτου πράττοντα· ὁ μὲν γάρ θυγατέρα τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ συνεμίγνυτο, ὁ δὲ Ἀνδρόνικος ἔξαδέλφου παιδὶ συνεφθείρετο.

Vindobonensis Hist. gr. 105, 55^r (in marg. inf.):

ὅτι τοῦ Ἀνδρονίκου ὀνειδιζομένου παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχόντων περὶ τῆς παραλόγου συνουσίας αὐτοῦ ἀπελογεῖτο ως ἀγαπᾶ ὁ δοῦλος εὐρίσκεσθαι ως τὸν αὐθέντην αὐτοῦ. ταῦτα λέγων καὶ ὀνειδίζων τὸν βασιλέα Μανουὴλ ἐγάρ Μανουὴλ θυγατέρα ἐσχε ὁμοιοπαθῆ τε ὄντα καὶ χείρωνα (sic) τούτου πράττοντα. ὁ μὲν γάρ Μανουὴλ θυγατέρα ἐσχε τῆς αὐταδελφῆς αὐτοῦ. ὁ δὲ Ἀνδρόνικος Θεοδώρων τὴν Κομνηνὴν θυγατέρα οὖσαν τοῦ πρωτεξαδέλφου αὐτοῦ τοῦ σεβαστοκράτορος Ἰσαακίου.

Here the bold text indicates exact correspondence with MNCH, and underlined text indicates words that have been modified somewhat. In this particular example, the similarities are more extensive than is usually the case. It is notable that the names of Theodora and Isaakios are not mentioned in MNCH: this, as occurs elsewhere in the W-notes, seems to be wrong factual information; according to Choniates, Andronikos' lover was Eudokia, daughter of Andronikos, the brother of Manuel (while Theodora was Eudokia's sister).

As van Dieten pointed out, the fact that the scribe of these notes cancelled the words ὁ γάρ Μανουὴλ θυγατέρα εἶχε, which belong at the beginning of the following sentence, suggests that the scribe was copying and not composing.

Significantly, on f. 72 of W, the note corresponding to N141.5–13 refers to text that exists in the main tradition of NCH, but not in W, and accordingly its rationale is not obvious on the basis of the actual text adjacent to it. This curious mismatch is again evidence that the notes derive (at least in part) from another source, and have been rather inaccurately inserted into this manuscript.

Overall, it is very hard to say precisely what the relationship of the marginal notes of Vindobonensis Hist. gr. 105 to MNCH is. Perhaps, again, there is an Ur-Metaphrase somewhere in the background, or already versions of MNCH that have been plundered as vade mecum material for reading Choniates. Obscure and intriguing, these notes offer a hazy view onto the lost story of MNCH. If they somehow “attest to the process of composition of the paraphrase,” as Bértola wonders, they do so second-hand.⁷⁸

78 Bértola, “Ephraim of Ainos at work,” 953.

Theodore Skoutariotes and the *Synopsis Chronike*

Theodore Skoutariotes' *Synopsis Chronike* ("SC"), completed not long after 1283, covers the time from the Creation to 1261. It is preserved in four mss, only one of which contains the entire text. For the last 100 years of his narrative (i.e. the second, much more detailed part of the work),⁷⁹ the author relies on NCH and George Akropolites.⁸⁰ For the part corresponding with NCH,⁸¹ it constitutes the first attempt to render the *Chronike diegesis* in more accessible language for a broader readership.⁸² Skoutariotes had a manuscript of the APW group of NCH at his disposal.

Generally speaking, Skoutariotes mostly abbreviates his source (reduced to about half of the original length), paraphrasing and summarizing NCH.⁸³ He omits parts of Choniates' text that are not directly relevant for the flow of the key historical events: for instance, excursus on the personal history of certain characters (e.g. Hagiоtheodorites and Stypeiotes) or references (often extensive in N) to ancient mythology and history.

In the rest of the text, Skoutariotes follows N closely, though limiting his own words to the essentials, i.e. embellishing adjectives are often omitted, and extensive periphrasis simplified. For example: σκέπτεται περὶ τοῦ πατριάρχου SC 218.19 < π. τοῦ τὸν πατριαρχικὸν κληρωσομένου θρόνον καὶ ... οὕτακας N51.93–95.

To facilitate the intelligibility of his text, Skoutariotes replaces many of N's classicizing terms. He normalizes many of N's atticizing elements, such as ξυν-, σφῶν and other attic pronouns; the dual, ἐς (often, not always), suppression of the article (often, not always). He occasionally replaces classicizing toponyms with their contemporary equivalents. His simplification, apart from eschewing rare terms, involves primarily the replacement of classicizing vocabulary with less classicizing.

Skoutariotes, however, almost never uses vernacular terms, and in the case of morphology his language remains strictly on the level of the Koine (for example, he makes no concessions to vernacular endings).

SC is essentially a compilation that seeks to present a world history. The section relying on N, therefore, is one part of a larger whole, and as such it is no longer Choniates' text. Choniates is not mentioned as the source, and accordingly all autobiographical passages are omitted, as well as most authorial comments (only a few very general "I think" remarks are retained). To sum up, the *Synopsis Chronike* is a lightly "metaphrasing" abbreviation/abridgement of its source material, although more markedly metaphrasing than, for example, the Epitome of Pachymeres' *History*.

⁷⁹ Sathas, *Σύνοψις Χρονική*, 177–555.

⁸⁰ Karpozilos, *Buζαντινοί ιστορικοί*, vol. 4, 416.

⁸¹ Sathas, *Σύνοψις Χρονική*, 187.11–450.9 = N6.29–575.50.

⁸² Karpozilos, *Buζαντινοί ιστορικοί*, vol. 4, 404.

⁸³ See also the general remarks in Karpozilos, *Buζαντινοί ιστορικοί*, vol. 4, 421–422.

Comparing SC and M, it is immediately apparent that M follows N far more closely than Skoutariotes. M omits very little material in comparison with SC (mainly “classical” allusions), while it also simplifies across all linguistic levels. M uses a substantial number of vernacular words, and occasionally even vernacular morphology (though not enough to allow us to call it a vernacular text). Furthermore, M appears as “Choniates’ text” and the authorial voice is retained on those occasions when Choniates makes his comments and personal testimonies, and autobiographical passages are simply transposed, as if the Metaphrast were Choniates.

With regard to their mode of linguistic transposition and simplification, both SC and M resort occasionally to the same solutions, in particular with regard to the replacement of classicizing terms with less classicizing ones. For instance:

- SC 401.1 / M257.3 συλλαβών — συνειληφώς N423.94
- SC 401.5 / M257.5 ἐκτυφλοῦται — ἀμαυροῦται τοὺς ὄφθαλμοὺς N423.4
- SC 401.11 / M257.11 ἐταζόμενος — ἐτάσεσιν ὑποβληθεὶς N423.12
- SC 404.5 κυκλωθῶσι / M262.2 κυκλωθῆναι — ἐγκυκλωθῆναι N430.6
- SC 404.19 ηύχαριστει / M262.20 εύχαριστῶν — ἔθυε σῶστρα N430.23

Beyond these slight and occasional coincidences and similarities, the two texts do not display any deeper kinship, beyond, of course, their common ancestor of NCH. They do not share the same depth or range of transposition. And, as just mentioned, their respective perspectives on their model (SC in essence copying and abridging, M transposing) are fundamentally different.